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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ÖKÇÜN (Turkey): Mr. President, on behalf of my Government I wish to express to you our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are particularly pleased that the choice has fallen upon you. It is fitting recognition of your outstanding qualities of leadership and enlightened grasp of international issues. We feel confident that under your wise and inspiring guidance this session of the General Assembly will provide a new momentum for international co-operation towards peace.

2. I also wish to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who, by his dedication and outstanding performance in presiding over the deliberations of the previous year, lived up to his country's distinguished record in world affairs.

3. I should also like to reiterate and convey the appreciation of my Government to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, of his tireless efforts to promote the principles and ideals of the United Nations. I am sure he will continue to do his utmost to overcome the difficulties hampering the implementation of those principles and ideals. We, for our part, realize the complexities of his task and stand ready to support him in the fulfilment of his responsibilities.

4. On behalf of my Government, I should like to welcome Solomon Islands into this community of nations. I feel certain that its co-operation and contribution to our Organization will be of great value.

5. The problems facing the United Nations are many and complex, and in some instances highly sensitive. The year that has passed since the last general debate cannot be

considered as marking any great achievements in terms of resolving important problems which are on the agenda of the United Nations. None the less, the achievement of progress on some extremely difficult problems to which our Secretary-General draws attention in his annual report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] is certainly encouraging in terms of other important and as yet unresolved problems.

6. The principal purpose of the United Nations is to maintain international peace. As we all know, the concept of peace is as old as civilization, but the requirements of peace change with a changing world and there is no such thing as static peace based on static balance and order. Therefore in today's rapidly changing world a dynamic approach should guide efforts aimed at the attainment of peace.

7. There can be no true peace except when nations exercise self-restraint, the weak are as safe as the strong and the poor can participate in progress equally with the rich.

8. If I may translate those concepts into single words or letters: *détente*, disarmament and development—that is to say, the “three Ds”—should constitute the main pillars of a true peace today.

9. Allow me first to dwell on *détente*. The great Powers have a special responsibility for the maintenance and promotion of *détente*. Yet *détente* should not be the exclusive concern of the great Powers, because *détente* is as indivisible as peace, and a selective application of *détente* can only increase tension in the long term. Therefore all States, big and small, and all regions should have a stake in *détente* in the belief that lasting results can be achieved only with the full participation of all States in that process.

10. Turkey, for its part, attaches great importance to the promotion of *détente*. In fact, it has made consistent efforts to facilitate and promote *détente*, following an active policy of friendly co-operation with all its neighbours and the countries of the region.

11. *Détente*, at present, is based largely on a balance of armed deterrence. Should the balance be tilted in a given region in favour of one side, *détente* might consequently suffer. As we see it, the present balance is a precarious one and does not ensure substantial progress. *Détente*, therefore, should be based on a sounder balance, a balance of interests aimed at maintaining peace and mutual confidence among nations.

12. In the long run the survival of *détente* will be dependent on progress in disarmament. For *détente* and

disarmament are intertwined processes. That brings me to the second pillar, disarmament. I am sure that all will agree that disarmament is one of the most urgent problems on mankind's agenda.

13. In general terms, every State has a contribution to make in establishing the conditions for general and complete disarmament.

14. Turkey, for its part, is keenly interested in disarmament, and the search for genuine and concrete disarmament constitutes one of the basic endeavours of the foreign policy of Turkey. As a developing country, Turkey no doubt feels more than others the harmful effects of the burden of armaments.

15. We whole-heartedly welcomed the convening last June of the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. Since the Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Bülent Ecevit, addressed the special session¹ and his detailed explanation of the views of our Government on disarmament went into the record, I shall confine myself to a few points only.

16. I am confident that it is the common view of all delegations here that the ultimate goal is to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, which will create a secure world in which all nations would be free from fear. I shall not be revealing a secret when I say that in an age of sovereign States whose interests are not always convergent the question of disarmament is directly related to the security of those States. The process of détente has not yet led to a reversal, or even a cessation, of the arms race. All countries are buying greater and greater insecurity at higher and higher costs.

17. This cannot be a safe way to disarmament. While disarmament negotiations proceed, armouries are being made bigger and bigger. What we should do is to substitute for a fragile system of security based on the arms race a more stable system of security based on mutual trust and confidence. A break-through in disarmament cannot be achieved if we do not have more trust in each other and a greater awareness of the common aims and interests of all mankind. The promotion of mutual understanding, trust and friendship would provide the soundest basis for disarmament efforts.

18. Alas, our world exists in an environment that is far from being one of trust and confidence. The ever-growing violence, in addition to the continuing arms race, increases the disaffection and anxieties of millions of people.

19. On the other hand, terrorism and violence have reached alarming dimensions in our age, indicating the insufficiency of educational efforts to cultivate feelings of love and tolerance in the hearts and minds of the young.

20. It is obvious that it is difficult to mobilize the will of mankind for disarmament and peace in a psychological atmosphere that breeds hate, hostility and violence.

21. With this peculiar and disturbing situation in mind, the Turkish Prime Minister suggested in this very hall that the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 15th meeting.

United Nations should require all Member nations to adopt and implement educational programmes that would breed a culture of peace and international friendship.

22. Before I conclude on this subject, I should like to emphasize that, despite some progress, the history of post-war disarmament endeavours can be seen only as one of repeated lost opportunities. Be that as it may, we none the less refuse to be led into pessimism. The slow pace of progress in the field of disarmament stems from the very nature of the subject. Disarmament is too important a question, however, to leave any areas unexplored. Therefore we should be bold enough to try every step that will bring us closer to our goal, and while doing so we should be wise enough to protect scrupulously the progress we have already achieved, no matter how little or modest it may be.

23. Peace and prosperity are indivisible. The questions of détente and disarmament cannot be considered apart from their economic dimension—that is to say, development, which is the third pillar of a true peace.

24. The need to establish an equitable and just economic order in the world is also very closely related to détente and disarmament. At present, the world revolves on two axes—one East-West, the other North-South. Rapid progress should take place on both of those two fronts. There can be no stability and security in a world of hunger, misery and injustice. Furthermore, efforts in the fields of détente and disarmament would be incomplete and ineffective unless adequate measures aimed at reducing the ever-increasing gap between the rich and the poor, between North and South, were undertaken.

25. Turkey, as a developing country, is profoundly interested in the establishment of an equitable economic order in the world and is sincerely anxious to contribute to it. Our Government, which came into office at the beginning of this year, intends to make Turkey's contribution to this process more effective. In line with this objective, Turkey had the privilege of acting as host to a seminar on the New International Economic Order held in August in Istanbul. Our Government is proud to have had the opportunity of bringing together in the seminar a number of distinguished politicians, diplomats and scholars who have been making valuable contributions to the search for a New International Economic Order.

26. It must be admitted that, in spite of the intensive efforts made under the United Nations umbrella, no important concrete results have yet been achieved. The sessions of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, which was established last year to oversee developments in connexion with the New International Economic Order, to give them impetus, and to serve as a forum, where appropriate, for the exchange of views on global economic problems—in brief, to take up and negotiate every aspect of the New International Economic Order—ended in a dangerous deadlock.

27. The persistent economic recession which exacerbated the difficulties of the developing countries coincided with the suspension of the dialogue in the Committee. This,

together with the acutely felt short-term effects of the global economic crisis, could frustrate to a great extent the long-term aspirations of the developing countries. Therefore this stalemate is an ominous sign for the efforts made in other United Nations bodies with regard to the New International Economic Order. If this General Assembly fails to resolve the differences that emerged in the form of procedural matters, this will sooner or later adversely affect the negotiations on the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the common fund, which in turn will gravely endanger the prospects for the fifth session of UNCTAD.

28. In the course of 1978 the developing countries had to face protectionist tendencies of alarming proportions in the industrial countries. We suspect that protectionism is on the way to far exceeding what is needed for reducing unemployment or facilitating industrial structural adjustment. To our disillusionment, protectionism is becoming an autonomous escalating force which the policy-makers of industrial countries are individually either unable or reluctant to withstand. It is hardly necessary to recall that the labour-intensive, value-added manufactured goods of the developing countries are the main losers by this process. Therefore those countries should not shy away from the responsibility of actively participating in the work of the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT.

29. In the atmosphere of slow growth of the last two years, we are awaiting the results of the domestic expansion of the countries with surpluses as a remedy for stagnation, on the one hand, and for payments maladjustments and monetary instability, on the other. Nevertheless, the economies of those countries cannot be expected to respond, beyond some modest point, to the internal expansionary measures, for there are structural causes inhibiting their being global driving forces.

30. The potential growth of the world economy, however, depends indisputably on the developing countries, which buy 28 per cent of the total manufactured goods exported from industrial nations and which at the same time constitute the only part of the globe having healthy demand. Regrettably the prevailing traditional economic thinking does not allow the industrial countries to embark upon a co-operative effort which would benefit all and create an atmosphere conducive to rapid progress in the negotiations on the New International Economic Order. On the contrary, the developing countries are more often than not called upon to restrict their growth for the sake of strict internal financial stability. Some of the lender countries and monetary institutions require certain policies which lead the economies of developing countries to stagnation in the name of "stability", even after they achieve the feasible level of internal economic adjustment necessitated by the economic crisis. Stability is no doubt one of the prerequisites of a sound economy; yet developing countries can achieve development not through a stagnant but through a dynamic stability. Forcing them to a stagnant stability would inevitably cause grave social and political crises and eventual upheavals in those countries.

31. While there is a pressing need for structural changes in the global economic system, there is also a need for the developing countries to break some vicious circles among

and within their economies. The Turkish Prime Minister, Mr. Bülent Ecevit, in his opening address at the Istanbul seminar on the New International Economic Order suggested that, first, developing countries should increase and render more effective their economic co-operation in adapting and developing technology. Secondly, with the strength they would obtain through solidarity and co-operation, they should try to increase their collective effectiveness in the international trade of commodities and industrial goods, as well as their influence in international financial organizations and institutions. And thirdly, they should subscribe to a new development concept which should be different from that prevailing in some developed countries, a concept which would consist in the aspiration to a healthy social structure, and to healthy values that emphasize quality rather than quantity.

32. It is in the light of the concept of individual and collective self-reliance that we have evaluated the results of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires. We believe that that Conference was instructive and inspiring as to the value of a collective approach. We further believe that it offered new vistas to the developing countries, in that the Plan of Action adopted by the Conference² constitutes a broad framework for the implementation of the concept of technical co-operation among developing countries. The individual and collective self-reliance which this endeavour will generate will contribute to the efforts towards achieving the New International Economic Order.

33. At this stage, I wish to inform you that my Government is fully prepared to share with the developing countries the scientific and technical capabilities of my country which have been accumulated in the course of Turkish development efforts. National institutional machinery has recently been created to this end. No doubt technical co-operation will not only strengthen bilateral economic relations among developing countries by bringing into action a hitherto unutilized potential, but at the same time it will help to promote the New International Economic Order on the basis of collective self-reliance.

34. On the other hand, I should like to stress our sincere hope that the forthcoming United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, to be held at Vienna next year, will be a step forward in the endeavours to create a New International Economic Order and will provide an insight into and an understanding of the problems that face both developed and developing nations.

35. We also hope that this session of the General Assembly will give a new impetus to the efforts to transform the status of UNIDO into a specialized agency before the Third General Conference of that organization in 1980. Needless to say, such a transformation, if implemented according to the aspirations of developing countries, will constitute another step in the direction of the New International Economic Order.

36. I must add that the work of the United Nations will be judged by future historians according to its success in establishing a just international economic order.

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), chap. I.

37. Economic and social development as a whole can be regarded as an effort to promote human rights. Economic and social rights, on the one hand, and civil and political rights on the other, are inseparable and interdependent. It is our firm belief that world order and peace can be based on justice and equality only when effective guarantees are secured for ensuring the respect and protection of human rights. This is why the Charter itself urges on the United Nations the task of promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

38. The date of 10 December of this year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Anniversaries are moments for the review of past performance, reflection on present realities and a renewal of conviction and resolve in regard to future conduct. In this spirit we believe that countries should give real expression to and protect fundamental human rights and freedoms in their own societies.

39. Let us, therefore, be reminded that we must continue to exert efforts towards creating a better world where all human beings fully enjoy their fundamental rights and freedoms, and where the dignity and worth of the human person are firmly secured and fully honoured.

40. Mankind should be protected not only against oppression and injustice but also against terror and violence. My country, which has recently been the victim of several attacks against the lives of its diplomatic representatives, is ready to contribute to initiatives taken in order to combat international violence effectively.

41. While we look for ways to improve stability in the world through détente, disarmament and development, the agenda of the General Assembly remains crowded by many decades-old conflicts.

42. The right of peoples to independence is one of the basic principles which the Turkish Government has tirelessly proclaimed and supported since its foundation. Turkey, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of modern Turkey, fought 60 years ago the first war of independence against imperialism to free itself from foreign coercion and occupation, to protect its territorial integrity, and to assert its national sovereignty and its national dignity. It has always rejected the theory and practice of colonialism in whatever form it may exist.

43. Today as we meet here under the roof of the United Nations, which by virtue of its Charter is dedicated to the emancipation of oppressed peoples, the situation in southern Africa still remains critical and even constitutes a menace to peace; the policy of *apartheid* practised in South Africa, the prevailing situation in Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, in defiance of the unanimous and repeated appeals of world public opinion, is an affront to mankind and a flagrant violation of basic human rights.

44. In South Africa there can be no solution to the problem of *apartheid* as long as the Government continues to subject the African majority to the will of a white minority and to exclude it from the political life of the country. My country—like many others—has voiced repeatedly in the United Nations and elsewhere its deep

concern for racial injustices in South Africa as they have been institutionalized in law and practice. We believe that the international community should embark upon a policy of strong and unrelenting pressure on the racist régime of Pretoria.

45. Turkey has been privileged to be a constituent member of the United Nations Council for Namibia. It has played and continues to play an active role in all endeavours related to the political destiny of that Territory.

46. We reaffirm our solidarity with, and fully support, the people of Namibia in their just struggle under the guidance of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its sole legitimate representative, against the racist and colonialist régime of Pretoria. Turkey fully appreciates the positive attitude taken by SWAPO in the process of peaceful transition to independence. Any solution to the problem of Namibia should take into account the basic principles contained in Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

47. It is in this spirit that we welcomed Security Council resolution 431 (1978), which requests the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative for Namibia in order to ensure the early independence of Namibia through free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations. We hope that efforts currently under way to implement this resolution, as well as the one just adopted in September 1978 approving the report of the Secretary-General, resolution 435 (1978), will lead to success.

48. However, the unfortunate unilateral decision recently taken by the Pretoria Government to hold elections in Namibia is a great setback for the sustained efforts by the Security Council and by many African countries to promote the independence of Namibia on a basis acceptable to the Namibian people. We only hope that this decision will not be implemented and that the South African Government will realize the danger inherent in an attitude incompatible with the United Nations resolutions and the wish of the world community as a whole. There is no doubt that if the South African Government persists in this attitude the Security Council should promptly reconsider the situation and adopt adequate measures.

49. It is now more urgent than ever before to settle the issue of Southern Rhodesia. The illegal Smith régime has been implementing the so-called internal solution aimed at preserving the privileges of the white minority.

50. We firmly support the people of Zimbabwe in their legitimate struggle against the illegal white minority régime in Salisbury. We are firmly opposed to any settlement which excludes the Patriotic Front. I would therefore like to stress that, without a genuine act of self-determination encompassing all Zimbabweans, it is evident that there cannot be a real and lasting solution to the problems in that country.

