

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-SECOND SESSION

Official Records



**9th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 27 September 1977,
at 3.20 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

| | <i>Page</i> |
|---|-------------|
| Agenda item 9: | |
| General debate (<i>continued</i>) | |
| Speech by Mr. Ayala Lasso (Ecuador) | 109 |
| Speech by Mr. Malik (Indonesia) | 113 |
| Speech by Mr. Owen (United Kingdom) | 117 |
| Speech by Mr. Andersen (Denmark) | 121 |
| Speech by Mr. Shahi (Pakistan) | 124 |
| Speech by Mr. Khalatbary (Iran) | 128 |
| Speech by Mr. Kodjo (Togo) | 130 |
| Speech by Mr. Obenga (Congo) | 134 |

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. AYALA LASSO (Ecuador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am happy to express to you, Sir, the satisfaction of the Government of Ecuador upon your well-deserved election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-second session. That decision represents an express recognition by the Assembly of the dynamic international career of Yugoslavia, as well as of your own qualities.

2. I also wish to join in congratulating Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe for the efficient and impartial way he led the deliberations of the General Assembly at its last session.

3. My praise goes also to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose judicious re-election is the best proof of the wide support and general trust which his tireless efforts have earned him in the search for international peace, understanding and co-operation.

4. I should also like to extend a cordial welcome to the two new Members of our Organization and wish them well on the road followed by free peoples: Viet Nam, which has reached complete independence after a relentless and heroic struggle over the last few generations, and Djibouti, now attaining full self-government, the administering Power having discharged its responsibilities towards it. The presence of these two States among us brings the United Nations closer to the ideal of universality which my country has always, at all times, most whole-heartedly supported.

5. In the field of foreign relations, every day brings more evidence of the fact that political questions are closely linked to socio-economic matters. One can rightly state that there can be no peace in the world unless at the same time States are willing, on the one hand, to co-operate in solving

the problems stemming from international tension which are always a threat to mankind and a possible cause of armed conflict, or worse still, of a nuclear holocaust, and, on the other hand, to decide to work unceasingly in order to set international economic relations on a foundation of justice and equity and thus contribute to a reduction of the appalling gap between rich and poor peoples. While it is true that peace is the essence of order and the basis for the development of the nobler qualities of the individual, it is also the result of a desire for justice which must inspire all countries, large and small alike, for none can feel removed from the problems which are at the root of international tension, in political as well as economic matters.

6. The United Nations is the contractual expression of this decision. As such, it must be involved in the review and negotiation of every question, whenever collective action proves to be the most appropriate way of stimulating the will to find solutions and thus paving the way towards peace and progress for mankind. For this reason, Ecuador has always sought to strengthen the world Organization, aware as it is of the fact that its fundamental task, as required by the Charter, is to be a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends, these being the preservation and maintenance of international peace and security; the relaxation of international tension, based on the solution of existing problems by peaceful means; the matter of disarmament in general and the limitation of arms purchases; the achievement of effective international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian nature; and the furtherance and promotion of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms.

7. Within the world Organization, to which Ecuador once again pledges its support, my country will continue, moreover, to follow a policy of friendship and co-operation with all others, on the basis of the principles of mutual respect and solidarity in dealing with the problems of mankind.

8. The question of disarmament, one of the constant sources of concern to the United Nations, has been the focal-point of its debates and the object of the aspirations of all peace-loving peoples of the world.

9. It is in the area of general and complete disarmament that the United Nations commitment to improve conditions for mankind is of the greatest importance; yet it is also the area where the least progress has been registered. The peoples of the world view with alarm the fact that a sum of more than \$334 billion is spent on destruction every year, funds which could be put to much better use in improving the quality of life. The arms race, both nuclear and

conventional, is an expensive aberration whose price, paid in terms of lives and universal regression, is the senseless offering that mankind makes to death and destruction.

10. The new and deadly weapons, born of the fertile imagination of scientists, are designed to wipe out all trace of life by making it impossible for the civilian population to find shelter from them; yet these weapons carry the ironic advantage of sparing property.

11. Ecuador believes that it is essential for the international community to give due attention to all the problems which are or could be a cause for the appearance of tensions or for a breach of the peace. The community's peace-keeping activity must prevent conflicts from worsening; it is everyone's responsibility to preserve and maintain international peace and security; it is the common duty to ensure that disputes arising between countries are settled reasonably and justly.

12. While it is undeniably true that the major Powers carry the prime responsibility in this matter, it is nevertheless disquieting to note their growing tendency to handle questions of disarmament on a bilateral basis: this is a problem that affects all members of the international community and concerns their security interests. The small and medium-sized countries cannot remain indifferent and passive in matters of disarmament: such matters are not the preserve of specific Powers, or of the exclusive, but not excluding, "Atomic Club". The future and the very survival of mankind are at stake, and no one has been assigned the role of warden in deciding the fate of mankind.

13. That is why people attach particular importance to what is happening in the United Nations. For this reason, Ecuador attaches particular importance to the next special session of the General Assembly on disarmament and sees it as a great opportunity to direct the efforts of all nations towards the search for solutions which will expedite the negotiations that have been aiming at general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

14. For all these reasons, Ecuador has given close attention to the report prepared by the Group of Consultant Experts on the economic and social consequences of the arms race and of military expenditures [A/32/88 and Corr.1 and Add.1]. Acting with deep pacifist conviction, it has supported the resolutions pertaining to the banning of incendiary weapons and the need to put a stop to nuclear testing, to the banning of the use of chemical as well as bacteriological weapons and also of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction. Ecuador has supported the purposes and objectives of the Disarmament Decade and will continue to do so unconditionally.

15. By virtue of its equatorial location, my country views with particular interest the scientific progress in the field of outer-space exploration; this opens up new prospects for the improvement of man's life on this planet. Ecuador hopes to become a member of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space and asks for the Assembly's support in order that its hopes in this regard may be fulfilled. We have already participated in the Committee's work as observers. In its Legal Sub-Committee this year

Ecuador once more stated its reasons for declaring, together with other equatorial States, its will to exercise its sovereignty over the segments of the geostationary synchronous orbit which are located above its continental, maritime and insular territory. We are determined to maintain this position despite any obstacle that may be put in our way, in regard to this matter of natural resources such as the geostationary orbit. I am bound also to state at this time that such an orbit is a separate and different entity from outer space, the latter being a concept for which the States have not yet found a valid and satisfactory definition.

16. A few days ago my country celebrated with Chile and Peru the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Maritime Zone¹ which the three nations signed in Santiago on 18 August 1952; This Declaration proclaimed, as a norm of the international maritime policy of the signatories, that each of them wields exclusive sovereignty and extends its jurisdiction over the sea to a distance of 200 miles, the purpose being, first and foremost, to preserve the resources of the maritime zone for the benefit of their respective peoples. We are pleased that those principles proclaimed in Santiago have received universal support and that the countries of the entire world have made them an irreversible reality. Ecuador will continue to maintain its well-known position, as stated in all forums and especially at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, that it wishes to reaffirm its claims in this regard: they have become a national reality, established and applied for a quarter of a century, and they are in no way contrary to the *jus communicationis*, as it is practised by all countries around the world.

17. On the question of the Middle East, Ecuador expresses its most sincere hope that Arabs and Israelis will gather as soon as possible around the negotiating table in Geneva. The tension in that part of the world has been most acute and has lasted for too long; the chances that this situation will degenerate into a major conflict increase with each passing day. Occupation by force does not create any rights; therefore the territories held must be returned promptly, and the work done to establish Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab zones must be undone. At the same time there must be full recognition of the State of Israel, created by the United Nations, just as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, independence and sovereignty and to an effective geographical location must also be recognized.

18. The time has come for all people of Mediterranean culture to live together in peace, sharing the opportunity for progress in co-operation with all in the service of the people's interest; therefore it is essential that a global and just settlement of this problem be reached within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly.

19. On the question of Cyprus, my country hopes that both Cypriot communities will reach an agreement, free from any external pressure or interference, that will enable

¹ See *Yearbook of the International Law Commission, 1956*, vol. I (United Nations publication, Sales No. 1956.V.3, vol. I), 362nd meeting, para. 35.

them to live together in brotherhood and in peace. Ecuador pays tribute to the memory of the late Archbishop Makarios, President of Cyprus.

20. My country condemns racial discrimination, which is a problem that has been overcome in our midst, and it energetically condemns *apartheid* as a crime against humanity. It further believes that the attitude of defiance and disregard for the United Nations resolutions on the part of South Africa creates a situation which threatens the integrity of the system of international law.

21. Ecuador is concerned at the tense situation prevailing in southern Africa, which makes for a permanent state of insecurity and anxiety, not only in the whole area, but even at the world level. The continued illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia flouts the principles of the Charter and defies the resolutions of the world Organization. Ecuador therefore stresses once again the urgent need for strict compliance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

22. My country is also following with close attention the developments in Zimbabwe. Faithful to its principles, it disapproves the continuing attitude of the white racist minority which, for many years, has prevented the majority of the population from exercising its right to decide its own future. It is therefore essential that new measures be taken to solve the problem and that Member States show the necessary political will to apply strictly the resolutions of the Security Council which provide for sanctions against that régime.

23. A few days ago, the mandated officials of the American States met in Washington to solemnize by their presence the signature of new instruments concerning the Panama Canal. The negotiations that led up to this event represent a positive step forward towards the solution of one of the problems most adversely affecting relations between nations in the hemisphere. The President of the Supreme Governing Council of Ecuador, commenting on this historical and auspicious event, said:

“Besides putting an end to a serious international problem, the signing of the new treaties is a demonstration of the fact that through fair and honest negotiations, as well as through persistent peaceful dialogue, it is possible to settle the problems and disputes still outstanding in Latin America.”

24. Just as peace and security are inseparable, and breaches or threats of breaches thereof, wherever they may come from, affect and concern all members of the international community, so the disputes that divide these nations are a legitimate cause for concern not only for the parties directly involved, but also for most nations, particularly for those who live in the same region or continent, where a greater impact is felt from the harmful effects of straying from the path of co-operation and the potential consequences in terms of breaches of the peace that inevitably arise from those disputes that remain unresolved.

25. The “spirit of Washington”, particularly noteworthy because of the support it received from the whole of America in the solution of the question of Panama, must continue to inspire all those involved in other outstanding

problems on our continent, in order to strengthen the atmosphere of full trust, perfect harmony and sincere co-operation that must exist among all peoples who build their future on the soil of the Americas.

26. Ecuador therefore seeks, through a frank and cordial dialogue initiated with Peru, a goodwill agreement that would effect a satisfactory solution to its territorial claim, in line with the requirements of its national honour and of its destiny in the Amazon river basin.

27. Respect for human rights and human dignity, both nationally and internationally, is a principle which is ingrained in the Ecuadorian nation.

28. Ecuador deems the promotion of human rights to be a matter that does not exclusively concern each individual State, but involves the responsibility of the formally organized world community.

29. My country believes that individual Member States, as well as the world Organization and the other international organizations, must see to it that human rights are fully observed; this excludes violence, torture and terror, and also poverty and its consequent subhuman conditions. We consider that the all important quality of human rights lies in their very universality. It should be possible to arrange, in the United Nations, for the yearly presentation of a report on the situation with regard to human rights; there would thus be a general critique, or a general expression of appreciation and encouragement, as the case may be—violation or observance—for the particular country concerned. However, the present practice of preferential treatment, with obvious bias in some cases and significant silence in others, cannot continue without prejudice to the system.

30. In any case, the subject of human rights is not in any way negotiable, and it must not, therefore, be used as a means of applying pressure for obtaining advantages in other fields of international relations, such as security, or economic and technical co-operation.

31. Full protection of the human being is only possible through unrestricted observance of his civil, political, social, economic and cultural rights on the national level and, on the international level, through the establishment of a new international economic order, which will give effect, with equity and justice, to the safeguards enshrined in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

32. My country submitted its report on human rights to the appropriate organs of the international system, whose competence it recognizes. They in turn have shown satisfaction at the way human rights are observed in Ecuador and at the implementation of the legislation which protects them. They have also shown their satisfaction in respect of our plan for the legal restructuring of the State, whose implementation is progressing normally, and which will enable the Ecuadorean people to return to a constitutional régime in the near future.

33. Ecuador reaffirms its firm decision in favour of the full implementation of the new international economic

order and regrets that for lack of an agreement in the first half of the Decade, the world should have found itself witnessing dangerous confrontations that may affect the entire world population, unless the developed countries implement the measures laid down for reaching the specific objectives of the International Development Strategy [see resolution 2626 (XXV)].

34. My Government endorses the principle that requires international economic relations to be based on the sovereign equality of all States, with the full and effective participation of all countries in finding the solution to world economic problems, and on the right of each country to adopt the economic and social system which it deems most appropriate. In that context, we ask for the speedy establishment of a fair and just price relationship between the prices of raw materials and of manufactured goods, while at the same time we encourage the influence of the producers' associations that are pursuing the same ends.

35. Ecuador hopes to see international co-operation applied to the elimination of discriminatory practices against producers' associations in countries that export raw materials.

36. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States is an international instrument which makes it possible effectively to protect natural resources, which are the lifeline of future generations, and helps control the entry of foreign capital and technology, with full regard being given to the sovereignty and the laws of each State.

37. Ecuador is aware of the problems caused by the shortage of energy which affect the world today, and of the projected cumulative effect of such shortages in the future; it therefore notes with interest the proposals of the Secretary-General to make a technical study of this factor of human progress,² since my country is in the process of acquiring the technology and other necessary elements to produce nuclear energy for peaceful purposes, as befits its tradition and its international commitments.

38. On the other hand, my country observes with concern the progress of negotiations on the Integrated Programme for Commodities within the framework of UNCTAD. The length of the negotiations relating to the commodities listed in the Integrated Programme³ is in itself evidence of the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries which, despite their protestations of goodwill, have not taken any significant steps to resolve, even partly, the current international trade crisis. Ecuador hopes that the negotiations on the Integrated Programme's common fund will be brought to a favourable conclusion and expects to see a consolidation of the required machinery to set such a programme in motion.

39. My Government appeals to the stronger countries, asking them to show the necessary political will in the

negotiations which are due to start next November, on the establishment of the common fund for financing commodity buffer stocks, which will benefit not only the weak countries, but also the world economy as a whole.

40. Ecuador earnestly requests the political support of the international community to help bring the negotiations on the sugar and banana agreements, in particular, to an early conclusion, since it was noted, during the negotiations that took place in Geneva and Rome respectively, that the industrialized countries did not give the support necessary for the drafting and signature of such instruments.

41. Looking back on the results of the negotiations that brought together industrialized and developing countries, particularly the North-South dialogue held during the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris, it is disheartening to see how limited the results were in terms of basic global policy matters that might have opened better prospects for international economic relations. There can be no isolated policies applicable only to certain aspects of development, nor can there be only transitional measures that are mere palliatives to hunger, poverty and the unequal distribution of wealth, ever present in the world today.

42. The North-South dialogue has not yet ended. Though it started in Paris, it will continue in its natural and universal forum, at the United Nations, which was established for consultation and negotiation and the search for global solutions by consensus likely to guide economic relations and encourage co-operation on the basis of justice.

