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*President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. NSEKALIJE (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of Rwanda adds its tribute and good wishes to those which have been addressed to you on your brilliant election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and wishes it complete success. At the same time, my delegation would like to pay a particular and well-deserved tribute to your country, Yugoslavia, a firm pillar of non-alignment whose contribution to international peace and security merits recognition by the world community.

2. Your predecessor, the eminent Ambassador of Sri Lanka, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, once again deserves our great appreciation for the remarkable manner in which he discharged his responsibilities as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

3. My country, Rwanda, has always greatly appreciated the efforts and the wisdom shown by our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in carrying out his very delicate tasks to ensure for the United Nations influence and effectiveness in keeping with its mission. Thus it is with real gratitude that I express once again the confidence of my Government in his tireless devotion to the ideals of the Charter and his personal role in bringing about the advent of a world of peace, justice and international solidarity.

4. It is with profound joy tinged with some emotion that my delegation welcomes the entry of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the young sister Republic of Djibouti into our great family.

5. We always deplored the obstruction of the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations despite the support of almost all the international community. Its admission to our Organization is a tribute to the wisdom and objectivity of those who realized that the

opinion of the vast majority of the international community could no longer be opposed. Once again we salute the courage and determination of the Vietnamese people and their leaders, who by glorious combats and untold sacrifices have won their independence and their dignity and earned the consideration and respect of the whole world.

6. We reiterate our friendship and brotherhood with the valiant people of Djibouti and salute their resistance to the violence and pressures of all kinds to which they were subjected as well as the wisdom which enabled them to counter all the deceitful manoeuvres designed to obstruct the conquest of their dignity and national sovereignty.

7. The glorious history of each of these newcomers to our large family is a guarantee of their future contribution to progress towards the attainment of the objectives of our Organization.

8. Since the last session of the General Assembly the vast majority of the nations represented here have enjoyed relative peace. It is no less true that this peace continues to be endangered as long as hotbeds of tension exist and the quest for power by some among us leads them, instead of seeking to find appropriate alternatives to the relations of force and confrontation, to try to transform the conflicts into spring-boards for the attainment of unavowed political, ideological or economic interests.

9. On most of the questions which will have to be debated at the present session it seems clear that unfortunately we face the same difficulties that our efforts seem powerless to resolve. Whether it is a matter of the problems of *apartheid* and racial discrimination, the agitation and dissension provoked by the ideological balance, the occupation of Arab territories by the Zionist State, the usurpation of the most inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the dismantling of Cyprus or the occupation or arbitrary division of nations such as Germany or Korea, there has been no substantial change in the positions as we have known them in the past. The preoccupations of the international community are the same today as they were yesterday.

10. Africa, barely liberated from the most humiliating forms of the oppression and violence of colonialism, has in fact for some time been the centre of simmering armed conflict supported by barely veiled neo-colonialism, which is visibly reflected in the campaign for hegemony and influence and has reached its height in the lengthy blood-letting in the eastern area, today the theatre of action.

11. For 20 years, from north to south and from east to west, our continent has been the subject of continuous

disturbances: mutinies, political tension, innumerable acts of aggression between brother countries fighting against each other. This phenomenon of destabilization could be attributed at the outset to the consequences of colonialism and to the difficulties of young, independent States; today it has assumed alarming proportions; it has undermined the cohesion of the African States to the extent of bringing into question their frail independence. In the light of the universal transgression of the fundamental principles of our Charter, Rwanda wishes to express its extreme concern.

12. In relation to that very important point, His Excellency Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic and Founder-President of the National Revolutionary Movement for Development, stated:

“We have already on several occasions denounced and deplored this confrontation among brother countries; a confrontation that results from struggles for influence among the great Powers. Our continent remains the scene of conflicts sustained by ideological differences. Africa has no need of these struggles. What we ask of friends who wish to help us is support in the campaign we are waging against under-development. Poverty and ignorance are our common enemy, and this struggle concerns all of us, whatever the colours under which we fight.”

13. The world will never be at peace as long as the abscess in Africa, which gnaws at the southern part of our continent, is not lanced once and for all.

14. Last year, we welcomed with some glimmer of hope the initiatives then undertaken by Washington and London to find a peaceful solution in that part of the world. But we had not considered the extreme perversity of the rebel Ian Smith and of Vorster, his neighbour.

15. Ian Smith's arrogance and obduracy have resulted in the failure of all negotiations. What can then be done other than to intensify armed struggle, since peaceful solution has failed? Nevertheless, African leaders remain willing to seize every opportunity to realize the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe for freedom and justice without bloodshed. They could not depart from that attitude unless it were from despair, as they have no interest in fanning the flames of war in the heart of their own continent.

16. But Ian Smith and his clique continue to challenge the international community by strengthening the ignominious oppression of the Zimbabwean people. Further, they continuously prepare to implement plans of aggression against neighbouring African States, that is, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. They will learn to their loss that these acts of intimidation against “front-line States”, far from discouraging Africa, will but strengthen the necessary support and solidarity for the patriotic fighters of Zimbabwe.

17. Therefore it is up to Ian Smith and his allies in Pretoria to grasp the last chance offered to them to introduce the changes called for by the international community and the genuine African majority.