51. We hope that ongoing efforts exerted to resolve the question of Southern Rhodesia will lead to majority rule and real independence for the people of Zimbabwe.

52. The Middle East has for three decades been a cause of special international concern. This important region of the world, which has been the scene of four wars, has known no stability in spite of many past and present initiatives taken to that end. The situation in the Middle East has come to a point where the perceptions of a peaceful and lasting settlement are intertwined with the prospects of new and more violent confrontations. We believe that, without solving the essence of the problems, tension and the spectre of war will continue to loom large on the horizon of the Middle East. The policy of the Turkish Government with respect to this problem has always been that a just and lasting peace settlement must flow from Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and give effect to the following principles. First, it must implement the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force. Secondly, it must end the territorial occupation which Israel has maintained since 1967. Thirdly, it must take into account the national legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinians. Fourthly, it must safeguard the independence, the sovereignty and the security of the recognized frontiers of all the countries of the region. On the other hand, negotiations for a just and lasting settlement could not take place in the absence of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole lawful representative of the people of Palestine.

53. Turkey would be willing to welcome any initiative aimed at a settlement which takes into consideration the factors described above. Furthermore, it supports initiatives of a nature such as to defuse tensions and thwart developments which could endanger peace both in the region and in the world.

54. We have followed the Camp David summit meetings with keen interest and we are conscious of their importance. It would be premature to express a judgement at this stage, especially when the parties directly interested in the solution of the problem are in the process of evaluating the results of the meetings at Camp David.

55. Lebanon is another source of deep concern in the Middle East. We have followed with great sorrow the developments in that country, which has suffered so much during the last years. Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978) and the creation of UNIFIL were certainly moves in the right direction. We nourish feelings of solidarity with the people of Lebanon, and we fervently hope that they will be able to maintain their unity and recover their vitality.

56. The new Turkish Government has from the very beginning concentrated its attention on a rapid resolution of the Cyprus problem and hoped that there would be no need to discuss this issue at the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly. Indeed, as early as January this year the Turkish Federated State of Cyprus, with the active support and encouragement of the Turkish Government, undertook a series of initiatives in order to hasten the process of negotiations. The Turkish Cypriot Administration came up with concrete, comprehensive and constructive proposals and presented them to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on 13 April 1978.³ The

Turkish Cypriot proposals, which covered all the aspects of the Cyprus problem, including both the territorial and the constitutional aspects, were characterized by the Secretary-General as "concrete and substantial". The proposals did not reflect an inflexible stand; on the contrary, they were put forward as a negotiating position. Furthermore, the Turkish national community has at the same time made a commitment to the Secretary-General that it was ready to enter into negotiations in a spirit of conciliation and flexibility.

57. In short, the Turkish side has made every effort to promote intercommunal talks and a productive dialogue with a view to finding a lasting solution to the Cyprus problem. It has also endeavoured to improve the existing situation in the island. In this connexion the Turkish Cypriot Administration, taking into consideration the Secretary-General's recommendation in his report to the Security Council, announced that, with the start of the intercommunal talks, Greek Cypriot inhabitants of the city of Varosha could begin returning to their homes and businesses and that it was also ready to discuss the re-opening of Nicosia airport to civilian traffic.⁴ We estimate that the resolution of the problems pending between Turkey and Greece would also contribute to the emergence of a better atmosphere for the solution of the Cyprus problem. As is known, we have taken the initiative in establishing a dialogue at the Prime Minister level with Greece, and this process is still continuing.

58. All the efforts of the Turkish side have unfortunately been of no avail, because of the intransigence of the Greek Cypriot Administration. Their only concern seems to be to conduct a widespread campaign in the world to minimize and discredit the proposals which they rejected out of hand.

59. It is regrettable that the Greek Cypriot leadership is wasting such an historic opportunity for the good of the whole population of Cyprus by dragging its feet and obstructing the way to intercommunal negotiations. The Greek Cypriot side should accept the fact that it must be prepared to negotiate directly and on an equal footing with its Turkish Cypriot partners.

60. The letter and spirit of all relevant United Nations resolutions, as well as the Geneva Declaration of 30 July 1974,⁵ to which Turkey, Greece and the United Kingdom were parties, establish the principle of equality between the two communities in the search for a peaceful settlement. The two communities should therefore have an equal say in all the forums of the United Nations, and in particular in the General Assembly. The denial of this very natural right to the Turkish national community would adversely affect the negotiating process as such, would hinder the full understanding of the Cyprus problem and would constitute a grave injustice to the Turkish national community. Intercommunal equality should also be respected not only in words but also in deeds, as well as in all United Nations activities, such as the provision of economic and technical assistance to Cyprus.

³ *Ibid.*, para. 58.

⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11398.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12723, para. 52 and annex.

61. The Turkish Government's stand on the Cyprus problem has been explained very clearly on numerous occasions. My Government believes that a viable and just solution to this problem could best be achieved on the basis of the guidelines agreed upon by the late Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas, with the participation of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in February 1977,⁶ according to which Cyprus must be an independent, sovereign, non-aligned, bizonal and bicomunal federal State. In line with its efforts to contribute to peace and tranquillity in the island, the Turkish Government has to date withdrawn 17,500 troops from the island as a gesture of goodwill, and it commits itself to withdrawing all its armed forces from the island, with the exception of those that will be mutually agreed upon by the parties concerned when a final solution to the problem is found. My Government also feels that Turkey and Greece should assist and encourage the two national communities in Cyprus to find an equitable solution to their problem.

62. It can be stated impartially that basically the Cyprus problem is ripe for solution. The two parties involved in the dispute—the Turkish and the Greek communities—have indeed agreed on a framework which indicates clearly an outline of a future solution.

63. This framework embodies a delicate equilibrium between the two communities in the light of the unfortunate history of the island since the creation of an independent Cyprus. On the other hand, a procedure for negotiation exists in the mandate given by the Security Council to the Secretary-General of the United Nations in its resolution 436 (1978). Whatever the reasons that may still divide the two communities, there is no excuse for delaying the intercommunal talks. Both sides stand to gain much more from negotiations than from rhetorical exchanges and propaganda activities.

64. Before I conclude my remarks, I should like to recall the phrase of a great man of peace, Mahatma Gandhi, who once wrote: "Love is the strongest force the world possesses, and yet it is the humblest imaginable." It is the same belief which led my Government to stress in its programme the following phrase, among others: "... we shall strive to ensure that world peace is based upon human love". I wish that, in accordance with this motto, human love may guide for all times the relations of nations.

65. Mr. AL-SUWEIDI (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to express to you, Sir, my heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your excellent educational qualifications, the high posts you have held in your Government and the enormous experience you have gained throughout your work in the field of foreign policy will undoubtedly provide this session with wise leadership that will effectively contribute towards the attainment of its objectives.

66. It also gives me great pleasure to express on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates our gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who presided over the previous regular session and the

subsequent special sessions with the efficiency and distinction that earned him admiration and respect.

67. My delegation is happy also concerning the admission of Solomon Islands to membership in the United Nations, and, as we extend to it our congratulations on its accession to independence and its admission to membership in the United Nations, we look forward to the day when the universality of our Organization will be realized through the liberation of all territories under colonial rule or foreign occupation and their admission to membership in the United Nations.

68. The United Arab Emirates wishes also to express again its appreciation of and respect for the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to increase the efficiency of our Organization and strengthen its role in solving the problems of our contemporary world, which, failing comprehensive solutions, threaten the peace and security of mankind. We have noted with satisfaction the success of some of the strenuous efforts of the Secretary-General in numerous arenas. Among the most important of those efforts are his confrontation with the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the preliminary action taken by the Security Council towards Namibia's independence and the restoration of real authority to its indigenous population. While the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] clearly reflects the magnitude of the challenges and problems facing the international community, it also draws up in a practical and positive way broad guidelines on how to confront those challenges and mitigate their effects in order to attain a final radical solution of them.

69. In his report the Secretary-General refers to an important and urgent question, namely, the need to replace the struggle for spheres of influence with a more civilized and more representative system of world order in which the nations of the world governed their relations and tackled their common problems with the agreement and participation of all, the weak as well as the strong [*ibid.*, sect. II]. We fully agree with the remarks of the Secretary-General on this matter because we are aware of the effects of the destruction and calamities brought upon many of the third world countries by the struggle among the big Powers for areas of influence.

70. The review of the world situation at both the political and the economic levels since the previous session of the General Assembly is not encouraging at all. At the political level, we note with regret the emergence of some dangerous trends towards reviving some aspects of the cold war. The deterioration of the situation in some areas is due to the lack of real progress in solving a number of dangerous international problems by eradicating their root-causes and to lack of respect for the principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

71. The development of events in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia still causes us the gravest concern. We are fully aware of the danger inherent in the continuation of white-minority rule in those African countries. We have strongly condemned the policy of *apartheid* practised by the racist South African Government. That policy represents a violation of human ideals and rights and a challenge to the United Nations Charter.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1977, document S/12323, paras. 4 and 5.

72. We welcomed the resolution adopted in July by the Security Council that embodied practical measures for the independence of Namibia its resolution 431 (1978). At the same time we called for vigilance and caution and the continuation of international efforts to force the South African régime to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions.

73. Recent events have proved that our fears were justified. As expected, the racist régime in South Africa has announced its decision to hold early elections in Namibia in order to exclude the leading liberation movement—SWAPO—from the region and to establish a régime compatible with its policies and subservient to its interests in Namibia. Thus we notice that the Government of South Africa continues to hinder all efforts made both within the United Nations and outside it to achieve a peaceful solution of this problem.

74. We therefore believe that the Security Council is called upon to adopt firm measures, in accordance with the Charter, against the challenges of the racist régime and its disrespect for the Charter and the relevant Council resolutions, including the one adopted last Friday, resolution 435 (1978). We are all also required to lend all possible assistance to African liberation movements struggling to regain dignity for their peoples and their sovereignty over their homelands.

75. The region of the Middle East, of which we are a part, is still very far from enjoying real peace despite the efforts made both inside and outside the United Nations. My delegation wishes to reaffirm our strong belief in the universally recognized fact that the question of Palestine is the basis and essence of the Middle East question. It is impossible to solve the Arab-Israeli dispute without achieving a comprehensive settlement of the Palestinian question. Consequently we believe that any solution of this problem must be based on two fundamental conditions: first, the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Jerusalem; secondly, recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, especially their right to return and their right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State in their homeland. We also believe that the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate in any endeavour to solve this problem. Such participation is in conformity with the right of self-determination as well as with the principle of the inadmissibility of annexing lands by force. Adherence to these principles is the prerequisite for the achievement of a just and durable peace in our region.

76. We believe that the United Nations is now required to review seriously the developments relating to this question. By so doing, it can adopt new and effective measures to ensure the implementation of its numerous resolutions aimed at the establishment of a just peace in the region. Therefore we support the decision adopted in Belgrade by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries to convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of Palestine [see A/33/206, p. 133].

77. The continuance of the explosive situation in the Middle East threatens not only that region's security and peace but also the security and peace of all mankind. In this

respect, nothing is more indicative than the increase of tension after the brutal Israeli invasion of our sister country Lebanon. We appreciate the efforts made by the Secretary-General and his aides to accelerate the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls for the immediate withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory and the deployment of UNIFIL to ensure the achievement of that withdrawal and the restoration of the legitimate Lebanese authority over its national land. But we believe that that Security Council resolution has not yet been fully implemented, for Israel is still creating obstacles and posing problems concerning the deployment of UNIFIL in the border area of south Lebanon through elements that have no connexion whatsoever with the legitimate Lebanese Government.

78. We believe that because of that dangerous situation the Security Council should adopt all the necessary measures to affirm and strengthen UNIFIL's mandate in securing Israeli withdrawal and turning over all positions to the legitimate Lebanese authority.

79. We have read with deep regret what appears in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization concerning the question of Cyprus. The report clearly states that last year was extremely disappointing in regard to finding a solution to the problem of Cyprus. Faced with that situation, we cannot but endorse the decision adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries at their last meeting in Belgrade, which stressed the need for meaningful and constructive negotiations between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities to be conducted freely and without outside interference so that they can reach a mutually acceptable agreement which would protect the interests of both sides and guarantee the island's territorial integrity [*ibid.*, annex I, para. 74].

80. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, has shown the increasing interest of peoples and Governments of the world in this vital question, which is inherently related to the basic objective for which the United Nations was established, namely, the preservation of international peace and security. For it is not possible any more to continue living in an atmosphere of escalating fear of the possibility of a nuclear war; nor is it possible to ignore the huge resources being wasted on armaments at a time when mankind urgently needs those resources for economic and social development. Although the tenth special session was characterized by the difficulty and complexity of negotiations, we may say that it produced results that could be considered as first steps on the long road leading to general and complete disarmament. The Final Document [resolution S-10/2], arrived at by consensus at that session, sets forth an integrated strategy for disarmament which can serve as a guide for all the efforts made on this subject in the future. The document also provides for the creation of international machinery to deal with all aspects of disarmament. We sincerely hope that the next special session on this subject will be able to achieve more progress in this field, thus paving the way for the convening of a world disarmament conference in which all the States of the world would participate.

81. After it became independent the United Arab Emirates supported the General Assembly resolution on

declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We have also supported all the measures and steps designed to give effect to that declaration.

82. With regard to the international economic situation, there is no diagnosis more comprehensive than that presented by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in his opening address to the second regular session in 1978 of the Economic and Social Council.⁷ In his statement he indicated that the world situation was not encouraging. Although some positive factors occurred last year, the disconcerting results were much more numerous. The concern about the future is characteristic of the current situation.

83. The failure of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation and, subsequently, the failure of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, to find solutions to political and economic problems are reasons for pessimism. The attitude of certain developed countries indicated the lack of a genuine political will to negotiate. We feel, therefore, that the General Assembly at its current session should emphasize the need to push those negotiations forward in order to achieve the desired results.

84. At the current session our Assembly must ensure adequate support for the successful conclusion of the special session it is proposed to convene in 1980 because that session will offer an opportunity to undertake a comprehensive policy analysis based on the results of the international conferences held in previous years, as well as the results of those conferences it is proposed to convene in the future.

85. We believe that co-operation and solidarity among developing countries are among the most important elements leading to the establishment of the new international economic order. The United Arab Emirates has participated actively in development projects of the developing countries, both directly, through its bilateral relations, and through relevant international efforts, especially the Development Fund of the oil-exporting countries and other international and regional funds and institutions. My country also participated actively in the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held last month in Buenos Aires. My country's delegation endorsed all the important recommendations adopted at that Conference. We nurture the hope that the industrial countries will act positively and with goodwill for the implementation of those recommendations.

86. The United Arab Emirates reiterates its resolve to fulfil its obligations towards the international community. It also shares the just positions of the countries of the third world which believe in joint efforts and international co-operation aimed at the establishment of a new international order based on the principles of equality, justice and peace.

87. Mr. CASTILLO-VALDES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for

⁷ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Plenary Meetings, 17th meeting, paras. 7-51.*

me, on behalf of the delegation of Guatemala to congratulate you most cordially on your election to the presidency of the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly. The delegation of Guatemala is convinced that your election to so lofty a post is but the expression of the high value which the international community places on your great merits. We trust that your personal qualities, your experience in international affairs and your devotion to the ideals of the United Nations will be an effective guarantee that this world Assembly will successfully complete the important tasks entrusted to it, and to that end I offer you the complete co-operation of the delegation I lead.