43. It is the responsibility of the present General Assembly to define a clear mandate and establish a forum for the negotiations that are to follow those initiated in Paris and bring them to a successful conclusion.

44. My country has full confidence in the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations; above all, it considers that the Economic and Social Council must be strengthened so that it may really become the most important operational arm of the international community, upon which the hopes of the needy peoples are founded. The Council must undertake specific tasks in order to rise to the great challenges of our time without dissipating its action through subsidiary bodies. Its role must be strengthened constantly as the co-ordinator of action and the policy director of the United Nations system, faced as it is with the broad array of action by the specialized agencies of the system. Full use has not yet been made of the possibilities available under Articles 62, 63 and 64 of the Charter.

45. In this regard, a matter of great concern is the total absence of representation by the Latin American countries at the top levels of the specialized agencies, and this does not meet the criteria of universality or of equitable geographical distribution at levels of real significance.

46. Ecuador believes that the dynamic and respected presence of the international community is felt in the developing countries through the operational activities of the United Nations. Consequently, it endorses the process of strengthening of UNDP and of its function of co-ordi-

² See document A/32/1, sect. VII; see also *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-third Session*, 2061st meeting.

³ 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).

nation, in support of the plans formulated by Governments in exercise of their sovereign rights; it also feels that the Resident Representatives should also be representatives of the Secretary-General.

47. A serious cause for concern to Ecuador is the current of opinion that holds that resources should be reduced for the countries which have reached the midway point in the process of development, without withdrawing the sources of support from the most backward countries on the scale. Such a thesis cannot be accepted if it means withdrawal of international co-operation from the whole of the Latin American region at the very moment when it is making its most determined effort to find its way to well-being, with full utilization of its natural and human resources, while the technological gap keeps widening alarmingly, separating the advanced countries of the industrial world and those of our region which still depend on markets that offer unfair prices for our raw materials. Ecuador will resolutely oppose any action that implies technological neo-colonialism aimed at withdrawing resources from the Latin American region, on the pretext of concentrating those resources entirely on the world's poorest countries.

48. Meanwhile, the undertaking by the major countries to contribute 1 per cent of their gross national product to the transfer of resources to the developing world, has still not been implemented, save for two or three rare, honourable exceptions. The major countries still remain deaf to this call for justice which requires such a transfer to be made for the safeguard of world peace, under the new international economic order. The aid received by the developing countries helps the great nations who supply this aid to discharge their duties of co-operation in our interdependent world. Thus it is that Latin America, for instance, has started to transfer to other countries, particularly to those that have most recently reached independence, the results of its experience of one and a half centuries of independent life and 32 years of persevering action within the United Nations Nations system.

49. Finally, I believe that it is necessary to underscore the activities relating to the drafting of a code of conduct for transnational corporations and the work of the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations, of which my Government has taken particular note. Ecuador confirms on this occasion that it is convinced that an instrument of such importance should be fully binding in law.

50. Ecuador places its full trust in the United Nations, and in its responsibility in the matter of peace, understanding, international co-operation and the safeguards of coexistence for all countries, large and small. The world Organization offers the best, if not the last, historical opportunity for the survival and progress of the human race, and all countries—not only the great Powers—must use their energy and apply the full force of their will to achieve understanding, without wasting time over matters of procedure, in order to meet the closely interwoven, multiple challenge of insecurity, aggression and under-development, and thus bring about in our generation the realization of a world of justice and peace.

51. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): It gives my delegation great pleasure to salute our present President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov,

the representative of Yugoslavia, which is a founding member of the non-aligned movement and an ardent fighter for the principles of non-alignment and their implementation. It is with great satisfaction that my delegation is participating in the work of the General Assembly at the current session, fully convinced that under your experienced leadership, Mr. President, the Members of our Organization, and in particular those belonging to the non-aligned movement, will rise to the challenges and respond to the opportunities of our changing times.

52. My delegation wishes to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, whose invaluable and dedicated leadership during the Assembly's last session does honour not only to himself and his country but also to the non-aligned movement as a whole. His important and manifold contributions to the work of our Organization are well known and will long be remembered.

53. It is a source of gratification for my delegation to be able at last to welcome the representatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in our midst. Indonesia has consistently supported the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and it participated in sponsoring draft resolutions to that end. Now that it has become a Member of our Organization, my delegation would like to reiterate its conviction that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will contribute positively to the work of the United Nations. We look forward to close and fruitful co-operation with that country within the United Nations system in all matters, particularly those which are of common concern and interest to both our countries and our region.

54. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Government and the people of the Republic of Djibouti on the successful completion of the decolonization process leading to their independence, and to welcome them to membership in our Organization. The completion of this process marks the fulfilment of one of the important objectives embodied in the Charter. My delegation looks forward to close and useful co-operation with the delegation of Djibouti in the General Assembly and other organs of the United Nations.

55. My delegation would also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the Governments of Panama and the United States, in particular General Torrijos and President Carter, on the signing of the Panama Canal treaties. The signing of the treaties indicates that international issues, however intractable they might appear, can be ultimately resolved through negotiations.

56. My delegation wishes to reaffirm Indonesia's continued commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations. Indonesia believes that the United Nations is the best available instrument through which mankind's aspirations for peace, justice, freedom and economic and social well-being can be fulfilled. It is the best vehicle through which the existing world order can be transformed into a more just and equitable one, not through confrontation and armed strength, but through mutual co-operation and understanding, through dialogue and the recognition of the existence of diversity among the Members of our Organization.

57. While acknowledging this diversity, Indonesia believes that, nevertheless, the Members of our Organization are bound together by the many common interests which they share and by the task of having to deal with a continually expanding number of global problems which can be solved only through the concerted action of all nations and which no single nation, however strong and powerful, can solve on its own. Let us therefore, whenever possible, solve problems through consensus and seek solutions which take into consideration the individual needs and interests of Member nations.

58. In reviewing the world situation as it has developed during the past year, the thirty-second session of the General Assembly is confronted by a number of complex and difficult issues such as the Middle East, Cyprus, southern Africa and the question of disarmament which has dominated the agenda since the convening of the first session. The present session is, moreover, faced with the problem of providing the necessary political impetus for the realization of the new international economic order.

59. Let me turn first to the situation in South-East Asia, where an era of protracted and destructive war has passed and a new era of peace has set in. While there is no disagreement with regard to the need for establishing mutually beneficial co-operation between all countries in the region, the fact remains that such co-operation involves countries with different economic and social systems. Indonesia, like the other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], firmly believes that these differences should not stand in the way of establishing friendly and mutually beneficial relationships among all the countries in South-East Asia. I wish to reiterate Indonesia's determination to work with all countries of the region towards the achievement of peace, progress and prosperity.

60. We are well aware that a great many obstacles have made it difficult to achieve any significant progress in the efforts towards implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [see resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. Not the least among those obstacles are the complexities of major-Power involvement in the region, which, for instance, are reflected in the continued escalation of the military presence of those Powers in the Indian Ocean. Indonesia therefore finds some encouragement in the statements made by the leaders of both the United States and the Soviet Union which reflect a more positive attitude towards the principles and purposes of the Declaration. We hope that this attitude will result in a greater willingness on the part of the two Powers to co-operate with the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean. This, in turn, would undoubtedly render the prospects for progress in the Committee's work more favourable.

61. Since the inception of the United Nations, the problem of disarmament has always featured prominently as one of the principal concerns of the Organization. The recognition by the world community of the vital importance of disarmament for world peace and the well-being of mankind is reflected in the relevant articles of the Charter and also in the very first resolution adopted by the United Nations, which addressed itself to problems dealing with nuclear disarmament.

62. The entire history of our Organization has been marked by constant endeavours to give effect to one of its main goals, namely, the establishment and maintenance of international peace and security with the least diversion of the world's human and economic resources for armaments purposes. Mention must also be made of bilateral and regional initiatives taken in the field of disarmament.

63. Notwithstanding the pursuit of numerous and manifold efforts to bring about disarmament measures, the results, to our disappointment, have been marginal. The absence of a strong political will appears to be the main obstacle towards reaching agreement.

64. Recent developments, however, have raised new hopes for real progress towards disarmament. The most prominent of these developments is the resolution adopted by this Assembly last year calling for a special session in 1978 devoted to disarmament [resolution 31/189 B]. Instrumental to this resolution was the decision taken a few months earlier by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries meeting at Colombo.⁴ In this context, it may be recalled that in 1961 the non-aligned group had already called for a special session devoted to disarmament issues or a world disarmament conference. The success of our efforts in the field of disarmament will be conducive to our endeavours to establish a new international economic order. In this connection, we should like to underline the remark made by the Secretary-General in his report:

“Disarmament must therefore be a vital part not only of our efforts to establish a better system of international peace and security, but also of our attempts to restructure the economic and social order of the world.”
[A/32/1, sect. IV.]

65. In spite of the various and persistent efforts currently pursued to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, we must regretfully observe that the situation in the region is seriously deteriorating.

66. The gravity of the situation is the direct result of Israel's continued policy of occupation and expansion and its repressive practices against the Palestinian people. While numerous peace efforts are being pursued at present, Israel defiantly intensifies its policy of colonization by extending Israeli laws to the Israeli-occupied Arab territories on the West Bank and by establishing new settlements.

67. A highly explosive situation once again prevails in the area and may ignite an armed conflict engulfing not only the countries in the region but also inviting the involvement of external Powers. My Government has in no uncertain terms expressed its strong condemnation in regard to those Israeli policies and actions. These policies and actions constitute a violation of the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter, and of relevant United Nations resolutions; they must, therefore, be considered null and void.

⁴ See document A/31/197, annex IV, document NAC/CONF.5/S/RES.12.

68. My delegation wishes to reiterate its considered opinion that the Palestinian question remains at the core of the Middle East problem. No just and lasting peace can be established unless it is based on the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 1967. Indonesia has always maintained that the Palestine Liberation Organization must take part in all discussions regarding the future of Palestine. We hope that an acceptable formula will be found with regard to participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization in any meeting that might be convened in the search for a peaceful solution of the Middle East problem.

69. Indonesia also supports the demand of Moslems all over the world that the holy city of Jerusalem be returned to Arab custody.

70. As regards the Cyprus question, my delegation feels that the process of intercommunal talks initiated under the auspices of the Secretary-General offers the best hope for a just and lasting settlement of this problem. It is, therefore, imperative that the momentum generated by these negotiations should not be lost. My delegation is of the view that a peaceful solution can only be achieved if it gives adequate recognition to the legitimate rights and aspirations of the two communities in an independence non-aligned, bicomunal federal Republic of Cyprus.

71. The deteriorating situation in southern Africa is a matter of profound concern for the international community. Numerous initiatives have been taken under United Nations auspices and on the regional or bilateral levels towards finding a peaceful solution of the problem caused by colonialist oppression and racial discrimination. The adamant refusal by the minority racist régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury to accept a peaceful settlement has forced the peoples of southern Africa to intensify their armed struggle as the only way left open to them to achieve their sacred rights of freedom, independence and human dignity.

72. Two historic meetings under United Nations auspices were held recently in Mozambique⁵ and Nigeria⁶ and focused world attention on the evils of colonialism and racialism which have plagued the peoples of southern Africa for so long. Indonesia took the opportunity, in Maputo and Lagos, to reaffirm its strong commitment to the cause of freedom and racial equality, a commitment founded upon its experience of three and a half centuries of suffering inflicted by the same evils. Let me here, on behalf of the Government and people of Indonesia, once again express Indonesia's firm determination to continue to extend political and material support to those oppressed by racism and colonialism until the last vestiges of those twin evils are eradicated from the face of the earth.

73. My delegation was shocked to learn of the death of the young African leader, Steven Biko, while under detention in a South African prison. His killing, on top of the killings perpetrated in Soweto, will strengthen even

more the determination of the black population in South Africa to fight for its political and human rights.

74. Indonesia considers the armed struggle waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia to obtain freedom and human dignity to be entirely just and legitimate, and therefore lends them its firm support. My Government, however, continues to hope that at some stage a negotiated settlement might possibly be arrived at. We sincerely believe that the most desirable solution is a peaceful one, and we would urge the minority régime in Salisbury and Pretoria, even at this late hour, to accept the inevitable course of history.

75. With regard to Namibia, my delegation reiterates its firm support for the decision taken by the Assembly last year [*resolution 31/146*]—in particular, the call for action by the Security Council.

76. On the question of East Timor, my delegation has made its position clear on a number of previous occasions, most recently in the General Committee of this Assembly at its 1st meeting on 22 September 1977.

77. The problem of East Timor has ceased to exist as a problem of decolonization. Its people, in the exercise of their right of self-determination, have made their choice to be independent through integration with Indonesia, and this process was completed on 17 July 1976. As a result of these developments, East Timor and the East Timorese have become an integral part of the Indonesian nation. Together with their kinsmen in the other provinces of Indonesia, they have now embarked on the long and difficult road of development. In the meantime, a general amnesty has been offered to the FRETILIN⁷ remnants who voluntarily surrender to the provincial authorities no later than 31 December 1977. Quite a number of former FRETILIN followers have made use of this amnesty and have returned to their villages. They are now participating in the reconstruction and development of their province.

78. In the economic sphere, we continue to witness uncertainties, with regard to both the world economic situation and the transformation of international economic relations. While signs of economic recovery are noticeable, the upturn remains hesitant. This situation has led many Governments, particularly in the developed countries, to focus their attention more on short-term problems and measures, and to pay no heed to the interests of the world economy as a whole, with a consequent spread of protectionist tendencies. Such development is not conducive to the expansion of international trade and also hampers the common efforts towards the restructuring of international economic relations.

79. The impact of this kind of development on the economies of the developing countries has been felt more severely on account of their vulnerability to cyclical fluctuations. Their development efforts have been adversely affected by persistent unequal terms of trade, instability of export earnings and erosion of purchasing power.

80. The intensive negotiations undertaken both within and outside the United Nations system in order to bring into

⁵ International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

⁶ World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977.

⁷ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

concrete realization the broad global understandings at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly have so far produced limited results. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation was intended to pave the way to the restructuring of the international economic system in favour of the less fortunate countries, and simultaneously to break new ground in the efforts to resolve the fundamental global economic problems. The results, however, fell far short of the envisaged objectives, because the Conference made little headway in the areas of critical importance to the developing countries.

81. The resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly⁸ which was convened to make an overall assessment of these results was unfortunately not able to arrive at a consensus due to a basic divergence of opinions. We believe, however, that the inability of the session to agree on an assessment should not distract us from the urgent task that lies ahead. What is of paramount importance at this stage is to move vigorously towards the realization of a more balanced and equitable world economy.

82. During the resumed thirty-first session, there was a clear determination to implement without delay matters on which there was agreement. We are encouraged to note that all sides recognize the need to renew and intensify their efforts to secure positive and concrete results, within a reasonable time-frame, on outstanding issues relating to the establishment of the new international economic order.

83. It is against this background that the General Assembly this year will once again focus its attention on the complex and multifaceted problems of international economic co-operation and development.