88. My delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation to Mr. Lazar Mojsov for the efficient manner in which he guided the deliberations of the General Assembly during the past year.

89. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to express from this rostrum the appreciation of my Government for the effective, positive, devoted work performed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose dedication to duty, to the United Nations and its objectives, has been recognized by the international community.

90. My delegation greets Solomon Islands on its admission to this Organization and we most warmly welcome this new State to the international community.

91. As the Governments of States Members of this Organization, represented here by high-ranking dignitaries, know, on 1 July last the new Government of Guatemala took office. The President is General Fernando Romeo Lucas García, who was sworn in to uphold the principles of democracy and defend freedom. The main goals set were the effective establishment of order and security on the basis of legality; the enjoyment of social justice, full employment and an equitable distribution of income; the organization of the people; the participation of women in national life; municipal and regional development; the national use, increase and conservation of renewable natural resources. These goals were set with a view to accelerating the balanced, integrated and harmonious development of the people of Guatemala.

92. The Government of Guatemala is deeply devoted to Central America. Accordingly, we maintain and cultivate brotherly relations of co-operation and solidarity with the other Governments and peoples of the area which constitute the Central American community, by proposing and supporting ways and means which may produce a total convergence of our aspirations so that in the future we may be able to re-establish the Great Motherland.

93. Within the region, the Government of Guatemala is making efforts to reactivate the integration process in Central America. The scheme needs to be given fresh life so that its results will be to the benefit of all Central Americans.

94. I shall now refer to some items on our agenda, first to state in general terms the thinking of my country in the fields of international politics and economics and to define

the position of my Government in relation to both as a contribution to the work of this Assembly.

95. One of the basic principles of the international policy of the Government of Guatemala is to give full effect to universally recognized human rights, as well as to respect and guarantee their exercise. In my country, human rights are enshrined in the Constitution of the Republic itself and are part of the internal legal order of the country.

96. Obviously, at present the world is going through a delicate period in its history, characterized by a deterioration in human values, inflation, the alienation of sectors of the population, the constant impoverishment of large masses, the lack of satisfactory means of meeting their material and spiritual needs, sectarian intransigence and political intolerance.

97. Given that picture, the Government of Guatemala turns to this world forum with faith in the purposes and principles of the United Nations, aware that the attainment of its ideals continues to be the greatest commitment of and the optimum solution for our generation, in view of the challenge presented by tensions, injustice and international imbalances.

98. Recognizing that universal respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is one of the primary objectives of the United Nations, and aware that those rights and freedoms are the subject of universal interest and concern, my Government offers its full co-operation in order that their observance and enjoyment may become a living reality.

99. If we are to make use of the enormous contribution of the United Nations, which proclaims the rules regarding human rights in terms of aspirations and guarantees, in terms of principles of political freedoms and economic and social justice, all Member States must apply those rules and respect the exercise of those rights by their citizens.

100. In conformity with that philosophy, in 1948 my Government approved the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as well as the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man. Recently we ratified a regional instrument of far-reaching importance in this field, the American Convention on Human Rights,⁸ which is known as the Pact of San José because it was signed in the capital of the sister Republic of Costa Rica. That instrument creates two bodies of great importance for the protection of human rights: one, the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights and, the other, the Inter-American Court on Human Rights. That is to say, there is not only a body for political monitoring but another for jurisdictional monitoring.

Mr. Creja Aguirre (Spain), Vice-President, took the Chair.

101. In this very Organization, the Government of Guatemala has for some years now been supporting the idea of establishing the post of ombudsman or High Commissioner for Human Rights to ensure their enjoyment throughout the world.

⁸ *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica"*, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

102. My Government wishes to guarantee Guatemalans conditions for a life of dignity that will enable them to develop and improve within a framework of legality and freedom so that all may enjoy the effective protection of good health, decent housing, broad social security coverage, access to all levels of education and the enjoyment of dignified working conditions—in a word, social justice. Thus our attitude of respect for human rights has always been consistent, both internally and internationally.

103. The present Government of Guatemala believes it essential to introduce a profound change in the approach to human rights so as to do away with any vestige of political or ideological intentions which so often distort and thwart the very impartiality on which they should be based. The Government of Guatemala wishes to place on record in this Assembly its deep respect for human rights and its firm support for the signature of international instruments that would make them universally applicable.

104. My Government is highly sympathetic to and is most pleased with the initiative of the Government of Costa Rica to the effect that the United Nations should decide to establish a peace university [see 11th meeting, paras. 106-122], and in this world forum we place on record our firm support for the location of that centre for higher studies in that sister nation.

105. There is no doubt that an institution of that kind, the fundamental purpose of which is to create an awareness of one of the highest values of human coexistence—the establishment of world peace—will be widely acclaimed and will enjoy the blessings of all Member States. My Government fully supports the praiseworthy proposal of the Government of Costa Rica to establish, within the United Nations framework, such a centre for study and research, designed to educate people for peace, which is the noblest objective of mankind.

106. The Government of Guatemala considers that terrorist acts which affect innocent victims are also—quite apart from the motives which lead to them—an intolerable form of violation of human rights. So far the United Nations has not been able to establish effective procedures to solve this grave problem.

107. For several years the General Assembly has been dealing with the issue of international terrorism and the means to combat it. However, at the outset amendments were submitted to the very wording of the item in an effort, even before the debate began, to introduce the concept that the system of terror could be considered as a plausible political instrument. In my Government's view, that not only is unacceptable, but has prevented this Organization from taking any practical action against international terrorism.

108. Actually, the only effort to deal with this problem, which is of such vital importance, has been an almost academic debate on its definition and causes, as well as various procedural debates which have prevented an in-depth energetic consideration of the subject. The problem has not existed in this world Organization alone, since the highest regional American organization—the Organization of American States [OAS]—has been unable to make

progress towards the signature of an international instrument against terrorism, despite the gravity of this complex, multifaceted problem.

109. The delegation of Guatemala considers that, in view of the difficulties in the way of signing a world convention to control international terrorism in all its forms, including its underlying causes, it would be advisable, without prejudice to continued efforts at attaining this objective, to seek partial solutions designed to protect innocent victims, through the signing of instruments regulating specific aspects within the vast complexity of the subject of international terrorism. For that reason my delegation supports the extension of the mandate of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, set up by the Sixth Committee [resolution 32/148] at the initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany.

110. The delegation of Guatemala wishes to make it quite clear that respect for international law, which traditionally has prevailed in my country, makes us vigorously reject the claim that might is right or that extortion and indiscriminate violence can be acceptable instruments in international law.

111. A few days ago, here at the United Nations, the resumed seventh regular session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea adjourned, leaving unresolved matters of great importance to all nations of the world.

112. Guatemala, like many developing countries, has a special interest in the elaboration of an adequately structured world convention of the law of the sea in as complete a form as possible. My delegation believes that the convention should reflect the just position of the developing countries, whose basic concept is the sovereignty of the coastal State over all resources in its exclusive economic zone extending to 200 nautical miles measured from the baseline from which the breadth of the territorial sea is measured.

113. My country also subscribes to the principle, regarding the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, that the natural resources existing therein are the common heritage of mankind and that, therefore, there must be an equitable distribution of the benefits to be derived from them. We also maintain that the international régime and machinery in connexion with the sea-bed must have sufficient and exclusive control powers over the exploration and exploitation of those resources.

114. As regards the problem of the reunification of Korea, the Government of Guatemala believes that the most desirable way to achieve a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula, is by a resumption of the dialogue between South and North Korea that has been broken off, so that by means of direct negotiations between the parties a solution to that conflict may be found.

115. It is undeniable that the world economy has in recent years experienced a series of grave crises which have had serious effects, especially in the developing countries

because of their greater vulnerability in general to external economic shocks.

116. The developing countries have become a powerful factor and their influence is being felt in all spheres of international activity. This irreversible change in the balance of power in the world makes it necessary to have the active, full participation, on a footing of equality, of the developing countries in the formulation and implementation of all decisions which are of interest to the international community.

117. A few years ago the General Assembly adopted the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], which declares that a fundamental objective is to promote the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems. To that end it is necessary to make international economic relations more rational and equitable, to promote structural changes in the world economy, to create conditions which will permit a greater expansion of trade and the intensification of economic co-operation among all nations, to strengthen the economic independence of the developing countries and to establish and further international economic relations, bearing in mind the recognized differences in development among the developing countries and their specific needs.

118. Efforts at a global transformation of the international economy are still far from attaining their eventual goal. In the various forums in which the main items of the international economy are being discussed no significant advance has been made.

119. The Government of Guatemala will continue to co-operate constructively in the various forums in efforts to arrive at global solutions by means of negotiation and concerted positions so that in all the existing machinery or any that may be established favourable treatment will be given to the developing economies. At the same time we advocate the opening up of markets and the correction of protectionist policies in developed countries, the horizontal and vertical expansion of preferences for developing countries, as well as the elimination of tariff and non-tariff barriers which, to the detriment of those countries, militate against a balanced expansion of the world economy.

120. Last month at Buenos Aires the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries was held with the purpose of creating a structure of multiple links among those countries and of devising mechanisms for genuine co-operation and linkage in the developing world.

121. Obviously, to lend support to the process of technical co-operation among developing countries, it would be necessary to introduce changes in the content and the flow of traditional technical co-operation, in the conviction that technical co-operation among developing countries should not exempt the industrialized countries from fulfilling their responsibilities to the developing world. On the contrary those countries should substantially increase their contri-

bution to development and to bringing about structural changes in the international system.

122. My Government holds the view that in the developing countries there is broad and varied know-how in various areas, experience and ability that could be placed at the service of development. Furthermore, the respective national institutions should be encouraged to realize that self-help and a complete awareness of their own capabilities is essential for the success of technical co-operation among developing countries.

123. Guatemala wishes to emphasize the far-reaching role which regional efforts can and must play in technical co-operation within the region as well as with other developing regions.

124. Latin America is placed in a situation of intermediate development with special characteristics, since its main economic and social indicators and the rate of growth of the economy of the countries of the region are usually higher than the average in the developing countries. Our Latin American region has maintained economic relations with the developed countries for a long while and lately by means of mechanisms for integration we have also begun to undertake intraregional economic activities in addition to the historical relations of the continent. In view of these circumstances the Latin American region is in a position to contribute to a greater understanding at the world level among the various developing areas.

125. My Government has every intention of participating in efforts aimed at giving impetus to technical co-operation among developing countries, as we are aware that this is a historical imperative deriving from the need for a new international economic order.

126. It is obvious that the conditions in which international trade is carried out are unfair. Thus any structural change must start with the basic premise that present marketing mechanisms are defective and distorted. For a basic restructuring of the patterns of international trade, there must be more careful planning at the international level. The delegation of Guatemala considers that this problem must be viewed in a far broader perspective than that of the usual discussion in terms of tariffs and quotas on individual products.

127. Among the most serious problems which affect international trade is the fluctuation in prices of raw materials and the constant deterioration of the terms of trade for countries producing primary goods. Therefore what is needed is specific action so that when better conditions are negotiated in international trade there will be protection against violence and progressive fluctuations.

128. It is a certain fact that the present marketing structures make it impossible for the countries of the third world to obtain a just price for their exports. Therefore among other measures it is desirable to organize associations of raw-materials suppliers so as to counteract the vast concentration of negotiating power on the demand side.

129. The Government of Guatemala has fully supported within this context the work of the UNCTAD *Ad Hoc*

Intergovernmental Committee for the Integrated Programme for Commodities, and fully supports the establishment of a common fund within UNCTAD and regrets that the negotiating conference on that subject that was held last year—in the United Nations⁹ was unable to take any concrete decision on the subject, despite the justness of its objectives, such as the establishment and maintenance of prices for commodities at levels that are equitable for consumers and remunerative for producers; the reduction of excessive fluctuation of prices of commodities and in the volume of trade; security of access to markets and to suppliers; expansion of the processing of primary products; improvement in competition and restructuring and rationalization of the marketing and distribution system.

130. My delegation wishes also to refer to the multilateral trade negotiations held within the framework of GATT. The question regarding the reform of the international institution where world trade is developed appears as one of the means established by the Tokyo Declaration¹⁰ to achieve the growing expansion and liberalization of world trade, as well as raising the standard of living and well-being of mankind.

131. The Declaration has the merit of recognizing the special problems encountered by developing countries in their participation in world trade, and contains a series of commitments intended to solve their problems by reform in the legal framework in which world trade is carried out, making it more effective and equitable for developing countries.

132. Multilateral trade negotiations are of primary importance for the developing countries, given the task of bringing up to date and revising the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade so that it takes into account their special situation by granting more favourable treatment.

133. The multilateral trade negotiations are about to come to an end, and it will be obvious that the industrialized countries have not accepted in their entirety the principles of the Tokyo Declaration on a different and more favourable treatment for the developing countries.

134. Quantitative restrictions still remain, as do surcharges, tariff and non-tariff barriers, and agreements on products which, in their modalities, restrict the natural progression of imports to the detriment of the trade interests of the developing countries.

135. In brief, it would seem that so far, the developed countries are not convinced that the economic growth of the developing countries constitutes an objective of common interest to all contracting parties.

136. My Government has actively participated in the multilateral trade negotiations in GATT, and will continue to make its contribution so that, in so far as possible,

⁹ The first and second parts of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities were held in Geneva from 7 March to 2 April and from 7 November to 1 December 1977, respectively.

¹⁰ Declaration of 14 September 1973 approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.

changes may come about both in the liberalization of trade and in the legal régime that governs it.

137. My delegation wishes to refer to the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, which is scheduled to be held next year in Vienna.

138. During the First United Nations Decade for Development, it was obvious that science and technology were not able to satisfy the hope of providing the developing countries with the means of improving their social and economic condition. During the first half of that Decade, there was a plan here at the United Nations to convene the United Nations Conference on the Application of Science and Technology for the Benefit of the Less Developed Areas,¹¹ but even when we succeeded in creating an awareness of the importance of science and technology in the development process the political will to carry this out was missing. This is why the Government of Guatemala attaches great importance to the world conference to be held on this subject. We optimistically hope that it will establish the mechanisms for the transfer of know-how as well as for promoting local technologies and improving the capability of the developing countries to adapt imported technology.

139. Last year, the General Assembly established the Commission on Human Settlements [see resolution 32/162 II] so as to assist countries and regions to increase and improve their own efforts to solve the problems of human settlements, as well as promoting greater international co-operation, in order to increase the resources to be made available to developing countries and regions.

140. It is obvious that this is a problem that affects many nations, and several international organizations are carrying out activities related to human settlements.

141. My country is a member of the Commission on Human Settlements, to which we attach much importance, and we are prepared to co-operate fully so that that Commission will formulate and promote policy objectives, priorities and guidelines regarding existing and future work programmes in the sphere of human settlements, in accordance with the recommendations adopted by Habitat.¹²

142. On the occasion of the earthquake of 4 February 1976 which Guatemala suffered, the problem of human settlements acquired greater urgency. Therefore, my Government is making every possible effort to increase the building of decent housing to meet the needs of the population most gravely affected by that catastrophe. Undoubtedly, international co-operation in this field is very significant for my country, within the global framework of reconstruction of the areas damaged by that seismic movement.

143. Within this context, my Government considers that the Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements, 1976,¹³

¹¹ Held in Geneva from 4 to 20 February 1963.

¹² See *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7 and corrigendum).

¹³ *Ibid.*, chap. I.

is most important, as are the existing programmes of international co-operation, which constitute an instrument to open up new horizons so as to guide national and international action more effectively and with greater impetus to solve the problems of Habitat.

144. It has been recognized with a growing sense of urgency in recent years that mankind is not interested in protecting the environment in which human beings live.

145. My country participated in the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, held in Stockholm in June 1972, when the Declaration¹⁴ was adopted which affirmed that nations are responsible for ensuring that their activities cause no damage to the environment of other countries and that they must co-operate in developing international law regarding liability and indemnity for pollution and other damage caused to the environment beyond their frontiers. It also pointed out that environmental policies must promote, and not adversely affect, the potential development of the developing countries.

146. My Government attaches special importance to environmental matters. Nationally we have a committee for the conservation and improvement of the environment, which has technical advisory committees. My Government, which is a member of the Governing Council of UNEP, will continue to co-operate in this field at the international level.

147. It is a fact that some nations have been affected by the continuous looting of their archaeological treasures and of their cultural heritage in general. My country is one of those affected, since several relics inherited from our forefathers have been illegally removed from our national territory. It is a fact that these archaeological relics constitute the testimony of a history, a culture and a civilization such as the Mayan civilization, whose spirit is perpetuated and renewed in them.

148. The endless speculation which goes on today in connexion with the prices paid for works of art inspires dealers and looters to use all possible means to appropriate artistic and archaeological treasures from the countries to which they belong.

149. The return of cultural goods to the countries which have lost them continues to raise specific problems which neither concerted agreement nor spontaneous action has been able to solve, so that it has become necessary to deal with this matter on a global basis. Recently the Director-General of UNESCO appealed to the international press to try to arouse a wide and strong movement of public opinion throughout the world to encourage respect for works of art to be expressed by the return of these works of art to their countries of origin whenever necessary.

150. My Government believes that the restitution of a work of art, a document or an archaeological treasure to the country to which it belongs helps a people to recover part of its memory and of its identity, and is proof of the value which mankind attaches to these treasures, which represent the history of the world.

¹⁴ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.A.14), chap. I.

151. My delegation believes that the United Nations, through one of its specialized agencies, such as UNESCO, can do much to develop a world conscience, so that archaeological treasures may be restored to their countries of origin. Nationally, my Government will continue to make every effort to recover its archaeological heritage, which constitutes our history and which is part of the cultural patrimony of its people.

152. I shall now refer to a matter which is of vital importance for my country, that is, the question of the territory of Belize, which is illegally occupied by the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland.

153. Despite the fact that on repeated occasions different representatives of my country have detailed the legal, historical, geographical, political and moral arguments substantiating the legitimate rights of Guatemala over the territory of Belize, I deem it appropriate, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the new Government of Guatemala, to refer once again specifically to the background of this problem. At the same time, I wish to insist once again that the case of Belize cannot be resolved through the regular decolonization process, because this is a matter of a territory subject to a century-old claim. That is why the inter-American system has excluded it from that procedure, as it has the other territories which are the subject of dispute between American Republics and extra-continental Powers. I also wish to reiterate that the United Nations lacks competence to intervene in a dispute which is subject to the procedure of direct negotiations between two sovereign States, Guatemala and the United Kingdom. Therefore, since the dispute is now subject to a legal procedure advocated in the Charter of the United Nations itself, it is in no way fitting that the General Assembly should dictate guidelines for a political solution.

154. It is also vital for my delegation to clarify many distorted allegations of the truth in relation to this problem, since some delegations in past years have made Guatemala appear in this Assembly to be a nation with expansionist aims. Yet others have forged the theory that the claim of Guatemala to Belize, although it is legitimate, should be subject to principles which are still under discussion in the doctrine of international law, and attempts are made to give preferential validity to this over certain definite rights. Attempts are thus made to reduce the matter to a question of indemnity by remuneration, as though the legitimate rights of a country over its territory can be the subject of financial or pecuniary terms.

155. From the discovery of the new world and during the three centuries of Spanish colonization, Spain's possessions in America were constantly attacked by other European Powers, sometimes openly in acts of war, at other times by marauders, corsairs, buccaneers and pirates who made a hunting ground of Spanish America, and particularly of the Caribbean Sea.

156. It is in these latter activities that we find the origins of the British establishment on the coasts of Guatemala. Some of those seamen found it easier to devote themselves to the illegal extraction of wood, logwood, mahogany and cedar, abandoned the risks of the hunt and settled down in the Belize region. These clandestine operations were pro-

ted by distance and by the special configuration of the coasts in the area, whose reefs and chains of keys and islets made them a good refuge.

157. Spain and its governors in America constantly attempted to expel the plundering intruders, but the nation, weakened by the great endeavour of colonization in America and bled white by constant wars, was eventually constrained to seek a logical settlement by means of the peace treaties of 1783 and 1786. Those treaties authorized the presence of British subjects in the Belize region but only for the purpose of cutting timber in a very limited, clearly defined area, with an express prohibition against erecting permanent establishments or fortifications, and with express recognition by Great Britain that sovereignty in the zone granted for specific use belonged clearly and categorically to Spain. All the rest that has been said about battles and deeds of war is pure legend and fables woven around the conspiracy of certain Belize political groups who are trying to deprive Guatemala of part of its territory.

158. When independence was proclaimed in 1821 within the context of the ancient kingdom of Guatemala and the United Provinces of Central America were constituted by virtue of the legal principle of *uti possidetis*, which was universally recognized as determining boundaries in the new States of Spanish America, the United Provinces succeeded Spain in its sovereignty over the region of the isthmus and there was a concomitant rash of usurpation and occupation. Almost all of the Caribbean coast of Central America was occupied by vanguards of British imperialism: Belize in Guatemala, the Bahia Islands in Honduras, and Mosquitia at the mouth of the San Juan River in Nicaragua all represented British attempts to transform Central America into yet another colony. The men of Central American nationality persevered patriotically and gradually expelled the invaders, sometimes by means of diplomacy and at other times by force, until the point we have reached today when the last stronghold of the British presence in Central America is Belize.

159. Since the day of independence Guatemala began to suffer the harassment of the British in Belize, and we also began consistently and tenaciously to fight for the return of the territory. The authorities of the so-called Establishment of the Bay of Honduras, or Belize, constantly threatened Guatemala, not only because of the attempts of that country to recover its territory, but also because Guatemalan law considered any man who entered its domain as a free man. That was why the slaves brought to Belize by the loggers, most of whom came from Trinidad and Jamaica, found secure protection in Guatemala. While they were treated by the British as savages and fugitives, and branded with fire by the ignominious symbol of the *carimba*, or branding iron, in Guatemala they were free men who fully recovered the right to be treated as such. This gave rise to indignant actions and even to intimidation by the British naval forces, which demanded return or indemnity. Guatemala did not accede to any of this.

160. To this must be added the very serious fact that territorial usurpation continued. The English were not satisfied with occupying and exploiting the region designated for their specific use in the treaties with Spain; they carried their depredation further and, aided by their

superior power, penetrated by force of arms fresh areas of Guatemalan territory. Through the east of Belize they entered Petén, and from the south they reached the Sarstun River. The Guatemalan population and the vast majority of indigenous groups such as the Kekchies and Mopanés were expelled or enslaved, as were the local Guatemalan authorities. Even to this day we find vestiges of this treatment in Belize, where indigenous groups which have succeeded in surviving exploitation are constrained to live in limited zones which are officially called Reservations.

161. The democratic actions undertaken by Guatemala, a new and weak nation, both to recover its occupied territory and to put an end to new deprivations were viewed with disdain by Great Britain. Our diplomatic archives are full of tales and records of the affronts and humiliations which our envoys suffered.

162. In the middle of the last century the United States of America began to acquire the rank of a great Power and also set its sights on the Central American isthmus. Transportation to the gold mines of California, which had just been acquired, was routed through Nicaragua. The possibility of building a canal in some part of Central America generated acute rivalry between the United States and Great Britain, each of which fought for the sole right to exploit us. The conflict was resolved in 1850 by the signing of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, whereby England and the United States undertook, vis-à-vis each other, not to acquire possessions or colonies in Central America. It was also agreed that any canal to be built would be neutral and open to navigation by all Powers. This instrument, *res inter alios acta* for all Central American nations, in a certain indirect way led to the withdrawal of Great Britain from some of the regions which it had occupied in Central America and to the gradual disappearance of the absurd Kingdom of Mosquitia which had been established by England on the Atlantic coast of Nicaragua.

163. But Great Britain did not leave Belize and compelled Guatemala to sign the 1859 Convention.¹⁵ This instrument is not only a violation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; it is also a typical example of a covenant between two parties who are unequal in force. Guatemala agreed to cede territory under a transparent disguise of a boundaries convention as the only way to contain English advances because our Caribbean coastline was rapidly disappearing. Furthermore, this Convention included an indemnity clause which consisted of a British commitment to build a highway towards the narrow part of the Caribbean beaches which Guatemala still owned. It believed that the latter would at least comply with its obligations.

164. The United Kingdom obstinately refused to comply with the indemnity clause to which it had subscribed. Guatemala took action and constantly and repeatedly submitted requests to the British Government for compliance with what had been solemnly agreed upon. All was in vain. On the contrary, in a singularly cavalier manner

Great Britain not only proclaimed itself, as it still does, in legitimate possession of the regions that it exploited under the precarious right of specific use in accordance with the treaties with the Spanish crown, but also claimed new and extensive areas over which it had never had any title and which it had taken away from the Republic of Guatemala.

165. This accumulation of circumstances led to my country's declaring that the 1859 Convention had lapsed because of non-compliance by one of the parties. We had no other choice. Out of necessity we reached the conclusion that if the indemnity clause had no effect for Great Britain then neither did the clause on the boundaries of the territories have any effect for Guatemala. The entire treaty then lapsed as was recognized many years ago in London by British officials. This enabled Guatemala to maintain firmly, as it always has done and will continue to do, its claims for the recovery of the territory which was seized from us.

166. Nevertheless, the Government of Guatemala has always been ready to resolve the matter in the best manner possible, and to this end it put forward various proposals which repeatedly met with the barrier of British inflexibility or manoeuvring. After various attempts at a direct settlement, arbitration was proposed, but London did not approve the candidate for arbitrator. Then there was a proposal to bring the problem before the International Court of Justice, but the United Kingdom insisted that that lofty tribunal consider the case *stricto jure* as against the Guatemalan request to apply the procedure *ex aequo et bono*, so as to make it possible for the judges to learn the historical, legal and moral circumstances which had been decisive in this question. After many diplomatic initiatives, it was later agreed that there the United States of America would act as mediator, and once again the British put up opposition, this time to the proposals of the mediator. Lastly, for the past three years we have been committed to direct negotiations, in conformity with Article 33 of the United Nations Charter, and we trust that by this means we shall soon be able to arrive at a final settlement. Naturally that can only happen if the process is not disturbed by persistent interference and if the craftiness of the other side does not render null and void the desire to reach agreement which has been shown. That side can give the best proof of its sincerity by adopting an understanding and a flexible position.

167. I have set forth very briefly the background and present status of this historical territorial claim. I have also demonstrated that the territory of Belize is an integral part of the national Guatemalan territory. All of this compels me vehemently to reject any hint that my country has any expansionist or colonialist intentions. As has been rightly said in this forum by one eminent representative, Guatemala has no imperialist tradition; all it wishes is to recover part of its territory, which belongs to it in accordance with unquestionable legal titles and obvious social facts and realities.

168. Guatemala was one of the 89 countries which voted to adopt the historic resolution 1514 (XV), containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. In so doing, we placed clearly and unequivocally on record that the Declaration, in accordance

¹⁵ Convention between Great Britain and Guatemala, relative to the Boundary of British Honduras, signed at Guatemala City on 30 April 1859. See *British and Foreign State Papers, 1858-1859*, vol. XLIX (London, William Ridgway, 1867), pp. 7-13.

with the provisions of paragraph 6, was not applicable to the age-old dispute over Belize, since it expresses in categorical terms that:

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

169. At the meeting of the General Assembly on 14 December 1960, Mr. Palar of Indonesia explained that his delegation was one of the delegations which has proposed paragraph 6—which I have just quoted—and that he considered that the situation of the territory "which the Guatemalan delegation had in mind [*has*] been taken into consideration in paragraph 6".¹⁶ At that time Indonesia was claiming its rights over West Irian, which it considered to be an integral part of its territory and which was later restored to it.

170. It is fitting to recall that the Goa enclave was also incorporated into the sovereign possessions of India, which considered it an integral part of its territory.

171. There is no doubt that the principle of self-determination cannot be extended to the point where it causes the territorial dismemberment of a State; this would be contrary to the fundamental right of existence of the State and of its own integrity.

172. Obviously, many delegations supported the resolutions on the case of Belize adopted by the General Assembly in the years 1975, 1976 and 1977, prompted by deep feelings, since they represented peoples which had had to fight and to shed their blood to free themselves from colonialism.

173. My Government wishes to appeal to the delegations here present to meditate very seriously over the Belize problem and understand that my country cannot recognize as binding or constituent any resolutions which exceed the competence of any political organ, such as the General Assembly.

174. Representatives should also give thought to the designs of the colonialist Power, which apparently incites foolhardy movements to precipitate a declaration of independence in Belize, even though this runs counter to the procedure which this same Power has proclaimed as legal and viable for the attainment of that objective. In this respect I must reiterate that Guatemala clearly, definitely and categorically opposes a sudden or unilaterally granted independence for Belize, as well as any act aimed at transforming the status of Belize behind Guatemala's back; we also oppose any attempt to circumscribe, limit or disturb the framework of the negotiations taking place between Guatemala and Great Britain, with the participation of the Government and the people of Belize, to settle the territorial dispute.

175. In connexion with this matter, it is fitting to recall what the representative of Congo (Leopoldville) said in this Assembly more than 15 years ago:

"In obedience to the wave of new ideas, they [the colonialists] intend to 'decolonize' at any cost, as if to ease their consciences. But Africa remains vigilant and refuses to be taken in by the pedlars of good intentions."¹⁷

176. The Head of State of Ghana at the same Assembly in 1960 said that:

"... something has happened ... which has justified the constant warning to the African countries to be on their guard against what I call 'clientele-sovereignty', or fake independence, granted by the metropolitan Power, with the concealed intention of making the liberated country a 'client-state' and controlling it effectively by means other than political ones."¹⁸

177. I should like to ask this Assembly whether there is any Government which, in compliance with the principle of self-determination, is prepared to accept the claim of a tribe, population clusters, ethnic group or minority which, taking refuge in this principle, wants to remove a good part of its territory, as is the case with part of Guatemalan territory which they intend to separate from Guatemala, on the basis of a convenient interpretation of the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

178. Guatemala has fully shown its willingness to have this matter solved by means of negotiations so as to arrive at a just and equitable settlement of its historic territorial claim of more than a century. Being in favour of peaceful solutions to settle international disputes in accordance with international law, we have held uninterrupted talks with the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland aimed at ending this dispute.

179. In the same spirit, the Government of Guatemala is prepared to continue those negotiations so as to find an equitable, honourable, peaceful and negotiated solution to this dispute without undermining the rights of Guatemala and taking into account the vital interests of the people of Belize.

180. We, the Guatemalans, are able to offer every kind of guarantee and security to the people of Belize, who will always find among us a brotherly willingness to arrive at fruitful and constructive coexistence. Destiny has linked us to strengthen a development we can carry out jointly, overcoming any obstacle that might bar our way. However strong the factors that might divide us, our will to achieve mutual understanding will be more powerful and more resolute.