84. My delegation entertains the hope that our present deliberations could lead to an intensification of negotiations in the process of establishing the new international economic order. To this end the General Assembly should provide guidelines for the conduct of such negotiations in the various bodies of the United Nations system and find solutions to the outstanding problems.

85. We do not suggest that in the General Assembly we should try to agree or negotiate on measures in all their detailed specifications. What is expected from us at this session, in our view, is the enunciation of our basic commitments, principles and decisions that will give major political impetus to the ongoing negotiations in the various existing forums such as UNCTAD, the multilateral trade negotiations and UNIDO. A much higher degree of political determination and readiness will indeed have to be shown in order to advance more rapidly and resolutely towards the attainment of our common objectives and the ramifications and stakes involved in our present common endeavour.

86. It is hardly necessary for me to reiterate the basic premise, that the best solution for the recurrent adverse international economic situation is the structural transformation of the international economic system, based on the recognition of the interdependence of nations and prob-

lems. We are aware that it has not been sufficiently appreciated that the solution of the problems confronting the developing countries could contribute significantly to the global recovery process. From this perspective the international measures so far taken to help the developing countries have not been commensurate with the magnitude of their problems.

87. As a consequence, we are of the view that a global policy of adequate amplitude and scope in favour of the developing countries in the crucial areas of international trade, development finance and indebtedness is urgently required. Such a policy could provide a powerful stimulus to the hesitant upturn in the world economy.

88. The restructuring of the commodity market with a view to strengthening the export earnings of the developing countries must become a major objective of international economic policy. Successful international action to strengthen and stabilize commodity markets as envisaged by UNCTAD's Integrated Programme for Commodities will constitute a break-through in international economic policy and contribute significantly to the over-all restructuring process.

89. The agreement in principle that a common fund should be established as a new entity to serve as a key instrument in attaining the agreed objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, should be translated into a fuller and more specific agreement on the character of the fund. My delegation sincerely hopes that both sides, particularly the developed countries, will make every effort towards the successful conclusion of the forthcoming negotiations on a common fund as well as on individual commodities.

90. Another element of importance to the developing countries in the global economic policy is an increased flow of official development assistance and improved access to capital markets of the developed countries. It is indispensable that the developed countries display their political will to increase such flows to developing countries on a predictable, continuous and assured basis in order to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of the gross national product by the end of this decade.

91. An issue of concern in the current economic context is the problem of the growing external indebtedness of the developing countries. International action to cope with inadequate growth and the rising levels of indebtedness of developing countries can contribute positively and significantly to the improvement of the over-all economic situation. This would entail an interrelated attack on the problems of strengthening the export earnings of developing countries, of increasing the transfer of resources on concessional terms, and of finding effective means to deal with the growing debt problems of developing countries.

92. An essential ingredient for bringing about the structural transformation of international economic relations is the realization of collective self-reliance through the promotion of economic co-operation among the developing countries. Indonesia has long since been convinced that the promotion of economic co-operation among developing countries can contribute significantly to their individual

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

and regional resilience. Within the framework of ASEAN, we have sought joint solutions to the problems of national development and regional co-operation. Based on the Declaration of ASEAN Concord adopted at the first ASEAN summit in Bali in February last year, which outlined the programmes of action for co-operation in various fields, the ASEAN Heads of Government in Kuala Lumpur in August of this year agreed to further expand and intensify the implementation of the programme with a view to attaining its goals and objectives. The Kuala Lumpur summit also constituted another milestone in the history of ASEAN, because it was the first time since its inception that ASEAN as an organization conducted a dialogue at the level of heads of government with a number of developed countries in the region. Based on the directives given by the Kuala Lumpur summit, the economic ministers of ASEAN have taken concrete steps towards intensifying and accelerating the pace of economic co-operation in various fields. Among other measures, they agreed to expand the produce coverage of the ASEAN preferential trading arrangements and to implement the ASEAN industrial projects as soon as possible.

93. Thus, 10 years after the establishment of ASEAN, that Association has grown into a viable and cohesive entity, which, I believe, will not only benefit the economic and social advancement of its member countries but also that of the international community.

94. I would not wish to conclude this statement without registering the appreciation of my delegation for the valuable efforts made by the Secretary-General on behalf of our Organization and for the great services which he has rendered to the international community. We are most gratified that his gifts remain available to us during his second term and that we will continue to have the benefit of his incisive analyses of the challenges confronting our Organization.

95. We share his belief, as expressed in his illuminating report on the work of the Organization [A/32/1], that among the basic problems confronting the United Nations is the need to strike a working balance between the demands of national interests, on the one hand, and those of the international order, on the other. In dealing with the challenges posed by an increasingly interdependent world, the members of the international community must find ways to harmonize these conflicting interests and to make greater use of our Organization for constructive purposes.

96. The United Nations must be made more effective to exercise its harmonizing role and to become the machinery through which the international community joins hands in co-operative efforts towards solving the global issues that confront us today. The strength and the effectiveness of our Organization are dependent primarily and ultimately upon the composite attitude of its Member States. In this regard, we are happy to discern the emergence of a new mood among the international community—a mood characterized by an increasing desire for co-operation and accommodation. Let us capture the opportunities afforded by this spirit of co-operation and accommodation to make our Organization more responsive and better equipped to deal with new problems and new opportunities.

97. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): First, Mr. President, I should like to offer you my congratulations on your election. The United Kingdom delegation looks forward to working under a President so experienced in the work of the United Nations.

98. I should like also to extend a welcome to the two new Members of this Assembly, Djibouti and Viet Nam.

99. The constant struggle to close the gap between aspiration and performance in the United Nations was described 22 years ago by the then Secretary-General as making the difference between civilization and chaos. Today, this gap between aspiration and performance remains and the danger of chaos is ever present.

100. The United Nations has from its inception championed all the most fundamental human rights: the right to live without hunger or disease, in peace, free from conflict and the fear of nuclear or any other kind of war.

101. Appalling and well-documented events naturally focus great attention world wide on the abuse or absence of political, civil and legal rights; and on violations and degradations of the integrity of the person, though the sense of outrage over Chile and Uganda, to take but two examples, has not yet been matched by effective international action. But the global challenge of chronic poverty, malnutrition and disease ensures that we cannot escape our responsibility for economic and social rights.

102. Between 1952 and 1972 the gross product of the advanced industrialized nations increased by \$1.82 trillion. The aggregate product of the under-developed world in 1972 was less than a third of this increase. This statistic is shocking enough. The reality behind it is even more so. It is generally agreed that more than 400 million people have an insufficient protein supply. About 70 million of them are immediately threatened by starvation. In some of the very poorest countries there is a 50 per cent infant mortality rate, and the development of people's brains is literally stunted by protein and calorie insufficiencies. Most of the world's poor only have access to unsafe water. They are, therefore, chronically vulnerable to schistosomiasis, and to filariasis, the leading cause of blindness. In some areas of conflict the disruption of basic social and medical services poses a challenge to world health. We risk a recrudescence of smallpox in the Horn of Africa and a re-emergence of the tsetse fly in east and southern Africa.

103. The human needs of the developing world are an inescapable challenge to us all and a central element in any foreign policy based on human rights.

104. To establish a fairer and more rational international economic order, both developed and developing nations must work together as equal partners. The dialogue, if it is to be successful, must be seen as a long-term sequence of negotiations on specific issues. The Governments of the industrialized democracies are at present under tremendous domestic political pressures to reduce rapidly high rates of unemployment. We need a greater frankness and realism in the dialogue. The present world recession has hit both developed and developing nations. The developing nations will easily become cynical and despairing if the developed

world's actions run counter to its rhetoric. Those of us who represent the industrialized democracies are not entitled to use our economic difficulties as an excuse for abdicating from the dialogue. We must all try to ensure that we develop a long-term strategy which is credible and corrects the effects of some of the short-term decisions which we may feel compelled to take. If we continue into the future the present allocation of resources, we will only perpetuate the existing imbalance between the developed and the developing world.

105. One of the benefits we all derived from the work we did together at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation was a realization of the crucial role that collaboration with regard to energy must play for all sectors of the world economy. It is for this reason that I warmly welcome the Secretary-General's recent proposals for some institutional development within the United Nations framework for the discussion of energy. Its exact form will have to be discussed further—whether an institute, as the Secretary-General has suggested, a new agency, or some other body.

106. The United Nations is rightly devoting a high priority—nearly 40 per cent of its net regular budget—to economic and social activities. Britain, in addition to its own European Community aid programmes, contributed in 1976 some \$85 million to the United Nations work in the economic and social field.

107. In my judgement, despite the immense problems which still face us, in the crucial areas of poverty, hunger and disease, the United Nations has shown itself to be an effective and practical instrument. The institutions of the United Nations have also made a major technical contribution towards a more orderly international environment in, for instance, the fields of labour relations, posts and telecommunications, shipping and civil aviation.

108. But in reducing conflict in the world, in achieving peace and in restraining the armaments race, the United Nations cannot claim that its performance has anywhere near matched its aspirations. It is worth examining the distribution of the total financial effort of the United Nations.

109. The United Nations here in New York, together with the all-important autonomous agencies, spent last financial year some \$2,200 million. Of the total United Nations financial commitment, only 8 per cent went on what can be summarized briefly as political, diplomatic and peace-keeping activities. If words uttered and words written were anything to go by, those activities would occupy a far higher position in our order of priorities than any other United Nations activity. Why do we write and speak so much about this area and yet spend relatively so little on it, for the consequences of conflict are grievous for millions?

110. It is a regrettable fact of life that in institutional terms the maintenance of world security is the most neglected activity within the United Nations. Health, hunger and poverty are issues on which Member nations are prepared to concede an institutional competence and role for the United Nations. But, with few exceptions, security is seen as the preserve of national Governments. We are

prepared to see our doctors, agriculturists, sociologists and economists working together and pooling their expertise within a United Nations institutional framework. But we are reluctant to see our generals and our admirals and our strategic thinkers working within such a framework on behalf of world security.

111. We are all familiar with our own national security problems. But there is all too little understanding of each other's security problems, fears and objectives. We are, as an international body, unable to foresee areas of dispute and to act in time to prevent open conflicts from breaking out. We are unable to act speedily to damp down a dispute in its early stages. The United Nations, if it is involved in a conflict, is usually involved late, and with reluctance.

112. The United Nations is the only forum in which the whole international community is represented. It has the right and the duty to be involved in disputes which threaten peace and stability whether on a regional or on a global scale. But to date it has lacked the necessary authority and commitment, which can only be given to it by Member States for a truly effective security role.

113. In the United Nations we are reluctant to make even modest commitments to international security arrangements. But it is also true that the amount of resources devoted to peace-keeping matters is only a fraction of those employed in the United Nations as a whole, and that the role of the United Nations in peace keeping has in the past received far less attention than it deserves both in speeches from this rostrum and in various committees of our Organization. These facts alone highlight the low priority we give to this area of our Organization's activity.

114. Now, the over-all record of the United Nations in the field of world security is one which we should be prepared to analyse critically, particularly now that the cold-war era and confrontation diplomacy are over and when the super-Powers themselves now exchange detailed information on the most sensitive security issue of all, namely, strategic nuclear weapons. What is needed is for the United Nations to stimulate a specialized and constructive dialogue between Governments on every aspect of world security in a way which would improve the ability of the international community to respond quickly and effectively in situations where action by the United Nations is required. If such a dialogue had been in operation today, we would have been far better able to examine some of the detailed security problems which now confront us all in Africa.

115. The present limitations, as well as the value of the United Nations in its peace-keeping role, are clearly demonstrated by the situation in the Middle East and Cyprus where the United Nations has made a massive, sustained, but all too frequently unappreciated, effort over the years to keep the peace.

116. In the Middle East, the world still faces the most serious of all potential conflicts. The recent resurgence of fighting in southern Lebanon is a sad reminder both of the urgency of finding a solution to the Middle East conflict as a whole and of the difficulties which the Lebanese Government faces in restoring peace and security in that country. One might have thought that here was an obvious

situation in which the United Nations could and should have played a more prominent role. For a number of reasons, which we understand, this has not so far been the case. Nevertheless, the assistance of the United Nations remains a possibility, should the present effort of those in the region fail to yield the success for which we all hope. The United Nations has been involved diplomatically in the whole question of the Middle East since 1947. Its involvement in security arrangements through UNEF and UNDOF has cost more than \$269 million. In the current financial year it will cost \$98 million.

117. The United Nations presence in the Middle East has been at times controversial. But in my view there would have been even greater conflict without it.

118. In the debate about occupied territory, security issues are of central importance and of deep and genuine concern. Hitherto nations have tended to equate security solely with the possession of territories. This is no longer the only relevant security factor. Sophisticated electronic devices can now give a military security which nations had hitherto believed could only come from the physical occupation of territory. The monitoring techniques already in place in Sinai have made possible a measure of disengagement and lessened mistrust between Israel and Egypt. Confidence-building measures, in the shape of demilitarized zones, zones of limited forces, surveillance and early warning systems, and microwave links, could all be an essential component in any final settlement. The United Nations has a role to play, either by supervising and operating these devices or, even more importantly, by promoting an informed public debate on the underlying technical security issues. Now, Mr. Simonet, speaking for the nine member countries of the European Community [7th meeting], has set out our views on the main ingredients of a negotiated settlement, and I do not intend to recapitulate those here this afternoon.

119. The danger of United Nations peace-keeping involvement, initially to hold the ring, is that it can become an excuse for political inactivity or a substitute for serious negotiation. In Cyprus, as in the Middle East, the United Nations peace-keeping forces have reduced hostilities and provided time in which serious negotiations could and, in my view, should have taken place. The meetings between the late Archbishop Makarios and Mr. Denktas, which led to the resumption of the intercommunal talks, appeared to offer the prospect of some progress. The mission undertaken by Mr. Clark Clifford to Cyprus, Greece and Turkey in February and March has also played an important part. But so far the current intercommunal talks have shown sadly little progress, and the situation has, if anything, deteriorated in recent months. The United Nations, in the person of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative Mr. Pérez de Cuéllar, has acted with tremendous skill between the parties. But the present United Nations commitment in Cyprus cannot be taken for granted. In the last 13 years the existence of UNFICYP has cost Member States, by way of voluntary contributions, some \$200 million. Furthermore, UNFICYP is now seriously in deficit to the tune of some \$50 million. The United Kingdom has contributed \$45 million in men and in logistical support. This year our contingent, numbering 800 men, is the single largest contribution. The United Nations does not enjoy

infinite resources, as the Secretary-General's recent appeal for further contributions to UNFICYP made plain.

120. The United Nations cannot therefore in either Cyprus or the Middle East be used indefinitely as a cover for a stalemate in negotiations. It cannot continue to be seen as a refuge of last resort—a permanent crutch for remaining in a state of “no peace, no war”. What the United Nations can do is both to establish the political framework within which negotiations between the parties can take place and, through harnessing the initiatives of its Member States and acting as a catalyst for their ideas, to help to provide the impetus needed to break out of the present stalemate.