181. I wish to express my Government's hope that the work of the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly will be crowned with successful results compatible with the aspirations of the peoples of all the world.

182. I believe the United Nations must devote its best efforts to maintaining the new international spirit so as to build a new era of solidarity and co-operation for the benefit of our peoples.

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session (Part I), Plenary Meetings, 947th meeting, paras. 10.*

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 925th meeting, para. 60.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 869th meeting, para. 15.

183. Mr. NIASSE (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, in speaking for the first time before this Assembly I am happy first of all to extend, through you, Sir, the warmest congratulations of the delegation of Senegal to Mr. Liévano on his brilliant election to the post of President of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. This election is an eloquent tribute and testimony of the confidence he has always inspired in his peers. It is evidence of the high esteem in which they all hold him, and at the same time it is a deserved tribute to his country. I assure him that, as always, my delegation will make its full contribution to his exercise of his high functions.

184. May I be permitted on behalf of my country to extend congratulations also to all the Vice-Presidents of this Assembly.

185. My delegation likewise addresses its sincere thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, whose talents as a diplomat and statesman made possible the successful conduct of the work of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly and the special sessions devoted to Lebanon, Namibia and disarmament.

186. On behalf of my country and its President, I also congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose experience, wisdom and excellent knowledge of international relations have on more than one occasion and for many years made it possible for the United Nations to avoid so many of the reefs and shoals that dot the course of international life at the present time.

187. Mankind—and this has been emphasized on a number of occasions in this hall—is going through a crucial stage in its existence and is agonizingly questioning itself about its own destiny. Scientific, technical and technological progress, which may have, and should have, contributed to its liberation, are, on the contrary, unfortunately threatening to put a final end to the human adventure itself. As a result of the progress made in means of communication of all kinds, this world has become truly one, while the mastery of the atom and the unprecedented accumulation of weapons of mass destruction may at any moment bring about the apocalypse.

188. The bitter truth is that the scientific, technical and technological progress, to which I referred a moment ago, is, unfortunately, not accompanied by any equivalent progress in the ethical field. Of course, today man is the master and owner of nature, but his intimate being—that is, his psychology and mentality as well as his reflexes and appetites—has remained fundamentally the same, and in this respect *homo sapiens* of today is little different from his most ancient forebears.

189. Even so, there is no reason to plunge into pessimism and despair, for the responsibilities of statesmen, diplomats and scholars are rendered all the more real today because they make them more conscious of the efforts expected of them to provide mankind with salvation, to which all the peoples of the world today aspire. Indeed, the fate of mankind depends very largely upon them and also and especially upon the capacity of the United Nations to intervene successfully in the constant search for equitable

solutions to the grave economic and cultural problems our world is facing. This capacity to intervene in turn depends upon the will of States, and especially of the great Powers, which are, and let us never forget this, the very founders of our Organization, but whose positive action in favour of international peace and security is frequently hampered, slowed and compromised by great-Power selfishness and a narrow view of what their economic and military security should be, or, unfortunately and more seriously, by hegemonic struggles for the conquest of new spheres of influence or the maintenance of earlier principles—in other words, in the final analysis, by a policy that is not especially oriented towards the continuing search for solutions to the numerous extremely painful economic and political problems of our time.

190. These unresolved problems in turn exacerbate the tensions between the great Powers and so, through the interplay of alliances, run the risk of delivering the whole of mankind to the demons of nuclear war in a holocaust.

191. Among these unresolved problems I should like on behalf of my country to refer to the situation in southern Africa and that prevailing in the Middle East and Cyprus, and I shall also, of course, be speaking of disarmament as well as the new international economic order.

192. In southern Africa, the situation in Namibia, in South Africa itself and in Zimbabwe continues to engage the full attention of the Government of Senegal.

193. As regards more specifically Namibia, the Government of Senegal has already had occasion at the last series of meetings of the Security Council devoted to that country to express its views¹⁹ concerning the way in which that problem was developing, without concealing in any way its concerns for the future.

194. Senegal, as everyone is aware, welcomed at the time the Luanda Agreement,²⁰ which was the result of long efforts aimed at putting an end to a situation that had been condemned on so many occasions by the whole of the international community at this very rostrum.

195. We understand and admit the imperfect nature of the Luanda Agreement—what man-made agreement is perfect?—which was the result of a compromise; but that compromise, in our view, was meant to be a dynamic one leading to the total independence, without any territorial amputation, of Namibia. Today—thanks to the five Western members of the United Nations contact group, whose spirit of initiative in getting the Namibian problem out of a rut I wish to salute—the initiative is with the United Nations, and that is a legitimate reason for hope. The United Nations must be aware of the fact that the credibility of the Organization is once again totally committed in the Namibian affair and that world opinion is carefully observing the outcome of the various decisions adopted by the Security Council on this important question.

196. The demands of SWAPO, which as far as we are concerned—and we wish to state this most solemnly—is the

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, 2082nd meeting.*

²⁰ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12775.*

only authentic representative of the Namibian people, are in conformity with common sense and the principle of territorial integrity, because, of course, Namibia deprived of Walvis Bay would not be viable—and South Africa knows that full well—and would, in spite of all the efforts of the international community, be a country that had gained its independence but was condemned to die of asphyxiation.

197. But, for the Namibian people to be able to express its point of view freely, it is essential that the necessary conditions of security exist. In this respect, as was recalled by our Special Representative at the last meeting of the Security Council devoted to the Namibian problem:

“The United Nations must demonstrate that it can discharge important and complex functions in helping Namibia to organize elections and accede to independence. However, free elections cannot take place where there is repression or under conditions of insecurity and intimidation. The international community must insist that all necessary steps be taken to ensure respect for law and order and guarantee general security throughout the Territory.”²¹

In this precise context we support the measures contemplated by our Organization to ensure that elections may be held democratically. It is for this reason that we solemnly condemn South Africa's decision to precipitate events by trying to organize so-called electoral consultations.

198. As regards South Africa itself, the United Nations has frequently confirmed the legitimacy of the struggle carried on by the overwhelming majority of the population of that country in order to found a society which will no longer be governed by the system of *apartheid* but will develop on the basis of the strict equality of all the citizens, in justice, peace, freedom and solidarity.

199. The World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos, Nigeria, in August 1977, showed that the international community was unanimous in its unrelenting opposition to *apartheid*. In that context, the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] took full effect shortly after the tragic events of Soweto and has been ratified by more than 40 States. In November 1977 the Security Council, by its unprecedented resolution 418 (1977), decreed an embargo on the supply of weapons to South Africa under the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. This is an opportunity for me to pay a lively tribute to the Special Committee against *Apartheid* for the paramount role that it has played in the international campaign against that scourge. Unfortunately, the South African Government, ignoring, or seeming to ignore, the repeated appeals of the international community, intends to continue its policy of establishing bantustans and generally intensifying repressive measures. The numerous arrests, detentions, acts of torture and trials of all kinds in these past few months are yet more evidence of the fact that the tensions and the conflicts would only continue to increase in that country unless the necessary measures were adopted by the international community—and this from solidarity with the overwhelming majority of

the people of South Africa. It is therefore urgent for all countries fully to implement fully all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations adopted here within the framework of the struggle against *apartheid*.

200. The United Nations Security Council, pursuant to its resolutions, must, as we see it, ensure that all forms of military co-operation with the racist Pretoria régime are ended. Pursuant to the decision adopted by the non-aligned movement at Belgrade [see A/33/206, annex I, para. 95], my country is hereby appealing to the Security Council for the effective application of concrete economic sanctions against South Africa. It will be recalled that at its thirty-second session the General Assembly adopted a resolution along those lines [resolution 32/105 F], which was strongly supported by my country, Senegal.

201. The World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination developed a Programme of Action [see A/33/262, sect. III] to promote justice, equity and human dignity in South Africa. We welcome the tangible results of that Conference. It is reasonable to expect that the Programme of Action which was adopted will lead to tangible progress in the struggle of the peoples which love justice and peace for the triumph of world peace and the freedom of the peoples.

202. *Apartheid* and racial discrimination are and will always be an insult to the human conscience and the dignity of all peoples; their elimination is indispensable to the establishment of international peace and security.

203. In the case of Zimbabwe, Senegal's position is identical to that expressed by free Africa at the last summit meeting in Khartoum,²² and was reaffirmed by the non-aligned movement at the Belgrade Conference.²³ Thus, my country rejects and condemns vigorously and unequivocally the so-called Zimbabwe “internal settlement”. The Salisbury agreement of 3 March²⁴ is without doubt a desperate manoeuvre by the wayward racist régime of Ian Smith for the purpose of strengthening the military, economic and political power of a minority which wants thus to confer some credibility on the political status of the more or less representative elements which are parties to that agreement.

204. My country supports the inalienable and unquestionable right of the people of Zimbabwe to genuine independence and self-determination; and the legitimate struggle of the freedom fighters. We support that noble struggle because it is waged on behalf of man and the dignity of man. In this connexion I should like to recall that at the previous regular session my Government expressed the hope that in 1978 majority rule might be established in Zimbabwe.

205. Unfortunately, it must be said today that that has not yet happened and we are still concerned by the growing and frequent violations of the sanctions decreed by the

²² Fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978.

²³ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978.

²⁴ See document A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63.

²¹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year*, 2082nd meeting.

Security Council against the racist, minority and illegal Ian Smith régime. In this respect, a valuable report has just been published²⁵ and undoubtedly constitutes a terrible indictment.

206. We appeal once again for the total application of rigorous sanctions by all States against the illegal régime of Salisbury.

207. As regards Western Sahara, Senegal reaffirms its adherence to the decision taken by the fifteenth session of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] providing for the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee consisting of five heads of State to examine all the data on this question in order to arrive at solutions which would be satisfactory to all the parties involved [see A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, AHG/Res. 92 (XV)]. My delegation considers that it would be both wise and timely to give the OAU the time necessary for the implementation of that decision.

208. In the Middle East, a dangerous situation continues to preoccupy us, and because it is dangerous we must encourage all initiatives of countries that love peace and justice and peoples who are trying to find a final and just solution to this problem.

209. It is indeed obvious that the intransigence and the policy of settlement of occupied Arab lands by Israel continues to constitute today the principal obstacle to the resolving of the crisis. Moreover, we believe that as long as the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people are not recognized, and as long as Israel persists in that policy, there will be no peace in that region of the world.

210. I should like to pay a warm tribute here to the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. In spite of the difficulties of all kinds placed in its way, that Committee has been able to fulfil its mission with courage and selflessness.

211. Senegal, like other members of the non-aligned movement, calls expressly for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to the Palestinian question, with a view to the adoption of the necessary measures to promote the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to the evacuation of the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories and respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly the right to a national homeland.

212. For its part, Senegal will always support every initiative capable of bringing peace and security to the Middle East, be the solutions found within the United Nations itself or at some other level, in a multilateral or bilateral framework, in order to ensure peace and security for all peoples and countries of the region. Nevertheless, we think that these can be no just and lasting peace without the effective participation of the Palestinian people, whose authentic representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization.

213. Regarding Cyprus, my delegation is in favour of respect by all States for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned policy of Cyprus. For that reason, Senegal is against any interference in the internal affairs of that country and hopes for the unconditional and immediate withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the Republic of Cyprus and the adoption of emergency measures aimed at ensuring the return of all refugees to their homes in all security. We wish to emphasize the need for the resumption of intercommunal negotiations, based upon General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), between the representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. Those negotiations should be conducted freely, on a footing of equality and without any foreign interference, so that they might lead to the conclusion of an agreement that would be acceptable to the two communities.

214. As a non-aligned country, Senegal considers that the implementation of the proposal relating to the demilitarization and complete disarmament of the Republic of Cyprus could contribute positively to a lasting solution of the problem of Cyprus, the strengthening of international security and disarmament under the aegis of the United Nations.

215. In this period, marked by numerous armed conflicts, the holding of the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament was most timely. That session, in which my country took an active part, had the merit of making the world more aware of the risks run by mankind and especially of the need to divert part of the resources wasted on armaments to the economic and social development of our countries.

216. That is why President Léopold Sédar Senghor, our head of State, made before this Assembly certain concrete proposals, which I shall briefly recapitulate:

“...after an in-depth but rapid study, the United Nations should declare certain countries and parts of the world non-nuclear zones. These would be developing countries which are relevant in terms of assistance to the third world. The whole of Africa would therefore be non-nuclear, including the South African Republic, which would be denuclearized because it possesses the secret of the atomic bomb and because, with its *apartheid* régime, it constitutes precisely a nuclear threat in itself.”²⁶

217. The second proposal made from this rostrum by the President of Senegal concerned the control of nuclear activities. It related to the creation of a specialized agency of the United Nations responsible for controlling the manufacture and stockpiling of weapons of all kinds, not only everywhere on our planet but also in outer space. That control would be carried out by satellites and by all other technically feasible means.

218. The third and last proposal made here by President Senghor was for the adoption of a tax on armaments which would be applicable to all States without exception. Specifically, it would be a tax on war budgets and budgets

²⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Special Supplement No. 2.*

²⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 17th meeting.*

for equipment and operations, regardless of the name given to those budgets, so long as they related to the manufacture, purchase, utilization and dissemination of weapons. The tax would be 5 per cent of those budgets and would be paid to the United Nations solely for aid to developing countries. According to our calculations, this would amount to a sum of at least \$US 20 billion per year.

219. Although the proposal on control encountered practical difficulties, the other two did in principle meet with a favourable response. Therefore my country is happy at the decision to convene another special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations devoted to disarmament, and earnestly hopes that a still more favourable response may be given to all those proposals. Indeed, the holding of a special session devoted to disarmament constitutes an appreciable step forward in the pursuit of international peace and security.

220. With that in view, Article 2 of the United Nations Charter calls on Member States to "refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state", and also to settle their international disputes by peaceful means.

221. In spite of that provision, and in spite of its capital importance for the maintenance of international peace and security, that principle has never been respected by all States, which is regrettable. It has been reaffirmed on a number of occasions by the General Assembly, particularly in its Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [*resolution 2625 (XXV)*], its Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], and its Definition of Aggression [*resolution 3314 (XXIX)*].

222. Prompted by a constant desire to fulfil its obligations in this field, and willing to contribute more and more each day to the maintenance of peace and security in the world, Senegal firmly believes that the international community needs machinery capable of preventing and thereby capable of deterring any act of aggression that might bring about tension and war.

223. My country considers that a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations is an absolute necessity because not only would it strengthen the provisions of the Charter but also, and more importantly, would favour the progressive codification and development of international law in the field of the maintenance of peace.

224. In that spirit Senegal will welcome any international initiative designed to prohibit the use of force in international relations. It is our conviction, however, that an international treaty on the non-use of force would have to mention explicitly the right of peoples fighting for their independence to use, naturally, all means at their disposal, including armed force, as emerges from Article 51 of the Charter and article 6 of the Definition of Aggression.

225. Such a treaty would also have to prohibit, in no uncertain terms, interference in the internal affairs of States.

226. The quest for peace and justice implies also, and in the first instance, respect for human dignity. In the spirit of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community has, of course, the responsibility to proclaim and defend human rights and to consider this task as a permanent obligation.

227. Thus it is that since becoming a Member of the United Nations Senegal has proclaimed the importance it attaches to respect for human rights. As far as we are concerned, this respect is inseparable from peace and from peaceful and fruitful international co-operation. For that reason the Republic of Senegal has made the protection of human rights an essential element of its Constitution and has set up for that purpose a democratic system whereby several political parties and unions coexist and rival each other in mutual respect for the political and ideological options of the citizens of Senegal.