121. I turn to southern Africa.

122. It has become increasingly clear that only negotiated settlements which are internationally acceptable and which have the full support of the United Nations will end the violence and achieve stable government by majority rule. This is the hope for a future Zimbabwe and Namibia. In considering how Britain could best exercise its responsibilities in Rhodesia the British Government faced up to the fact that Britain alone could not ensure a peaceful transfer to a majority rule. We also recognized that, though the Commonwealth and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] had a legitimate and major interest in the future of Zimbabwe, neither organization had an institutional framework which could help to provide the stable climate and international recognition for free elections.

123. It was equally clear that, while Britain has legal responsibilities—which we do not seek, and have never sought, to evade—some additional catalyst to make the transition from war to peace, from illegality to legality, was necessary for an internationally acceptable settlement.

124. The United Nations is already deeply involved in the problem of Rhodesia through the various sanctions resolutions. So United Nations involvement is not a new issue of principle for the Security Council. It is probably a realistic constraint on the power of initiative of the United Nations that progress in the Security Council is not possible unless there is a clearly perceived support from the countries of the region in question for the course of action proposed.

125. We believe that the draft resolution which my Government will submit very shortly in the Security Council⁹ has such support. The draft resolution will provide for the appointment by the Secretary-General of a representative to enter into discussions with the British Resident Commissioner designate and with all the parties, with a view to establishing in detail the respective roles of all the forces in Southern Rhodesia during the transition to majority rule. The draft resolution will, we believe, provide the necessary basis for the cease-fire negotiations referred to in the documents which were presented to the Security Council on 1 and 8 September.¹⁰ No final settlement can

⁹ See document S/12404/Rev.1

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, documents S/12393 and S/12395.

be agreed or brought to the Council until these essential preliminary negotiations are completed.

126. Now, it is a truism that the Organization is only what its Members make of it. It is precisely because the British Government is acutely aware of the paradox of the United Nations role—on the one hand, indispensable in the search for peace, and on the other, limited in what it can achieve on its own initiative—that we have framed proposals for Rhodesia which acknowledge the vital importance of a United Nations role in guaranteeing an impartial and orderly framework for negotiations, and in helping to supervise fair and free elections.

127. Our proposals also reflect the blunt truth that peace on the ground is unobtainable unless there is first agreement between the parties who are conducting the fighting. The lesson of United Nations involvement in the Congo and in Cyprus is that a peace-keeping force has little chance of doing its job if, around it, rival armed forces are building up their strength and are determined to use it. This is why the five front-line States and OAU have an important role in helping to achieve an independent Zimbabwe. They have supported the liberation forces in their struggle for freedom, but they have always maintained that it is for the people of Zimbabwe to determine who is to be the future president and who should form the government on independence.

128. Over Namibia the five Western members of the Security Council, including my own country, took an initiative. Negotiations are still in progress, so it is hard to be specific, but we are all under no illusions that, without the support of the United Nations, no settlement can be achieved there which will command the support of the international community, end the violence and allow for a majority-rule government to be freely elected.

129. Now, southern Africa, over the next few months and years, will be the focus of growing tensions. There is at the moment a controlled anger among the majority of the population. The risk that this anger will develop into urban violence is considerable. Those of us here in the United Nations who uphold the essentially peaceful values of a pluralist democracy will come under growing challenge to support violent change. But if we cannot become the advocates of violence and at the same time stay true to our beliefs, our responsibility to the world is to show, beyond any shadow of doubt, that change can be brought about by peaceful means, whether we are talking of Rhodesia, Namibia or South Africa. If we turn our backs on the path of peace—a path of peace—a path which still lies open—then once again the barrel of the gun will be seen to wield more power and influence than reason. Peaceful persuasion and pressures can still achieve results. Violence is the last resort. To advocate it alone is to threaten the whole system of values on which the United Nations rests, and which we are all pledged to sustain.

130. These considerations apply with particular force to the situation in South Africa. South Africa will not be allowed to avoid its responsibilities. It sustains and supports the illegal régime in Rhodesia; it has allowed United Nations sanctions to be systematically undermined since 1967. Within South Africa, *apartheid* is abhorrent to us all.

South Africa faces a choice between a democratic and orderly evolution and an inevitable descent into bloodshed and violence. The choice which South Africa makes may present a challenge to all of us, as Members of the United Nations. Rhodesia is not just an issue for Britain or for the United States, whose support has been so important to my country; it is not just an issue for the freedom fighters, the nationalist leaders, the front-line Presidents, OAU: it is an issue for us all.

131. Over southern Africa the world community and individual Member States may have some awesome and difficult choices in the next few months. These issues cannot be treated with anything other than the utmost seriousness. Certainly, if the negotiations over Rhodesia produced a settlement which the Security Council could endorse, the world would not allow South Africa to continue, in the face of such a settlement, to sustain an obdurate illegal régime in Rhodesia, were it to refuse to give up power.

132. As a world community we are, over South Africa, attempting to change human behaviour, to turn a State away from institutionalized racialism. It will not be achieved overnight, but it must be achieved. Without a serious programme of reform inside South Africa the oppressed majority will have no hope. The tough code of conduct recently adopted by the European Community for its companies operating in South Africa [*see A/32/267*] demonstrates, by attacking racialism at the place of work, one form of positive action which I hope others will also adopt. It is but one of the pressures for continuing change which it is vital we espouse if peaceful change is to be successful.

133. Anxiety over the proliferation of nuclear weapons also lurks in the background. It is in the interests of us all that South Africa should sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*see resolution 2373(XXII)*] and agree to international inspection of all its nuclear installations. A State which feels itself under attack may, regardless of logic or long-term interest, seek to acquire nuclear weapons as an act of desperation. Desperation is the crucible of violence.

134. My Government, traditionally active in seeking disarmament and promoting the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, is engaged in various negotiations. I am particularly glad that the United States, the Soviet Union and my country are now actively negotiating about a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. This achievement has eluded the world for too long. A comprehensive nuclear test-ban would have a profound effect in limiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The development of a specialized dialogue between the Soviet Union and the United States on strategic nuclear weapons and the signing of the first agreement concluded as a result of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*]¹¹ was a major step. We all hope that the present negotiations will be successful. It would have been inconceivable, even 10 years ago, that military and scientific personnel from these two countries

¹¹ Interim Agreement on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, done at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

would share such detailed and highly-classified information about their own national security. We need now to widen and build on this important dialogue.

135. World security involves more than conflict situations. It is intimately associated with the search for practical and realizable measures of disarmament. All Member States aspire to the objective of total disarmament, but the relentless increase in most Member States' armament budgets shows how far performance falls short of aspiration.

136. In the more general field of disarmament, we welcome next year's special session of the General Assembly. It will directly engage the international community and the United Nations in what must be a world effort to promote disarmament and check nuclear proliferation. While certain important disarmament negotiations, such as SALT, are necessarily the subject of a bilateral or restricted dialogue, it is vital that the international community and the United Nations in particular should not be excluded from the disarmament effort. It would perhaps have been easier to secure more accessions by now to the non-proliferation Treaty had the international community as a whole, as opposed to a small group of major nuclear Powers, been more closely involved in drawing up its provisions at the start. It means, however, that if the United Nations is to be involved meaningfully it must move from just passing resolutions to the intricacies and the detail of complex scientific negotiations. It will need to develop and expertise that can work in the interests of all the Member States.

137. The search for peace, the promotion of human rights and individual freedom, the elimination of poverty and want in all its forms—these are formidable but inescapable challenges. To meet them our performance will have to move closer to our aspirations. To succeed in this endeavour we must make, in the recent words of the Secretary-General, "a conscious effort to develop more positive attitudes to the work of the United Nations both among ourselves and in the outside world".¹² In Britain, support for the United Nations is a corner-stone of our foreign policy. We for our part are resolute in our determination to help make the United Nations a more effective instrument for world peace and co-operation.

138. Mr. ANDERSEN (Denmark): The general debate at the start of the Assembly session is of special importance again this year not only because of the statements made in this hall, which attract the attention of the world public, but also because of the opportunity that the presence of a great number of members of government provides for informal contacts on some of the burning issues in world affairs. I emphasize this aspect because it is perhaps more urgent than ever that these opportunities be used with good will and imagination. In my expectations for this General Assembly, this has been a primary consideration. Therefore I am happy that the Secretary-General also has stressed it in his report this year on the work of the Organization [A/31/1, sect. XII].

¹² Statement by Secretary-General to the United Nations Correspondents Association on 15 September 1977.

139. I should like first of all to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to preside over this Assembly. You have played an important part in the noble efforts of your country to promote understanding between East and West and between North and South. You are thus eminently qualified for the high office with which you have been entrusted.

140. Next I wish to welcome the Republic of Djibouti—our new neighbour in this hall—and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose admission we have strongly and actively supported. We all know the central position of that country in South-East Asia, and we are looking forward to the constructive contribution it can make to the work of this Organization.

141. The United Nations was conceived during the Second World War by nations upon which the war had inflicted unprecedented sufferings and which were now determined that in the future law should replace power in international relations, and conflicts between States should be settled by political and legal procedures, not by military means. Since then certain factors in international developments have reduced the applicability of classic power politics. The explosive development of means of communication now compels every State, big or small, to consider carefully the impact of its actions on world opinion. In this context the existence of the United Nations as a forum for international debate, at the same time reflecting and influencing world public opinion, is extremely important.

142. Three crucial issues in southern Africa are again before us this year in the United Nations.

143. It is the earnest hope of the Danish Government that a free, independent Zimbabwe will emerge in a very short time. Denmark welcomes the proposals for a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe which the United Kingdom recently put forward with the support of the United States. Denmark whole-heartedly associates itself with the objectives of this plan. The proposals probably represent the last opportunity for a peaceful solution. We note with satisfaction that initial steps to carry out a peaceful settlement are now being taken within the framework of this Organization. Together with the other members of the European Community, we have expressed our support for a peaceful solution. We are firmly convinced that such a solution would be in the best interests, first and foremost, of Zimbabwe but also of the countries and peoples in that region working hard for their development. Denmark has, together with the other Nordic countries, expressed its readiness to assist, within the framework of the United Nations, in the implementation of a peaceful solution.

144. The Danish Government also supports the activity now in progress aiming at a peaceful settlement of the question of Namibia. In this connexion, too, we are ready to offer our services within the framework of this Organization so as to facilitate a peaceful transition.

145. South Africa insists on maintaining its *apartheid* system. It is deeply disturbing that South Africa cannot see the writing on the wall. Denmark is taking an active part in two regional studies on how increased pressure can be brought to bear on South Africa by wider economic

measures and a binding arms embargo. These studies are being carried out by the nine members of the European Community and by the five Nordic countries. Denmark's policy in this respect has been stated on many occasions. The important task before us now is to agree on realistic measures which would be effective and enjoy wide international support. From this General Assembly the message to South Africa must be clear, as the representative of the United Kingdom said a while ago. South Africa faces a choice. South Africa is the one to choose between peaceful and violent change. South Africa has no other choice. Change is inevitable. South Africa has the means to bring about a change which is long overdue and indeed indispensable. This change, if it is to be achieved peacefully, must occur swiftly.

146. We have just learned about the tragic death of yet another victim of South African policy, Mr. Biko, an outstanding champion of non-violence. How many new victims must lose their lives before South Africa feels compelled to abandon this abhorrent policy?

147. As to the tragic conflict in the Middle East, the European Community has tried to offer positive contributions to the peace process. The declaration of the nine European Heads of Government of 29 June this year stressed the need for all parties to show flexibility and to work in a spirit of co-operation. As the President of the Council of the Community said yesterday [7th meeting], we remain convinced that a peace settlement should be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). It is not through acquisition of territory by force that the security of the region can be assured. Security must be based on commitments to peace by all the parties concerned with a view to establishing truly peaceful relations.

148. We underline the need for Israel to end the territorial occupation which it has maintained since 1967.

149. We also underline that the Arab side should be prepared to recognize the right of Israel to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

150. A solution to the conflict is only possible if it takes into account the need of the Palestinian people for a homeland. The Palestinians, for their part, must agree to live in peace with Israel.

151. We consider it most important that all parties refrain from measures which would make the ongoing peace efforts still more difficult. We have therefore expressed our concern about recent Israeli steps to legalize new settlements in the occupied territories.

152. It is our sincere hope that the ongoing efforts to bring the parties involved to the negotiating table will soon succeed. The Palestinians should be secured participation in the negotiations in a manner to be worked out in consultation with all the parties concerned.

153. In recent years, United Nations efforts to give effect to the human rights provisions of the Charter have concentrated on economic and social rights.

154. The Danish Government welcomes this development, which underlines the close interrelationship between the work to secure respect for human rights and the establishment of a new international economic order. In Denmark we have tried to contribute actively to the promotion of economic and social human rights. This is borne out by our assistance for many years to developing countries, and by our attitude in the North-South dialogue.

155. However, the strengthening of economic and social human rights should go hand in hand with the efforts of the Organization and of Member States to attain respect for civil and political rights.

156. At the focus of the attention of the Danish Government and of Danish public opinion are the many violations of the integrity of the individual that are taking place in many countries in all parts of the world—in all parts of the world. I have in mind particularly acts such as torture, the inhuman or degrading treatment of prisoners, the summary execution of political opponents and the many violations of other fundamental human rights, such as persecution on ideological, political or religious grounds. These violations are taking place, overtly or covertly, in spite of the fact that all the States Members of the United Nations have undertaken to promote, in collaboration with the United Nations, the respect for and observance of human rights.

157. Such violations, wherever they occur, are to be condemned. The fundamental principle of respect for the individual, which is a corner-stone of the United Nations Charter and a condition for lasting peace and security, must hold a much more prominent place in the consciousness of all Governments and all peoples.

158. Again, at this General Assembly, Denmark will, therefore, join in efforts to ensure that all people, without discrimination of any kind, enjoy all human rights, and that all States, regardless of their political system, recognize and respect these rights. In our view, the international protection of human rights can best be achieved by legally binding treaties and appropriate international control. We hope, therefore, that all the United Nations human rights instruments will not only be universally adhered to, but also abided by in a manner conducive to general progress towards the realization of the humanitarian goals of the United Nations Charter. Violations of human rights are not only internal matters, but problems of legitimate international concern.

159. We warmly welcome any realistic effort to combat international terrorism. World-wide co-operation in this field is essential. Denmark, like a number of other Member States of this Organization, has already acceded to several important international conventions aimed at preventing and punishing various forms of terrorism. It is our hope that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Drafting of an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, established at the last session of the General Assembly [resolution 31/103], will be able to produce a result that can obtain general support. We respect the valuable contribution to the prevention of terrorism made each time a government resists the pressure of terrorists.

160. The development of military technology and the stockpile of nuclear arms of enormous destructive capacity have made ruthless military pursuit of the great-Power interests of earlier times in all parts of the world impossible. They have not, however, ruled out the possibility of a nuclear catastrophe nor the recourse to arms to settle regional disputes.

161. Almost 10 years ago the parties to the non-proliferation Treaty solemnly undertook to halt the nuclear arms race at an early date and to proceed to nuclear disarmament. Since then, we have seen what almost looks like a race against time between diplomacy and military technology, a race in which the odds, I am sorry to say, are against the negotiators. Against this background, we take some comfort in the recent news about progress in the SALT talks. In contrast to many words and simplistic campaigning against the armaments race, these talks, the SALT talks, based as they are on the necessity of maintaining a military balance while negotiating, represent a realistic and constructive peace policy.