228. Our people have ratified the two Covenants concerning human rights which have just come into force. The policy of the Republic of Senegal serves the human person. It is the exercise of human rights and the recognition of human dignity which, in the last analysis, as we see it, give their true meaning to the efforts for political and economic co-operation which peoples and States must undertake. It is precisely in this spirit that the Government of the Republic of Senegal has always supported the establishment of a post of United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. It is, indeed, of the highest importance to have an international authority independent of all countries to supervise, on behalf of the world community, the protection of human rights in all parts of the world, with no other purpose than the defence of the rights of the individual and the fulfilment of the human person. It would therefore be desirable for all Member States to contribute to the implementation of this project, because today more than ever they should recognize the limits of the powers of the Commission on Human Rights and the dire need for more effective measures in this field. Indeed, every day the world witnesses serious violations of human rights, which are occurring only here and there in specific places in the world. The point is that human rights must be defended, regardless of the political ideology or the power of those who violate them. Among those rights, the legitimate demands of the population of the third world for economic equality and security must be considered with respect. The peoples of the third world are, indeed, the prime victims—the forgotten ones—in the development of the world economy and in the trade relations between North and South.

229. That is why, in the field of international co-operation, my country wishes to reaffirm vigorously the need to promote a new international economic order, as defined at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], and also as completed, developed and clarified subsequently at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo in 1977.

230. My country, Senegal, like other third-world countries, had placed great hopes in the work of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole. But we have to note with justifiable disappointment that the first session of that Committee yielded no concrete results concerning substantive questions, essentially because of the absence on the part of the industrialized countries of a genuine political will to enter into serious, just and useful negotiations. The Committee is required, in our view, to identify the particular issues on which it must concentrate its efforts, in keeping with the strategic importance that they have for the necessary establishment of a new international economic order.

231. Stress is frequently laid upon the present-day reality that, so far as official assistance is concerned, not only the developed capitalist countries, but also developed countries with socialist tendencies, have yet to attain the goal of allocating 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for that purpose. Indeed, they continue to ignore that objective, despite their profuse generous and philanthropic declarations at international gatherings.

232. We believe it only fair to recognize, however, the contribution to the development of the countries of the third world of the rare few industrialized countries which have achieved the 0.7 per cent goal.

233. Mankind is truly at a cross-roads: it may move further along the road of rearmament and the exploitation of the third world—a fatal course which would lead it one day into a catastrophe from which it would never recover. But mankind can, on the contrary, choose the way of peace. This is a more difficult course; it requires sacrifice more than generosity in a world dominated more and more by selfishness. It implies a new definition of the norms and usages of a certain kind of political science which is more interested in efficacy and method than in ethics. However, it can never be sufficiently emphasized that this way is the way of peace, the way of security and progress for all people. As between life and death, the overwhelming majority of humans have chosen a life. May all men of goodwill today unite their efforts so that this choice may finally become a living reality.

234. Senegal, my country, like other nations, works resolutely to promote this course for mankind. It has not lost the hope, and will never lose the hope, of seeing one day, probably in the near future, the majority of the nations of the world, among them those often considered the most powerful, support that choice, the choice of world peace and security, because it is in the interest of and will lead to the happiness of man and of mankind.

235. Mr. RICHARD (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Generally speaking, our annual assessment of the world situation requires that we reaffirm the aims of the Charter, analyse the means that have been used to achieve those objectives and redefine our priorities, if necessary.

236. One might be tempted to say that this is, in fact, a repetitive, if not futile, exercise, an accepted formality and ritual, since certain segments of international opinion want to regard the United Nations only as a forum for dissension;

and furthermore the items on our agenda have been practically the same for a good number of years.

237. It is difficult for us to go along with that opinion, because we feel, quite sincerely, that the United Nations must, above all, be a centre for thought and for concerted action, and not a framework for the promotion of a retrograde view of the world. At each of our annual sessions it is essential for us to take account of the profound changes in the world since the adoption of the Charter, the positive trend in international relations towards the creation of a new world and the increasingly preponderant attention devoted to the concepts of justice, social progress and liberation. It is precisely here that we can discern the value of our exchanges of views, enriched by the way in which we defend our respective positions.

238. In point of fact, our general debate goes beyond a simple evaluation and becomes a crucible from which emerges gradually a revolutionary vision of the world; it becomes the point of departure for an awareness which, because of its positive and realistic nature, stands out in contrast to pure speculation and passive contemplation. That is the spirit in which the Malagasy delegation intends to make its contribution to the work of this session.

239. A developing country like the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, resolutely committed to a socialist revolution, cannot but be disturbed by the constant deterioration we have observed in the world economy, affected as it has been by crises of increasing acuteness and by a lack of vision and political will. Unfortunately people have been content with simply proposing short-term and often sectoral solutions to these problems.

240. For more than a decade the world has been painfully survived by dint of following the course of expedients and it is not surprising that the image that it now presents to us is that of a cloak that is tattered and patched in many places.

241. Most of the industrialized countries have acquiesced in that policy of doom since it makes it possible for them to continue to misuse the established system to strengthen their hold over world development and to continue to pursue with profit their practices of domination and exploitation. That mere crumbs are left the so-called developing countries which have not been given any serious chance of real development is only to be expected from the advocates of expansion at any cost.

242. After the recession of 1974-1975 it would have been possible to correct the various structural imbalances and thus to ensure the regular growth of the world economy. But at present what we are witnessing is an accumulation of unresolved problems and the deliberate preservation of a climate of uncertainty which has been engendered by delays in multilateral negotiations.

243. It is not surprising, therefore, that an economic crisis is once again threatening the world; and attempts are being made to counter that crisis by methods which we have denounced previously, as if the intention was deliberately to ignore the indications given and the commitments undertaken at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

244. It is hardly necessary to rehearse the outcome of those two sessions because each and every one of us must now be aware of his own responsibilities and of the most appropriate way of discharging those responsibilities. But do we have to wait for the energy crisis which has been predicted for 1985 before some political will is finally evinced by the industrialized countries? When will they give up their policies of uncontrolled consumption and agree that, if only in their own interests, they must agree to some reduction albeit small, of their prosperity, which has become a scandal in a world that is growing poorer and poorer? When will they face the fact that some middle way has to be sought between the requirements of internal order and the needs of developing countries?

245. Efforts for adjustment, however realistic, are far from being responsive to the urgency of the situation, and we can perceive no real progress towards a restructuring of the world economy. On the contrary, as in the worst hours of the most recent recession, we can see that there is a diminution in growth rates, an increase in unemployment and an aggravation of underemployment; there is galloping inflation which is sometimes controlled but never stopped; there is a return to protectionist measures; and there are chaotic trends in monetary and financial relations.

246. Those who are most affected by this set of negative factors are still the developing countries. Unfortunately they are subject to terms of trade, whose cyclic deterioration, sometimes deliberately maintained, has adverse repercussions on their balance of payments, their capacity to service debts and their investment capacity.

247. Frequently we have been told to have patience in order to turn us into reasonable—or rather resigned—partners. Nevertheless, if we wish to give some meaning to equal interdependence and international co-operation in the economic, financial and monetary fields, we will have to cease circumventing those problems which have already been set forth in clear and unambiguous terms since the very first session of UNCTAD.

248. What we must do above all is to abandon the idea that the participation of developing countries in international trade depends in some way on their growth which, in its turn, is conditioned by the economic expansion of industrialized countries. It is much to be feared that, according to a distorted interpretation of interdependence, we might arrive at postulating the principle that the growth of the poorer countries is desirable only in so far as it promotes the expansion of the rich countries. The cynicism inherent in such a principle must be obvious to all. Nevertheless everything seems to indicate that it is being practised in two key sectors, namely, that of primary commodities and that of industrialization.

249. From the declarations of intention which have been made here and elsewhere, we have learned that, in order to redress the present imbalance, it is important to plan production and investment efficiently, to provide the developing countries with adequate export earnings in real terms and also to stabilize markets in order to benefit the consumers. That programme, which is far from being innovative since it reproduces the claims which have been put forward for some years now, has not been followed up

by any decisive action and the few timid and traditional measures that have been taken are hardly likely to remove our scepticism.

250. In effect, nothing would suggest that the Integrated Programme for Commodities²⁷ which was adopted at the fourth session of UNCTAD will finally be accepted. Nor does anything give us the assurance that significant negotiations will be entered into on the common fund. So far as primary commodities are concerned, we can see that, of the 15 agricultural exports which are of interest to Africa, only three have been the subject of agreements. After so many promises, so many consultations and so many negotiations, such a situation requires no comment.

251. In the sector of industrialization, the fate which the developing countries have met is hardly more enviable. The institutional framework for the implementation of the decisions and recommendations of the Second General Conference of UNIDO²⁸ was defined almost five years ago. Nevertheless, the negotiations on the various components of that framework are foundering in the uncertainties and mysteries of a deliberate desire to maintain a certain monopoly, while the panoply of protectionist measures directed against our countries is being reinforced. In those circumstances we cannot see how the industrialized countries intend to fulfil the commitment to bring up to 25 per cent the participation of developing countries in world industrial output.

252. In connexion with all these points it may be said that necessary adjustments are in fact being studied; that corrective measures will have to be taken in a certain order of priority and that with time they could become part and parcel of the new international economic order.

253. We might still harbour illusions but we have to understand that the economic security for which we are, after all, plainly responsible, cannot be guaranteed simply by the proliferation of special funds, by the redefinition of the ways and means of aid and by the increase of direct transfers under public assistance for development.

254. Nor can it depend on a third strategy which is only a reflex of the first two and which is the outcome of the former system. We have to have the honesty and the courage to recognize that, in order to ensure the success of the new strategy, in order to offset the effects of the world economic crisis and, above all, prevent its recurrence, it is essential to bring about as soon as possible fundamental modifications required by the institution of the new international economic order.

255. The establishment and strengthening of world economic security, which remains one of our major concerns because of its implications for the maintenance of international security, will depend on such action. What we need is no longer rhetoric or to seek to demonstrate on every occasion that our countries share common interests, because if we try to insist on it too much we often finish by

²⁷ 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, resolution 93 (iv).

²⁸ See document A/10112, chaps. IV and V.

proving the contrary. The crisis is upon us, gentlemen. The developing countries are not responsible for it.

256. There is not a single delegation that is aware of the interdependence of our problems that can fail to recognize that the security of the world is indivisible. This notion, which has progressively but irreversibly become self-evident, might in certain cases not satisfy all the requirements that have been engendered by national or international constraints.

257. However, it cannot be denied that almost everyone now agrees—albeit in a provisional manner—that it is necessary to preserve a dynamic equilibrium between security, development and disarmament; and this was recently borne out at the tenth special session of the General Assembly.

258. We will not rehearse the various aspects of disarmament which we analysed during that session. Some items do, however, deserve to be stressed, in the light of the Declaration and the Programme of Action [*resolution S-10/2, sects. II and III*], and particularly in view of the political and moral approach which was favoured by a majority among us in order to face up to the challenge of the arms race.

259. Indeed, while we have not been entirely satisfied as far as concerns the commitment of the military Powers effectively to bring about general, complete and immediate disarmament under international control, we should welcome the fact that finally the concept of world security has prevailed over the needs of national security and so-called policies of deterrence and superiority.

260. It seems, therefore, that we have, in different degrees, agreed to work for the advent of a world civilization that will be free from the constraints of war, of weapons and of the arms race. However idealistic it may be this vision can and must be part of the disarmament strategy that we have drawn up. The positive aspect of certain principles which have been advocated for the implementation of this strategy is rather encouraging.

261. In particular, we should refer to the central role to be played by the United Nations; the balance of responsibilities between the nuclear and non-nuclear States; the integration of partial or parallel measures in negotiations on a disarmament treaty; the fact that qualitative factors have to be borne in mind; the search for a universal acceptance of bilateral and multilateral agreements; and, in particular, the recognition of the close relationship between disarmament, the relaxation of tension, respect for self-determination and independence, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the strengthening of international peace and security.

262. Whatever may be the virtues of this strategy, the most urgent task remains the elimination of the threat of a nuclear war. Collateral steps have been taken or planned, whether we refer to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] the draft World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations,²⁹ the tripartite draft of a complete

prohibition of nuclear weapons or the creation of denuclearized zones.

263. In this connexion, the Declaration that emerged from the tenth special session of the General Assembly recognized the legitimacy of the concerns expressed by non-nuclear States about their own security. It is therefore quite logical that the provisions of the Treaty on non-proliferation are no longer regarded as adequate, and that we should seek for more appropriate legal guarantees. It is in this context that we support the Soviet initiative on the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [*see A/33/241*].

264. The progress that we make in carrying out the measures advocated in the disarmament strategy will undoubtedly help to strengthen détente and to improve the atmosphere of trust that is so essential for conducting international relations.

265. We find it difficult to agree that détente should be confined to one single area or should remain the monopoly of certain Powers. Détente, in order to be acceptable and to produce its full effect, should be an irreversible and generalized process, and should thus induce all States, without exception, to make a contribution to safeguarding and maintaining international peace and security.

266. Détente can no longer be regarded as an end in itself, because we must recall that our world is, in essence, a world of confrontation, and that to try to make this disappear immediately would probably smack either of Utopianism or of an unavowed desire to impose on others our own individual attitudes and policies.

267. It is distressing, however, to note that détente has been used as a pretext in order to foster confrontation, in order to justify intervention and interference, which has meant that there has been a real reversal of values which can only be prejudicial to genuine co-operation among States.

268. The severity with which we have come out against this regrettable tendency in international relations is a result of the fact that quite recently certain parts of the world, including Africa, have been selected in order to test a policy that smacks of something we have always denounced—that is, of domination, exploitation and the search for spheres of influence and interest—a policy that is designed to make us forget that the struggle that has been waged for the total liberation of Africa and for the preservation of processes freely accepted by our people should be pursued by all means in our power and should brook no concessions.

269. When we speak of collusion between neo-colonialism and imperialism, some may be offended; but we would not have reached that conclusion had the principles of non-interference and mutual respect been strictly applied.

270. How often have we issued a warning against the unfortunate effects of certain principles that have been put forward in the search for solutions of those problems that are of direct concern to Africa? Whether it be in Namibia,

²⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 124, document A/31/243, annex.

in Rhodesia, in the Sahara, or in South Africa, apparently sometimes certain realities are deliberately overlooked; there is a tendency to remain unaware that the legal and political framework laid down in the United Nations essentially meets the aspirations of the peoples concerned.

271. But since the principles of the United Nations are not always easily or universally accepted, an attempt is being made to think up all sorts of half-measures in order to appease the swelling indignation of the Africans and to maintain the direct or indirect hold of imperialism over our future.

272. After the arrogant reactions of Pretoria and Salisbury, it is easy to disclaim responsibility for the failures in Namibia and in Rhodesia over the racist minority régimes, as if we were not already aware of the limits of their good faith. Rather than asking the Security Council to draw the necessary conclusions by applying Chapter VII of the Charter in its entirety, once again we will have to ask the liberation movements to make concessions.

273. A sense of moderation makes it imperative, I think, that all these so-called internal agreements should be irrevocably condemned, and since we are here in the United Nations it must be seen that only the resolutions of our Organization are valid and that a return to the principles set forth in Security Council resolution 385 (1976), which are very far removed from the principles put forth by the five Western members of the Council, is the only way to have the rights of the Namibian people respected.

274. Why must we let the situation in Rhodesia deteriorate even further in the search for a so-called multiracial and democratic society, whereas the Europeans in Rhodesia no longer believe this and are leaving in order to pitch their tents elsewhere?

275. We could ask so many questions, which, unfortunately, would receive evasive replies because the West is imprisoned in its own machinery, in which South Africa is a major cog. It is a fact that the territorial integrity of Namibia has been sacrificed to strategic considerations. There will continue to be a modest turning away from the iniquity represented by the policy of territorial separation, and there will be a continuation of ritual pronouncements about the immorality about the practice of *apartheid* at a time when this problem remains an eminently political one, quite apart from any humanitarian and economic considerations, and to the extent that it has to be regarded in terms of liberation and social progress, which is something to which the peoples of South Africa are quite naturally entitled.

276. Members will therefore understand our indignation in the face of the numerous manoeuvres which have been designed to save the illegal and racist minority régimes.

277. We are tempted to believe that the same policy of force in the case of the Sahara, Cyprus and Korea has not laid down its arms but is striving to maintain confusion in order to make prevail interests which unfortunately are contrary to those of the peoples directly concerned.

278. Our position on the Sahara has always been unambiguous. We were the first to recognize the Saharan Arab

Democratic Republic. We have always denounced in all forums the collusion between the Spanish former colonial Power and the Moroccan-Mauritanian annexationists, and the sham juridical arguments which have been put forward have in no way convinced us.

279. It is claimed that there is now a new situation, conducive to a reasonable approach to the problem. We are aware of what interests certain international circles intend to preserve, and to speak of reason when the fate of a people is at stake seems to be most improper. That is why, whatever initiatives are taken in the OAU, we are of the opinion that the United Nations, which has particular responsibilities to the Saharan people, has a duty to take up this problem, which remains above all one of decolonization.

280. In Cyprus the lack of progress in negotiations has been imputed to the bargaining between the two communities. But is it not also true that this bargaining is further aggravated by the internal contradictions inherent in a military alliance which, since it has no idea of non-alignment, is using Cyprus as a hostage and by its veering is in no way conducive to an honest search for a lasting solution acceptable to all? It is high time for us to react to this *laissez-faire* and to request that alliance to put an end to its seesaw tactics and give proof of its desire to respect the sovereign choice of the Cypriot people.

281. The Korean people is still the victim of a policy of presence and of ideological dissuasion which is both obsolete and illusory, and also of the so-called realism exhibited by certain interested Powers more interested in the requirements of their military and industrial complexes than in making it possible for the Korean people to live in peace and regained unity. Any action along these lines has encountered dilatory manoeuvres provoked and sustained by an alienated régime. For us, the only solution which is worthy of being discussed necessarily involves the independent reunification of the country of Korea without foreign interference, and the implementation of the principles laid down in the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.³⁰

282. In Palestine—a martyr country if ever there was one—in our desire for peace we find ourselves witnessing an attempt to put the people of Palestine once again under trusteeship, without regard for the years of suffering, sacrifice and struggle. It has not been enough to deny their very existence: they have had also to be stripped of their most legitimate aspirations and humiliated by having imposed on them a form of unprecedented and unusual colonialism. We cannot see any settlement of this question without the effective participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the only authentic representative of the Palestinian people. The international community has affirmed and reaffirmed the existence of the inalienable rights of these people to return to their homes and to achieve self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. Any efforts, any agreements, which overlook these fundamental principles or try to subordinate them to other considerations can only be doomed to failure.

283. Finally, in the Indian Ocean it is with great concern that we have witnessed the rivalry among the major Powers.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.

Far from becoming an area of peace, demilitarized and denuclearized, the Indian Ocean remains an amphitheatre of various manoeuvres and the struggle for influence.

284. As regards the Comorian island of Mayotte more particularly, we reaffirm that that island belongs to the whole of the Comoros and we desire the rapid application by the interested parties of the relevant resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations. The withdrawal of all foreign bases from this nerve-centre of the world will contribute to a reduction of the tensions which are already being maintained by the conflicts taking place in southern Africa.

285. At a time when we are celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we can see how the rights of peoples are overlooked or are even subject to flagrant violations over which, for many reasons, people are anxious to draw a modest veil. We could maintain a lengthy discourse on the distinction to be drawn between the rights of peoples and those of the individual, on the priority to be attached to a particular right and on the need for the United Nations particularly to look after their implementation. We should not shirk this discussion or question anything, since we have freely adhered to various covenants on civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. However, we must remove any misunderstanding resulting from the "morality race". May we be permitted to express doubt about the sincerity of certain reactions, particularly when they come from sectors which have fought against the granting of civil rights and which are prepared to show the greatest spirit of conciliation regarding the unreasonable demands of the racist régimes, which have denied entire peoples their right to live in peace according to their choice and their own principles, and which have even been guilty of genocide. *O tempora! O mores!* But if so, why seek to have all societies in the same mould? Why impose on societies like ours, in which the community traditionally takes precedence over the individual, attitudes and conduct which are contrary to our view of human and social relations? Much-vaunted universalism may be a form of Pharisaism, and that is the precise danger for those who seek at all costs to guide our consciences.

286. There is no reason to oppose the effective enjoyment of human rights, but it will be pointless as long as the rights of peoples are neither assured nor respected, as long as the social and economic rights of those peoples are not satisfied.

287. At the beginning of my statement I tried to define the purposes of our annual meetings, in order to meet the need to organize our world and to give some pattern to our reflections and our actions on subjects which are universally accepted. We wish to remain faithful to the spirit of the Charter. Nevertheless, we must acquiesce in certain realities imposed by agreements, by regional alliances, by a regrouping of interests and also by the affirmation of differing ideologies. It is therefore inevitable that our exchanges of views should sometimes and in certain areas take on the aspect of veritable confrontations, which will not have been pointless to the extent that everyone will have been able to gain in truth and sincerity. We do not preclude the possibility of looking for areas of agreement in order to harmonize our actions. However, it must be admitted that

confrontation is not always a sterile exercise. It should enrich our debates. It can awaken in us a sense of responsibility and put the United Nations in a more realistic perspective.

288. Because of the limitations which I referred to previously, we should not fear that the United Nations will reflect our differences. The essential point is that, in strict respect for the aims and principles of the Charter, we should be able to discuss anything, without any exception, both honestly and openly.

289. When we reach that stage, we shall perhaps realize that the solutions to the problems involved in disarmament, development and the rights of peoples were within our grasp, and that we have let go of peace and security because we neither wanted, nor knew how, to profit from a certain form of confrontation, concomitant, it is true, with dialogue.

290. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar is very pleased to present here its warm welcome and its wishes for success and prosperity to Solomon Islands, which we have just welcomed as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of our Organization.

291. I should be remiss in my duty were I not, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, to convey to Mr. Liévano our congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of this session. We are quite certain that he will put at the service of the Organization with which he has been associated for some years now the statesman-like qualities that are one of his distinctive attributes.

292. To his predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, we would express our gratitude for the laudable way in which he directed the work of four sessions of the General Assembly. Finally, we should like to reiterate to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our deep felt appreciation for the way in which he is discharging his mission which has become more and more delicate and more and more difficult in a world which is more and more troubled.

293. Mr. PALMA GALVEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My presence in this hall at the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is a further expression of the faith and confidence which the Government of the military junta which governs the destiny of Honduras possesses in respect of the lofty ideals which this Organization has set for itself since 1945 in order to promote better relations among men and real understanding between States engaged in the arduous task of achieving peace and taking positive measures to stimulate progress in all latitudes without mistrust, misgivings or discrimination because of creed, race or political system.

294. In my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Honduras may I extend to the representatives assembled here the most cordial and sincere greetings of the Government I represent and express our sincere wishes that this new day in the United Nations, despite the complexity of the subjects it has to deal with, will bring the best possible results and yield the best fruits.

295. I wish most especially to offer my respectful greetings to Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the President of the General Assembly and for many years Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia. His outstanding qualities and personality are widely known and justly appreciated, and his presence here bears witness to the appreciation of his erudition and experience. The delegation of the Republic of Honduras congratulates Mr. Liévano and pledges its fullest co-operation in the discharge of his lofty responsibilities.

296. Similarly, we wish to express our thanks to Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia and to praise his dynamic leadership. He presided with admirable competence and firmness not only at the thirty-second session but also at the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions of the General Assembly concerning the stationing of peace-keeping forces in Lebanon, the question of Namibia and disarmament, respectively. We are all witness to the fact that his devotion and political vision helped to enhance the positive results achieved through his conduct of our deliberations.

297. I am also happy to congratulate, on behalf of my Government and on my own behalf, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for his unremitting efforts in pursuit of peace, security and international co-operation. It is only fair, likewise, to express to Mr. Waldheim our warmest thanks for his report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1], which sets out in a simple and clear manner the details of all that was discussed and resolved in this Organization for the benefit of the international community last year.

298. We wish to extend a cordial welcome to Solomon Islands on the occasion of its admission as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of our Organization.

299. Fully aware of the paramount importance of the arms question, my country attended the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, which was held in the first half of this year.

300. Disarmament and security are decisive factors for the establishment of peace, by virtue of the fact that the possession of a military arsenal by one State presupposes the obligation for another State or States to balance forces, not because they nurture any ulterior or secret intentions of committing aggression, but because of their fear of being attacked without warning, which would place them at a disadvantage as regards the defence of their territorial integrity and the safeguarding of their sovereignty. At the special session on disarmament³¹ the delegation of Honduras analysed this threatening situation, which by creating fears and misgivings among States compels them to start or speed up the arms race which, in a way, forms a threshold to the logical outbreak of war.

301. We have stated and continue to demonstrate through deeds and not with slogans devoid of sincerity that Honduras has the proud stature of a pacifist nation which struggles to achieve the harmony of nations, is totally opposed to war and advocates the proper application of international law.

302. It is painful to think that products of man's intelligence and the astounding technology he has created

can be a constant danger to coexistence in the world unless a barrier of common sense is placed in the way of the warmongers.

303. I believe it necessary to pose a number of questions with respect to disarmament and security. These subjects will be inexhaustible until such time as we can devise a formula that reconciles them in order to achieve, not a balance of forces, but the express and binding commitment to renounce force on the basis of new international mechanisms and to limit the arms race, which, as is only logical, consumes the capital of the powerful States and renders the poor countries poorer since the acquisition of modern offensive and defensive weapons represents a constant drain on national resources.

304. During the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament the delegation of Honduras emphatically stated that we cannot continue to live in the situation of uncertainty and fears represented by the existence of armed peace, of a precarious peace. One false step from that dangerous threshold would plunge us into the holocaust so much feared by all but senselessly encouraged, no doubt involuntarily, by a few. We live the bitter reality that man can unleash massive explosions capable of annihilating the human species.

305. In spite of this, this world body on repeated occasions has been the forum in which we have heard speakers who apparently have forgotten the purposes and principles embodied in the Charter of the United Nations and which were conceived to bring peoples together, not to divide them. Those principles were laid down for a world society which, having fought in and witnessed the greatest war of all, aspires to a convergence of goals and action which would remove the suspicion, hostility and atavism that still regrettably turn men into wolves towards each other.

306. Peace will be achieved and preserved only if all those of us who gather here are ready to adopt the international machinery that will serve as the unequivocal guarantee of the security of our peoples.

307. The United Nations is called upon to play a special role in disarmament matters; its participation must be active and vigorous, since otherwise it will be unable to fulfil the precepts enshrined in the San Francisco Charter.

308. Our delegation to the special session devoted to disarmament supported in particular a Programme of Action whose final objective was to be general and complete disarmament under effective international control, so as to ensure man's survival by eliminating the danger of war and the holocaust of nuclear war. My Government believes that the adoption at that session of the Declaration and Programme of Action on Disarmament [resolution S-10/2, sects. II and III] constituted an important milestone in the ceaseless struggle of peaceful peoples to maintain and ensure peace in the world. In spite of the short-comings of the Final Document, we must emphasize the importance of the negotiating machinery established therein. This machinery will allow for more representative participation in negotiations for a disarmament programme

³¹ *Ibid.*, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 4th meeting.

as well as the exercise of greater influence to persuade the nuclear Powers to assume wider responsibilities.

309. Honduras continues to nourish the hope that greater and more rapid results will be achieved in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States of America and the Soviet Union as well as in the negotiations for the reduction of forces in Europe by all the States directly concerned.

310. My country attaches special significance to the historic and all-important Declaration of Ayacucho, subscribed to by eight sister Republics on our continent on 9 December 1974, which states:

"We undertake to promote and support the building of a[n . . .] order of international peace and co-operation and to create the conditions which will make possible the effective limitation of armaments and an end to their acquisition for offensive purposes, so that all possible resources may be devoted to the economic and social development of every country in Latin America."³²

311. On this occasion we reaffirm our unshakable readiness to participate in any conference designed to ensure the practical application as soon as possible through specific measures of the principles contained in that important Declaration, principles which were ratified in the Washington Declaration of 22 June 1978.³³

312. Honduras attended the Latin American and Caribbean Preliminary Meeting on Conventional Weapons, held in Mexico City between 21 and 25 August last. On that occasion we took part in the meeting in the same spirit that led us to support the Declaration of Ayacucho.

313. The Government of Honduras is convinced, moreover, that any disarmament measure should be accompanied by the maintenance of the levels of defence and security to which all States are legitimately entitled and that, in order to make progress towards the conclusion of a treaty on the limitation of conventional weapons, full account must be taken of the fact that it is necessary also to strengthen the procedures for the peaceful settlement of international disputes.

314. My Government shares the concern of other States Members of this Organization about the proliferation of nuclear technology, especially when it occurs in sensitive areas where, owing to the existing political problems, it could well give rise to armed conflicts of incalculable dimensions. Nevertheless, Honduras is aware of the fact that, in view of the paucity and eventual exhaustion of traditional energy resources, nuclear energy should be used for peaceful purposes. Therefore, it is necessary to improve the mechanisms likely to facilitate the peaceful use of that energy in conditions of security and open co-operation and in good faith on the part of the members of the international community.

315. Honduras favours the continuation of special studies to define further the relationship that exists between the

reduction of military budgets and development, in particular in order to achieve the gradual but effective transfer of the resources released by disarmament measures to increased assistance for the promotion of the economic progress of the developing countries.

316. My Government has been advocating the improvement of institutional and legal means available to States for application to situations which seriously threaten international peace and security and has vehemently insisted that the future of mankind depends on the conclusion of agreements which reconcile the various interests at play in the international community. Honduras professes its faith in continued negotiation and in compliance with the decisions of the international bodies of which it is a member, because it believes that the most important thing for a people is to live in peace and security and that, if efforts devoted to particular negotiations do not suffice to eliminate forever the spectre of war in relations between States, room must be made for the action of international bodies and institutions which might assist in the achievement of the desired goals of harmony and peaceful coexistence between nations.

317. We are still experiencing difficulties in our attempts to provide the United Nations with sufficiently effective supporting instruments for the preservation and restoration of peace.

318. In line with the pacifist spirit of the people and the Government of Honduras, to which I referred earlier, we share the view that United Nations peace-keeping forces are necessary and that in emergency situations we will encounter greater difficulties unless we universally accept the principle of the need to establish them and to share in financing them. For the sake of peace, we must reach an understanding facilitating the rapid contribution of funds, resources and equipment, as well as the establishment of a contingency reserve or, at least, a preventive system to which we could resort rapidly, if necessary, for the maintenance or restoration of peace.