162. The special session on disarmament, which is to meet next year, should serve as a much needed catalyst for ongoing arms control and disarmament negotiations at the global, regional and bilateral levels, and should inspire each and every country, whether big or small, allied or non-aligned, nuclear or non-nuclear, to make realistic contributions towards the attainment of our ultimate goal: general and complete disarmament covering both nuclear and conventional arms, under strict and effective international control.

163. The special session will inevitably focus public attention on the intolerable burden which massive arms expenditure places on the economic, social and scientific development of nations. Substantial progress in the field of disarmament could release, for more constructive use, vast material and human resources which are now being absorbed for military purposes. Therefore, we support the Swedish proposal for a thorough United Nations study which would deal with the effect of military spending on all relevant aspects of the economy, and examine methods for the planned reallocation of resources for civilian purposes. In many countries—developing as well as developed—military budgets are a heavy drain on the funds needed for the solution of serious economic problems. Even in wealthy industrialized countries much remains to be done to improve the quality of the citizens' lives. A step towards this aim could be universal and comparable reductions in military budgets.

164. The North-South dialogue has now moved on to substantive talks on the central elements of a new international economic order. Since the sixth and the seventh special sessions of the General Assembly international economic problems have been discussed extensively at the fourth session of UNCTAD and at a number of United Nations conferences. They have most recently been discussed at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris, where agreement was reached on some issues. At this General Assembly and in our future work within the United Nations system we shall try to give substance to the solutions agreed upon at the Conference. I pledge the full co-operation of the Danish Government in

these negotiations as well as in the further negotiations on the issues in the North-South dialogue which were not solved in Paris.

165. Further progress requires constructive attitudes on the part of all concerned. In all countries—developed as well as developing—public understanding and support are essential conditions for change. This implies an awareness of the necessity to take measures and to supply the means required for achieving a new international economic order. It also implies that the developing countries will continue their work towards a more just and equitable society.

166. A complicating factor is the serious recession and unemployment throughout the developed world. This recession must be overcome, not by protectionist measures as in the past, but by improved international co-operation in the future.

167. Economic instability can ruin any country's development planning and tends to widen the income gap between nations. Greater stability must therefore be a clear goal in our efforts to bring about a new international economic order.

168. As a key element of these efforts I see measures to stabilize the commodity markets for the developing countries. In this context I find it of paramount importance to achieve substantial and satisfactory results at the negotiations on the establishment of a common commodity fund.

169. Reduction of economic vulnerability—not least in the case of developing countries—is also obtainable through diversification of the economic sectors. It is imperative, therefore, that all nations contribute to such a process by the widest possible liberalization of trade and by co-operating in the industrialization process.

170. As for new fields of co-operation I should like, as Mr. Owen did a short while ago, to refer especially to the proposal made by the Secretary-General in respect of the energy sector [*see A/31/1, sect. VII*]. We hope that these ideas among others will be included in the discussions of ways in which global energy problems can be further dealt with.

171. In our efforts to create a new international economic order, official development assistance will remain a most important factor, especially in the poorest of the developing countries. The aim should be to promote political independence, and growth not as an aim in itself but in order to advance social progress. At the same time all assistance must be offered without political conditions and with full respect for the integrity of the developing countries concerned. It is the main responsibility of the developing countries themselves to generate and plan the development process. At the same time it must be understood that one of the main objectives of the assistance offered to this process is to implement a basic needs strategy.

172. Regrettably the aid effort of some of the major industrialized countries, in the East as well as in the West, is not commensurate with their economic strength, and they often lag far behind some of the smaller industrialized

countries in this respect. We appeal to all developed countries in the East and the West to reach the 0.7 per cent target which is part of the present development strategy. For its part Denmark expects to reach that 0.7 per cent target in 1979.

173. When the United Nations was founded 32 years ago, it had 50 Members. Today, the membership has almost trebled. The quantitative progress is thus impressive, and it is most gratifying to see that the Organization has been able to develop according to the principle of universality which is so essential to its functioning.

174. Representatives of all States have come to accept debate in the United Nations as an important instrument of their foreign policy. The influence of a State no longer depends only on the number of battalions it can muster, but also on the strength of its arguments.

175. The responsibility for safeguarding the security and welfare of our peoples rests upon the Governments of all Member States. Our peoples are entitled to expect effective action of us. As a universal forum the United Nations is unique. Our Governments have here the possibilities of co-operating in living up to these expectations.

176. Mr. SHAHI (Pakistan): Mr. President, permit me to extend our warm congratulations to you on your election to the high office of President of the General Assembly. Your elevation is a tribute to your vast experience and deep knowledge of the work of the United Nations as well as to the important role played by Yugoslavia in world affairs.

177. I should also like to express my delegations's deep appreciation of the distinction with which Ambassador Amerasinghe presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, and for his contribution as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, to mention but a few of his manysided achievements.

178. The admission of Viet Nam and Djibouti to membership in the United Nations has moved us still closer to the goal of universal representation in the world Organization. Pakistan was in full sympathy with the epic struggle of the Vietnamese people and we are gratified to see this heroic nation take its rightful place in the United Nations. We also welcome the admission of the brotherly Republic of Djibouti, whose independence marks a further step in the process of decolonization.

179. The world is, as always, in the process of change. Although the trend towards coexistence between the two major military blocs has been maintained over the last year, the relations between those blocs have not been altogether free of a degree of unease and suspicion reminiscent of a past era. In other parts of the world too, while there have been encouraging developments such as the signing of the Panama Canal treaties, persisting as well as new problems provoke anxious concern for peace. There is a general awareness that glaring inequalities in the distribution of political and economic power constitute the most serious threat to international stability and are in increasingly urgent need of correction and solution.

180. Within Pakistan, an acute political crisis followed the controversial elections of last March. Serious political discord and the threat of renewed violence compelled the armed forces of Pakistan to assume the responsibility for the administration of the country for an interim period. The objective was to restore a climate in which fair and free elections will be held, and thus to reinstate the process of democracy.

181. The election campaign is now in progress in an atmosphere of complete freedom and security. The state of emergency, imposed as long ago as 1971, has recently been lifted. The head of the interim Government, General Mohammad Zia-ul-Haq, has declared and reiterated his firm resolve to transfer power to the elected representatives of the people after the national elections, scheduled for 18 October.

182. The internal developments in Pakistan imply no change in our foreign policy, which is based on the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and dedicated to the strengthening of mutually advantageous relations with all countries of the world. In its very first policy pronouncement the interim Government affirmed its resolve to abide by all international agreements, commitments and undertakings entered into by predecessor Governments. As in the past, Pakistan continues to attach primary importance to the maintenance and further development of its relations with all the major Powers. And, in conformity with the deepest aspirations of the people of Pakistan, the interim Government is determined further to consolidate and reinforce fraternal ties with Iran, Turkey, the brotherly Arab States and other countries, especially those of the third world.

183. A month ago Pakistan and Bangladesh initiated further steps to reinforce their close ties of faith, culture and a shared history. With Afghanistan we shall continue our endeavours to normalize relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence and good-neighbourliness.

184. In relations between Pakistan and India, the process of normalization set into motion by the Simla Agreement of July 1972 has maintained satisfactory progress. Though inevitably gradual, the pace of normalization could accelerate, given a continuity of commitment to the universally recognized principles of mutual respect for sovereignty and independence and non-interference in internal affairs, and a peaceful settlement over Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan will continue to strive for a just and honourable settlement of this 30-year-old dispute in accordance with the Simla spirit and on the basis of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

185. It is recognized that lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without Israeli withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish a State of their own. For their part the Arabs have made a substantial concession by expressing their readiness to accept the right of all States in the region to live in peace with one another. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) was adopted in the wake of the Israeli aggression of 1967

and reflected the weight of military victory. However, the decisions of the United Nations, taken together, and the policies of all major Powers and groups of countries postulate the threefold condition of Israeli withdrawal, a Palestinian State and peaceful coexistence for the settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Yet, the hope for peace remains elusive. In respect of each of these conditions, Israeli policy has moved from ambiguity to intransigence. The notion that Israel should annex the West Bank because it was the site of the biblical lands of Judaea and Samaria is an assertion of the right of conquest and has nothing to do with peace and security among nations. Similarly, Israel's refusal to deal with the rightful and recognized representatives of the people of Palestine is intended to wipe out the very identity of a people with ancient and historic roots in occupied territories. The establishment of Jewish settlements on the West Bank and the extension of Israeli laws to that territory have the same end in view. The statements and actions of the new Israeli Government demonstrate clearly that Israel's objective is not security but expansion and domination. The United Nations is committed by its decisions to total Israeli withdrawal from occupied territories as also to the creation withdrawal from occupied territories as also to the creation of a sovereign Palestinian State. The General Assembly must therefore denounce the recent Israeli moves as illegal and as an obstacle to peace. They have been so denounced by Israel's closest supporters. Those obstacles must be removed if deepening frustration and tension are not to lead to yet another armed conflict in the area—a conflict whose political and economic consequences will be disastrous and are not likely to be confined to the region.

186. In southern Africa as in the Middle East, a viable peace can be evolved only on the basis of principles which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and form the basis of the pertinent decisions of the Organization. The question in Zimbabwe is the transfer of power to the representatives of the black majority, and in this context the maintenance of law and order during the transition period assumes particular importance. We believe that the Owen-Young proposals regarding arrangements for transfer of power to the majority community are a step in the right direction and contain positive elements. However, the provisions for a peaceful transition must allow no loop-holes that would permit the Smith régime to obstruct in any way the transition to majority rule in the shortest possible time. We consider that in the interests of all the inhabitants of Zimbabwe, whatever their race or affiliation, the United Nations should not shirk from taking firm action under Chapter VII of the Charter to defeat Mr. Smith's intransigence.

187. Resolute action in accordance with United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolution 385 (1976), is also necessary in the case of Namibia. The mediatory effort of the five Western Powers requires for its success that the world Organization should be prepared to act decisively at this stage. It is the legal and moral responsibility of the United Nations to supervise Namibia's transition to independence with the full participation of the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people, namely, the South West Africa People's Organization. We must also make it clear that the armed forces of South Africa have no

right to be present in Namibia, nor is there any legal title for South Africa's retention of Walvis Bay.

188. *Apartheid* and minority rule in South Africa are indeed at the heart of the crisis in southern Africa, and it is in this very bastion that the struggle is being waged most tenaciously. The Lagos Conference marks a further important success for the African peoples and nations in their long struggle against *apartheid*. It is a struggle based on the highest principles of humanity, which Pakistan has supported with every means at its disposal, and we continue to express our strongest solidarity with the African peoples in their fight against the vicious doctrine and practice of *apartheid*.

Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

189. Events in South Africa are indeed coming to a head. The death, while in police custody, of Steven Biko is only the latest in a series of actions that can only be described as official murders. These actions demonstrate the brutal and inhumane nature of the South African regime. They symbolize the bravery and determination of those who oppose it. They also foretell their inevitable and ultimate triumph.

190. Pakistan shares the growing concern with regard to human rights. It does not seem appropriate or fair, however, selectively to single out certain situations and to ignore even graver violations elsewhere. Nor can concern for the rights of individuals within States be permitted to diminish the tempo of the movement for the realization of the collective rights of peoples. The first priority must remain to secure equal rights and self-determination for oppressed peoples and to ensure the basic necessities for a life of dignity to the impoverished masses of the third world.

191. It is tragic that in this era of technological miracles, the international community has been unable to provide for even the minimum needs of nearly half of humanity. The enormous gap in living standards between the rich and the poor is growing each day. According to World Bank projections, during the decade ending in 1985 the annual *per capita* incomes of the developed countries are expected to grow by \$2,600 as against a mere \$30 for the poor countries.

192. Despite the adoption of the International Development Strategy, the Declaration and Programme of Action on the New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the consensus of the seventh special session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*], very little has been done in concrete terms to meet the pressing problems of the third world, and nothing to rectify the underlying causes. The agreements reached at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation¹³ were limited both in scope and substance. The 18 months of negotiations in Paris reflected the continuing divergence between the declarations and the actions of the developed countries. The resumed thirty-first session was unable to agree even on a common evaluation of the results of the Paris Conference.

¹³ See documents A/31/478 and Corr.1 and A/31/478/Add.1 and Corr.1.

193. Indeed, the policies of the developed countries have registered a marked regression. Aid levels have stagnated at less than half the agreed target; the distribution of international financial reserves remains as inequitable as ever; and there is an ominous trend towards protectionism apparent in the developed countries. This, together with spiralling import prices, an alarming debt burden, imported inflation and depressed commodity markets have confronted the poorest countries with large financial deficits and reduced their already marginal growth rates. Their balance-of-payments deficits now amount to \$10 billion, and *per capita* incomes do not grow by more than 2 to 3 per cent. Solutions to these problems must be found if economic and political disruption is to be averted over a large area of the world.

194. The developing countries have increasingly come to recognize that their salvation lies in a collective endeavour to promote economic co-operation and to strengthen their own unity and solidarity. Pakistan is convinced that both these objectives can be significantly advanced through a summit meeting of the developing countries.

195. The foreign ministers of the developing countries are to meet in the next two days to consider, among other things, the means of reviving the momentum in the North-South dialogue. We believe that the General Assembly at its current session should identify the key areas in which progress should be made and evolve guidelines for the forthcoming negotiations to be held in various international bodies. In our view, urgent action is imperative in the areas of the transfer of resources, debt, monetary reform, trade in commodities and manufactures, the transfer of technology and industrialization.

196. In the Programme of Action towards the goal of a more equitable system of international economic relations, the transfer of technology from the developed to the developing nations is of crucial importance. No country should be hindered in choosing for itself the kind of technology that is appropriate to its needs. It is, therefore, a matter of concern that during the last two years the London Club¹⁴ has devised unilateral restrictions on the transfer of nuclear technology, particularly to the developing countries. At two recent scientific conferences held at Persepolis and at Salzburg, it was the general consensus that nuclear energy was competitive with the other sources of energy and that it was vitally needed by countries deficient in fossil fuels. It was also recognized that those countries embarking on nuclear power programmes must be able to count on the timely availability of adequate supplies of nuclear fuel and the services of the nuclear fuel cycle in order to assure a degree of independence from energy imports. FORATOM—that is, the European Atomic Forum—took the lead in asserting that:

“...an economic use of nuclear fuels by means of recycling, reprocessing and advanced reactors represents for most [of the European countries] not only assets but a real need which they cannot renounce”.

FORATOM went on to say that this was all the more important for economic progress in the developing countries.

¹⁴ See *World Armaments and Disarmament: SIPRI Yearbook 1977* (Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1977), appendix 1A.

197. The danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons does not arise from those countries that have submitted their facilities to IAEA safeguards. The danger arises from those other countries which do not have safeguarded nuclear fuel cycle facilities. Yet, it is not these threshold nuclear-weapon Powers that are the focus of attention. Paradoxically, it is the countries that accept international safeguards that are the target of a policy of pressure and discriminatory restraints. Demands have been made that agreements and contracts relating to the transfer of nuclear technology, even though subject to the most stringent international safeguards, should be abrogated or renegotiated.

198. In some cases the nuclear suppliers have unilaterally terminated supplies and services in violation of their solemn undertakings, threatening to shut down essential services facilities or to abandon their completion, as a form of pressure to secure compliance with their demands.

199. The repudiation of binding contracts would not only erode confidence in the sanctity of international agreements, but would create the most serious reservations in the minds of the developing countries. There is no justification for denying to the poor nations what the rich nations find no reason to deny to themselves. If countries with abundant reserves of coal, gas and oil cannot renounce reprocessing and recycling, is it right and just to force the developing countries which lack such conventional sources of energy to renounce for all time the possibility of benefiting from the nuclear fuel cycle?

200. This is the issue facing Pakistan, a developing country seriously deficient in fossil fuels and therefore in need of developing its peaceful nuclear power programme. It has contracted for the acquisition of a small reprocessing plant under the strictest possible safeguards, which have been approved by the IAEA. Pakistan has no nuclear facilities outside international inspection, unlike certain other countries which possess entirely unsafeguarded nuclear cycles. Pakistan's record in the observance of safeguards is impeccable. Pakistan's efforts to strengthen the non-proliferation regime established by the non-proliferation Treaty are well-known. Also, Pakistan was the prime mover in the convening of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States.¹⁵ It is the proponent of the move to create a nuclear-weapon-free zone in South Asia which would free the entire region from the danger of proliferation. It has sought to strengthen the security of the non-nuclear States and to reduce the inducement for them to acquire the nuclear option. Consequently, there is no danger of proliferation from Pakistan.

201. The twin objectives of harnessing nuclear energy in the service of mankind and at the same time preventing its diversion to military purposes can and must be fully reconciled. My delegation would suggest that at its current session, the General Assembly approve a set of principles for the transfer of nuclear technology and facilities for peaceful purposes. These could include the following: international co-operation to ensure the optimum use of nuclear energy for power generation and other peaceful applications; the determination by each State, without

¹⁵ Held at Geneva from 29 August to 28 September 1968.

external interference, of its own nuclear energy needs and programmes; the application of universally determined and accepted safeguards to the nuclear facilities of non-nuclear States; non-discrimination in the conditions for the supply of nuclear equipment and technology to recipient States; and respect for the sanctity of international agreements and contracts.

202. The proposals for the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia have acquired even greater urgency in view of the reported preparations by South Africa to explode a nuclear device. No less immediate is the danger in the Middle East and in South Asia. We, therefore, urge the major nuclear Powers and their allies to adopt a more positive position on these proposals.

203. At its thirty-first session, the General Assembly called for consultations among the States of South Asia with a view to establishing a nuclear free zone in the region [*resolution 31/73*]. Despite the willingness of most of the regional States to enter into such consultations, a meeting for this purpose has not yet been found possible. We have noted the declarations of Prime Minister Desai of India, expressing a commitment not to develop nuclear weapons. For our part, we have always felt that this commitment and those given by the other States of South Asia need to be embodied in a formal multilateral instrument. Our proposal for the establishment of a South Asian nuclear-weapon-free zone offers complete assurance against the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

204. More resolute action is also required to establish a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. The stability of this vital area cannot but be affected by the military presence of outside Powers and the encouragement of hegemonic tendencies within the region. The creation of a zone of peace would therefore require the elimination of both these dangers as well as the prohibition of nuclear weapons from the area. We note that the super-Powers have initiated bilateral consultations on the subject of their military presence in the Indian Ocean. We believe, however, that full consultations on this entire question should take place in the *Ad Hoc* Committee with the participation of all the States concerned.

205. The ever growing nuclear arsenals of the two super-Powers pose the gravest threat to international peace and security. While we note that the United States and the USSR will do nothing incompatible with the Agreement reached at the first round of the SALT talks after it expires in the next few days, we are concerned that the Vladivostok agreements are yet to be translated into an accord at the second round of the SALT talks. Nor have the two super-Powers come to grips with the crucial problem of actual reductions in their nuclear-weapon stockpiles and delivery systems. We cannot but express our disappointment that they have not yet been able, even 10 years after their solemn pledge in the non-proliferation Treaty, to bring about nuclear disarmament. The proposal put forward by President Carter in this forum on 17 March for deep reductions in the nuclear offensive systems of each side, was, in our view, praiseworthy in the spirit of its general approach. Any agreement would, of course, need to respect the central principle that each step of nuclear disarmament

is not to the advantage of one side or at the expense of the other. So we note with satisfaction from Foreign Minister Gromyko's statement of this morning [*8th meeting*] that the Soviet Union for its part has found it possible to come forward with its proposals for actual reductions of such weapon systems.

206. Pakistan has consistently endeavoured to strengthen the non-proliferation régime established by the Treaty on the non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and by Security Council resolution 255 (1968) on security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States. The two instruments constitute an integral whole. Since that time, we have tried our best to focus attention on the imperative need to strengthen this Security Council resolution in order to make the assurances more credible. As a result of efforts extending over a decade, Pakistan was able to promote, at the last session of the General Assembly, a wide measure of consensus on a resolution putting forward a specific formula. We would again urge the nuclear Powers to give serious consideration, as invited by this resolution, to extending an undertaking not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against those non-nuclear States which are not parties to the nuclear security arrangements of some nuclear Powers [*resolution 31/189 C*].

207. The Charter of the United Nations conceives of a just and stable structure of international peace and security built on the universal principles of sovereign equality and independence of States. Such a structure of peace is incompatible with hegemony or assertions of regional predominance. In this context I cannot help but deprecate statements which seek to confer pre-eminent status to one or the other country in this or that region. The award of such a role clearly undermines the principle of sovereign equality upon which relations between States, large or small, are based. Far from contributing to stability in South Asia, such doctrines do a disservice to the process of reconciliation and peace. My delegation feels that the forthcoming special session on disarmament should, in its declaration, commit all States to eschew attempts at domination of any kind.

208. The policy of selective denial of arms will merely aggravate military imbalances, and will heighten a sense of insecurity in those countries which are adversely affected. Regional tensions and instability are the almost inevitable consequence. We believe that a coherent and even-handed policy of restricting arms sales should not be divorced from the indigenous military production capability of the recipient State. Armaments, whether produced at home or imported from abroad, serve precisely the same purpose. A great majority of developing countries do not manufacture defence equipment themselves. Equal restrictions on arms transfer to these countries could have an unequal effect and leave them virtually defenceless.

209. The forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament provides the opportunity not only to formulate a political declaration and action programme but also to achieve some meaningful agreements on specific proposals for limitation and control of armaments and disarmament on a global as well as a regional basis. The special session can also serve to strengthen the non-proliferation régime established by the non-pro-

liferation Treaty. To these ends, the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament should, in our opinion, address itself *inter alia* to concrete measures such as creation of zones of peace and of nuclear-weapon-free zones in Africa, the Middle East, South Asia and the South-West Pacific; formulation of credible security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States; and the promotion of regional negotiations on mutual and balanced reduction of military forces, armaments and expenditures.

210. In case the special session of the Assembly fails to reach some concrete agreements on these issues, it may become necessary to consider the reconvening of the Conference of Non-Nuclear-Weapon States to consider measures by which their security can be safeguarded in the nuclear era.

211. The world situation continues to be dominated by the challenge of unfulfilled hopes. It presents a picture of striking contrasts. Colonial empires have fallen to the forces of freedom. But political independence has not assured the emergent nations full control over their destiny. These nations remain subject to an inequitable economic system which was designed to serve the aims of domination and exploitation. Their security is constantly exposed to the pulls and pressures of the politics of power.

212. The promise held out by the Charter of a community of nations acting collectively to safeguard peace and promote prosperity throughout the world still remains a distant goal. This promise can—and it must—be realized. Those States which possess greater power have the greatest obligation to work towards a just and stable world order. Their policies and actions, if inspired by a vision of an interdependent world, can make an immense contribution to the realization of this objective. Yet, it is always the weak and the dispossessed who must struggle for change. Thus, the countries of the third world, too, have an equal responsibility to bring to bear their distinctive contribution to the collective efforts for a better world.

213. Pakistan is committed to this objective of a democratic and equitable world order. We shall continue to work actively for this goal within and outside the United Nations.

214. Mr. KHALATBARY (Iran): May I begin by congratulating Mr. Lazar Mojsov on this election as the president of this thirty-second session of the General Assembly. It is a source of deep satisfaction to us that he, with his wide-ranging knowledge of international affairs and his political experience so well known in the United Nations, will be presiding over our deliberations.

215. I wish also to express our gratitude to Ambassador Hamilton Amerasinghe for the skilful manner in which he presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

216. I should be remiss if I did not assure the Secretary-General of our support for his efforts to relax world tension and consolidate peace and security.

217. I take this opportunity to give a warm welcome to two countries joining our ranks in the United Nations and bringing this Organization closer to its goal of universal

membership, the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

218. We meet at a time when the international community is confronted with many problems of paramount importance. I would like to deal with some of them briefly.

219. The existing situation in the Middle East constitutes one of the main obstacles to peace and security. In that area, grave tensions continue, with the ever-present danger of a new outbreak of hostilities. We believe that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with the relevant decisions, including those dealing with the status of Jerusalem, form a valid basis for reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. That Conference must be reconvened with the participation of all parties concerned. We further believe that any solution of the Middle East problem should take fully into account the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

220. As long as Israel continues the occupation of Arab territories there can be no hope of establishing a lasting peace in that region. Recent moves by Israel in imposing its laws on the inhabitants of the West Bank and authorizing new Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab lands have created new obstacles on the road to peace. We hope, however, that genuine efforts will be made to put an end to this uneasy and precarious situation.

221. Another continuing problem is the situation in Cyprus. In spite of efforts by the Secretary-General and other attempts to find a solution, there has been no significant relaxation of tension. We continue to believe that negotiations between the two ethnic communities can and must bring about a just and lasting solution to this problem.

222. Concerning the Indian Ocean, the United Nations, through its *Ad Hoc* Committee, is actively engaged in efforts to ensure that this area will remain a zone of peace. My country has advocated co-operation among the countries of the region to achieve that objective and to keep the Indian Ocean free from great Power rivalry and competitive arms build-up.

223. As for the Persian Gulf, it remains our firm position that the task of maintaining security there is the exclusive responsibility of the States bordering the Persian Gulf. Peace and security should be safeguarded by promoting co-operation among these States, free from any outside interference. We are happy to note that during the past year there has been evidence of keener interest in closer co-operation for the benefit of all countries in that area.

224. As regards disarmament, we note with regret that no progress has been made this past year, even though we are now more than halfway through the Disarmament Decade. The General Assembly decision to hold a special session next year devoted to disarmament problems provides us all with an opportunity for new approaches to this matter. Having this in mind, Iran stands ready to co-operate with all members with a view to making the special session on disarmament a success. I would like here to emphasize that the goal of general and complete disarmament cannot be reached unless the major Powers themselves, whose arsenals

are swollen with nuclear and other sophisticated weapons, make more active endeavours towards the realization of this goal. This becomes even more necessary as new weapons of mass destruction are developed.

225. Another area of concern is the spread of international terrorism. Last year the General Assembly set up an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages [*resolution 31/103*]. This Committee, as well as the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism, has so far failed to produce the desired positive results. Almost daily we read and hear about terrorist acts which are not confined to any countries or any areas but which threaten the lives of innocent people everywhere.

226. The time has come for this Assembly to take a new and determined approach to this problem which holds potential danger for all Governments and peoples, in order that such brutal use of force be outlawed by the international community and those who practice it be punished.

227. In southern Africa millions of Africans live in circumstances of degradation and racial discrimination. In South Africa itself the policy of *apartheid*, repeatedly condemned in United Nations resolutions, continues, and millions of human beings are deprived of their most elementary rights.

228. In spite of the fact that the United Nations terminated the mandate given to South Africa over Namibia, South Africa continues its illegal hold on that Territory. This is a challenge to the international community and cannot be tolerated in any way. My Government does not recognize South Africa as having any jurisdiction over Namibia, and will continue to support all efforts to transfer power to the people of Namibia. Furthermore, my Government believes that South Africa is making a grave mistake by trying to create a fictitious state having the appearance of independence in this area. We also observe with grave concern the fact that South Africa has taken steps to incorporate a part of Namibia into its territory.

229. In Zimbabwe, open warfare is all the news we hear about these days. The illegal minority régime, which holds power only by armed force, denies the rights of the African population. We are outraged by the conduct of the illegal régime in sending military aircraft and armed bands to attack and occupy villages deep inside Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

230. Such attacks across international frontiers have already been strongly condemned by the United Nations, and this body should intensify its efforts to provide international aid for the peoples of the devastated areas. It is regrettable that the illegal régime remains blind to the necessity of evolution and makes what will prove to be futile attempts to perpetuate its grip on the people of Zimbabwe. As we have stated on numerous occasions, the implementation of the principle of majority rule is the only solution to the problem of Southern Rhodesia, and we once again reiterate our full support for all efforts to speed up this irreversible process.

231. The recent International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia held in Maputo was

an important landmark in the struggle for freedom and independence of those peoples. The Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by that Conference¹⁶ showed that the international community is united in its desire to end colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

232. The fact that the World Conference for Action Against *Apartheid* held at Lagos adopted its historic declaration¹⁷ by consensus offers ample proof of the determination of the world community to bring about a speedy end to this policy.

233. My country has always opposed colonialism and the policy of *apartheid* and other forms of racial discrimination. We believe that it will not take long for the last vestiges of colonial domination and racial discrimination to be swept away from the continent of Africa. Iran once again reiterates its support for all efforts to achieve this important objective.

234. Turning now to international economic co-operation, we believe that the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order marked the emergence of a new concept in international economic relations.

235. Although it can be said that negotiations conducted during the seventh special session of the General Assembly, and later on within the framework of UNCTAD, and the Paris Conference contributed to a better understanding of the important issues, we much regret that the expectations of the developing countries are still far from being satisfied. Despite continual negotiations at the United Nations and elsewhere, the agreements reached so far are by no means commensurate with the magnitude of the problems to be faced. The Paris Conference has failed to bring about conditions conducive to the establishment of a just and equitable international economic order.

236. The need for such an order corresponds to nothing less than the complete realization of the rights enshrined in the Universal Declaration on Human Rights.

237. It cannot be denied that an ever widening social and economic gap divides the industrialized countries from what is usually referred to as the third world. While in the industrialized countries attention is mainly focused on civil and political freedoms, the third-world countries are struggling primarily to overcome burdens often imposed upon them by colonialism, exploitation and an obsolete international economic order. Many nations, including my own, are trying to achieve the more difficult task of co-ordinating the requirements of economic democracy with those of political democracy through the development of institutions suitable to their national traditions and their own way of life. The fact, however, remains that among

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

¹⁷ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

third-world nations many still are at a stage of development where the material needs and the elementary right of their people to a decent life cannot yet be ensured. If nothing is done to bring about the necessary changes, the future will be even gloomier. Let me illustrate some of the things we have to fear.