319. Recent events in the Republic of Nicaragua have aroused great concern among the people and the Government of Honduras. The geographical proximity of that country to our own, and the historic, cultural and human ties that bind us, as well as the economic links of Nicaragua with Honduras, have increased our concern over the distressing events generated by the political situation.

320. Since the very first moment of the crisis the position of the Government of Honduras has been based on the most absolute respect for the principles and norms at present governing relations between States. We have maintained our unshakable determination not to intervene in the internal affairs of other States, to uphold the principle of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States as well as to provide our disinterested assistance to all those requesting humanitarian aid from the people and Government of Honduras.

321. At the very beginning of the crisis we welcomed with interest Costa Rica's initiative on the understanding that an offer of friendly co-operation to assist in resolving the Nicaraguan crisis through peaceful means did not violate

³² See document A/10044, annex.

³³ See document A/S-10/AC.1/34, annex.

the principles that govern our international conduct, and that in so doing we would be contributing to the cause of peace and harmony in the Central American region.

322. Subsequent events made it impossible for that initiative to crystallize, and we supported the convening of a Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of States members of the OAS, which we thought provided the best forum in which to resolve this type of situation in the light of the fact that the problem was extending to other States of the region. There was no possible course other than action by the continental body to achieve those objectives that were then impossible at the Central American level.

323. We attended that Meeting of Consultation prompted by a spirit of regional solidarity, and we endeavoured to ensure that the Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation of American Ministers for Foreign Affairs would produce decisions that would help to moderate the Nicaraguan conflict and its implications at the international level. We know that the resolution adopted by that body³⁴ has not satisfied the whole of Central American public opinion, yet that was the view of the majority of members of the OAS, and we believe that it can help positively in the endeavours still being made to solve the problems besetting the area.

324. The States of America as well as all States on earth must face the international reality that was created by States themselves. Especially in situations such as that prevailing in Nicaragua, some States would want to go further than the structure of the present-day international world permits. However, when the time comes for the adoption of decisions, and when we come to judge their effectiveness, we must face realities rather than desires.

325. The Seventeenth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs will remain open until we achieve a definitive solution of the situation that has arisen in the Central American area, and therefore at any time it may adopt new resolutions which, since they will fall within the juridical and institutional context of America, may make it possible to safeguard the values that underlie the system of co-operation and friendship we have struggled to establish in our America.

326. Finally I wish to refer to the situation of the 8,000 Nicaraguan refugees Honduras has received in its territory in order to provide them with humanitarian assistance. I wish to express my gratitude for the rapid, effective assistance provided to the Honduran Red Cross by the United Nations and in particular its specialized bodies such as the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the World Food Programme, as well as those friendly Governments and intergovernmental and private institutions in other States.

327. Last year, at the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly, I stated that Honduras and El Salvador were about to initiate a mediation procedure that might lead to the restoration of peace and the relations of

friendship that should exist between our two peoples.³⁵ I am happy to announce that both States are carrying out the written procedures envisaged in the mediation, a stage that should come to an end in January 1979. Following that, we shall for a period engage in direct oral negotiations that will be attended by the distinguished Peruvian jurist Mr. José Luis Bustamante Rivero, who was appointed mediator in that conflict.

328. On this occasion, as on previous occasions, Honduras is bending every effort to resolve fully and for ever those questions still outstanding between our two States. We would have liked to make more rapid progress in our direct negotiations during the first stages of mediation, and although that has not been possible we trust that during the first half of next year we shall make resolute progress towards the achievement of agreements on those questions that are still in dispute.

329. Honduras is profoundly concerned by the fact that the conflict between the two nations has been prolonged for so long. That is why we request the co-operation of all countries gathered here, especially the Latin American States, and ask them to assist in and recognize our efforts to overcome the existing situation, which undoubtedly hampers normal development of the relations that should exist between the members of the international community. May we also express our special gratitude to those sister Republics that at this rostrum have expressed their hope for the satisfactory conclusion of the procedure we have adopted.

330. Honduras, a country that is a friend of Lebanon, cannot but again express its concern at the prolongation of the fratricidal struggle that is destroying a prosperous country and seriously threatening the social and economic welfare of its inhabitants.

331. Our country expresses its best wishes for the success of the initiative of President El-Sadat and now urges the Governments of Israel and Egypt to redouble their efforts and persevere in the quest for the course that will lead to the restoration of peace, while enabling other interested parties in the region to participate in the full settlement of the dispute that so seriously affects the security of the region and has been doing so for three decades.

332. We followed with the closest attention the Camp David meetings and we hope that the resultant agreements may be extended, giving the Palestinian population the opportunity to express its will in keeping with its best interests. Honduras has always maintained that, however remote national positions may appear to be, no international conflict can remain unsolved indefinitely. This is a principle my country has unreservedly applied in its international relations, and it invites other Governments confronting international problems to do so also.

333. We note with great disappointment that there has been no substantial progress in the negotiations between representatives of the two Cypriot communities and that the passage of time favours territorial division and undoubtedly gives advantages to those who use force.

³⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12861.

³⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 28th meeting, para. 97.

334. We wish to reiterate our support for the maintenance of the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus as the best guarantee of peace in the region. We repudiate the use of force and trust that equitable solutions will be found in the interest of the populations involved.

335. The lack of more rapid action in Rhodesia has led, with the passage of time, to a deterioration of the possibility of an agreed settlement, something the international community has so anxiously awaited. The so-called internal settlement, which from the beginning did not have sufficient political acceptance, appears to have created new difficulties, and we see the breaking-down of the negotiating structure that might have allowed us to expect more favourable results in respect of the establishment of a majority Government and the early independence of Zimbabwe.

336. The recrudescence of indiscriminate military action and particular cruelty has also served the worst designs of the partisans of *apartheid* and the repression of the Rhodesian people.

337. Honduras considers that the Security Council should consider this problem anew and seek the agreement of the parties concerned without interference by Powers outside the African continent and without weakening the effect of the economic sanctions imposed on the illegal régime.

338. Despite the latest events, we believe that there are favourable prospects for the independence of Namibia. The acceptance by the parties of the so-called Western Powers' plan³⁶ and their influence in the corresponding resolution of the Security Council, resolution 435 (1978), open the way for the holding of free elections guaranteed by the United Nations.

339. We are very happy at the role played in this process of pacification by the General Assembly and recall in particular the debates of the ninth special session of the General Assembly and the adoption by it of a comprehensive resolution [resolution S-9/2] which supports the just and legitimate struggle of the people of Namibia for their independence, while establishing greater assistance for the Namibians. Honduras, from this the greatest world forum, expresses its solidarity with the just struggle of the people of Namibia.

340. With respect to the outstanding dispute between Guatemala and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland concerning the Territory of Belize, I wish to express the unchanging position of my country in support of a negotiated settlement of the problem, in accordance with the procedures for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, and without side-stepping historic and juridical antecedents in which the rights of the Guatemalans are based, as well as the interests of the people of Belize, with which my country has maintained relations of true friendship and growing economic relations.

341. The world economy in this past year has registered no marked improvement that enables us to be optimistic

³⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

with respect to the immediate future. We regret that the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations within the framework of GATT should not have yielded the expected results. We are also concerned at the growing protectionist trends that we see in many sectors of the developed economies. For the countries of the third world, all of the foregoing makes it much more difficult for them to promote the task of economic and social development of their peoples. It is for this reason that we have supported the unpostponable establishment of the new international economic order which would promote the full development of the countries of the third world. This has become an even more urgent necessity in view of the recent evolution and future prospect of international monetary relations and the consequential increase in the cost of primary commodities, machinery and equipment for the developing countries.

342. That new international order should be based on equity, the common interest of all and co-operation between all States, with full respect for their sovereignty. The survey that the member States of ECLA set forth in its resolution 372 (XVII) of May 1977³⁷ when assessing at the regional level the application of the International Development Strategy is still valid. That study tended, *inter alia*, to seek action to promote negotiations on commodities; obtain formulas to enable the developed countries to comply before 1980 with the undertaking to provide a minimum of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product as official aid to developing countries; the removal of obstacles to the expansion of important manufactures in Latin America; the creation of appropriate mechanisms to facilitate the transfer of technology in adequate conditions; and the effective participation of Latin America in the decision-making processes in the monetary, financial and commercial forums.

343. Our Government is, moreover, extremely concerned at the standstill in the work of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and would urge developed countries to concur with the Group of 77, both in the reaffirmation of its mandate and in the supervision and promotion of negotiations that have begun in various forums. My country is ready to assist in such action. The world community asks of all Governments that they take realistic, beneficial action to promote international co-operation and the economic and social development of the third world.

344. The Government of the Republic of Honduras believes firmly in development as the basis of peace and is making a series of efforts to consolidate a stage of economic growth and social welfare. Special mention should be made of a draft for a project for the Olancho Forestry Industrial Corporation, the Cajón hydroelectric project and the expansion of our port infrastructure. My country has every hope that those projects will decisively help to give new impetus to our economic development and to promote the social well-being of thousands of Hondurans.

345. We must emphasize the valuable co-operation we have received in those plans from the Government and

³⁷ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-third Session, Supplement No. 11*, vol. I, part III, para. 527.

people of Venezuela, which, together with other friendly countries and international institutions, are at present helping some countries which, like Honduras, are making every effort to promote their development and need external financial assistance. For that expression of genuine solidarity, I wish from this universal body to express our gratitude to the Government and the brotherly people of Venezuela.

346. I cannot fail to mention the importance that Honduras attaches to co-operation between the countries of Central America, especially for the forms of economic integration laid down and based on the principle of the just distribution of costs and benefits. Under these premises, my country is ready to continue to participate widely in the restructuring of the Central American Common Market.

347. The international policy of Honduras is based unequivocally on friendship with all peoples. In this connexion, we are interested in and ready to co-operate with all the developing countries.

348. Co-operation between countries with similar problems should be increased, since together we can more effectively face up to the conditions of the international economy which today are so adverse to us.

349. On the other hand, my Government attaches particular importance to the results of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held last month in Buenos Aires, and we sincerely hope and trust that both the industrialized Western countries and the planned-economy countries will give real effective and disinterested assistance for the programmes that were drawn up at that Conference.

350. We wish to emphasize that Honduras sincerely wants greater support to be given to UNICEF, convinced as we are that the best reserve for the noble purposes and ideals of each and every one of our nations lies fundamentally in the attention and care that we offer our children, while creating stimulus for solidarity and eliminating the scourge of malnutrition, illiteracy and physical abuse.

351. The year 1979 has been declared the International Year of the Child, and my country would advocate an increase in national and international projects and programmes designed to solve the very serious and important problems confronting the world's children. We must unite our efforts so as to ensure protection of children within the priority tasks of this Organization.

352. Honduras has the keenest interest in a more just order for the seas and oceans. Bearing in mind that in future years we shall have to resort more frequently to the sea as an important source of food-stuffs and mineral resources, the rational exploitation of the seas is an important objective of my Government.

353. On the other hand, while the results of the negotiations at the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea were not spectacular, we believe that there are possibilities for a treaty of universal acceptance designed to favour the co-operative exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor beyond national

jurisdiction, so as to avoid the unnecessary sources of conflict which would be inherent in unilateral actions such as those announced and which would finally only weaken the solidarity that should exist between nations and the solemn commitment assumed in this Assembly in the Declaration of Principles of 1970.³⁸

354. Last September Honduras became the fourth State to deposit with the Secretary-General of the OAS the instrument of ratification of the American Convention on Human Rights. The entry into force of that Convention is to us a reason for great satisfaction and my Government will give its complete support and co-operation in the rapid establishment of the bodies advocated in that instrument. With such a procedure the Government of Honduras seeks to emphasize the importance it attaches to this subject.

355. We are in favour of a detailed analysis of the situation of human rights in the world, bearing in mind the close relationship that exists between under-development and respect for human rights. This year we are commemorating the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and as we remember its adoption we think that any international action in this field should take into account the fact that there can be no possible respect for human rights if the present international economic relations remain unchanged. Our fulfilment of the most elementary duties in respect of human rights implies the ineluctable need to introduce substantial changes in the conditions at present governing the international economic system. United Nations action in this field should not be limited to the ascertainment of particular violations of human rights, for the most part motivated by political considerations. Hunger is as tragic as torture, and it is not the drama of human pain that establishes the feelings of a whole people or of an era. My country firmly believes that this problem should be tackled at its roots and here is a responsibility that the industrialized and the developing countries alike must share.

356. We believe that the United Nations can play an important part, and for that reason we support the initiative of Costa Rica for the creation of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, convinced as we are that such a machinery would be of particular importance for the promotion of and respect for human rights.

357. My Government profoundly regrets that in the present circumstances the policy of *apartheid* should still exist. Such a practice is a denial of the noble principle of peoples concerning the dignity of man as enshrined in the San Francisco Charter. That is why the Government and people of Honduras strongly condemn discriminatory practices based on racial considerations. On this occasion we reiterate our full support for all international action designed to eliminate this unjust practice from the face of the earth.

358. We firmly believe in the purposes and objectives of the United Nations and my Government considers that only through joint action at the political, social and economic

³⁸ Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

levels shall we find the road to peace, to which we all aspire. We feel, moreover, that these lofty purposes will not be achieved if the developing countries maintain the attitude of mere spectators of the great problems afflicting mankind. We could be a decisive factor in all these world events if we abandoned, once and for all, our passive attitude and resolved to assume the role that history has bestowed on us. That change of attitude must be preceded by signs of effective co-operation and not by confrontation. The industrialized nations must join with us in a common and vigorous effort towards peace and development.

359. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I remind the General Assembly that at its 4th plenary meeting it decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

360. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): The delegation of Pakistan listened carefully to the statement made this morning [*18th meeting*] by the Chairman of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Regrettably, a representative of that Government has once again referred to what he called "the national issue of the Pakhtun and Baluchi peoples, based on the national and historical background". That claim not only constitutes unacceptable and flagrant interference in the internal affairs of Pakistan but also seeks to unsettle long-settled issues. We in Pakistan are not aware of any so-called national issue in Pakistan, as alleged by the representative of Afghanistan. It is a matter of historical record that the people of all parts of Pakistan expressed their will, fully, freely and finally, to constitute themselves into a federation of Pakistan in 1947, on their accession to independence.

361. I should not like to take advantage of this occasion to speak about the various ethnic groups which constitute

the population of Afghanistan. I would prefer to recall that a great deal of progress was made in the talks held by the Government of Pakistan with the former Government of Afghanistan on the differences between the two Governments. We stand ready to proceed further with that dialogue with the leaders of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

362. The President of Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq, himself made that offer in all goodwill and sincerity when he made the friendly gesture of visiting Kabul last month. At the conclusion of his talks with the leaders of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan he said:

"Pakistan has no differences with Afghanistan. If Afghanistan has any differences with Pakistan, it should settle them through discussion and dialogue in a friendly and fraternal atmosphere. Pakistan has only friendly and fraternal feelings towards Afghanistan."

363. It is in that spirit that I submit that the course of friendly, bilateral discussion on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence, including the principles of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, as set forth in the Kabul communiqué of 1976, would be a more constructive approach than the agitation of contentious issues in international conferences.

364. Mr. MAROOFI (Afghanistan): In exercising his right of reply, the leader of the delegation of Pakistan referred to the statement made by the leader of my delegation this morning and raised certain points which require clarification on the part of my delegation. I therefore should like to reserve the right of my delegation to speak at a later stage.

The meeting rose at 7.55 p.m.