238. The present world population of 4 billion will increase to about 7 billion by the turn of the century. If the existing economic system persists, three quarters of the inhabitants of our planet will continue to be deprived of the minimum requirements for a decent living.

239. Some 85 per cent of the world's wealth is at the disposal of 15 per cent of its population; and if this trend is not changed, this disproportion will even increase. The ratio of *per capita* income in the developed and developing countries is 12 to 1, and in some cases this ratio rises to 60 to 1; and in the field of housing, two thirds of the world's population cannot afford to have even an elementary shelter.

240. Every year 15 million infants below the age of five die because of undernourishment and malnutrition; without prompt action to change this situation, 500 million children will starve to death before the end of the century.

241. In these circumstances, it would be naive to think that, by putting the accent exclusively on the civil and political aspects of human rights, one can solve all the problems of the poor and developing countries. Without the satisfaction of basic human needs, how can we expect the vast majority of the people who are sunk in hunger, disease and ignorance to be able to appreciate and effectively enjoy such rights? What, for instance, is the meaning of freedom of choice to a sick, starving and completely ignorant individual? Human rights are indeed indivisible, and it is for this very reason that the realization of each of these rights depends on progress being made in the others.

242. We, of course, support the effort of the international community to promote greater respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms throughout the world. For our part, we have taken extensive measures in that direction in our own country. Our efforts have always been geared towards ultimate realization of individual rights, social justice and economic democracy in the framework of our own culture, for we believe that each country should find inspiration in its national traditions.

243. However, no matter how much each country strives towards the improvement of the conditions of its people, the problems facing them in an interdependent world such as ours cannot be overcome without co-ordinated co-operation based on a new international economic order.

244. The need to provide assistance to the less developed countries is still intense. The members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, for their part, have been contributing as much as 2.6 per cent of their gross national product to their fellow developing countries, whereas the developed countries have averaged only close to 0.3 per cent of their gross national product for this purpose. My country continues to assist in the implementation of constructive programmes in the developing countries and

has put at their disposal significant financial credits. The ratio of this assistance to our total income has placed my country foremost in the ranks of those providing such international help. Notwithstanding these efforts, the need of the developing countries remains immense. But equally immense is the need of the developed world for a stable supply of raw materials and a stable market for their goods and services.

245. In this connexion, an important development in the field of energy is worth mentioning. Indeed, what was yesterday considered heresy when we were talking about supply and prices has now become gospel.

246. Almost three years ago, when my august Sovereign called for rationalization in the use of oil, and its conservation, and stressed the urgency of developing new and unconventional sources of energy,¹⁸ the industrialized countries gave a discouraging reception to his warning. Now recent developments bear ample witness to the correctness of our approach and to the necessity of intensifying efforts, on a world-wide scale, to achieve those goals.

247. Our countries, members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, while struggling energetically to gain recognition of our legitimate demands, have never failed to show a great sense of responsibility towards the international community.

248. The gap between the positions of the developed and the developing countries is still wide, even at a time when we have to speed up the process of change, the process of bringing the industrialized countries into the development arena as conscientious partners rather than as unwitting adversaries.

249. Whatever the labels on our countries—"least developed", "developing", or "developed"—all of us must realize that we live in one world, a world beset by conflicts, imbalances and injustice, but a world yearning for a decent life for all. This objective cannot be achieved without ensuring economic and social justice.

250. Our ultimate goal should therefore be to join our efforts, not only in solving the political problems of our time, but also in creating conditions under which a just and equitable new international economic order can be established.

251. Mr. KODJO (Togo) (*interpretation from French*): Our world is falling apart! In the chaotic convulsion of repeated crises, in the sudden outbursts of latent rivalries, in the deadly degeneration of deep-rooted antagonisms, a world made precarious by our impotence which rejects our thirst for new designs—a world rent with stubborn contradictions and acute dissatisfactions, alternately atypical and atypical—is exploding into ruins. Never before has the cry uttered a few years ago by the Nigerian writer Chinua Achebé, "Our world is falling apart!", so relevant. A world is falling apart—a world which we must none the less rebuild based on the measures of new data and new principles.

¹⁸ See document A/9548, annex.

252. Once again we are assembled here in this Areopagus, the destiny of peoples as our horizon, and with the spurring of our consciences as our guiding hope in the face of the tremendous task awaiting us—the hope of undertaking the great change, of surveying new truths and of attaining virtue.

253. But may I first of all, before continuing my line of thought, discharge the agreeable duty of conveying to the President the warm congratulations of the Togolese delegation upon the unanimous confidence which has just been placed in him by his election to preside over the proceedings of this session of the General Assembly.

254. He belongs to the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a country which we hold in the highest esteem for having achieved that subtle mixture of accelerated but authentic development and an ever outward-looking policy through the promotion of the principles of non-alignment, peace and solidarity among peoples.

255. Steeped in these precepts which live in perfect symbiosis with the general principles of our Charter, and as an enlightened disciple of the school which has made a success of this kind of "marriage of character and worth", he has acquired well-trying competence which has inspired both respect and esteem. Hence we do not entertain even the slightest shadow of a doubt as to the way in which he will conduct our proceedings or as to their eventual success.

256. I cannot fail to mention the outgoing President, Mr. Amerasinghe, to whom I wish to pay a well-deserved tribute for his constant readiness to serve the sacred causes of our Organization, and for his equally constant concern about easing, by his exemplary determination, the tragedies and crises afflicting our upside-down world, thus giving our Organization a new lease of tranquillity, greater vigour and an extra element of spirit.

257. My warm congratulations go also to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose renewed term of office permits him to preside once again over the destiny of the United Nations. The re-election of the Secretary-General, the apostle of peace, the ardent champion of oppressed peoples and just causes, amply demonstrates how judiciously we were inspired in voting for him. In offering him our best wishes for success, we hope that his second term of office will be an opportunity for him to give further vent to his creative imagination in the attainment of even more striking successes for the benefit of the international community as a whole.

258. Welcoming to the United Nations new Members always gives rise to intense emotion, though often restrained. I should like to make ours manifest by greeting whole-heartedly the Republic of Djibouti, whose presence among us is the happy outcome of a long process of decolonization. We welcome also Viet Nam, whose valiant people, rejecting subjugation in all its forms, has earned its place among us at the cost of much suffering and hardship, struggle and victory, which in the end made it free and made it great. The admission as a full-fledged Member of the United Nations of this country which has known consummate success and exemplary misfortune is an act of reason which gives practical effect to one of the funda-

mental principles of our Charter, the principle of universality.

259. There can be no doubt that these new States will bring to us the freshness of their generosity, the warmth of their feelings and the ardour of their convictions so as to galvanize a community which is in the grip of its spectres of disenchantment and disillusion.

260. I have spoken of virtue, and this is indeed the issue—virtue for a world on the look-out for other certainties, a world concerned to reduce "barbarism with a human face", which today is an indelible feature of it, in order to succeed through the raging tide of various conflicts to overcome the recurrent bouts of fever, to attain finally the human being. It is perhaps what is described by a word that is singularly worn out, an idea which is gently evaporating and becoming ephemeral—the new international order.

261. The world which is questioning itself and seeking itself, because it is leaking at all seams, this world of which a thinker recently said that it was "a disaster of which man is the culmination", is today going through currents that are contradictory because they are clearly antithetical.

262. On the one hand, those who find in it their ends by any means available, forgetful of the fundamental precept which is that "the means are the incipient end and the ideal about to be brought about" are guided by iniquity and fulfil themselves by hatred. On the political level, they have forged blunt instruments of discrimination, domination and subjection. On the economic level, they trample upon the ideals of justice, solidarity and fraternity for the benefit of the pursuit of their uneven short-sighted interests. To the problems of our time they wish to apply their therapy: to apply a plaster cast to a wooden leg.

263. On the other hand are those who have the task of resisting the new heights of unreason, of deciphering the secret language of the future by lucid reflection on aims and objectives, a crystal-clear definition of a society for tomorrow and voluntary action to guide the course of events towards the great inversion.

264. In the face of these positions in the form of challenges, there remains a clear responsibility of the international community. Endorsed by the basic principles of our Charter, strengthened by the growing outcry of men all over the world who have made themselves the apostles of elementary rights for human beings and call with all their strength for the triumph of a society for all, the international community must step up its efforts to master the evolution and impose everywhere the advent of the sacred principles which enlighten and guide us.

265. First of all, it must do so in the field of human rights and decolonization. Here we are on the very threshold of the "kingdom of the shadows". Here, again, the spectacle is one of horror. The progress recorded, the effort made by the international community, should not make us forget that no bargaining is permitted here, no compromises are tolerated, no detour is permissible. We are dealing here with the liberty of peoples. Situations do have particular features, but the underlying reality is always the same

everywhere: That is, overwhelming oppression on the part of a group that is invariably in the minority, a group which is entrenched in power through cunning complicities, loud of speech and quick to act, forgetful of all rules and scornful of all rights. The result is always a remarkable equipollence. Those who have worn out their vision because they have seen too much horror we now see on their feet, with weapons in their hands, rejecting their status, a status in which man becomes a creature obeying another creature who imposes his will. Now violence is gaining the upper hand and is becoming established. Violence is sharpening insatiably its cannibalistic teeth for the distant future. Thus it is in South Africa, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe and also in the Middle East.

266. In southern Africa, we must above all greet the efforts made to seek acceptable solutions. We must encourage them. After all, the longest journey must begin with a first step.

267. However, in duty to the truth, we must also say that nothing useful will be done in Zimbabwe if Ian Smith continues to prevaricate, cherishing stubborn illusions that he can use certain dissident elements in the liberation movements in order to bring about a so-called internal solution to the detriment of the militants of the Patriotic Front. Without doubt the Patriotic Front itself, overcoming its reluctance, should open itself up to all trends, to all the sons of Zimbabwe fighting and suffering, as suggested by the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of OAU in Libreville in July. But it remains nevertheless clear that the manoeuvres and masquerades of the Salisbury rebel mislead no one, and the time is at hand when we shall see him repent.

268. Similarly, nothing useful will be accomplished in Namibia if resolution 385 (1976) of the Security Council is not applied fully, if the impenitent Vorster does not cease to defy the whole international community with his acts of proven provocation like the appointment of a General Administrator in Namibia or the shameless claim to Walvis Bay. In any case, in regard to this last point, Walvis Bay is Namibian and Walvis Bay will remain Namibian.

269. Now, in South Africa the supporters of *apartheid* continue cynically to flout the most elementary human rights. Let us beware here of any kind of Pontius Pilate attitude, which would be short-sighted, and let us by no means share the assertion that hell is other people. In the face of this régime of fact and of force which is on its way to becoming a nuclear Power, let us shed our garb of indifference to eradicate once and for all the horror of the African continent and collaborate in the advent of the majority régime, one of liberty and justice.

270. In this regard, we cannot but be gratified at the unprecedented success of the United Nations International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, and the Lagos World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*. We hope for the whole-hearted implementation by the international community of the recommendations adopted there to alleviate the sufferings of those who live in the shadow of death, segregated in the kraals of misery.

271. Contempt for fundamental human rights comes together with a classic type of colonial situation in the Middle East. The problem of Palestine and of the occupied Arab territories has taken a serious turn with the coming to power of a new administration in Israel. The intransigence of Israel, its obstinate refusal to free the occupied Arab territories in accordance with United Nations resolutions, its drive to power which prompts it to create settlements on the West Bank, continue to pose a threat of imminent war in that region.

272. The Government of General of the Army Gnassingbé Eyadéma is convinced that any solution to the crisis must necessarily be brought about through recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and its right to a homeland. Therefore it is urgent for the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East to resume, with the effective participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on the basis of acceptable arrangements, and that there should be an immediate implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council relating to this subject.

273. We trust that the Israeli Government will associate itself with the efforts of goodwill undertaken by certain States and by our Organization itself to bring about a happy ending to the crisis and to establish just and lasting peace in that area which has been so sorely tried.

274. But here and there, there remain other sources of tension where delicate situations of conflict are of concern to men of goodwill.

275. In Cyprus, in the Comorian island of Mayotte, in Lebanon, there is still hope, however, that the international community will be able to control the causes of explosion and conflict, in the interests of peace, of a universal and profound peace.

276. The same applies in Korea where the reunification of the country, which has had such a distressing past, must come about once all foreign troops have been withdrawn and a lasting peace agreement has been concluded.

277. The fact remains that the international community, in its efforts to limit conflicts, has come up against the anguishing problem of the proliferation of arms of all kinds.

278. In this regard, it is our profound conviction that peace, if it is to be lasting, must be based upon judiciously managed disarmament. This disarmament should embrace the immediate cessation of all nuclear tests and the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction, while making it possible for all to have access to nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. We therefore unswervingly support the World Disarmament Conference, the primary task of which will be to adopt a coherent programme in the hope that all or part of the \$350 billion at present devoted throughout the world to armaments will be devoted to the development effort.

279. Thus, humanity is at the cross-roads. A profound undercurrent is being felt drawing us towards liberty, equality and fraternity, freedom for the peoples, and the safeguarding of their fundamental rights. The international community, while preventing the rearguard action of those

who want to undermine this process, must define the lofty designs that it has in mind and contemplate broader horizons.

280. It must struggle together with all those who believe that when political liberty is restored this must mean liberty for the humblest people and respect for their fundamental rights.

281. But it must also guarantee to its members the satisfaction of a need that is just as important: the need for equality, so that we may fulfil the moral requirement of greater justice in the distribution not only of goods but also the power of decision.

282. In this regard, freedom in the economic sense will only be the prelude to or the consequence of a fruitful cultural emancipation within the framework of the indispensable interchange of civilizations.

283. But here, as elsewhere, there is resistance.

284. To speak of the economic field: the new international economic order has become a subject of discussion. Those who advocate the kind of therapy of putting plaster casts on wooden legs are legion. Plans for stabilization and overcoming stagnation and governmental programmes aimed at ensuring a resumption of production and the establishment of essential balances simply aim at reorganizing the old order.

285. We reflect, we ponder, we try to reduce the ill effects and we come back to the attractions of subtle applications of budgetary policy and monetary policy. The ultimate aim is for each of the nations to safeguard the advantages it has to avoid social problems and domestic tragedies. Who could be surprised, therefore, at the recrudescence of the old protectionist demons? As they weather the crisis and prepare for the unforeseeable, governments feel a deep nostalgia for the old expansionism. Is not their desire to return to a golden age that is all the more attractive because it is over and done with?

286. Thus, the North-South dialogue, instead of unifying diverse aspirations into an integrated whole, has curiously resulted only in empty words and unrelated monologues.

287. That is why, in spite of certain positive signs emerging from the talks which have been held recently, the contradictions between the two groups of countries grow ceaselessly more acute, and the essential still remains to be done.

288. The North refuses to endorse Aristotle's belief that wealth resided far more in use than in possession.

289. It also disregards these wise words of Mahatma Gandhi:

"Civilization perhaps does not mean the multiplication of needs, but rather the conscious and voluntary restraint of those needs. To wish to create an unlimited number of needs in order to have, subsequently, to satisfy them is to pursue the wind."

290. The fact is that the North wants to preserve, as long as possible, its acquired privileges. *Unguibus et rostro*, tooth and nail, it is defending its advantages and is shoring up its positions. The aim surely is to plaster over the old order, where those at the centre prosper to the detriment of those on the periphery. There is no question of re forging the whole system in order to bring about a collective development which will be coherent and harmonious.

291. It is easy, therefore, to understand the reasons why the North-South Conference was unable to overcome the difficulties, to transcend the contradictions and to fulfil the hopes which it had aroused at the beginning. The last session of our Assembly forthrightly admitted as much.

292. Of course, there were results, we must admit, if not in the field of energy, at least in so far as concerns primary commodities, trade and development assistance.

293. But we are left with the weighty handicap of the 21 points on which no agreement was reached; there remains the fundamental problem of the indebtedness of third-world countries. There also remain the endless debates on the common fund for the stabilization of primary commodities. On the strength of the experience of the Lomé Convention,¹⁹ some people are tending towards a generalization of the system of the stabilization of export earnings; others are aiming higher, and are not only seeking guarantees of income stabilization but also optimistically contemplating even more far-reaching plans.

294. In view of these steps, the third world is clearly defining its positions: it calls for effective growth for all within the framework of a new organization of the world economic system, with, as elements of this system, the effective stabilization of earnings; better management and dissemination of technology; and the settlement of the problem of indebtedness in a way which would take account of the interests of all—and I repeat, "all"—of the countries of the Group of 77.

295. Economic revival and policies of reinvigoration in the northern countries and their success would merely mean the immediate re-emergence of selfishness, the *suave mari magno*, while the payments deficits of the third world pose and will continue to pose ever more inextricable problems of balance and financing. In this regard the new "Witteveen facilities" of \$10 billion, handled by IMF, are an important step forward.

296. But the third world is getting organized. The Arab-African dialogue, which culminated in Cairo at the beginning of this year,²⁰ is the most striking example of this. Thus in Africa and elsewhere we have witnessed the birth of regional economic unions, which are the touchstones of collective self-reliance and horizontal co-operation. The progress of the Economic Community of West African States is further proof of this.

¹⁹ ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. The text was distributed as document A/AC.176/7.

²⁰ First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held in Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977.

297. "Reach for your ideal a thousand times and if you fail a thousand times, try once again." That is the thinking of a contemporary sage.

298. In a world which has now been cast adrift, where confusion has overwhelmed our minds and hearts, this ideal may seem somewhat obscured. But it is needful for all because of its blinding simplicity. It can be summed up in these three words: justice, peace, solidarity.

299. Beyond the abstruse debates and the rigid positions, there remains an absolute need to ensure justice by making the application of human rights general and by bringing about the general liberation of all those who were "born free but [are] everywhere in chains". This is the condition for peace. This peace must be accompanied by an active solidarity which will guarantee mankind collective advancement, with respect for different cultures and the indispensable interchange between them.

300. The world which is breaking apart is a world of contempt for the culture of other people and for their intrinsic values. Now that reason has reached its limits and civilization is at bay, regeneration will come from the depths of the heart and the imagination.

301. Let us liberate, therefore, men who are today despised, who are demeaned and who are trodden under foot, because tomorrow they will help us to live. We still have time to live.

302. Mr. OBENGA (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): The ideals of peace, equality and co-operation among nations—ideals that are all summed up in the word "justice"—which the authors of the Charter of our Organization already proclaimed 32 years ago are still today of intense concern. Everything points to that. The most disquieting inquiries are constantly devoted to the "major questions" of today's world. Meetings, conferences, information, files, texts, ever on the increase and always relevant, are distinguished by the fact that they keep international problems in a type of closed circuit. This is a paradox only in appearance. Does it perhaps fundamentally reflect a cynical or disabused human attitude, or in any case an attitude that is only mildly courageous, in the face of the important problems of our time which disclose a world facing immense crises: economies in distress, the tyranny of certain régimes, oppression of peoples, moral and material poverty, thermonuclear war on the horizon, crises which run the risk of lighting the final conflagration?

303. The political and psychological context of its work should of necessity invite the United Nations to prevent itself from being dragged downwards in straying away from its original noble ideals. Therein lies hope for all of us and for mankind as a whole. The essential question is, consequently, the capability of the United Nations to take full responsibility for the major questions which affect all mankind. It is reassuring that the United Nations is constantly being served by devoted men who are convinced of the usefulness of the activities of the institution. The President of the General Assembly is one of those men, as is also the Secretary-General. You are among those modern men who are courageously and actively fighting against the spirit of the desert, the spirit of devastation, which is

perhaps the most astonishing historical product of our time, but also the least questioned.

304. The people of Congo and the forces of progress throughout the world mourned with distress the tragic death on 18 March 1977 of President Marien Ngouabi, the President of the People's Republic of Congo, who was cowardly murdered by the forces of evil. That odious crime, the aim of which was to destroy the Congolese revolution, did not achieve its purpose since the Congolese people are more than ever determined to defend the ideals for which President Marien Ngouabi heroically gave his life. The heroes of the twentieth century are precisely those who defend to the very end the causes of oppressed peoples and, even in their glorious death, they speak for all mankind.

305. The leading institutions established by law faithfully continue the work of President Ngouabi. In a declaration of general policy, President Joachim Yhomby Opango proclaimed the will of the Congolese people to continue their foreign policy and their international co-operation along the same lines which had been followed by President Marien Ngouabi, namely, by struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and the exploitation of man by man, and against racial discrimination and all forms of oppression, by unconditionally supporting just causes, by giving international assistance of many kinds to the true movements of national liberation, by their desire to establish relations of co-operation with all the countries which seek, on the basis of mutual respect and equality, a policy of good-neighbourliness and African solidarity, and by their attachment to peace and to the principles defined in the Charters of OAU and the United Nations.

306. I should like to emphasize somewhat a point which has just been made.

307. The African vocation of my country has never been questioned and President Yhomby Opango intends to strengthen Congo's devotion to African solidarity. There is no African situation which does not concern us. Our policy concerning other African States is a policy of understanding, tolerance, good-neighbourliness and co-operation, in spite of ideological differences which may exist between us and others. African causes have always found unswerving support among the Congolese people. Therefore it would not be well to compare the administrative measures taken recently by my Government for the control of foreigners to a policy harmful to the strengthening of African solidarity. Quite the contrary. The measures to which I am alluding concerned only those foreigners whose situation was irregular vis-à-vis the laws and regulations of Congo concerning immigration and the practice of trade.

308. We are now at a turning-point in the modern history of the African continent. I had occasion here last year²¹ to say what the views of my Government were concerning the future of that continent. Now the problems have changed abruptly with the accession of South Africa to the club of atomic Powers.

309. This situation is an extremely serious one and, before the United Nations, before the international community

²¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 8th meeting, paras. 226-260.

and before all mankind, I wish to accuse and publicly condemn without any equivocation the country of *apartheid*. I am compelled to be very specific in this accusation.

310. The South African nuclear programme has been under way for 16 years, from 1961 to 1977. In 1961 South Africa acquired through a United States company a small thermal reactor of 2G megawatts. The pilot plant of Walindaba, close to Pretoria, produced uranium 235 following a variant of a "blasting" procedure. In 1965 special laboratories of the Federal Republic of Germany opened their doors to South African scientists and technicians. In July 1970 Pretoria announced that South African experts had discovered an original procedure for uranium enrichment. In 1975 West German firms actively gave technical assistance to the South Africans in fitting out their uranium enrichment plant. In 1976 Pretoria selected France to build two gigantic nuclear power stations at Koelberg, 28 kilometres north of the Cape. By about 1985 the two French power plants to be delivered to South Africa will produce 500 kilos of plutonium per annum, that is to say, enough to manufacture 100 atomic bombs of the Nagasaki type.

311. At the very beginning of August 1977 the Soviet Union fortunately alerted world public opinion to the imminence of the explosion of a South African atomic bomb in the Kalahari desert, approximately 180 kilometres south of Botswana and 150 kilometres to the east of Namibia.

312. I accuse the Western Powers which have actively helped South Africa to acquire a nuclear potential which dangerously jeopardizes peace in Africa and the rest of the world. I accuse the West and Pretoria of collusion. I accuse South Africa, which has no intention of heeding anyone's advice but plans to follow its nuclear programme.

313. The African peoples must clearly realize that the problem of their security today has a new dimension

314. We most urgently appeal to all the peoples of Africa and the world strongly to react against the nuclear arming of the most racist country on earth.

315. The nuclear explosion which South Africa has postponed but which it has not renounced must perforce bring the international community to reflect on the consequences of the manysided co-operation between certain countries Members of the United Nations and the racists of Pretoria.

316. The security of the African peoples is being seriously threatened

317. Experience has amply taught us that régimes of terror and oppression which thrive on violence understand only the language of violence. In view of Pretoria's anachronistic attitude Namibia will not be freed except at that price. My country cannot but continue to give unconditional support to the South West Africa People's Organization in its determination to intensify the armed struggle for the liberation of Namibia.

318. The same holds true for Rhodesia, where Ian Smith—whom we can only describe as mindless—is spending his time destroying the numerous plans for a settlement that have been put forward precisely to allow him to avoid the worst.

319. That is why it is the duty of the international community firmly to support the initiatives of the front-line countries. These initiatives, which have been approved by OAU, make it possible to find a just solution for the people of Zimbabwe, which, like any other people on earth, aspires to freedom, equality and dignity.

320. The decolonization of Africa must be concluded without delay.

321. In this connexion we most warmly welcome the admission to our Organization of the Republic of Djibouti. We wish to consolidate with that brother African country close relations of co-operation and active solidarity.

322. We also congratulate the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose reunification after the brilliant victory of 1975 was welcomed in the People's Republic of Congo as a great event in the history of the struggle of peoples to regain their freedom. The presence in our midst of the Vietnamese delegation is magnificent proof of the assertion that just causes always triumph in the end.

323. The victory of the Vietnamese people, on whom 30 years of futile war were imposed, gives us added resolve in our unserving support for liberation struggles.

324. We also believe that the peaceful reunification of Korea is inevitable. It is not a good policy always to refuse to face the facts.

325. We are also convinced of the coming victory of the Palestinian people and other Arab peoples. A people cannot renounce its fundamental rights, even if it is subjected to all kinds of crafty reprisals. We are following with keen interest the preparations for the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. We remain convinced that no lasting solution to this problem can be found without the actual participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole representative of the Palestinian people.

326. A study of the social and economic situation of the world reveals that anachronistic situations persist. It is not right to wish to perpetuate them. The rule of force only lasts for a time. The challenges facing mankind—economic crises, unequal development, malnutrition, illiteracy, ecological problems, pollution, the difficulties of mastering science and technology—can only be met if we deliberately make use of all the capabilities, all the recourses and all the resources at our disposal. The problem of mankind's survival in a world which is continually faced with profound material, cultural and spiritual crises is an immense problem which requires the mobilization of the gifts and the energies we still have available.

327. The appeal which we are making for a more equal world is not an appeal for generosity or a spirit of sacrifice on the part of the so-called "rich" in favour of so many million so-called "poor". It is fundamentally an appeal to

one and all to realize the true dimensions of the crucial problem of contemporary international relations.

328. I should like to elaborate. During the seventeenth century—not to go back farther in history—approximately 500 million human beings lived on our planet; in 1900 mankind numbered more than 1.6 billion. Today there are some 4 billion, and this population will rapidly increase if present tendencies continue, particularly in the third world.

329. Mankind today seems to have overshoot the mark in accumulating atomic bombs and chemical and bacteriological weapons, in squandering natural resources and in polluting the atmosphere. Moreover, the poorest but most densely populated regions are helping to increase the well-being of the richest.

330. The fundamental problem today, which is evoked by the theme of the “new international economic order”, is truly the economic and political transformation of mankind.

331. The cultural progress of humanity will from now on make all societies acutely aware of the solidarity of all human beings. This solidarity of all mankind generates respect for one another and a collective commitment to the great common enterprise of the building of peace and the welfare of mankind.

332. But today all seems to lead to merciless confrontations because of the obstinacy of a few whose reactions to the grave problems of our day are mere agonizing and selfishness.

333. That explains man's inability to adjust to the present situation; that is what is complicating the solutions to problems. It is not a question of increasing the volume of our charity, but of sharing resources, knowledge and the applications of science more equitably; it is a question of better prices for third-world products, of a better international division of labour, in the interest of the whole international community.

334. It would be unnatural to dissociate human rights from the immense problem which I have just underscored. Humanity cannot achieve a superior civilization if men are not treated as such or if they are subjected to the most persistent and the crudest estrangement.

335. It is therefore highly appropriate that our efforts should be directed towards the protection of man, so long as we see the problem in all its dimensions: political, economic, cultural, social. Within our different societies, we have too great a tendency to consider man from a social angle and to limit his rights to a few formal guarantees, while socially, economically, politically and culturally he is being destroyed. Man must be considered as a whole, and human rights constitute a whole. Human rights must increase man's freedom and lead to further responsibility and to greater solidarity among mankind.

336. In conclusion, to change, to renew our ways of thinking, our attitudes and our behaviour is undoubtedly

the most urgent task today, in view of the grave problems of this century, which is coming to an end. Our hope closely linked to our duty is one with the ardour of our Organization, which is more than ever enlightened and supported by the legitimate ambitions of mankind in revolt.

337. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. The representative of Uganda has requested to be allowed to exercise his right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly, at its 5th plenary meeting, decided that statements in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. I am sure representatives will understand that, in view of the lateness of the hour, and that they will co-operate in adhering to that limitation.

338. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): I have asked to speak in order to exercise my delegation's right to reply to the malicious allegations made at this meeting by the British Secretary of State against my country. Those allegations are unfounded, hypocritical and made in bad faith. But hearing such allegations come from the representative of the British Government does not surprise us at all because the British Government occupies first place as far as malice and hypocrisy are concerned.

339. If we are to talk sincerely about human rights violations, then Britain is a first-class violator of human rights. Its record of violations of human rights is well known all over the world. In the case of Africa, I can cite only a few examples, such as South Africa, where Britain sold out millions of Africans to the *apartheid* régime and where it is up to now still supporting that régime politically, economically and even militarily. Zimbabwe is another typical example of how Britain violated human rights by playing the game of “I am defeated”, thus leaving millions of black people to be slaughtered by Ian Smith over the last 12 years.

340. But what can Mr. Owen tell us of the daily violation of human rights by the British Government in Northern Ireland? If my information is correct, we understand that for the Head of State of that country to visit one of the so-called provinces the British Government had to mobilize more than 32,000 troops—I think that they included units of the navy, the air force and what have you. What type of situation exists today in Northern Ireland? Mr. Owen should be able to tell us about that.

341. What Mr. Owen has not dared to tell this Assembly, while hypocritically talking about human rights violations in Uganda, is the fact that Britain has been deeply involved in subversive activities against Uganda since Uganda decided to kick out British exploiters from its soil and to take full control of its economy. Even today, subversive elements against Uganda are operating freely from British soil and with the knowledge and support of the British Government.

342. My delegation takes this opportunity to denounce Britain's interference in the internal affairs of Uganda and to sound a strong warning that Uganda will hit very hard at anyone trying to disturb peace and progress in Uganda.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.