18. It is more than 10 years ago since the General Assembly decided to administer Namibia itself. In defiance

of this decision, the racist régime of South Africa continues its illegal occupation of that Territory, which is unquestionably under the authority of the United Nations. The people of Namibia, victims of immoral tormenters, are the object of such inflictions and horrors that only the *apartheid* system could conceive: the corruption of puppet tribal chiefs, arrests, imprisonment, torture and the summary execution of the true representatives of the Namibian people, and many more, for which only the demented Government of Pretoria is responsible before history.

19. This already disastrous situation has created another, because it is not only a question in Namibia of the independence of a country long deprived of its rights by a usurpation of power, an illegal occupation and humiliations of every kind; the right of a nation to self-determination and to its territorial integrity is equally at stake. In fact, last August the unholy régime of Pretoria decided to annex part of the Territory of Namibia, the enclave of the port of Walvis Bay, a characteristic way that South Africa has of extending bantustanization. Need I say that this is yet another episode in making vassals of people by the economic fragmentation of those who depend on South Africa, by the creation of serfs having the nationality of artificial and unviable African States serving only as a reservoir of manpower for the South African economy. In brief, it is yet another cosmetic disguise of *apartheid* the essence of which is disguised under another label.

20. My delegation considers that the whole world community must do everything within its power to assist the Namibian people, represented by the South West Africa People's Organization, to win its independence and sovereignty.

21. In its hideous mantle of *apartheid* the South African Government, which is racist and illegal—I say “illegal”, because legitimate power cannot be recognized without the framework of human dignity and the interests of all strata of the population—continues to impose atrocious humiliation and suffering on the black populations. Arbitrary imprisonments and the massacre of African populations are the normal procedure for preventing the majority from claiming the exercise of their inalienable rights and self-determination: Soweto in 1977 is the same as Soweto in 1976. The blood of all those martyrs would have been shed in vain if the international community did not compel Vorster and his clique to make the necessary changes imposed by the march of history.

22. To that end, the international community must strictly apply the sanctions which have been recommended against the rebel Rhodesian régime, and the total economic embargo, particularly on weapons, against South Africa. Great ills require great remedies.

23. The recommendations of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May,<sup>1</sup> and the more recent World Conference for Action against Apartheid, held in Lagos in August,<sup>2</sup> should present a valuable guide for the action to be taken

<sup>1</sup> See document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1.

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

to give effect to the self-determination of the oppressed people of southern Africa today. The attainment of that objective will remain a glorious symbol of the grandeur of our Organization and of international co-operation for present and future generations.

24. A glance of the map of the world shows that it is not only Africa which is being injured in its southern and eastern parts. In the Middle East an oppressed people—the Palestinian people—is bleeding to death. Let us call on those who have the power to persuade Israel that it is in its own interest to live in an atmosphere of peace with its neighbours and that any settlement must include the restitution of the occupied Arab territories and cannot take place behind the backs of the Palestinian people, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

25. Cyprus too for a long time has been, as it remains, a subject of major concern of this Assembly and of our Organization. For the delegation of Rwanda, the territorial integrity and national unity of Cyprus should guide every discussion among the parties concerned, which should be free from foreign interference.

26. With regard to the divided nations, my country, Rwanda, has always hoped to be able one day to support an initiative which would assist the German people in their long march towards the unification of the two German States into one great nation. We have always hoped for this in the firm conviction that the final settlement of the German problem would constitute a very important step towards the peaceful coexistence so often proclaimed by the civilized world.

27. Likewise, the question of Korea, which since the last session has not been included in our agenda, remains no less a matter for anxiety. Our position is well known: the withdrawal of all foreign troops is an essential prerequisite to enable the Korean people to attain their dream of unification in peace.

28. The tragedy through which a divided people lives can be felt only by that people itself, and all the international community can do is promote all factors which would help towards the attainment of that inalienable aspiration to national unity. We all know that national unity in freedom is not a gift but a fundamental right.

29. In addition to the rather discouraging picture I have just drawn of the situation in certain areas of our earth, there is a certain atmosphere which continues to weigh on contemporary man, threatened as he is in his security by the weight of armaments of the most sophisticated and deadly kind. It is regrettable indeed to note that even today proliferation, both vertical and horizontal, of nuclear weapons proceeds apace, contrary to appeals for moderation and wisdom. New types of weapons are continually being developed, and nuclear technology spreads like an oil stain throughout the world. Gloomy predictions are made that by 1985 approximately 40 countries will have nuclear capability. It is intolerable that more than \$300 billion should be swallowed up annually in the arms race while three quarters of mankind live in the anguish of poverty, ignorance and disease. It is not conviction of the absurdity of a nuclear war that will continue to reassure us. The

continual war preparations, even in the hope that war will never be waged, are as immoral as war itself, and that is why my delegation unreservedly supports unreservedly the convening as early as possible of a special session of the General Assembly to study all the problems related to disarmament.

30. The principle of harmony and community of interests should complement the principle of international democracy in the reforms it is fitting to introduce in our Organization. In all these reforms to be effected or envisaged it is necessary that profound changes likewise take place in the minds of men, who must perceive the objectives of the reorganization of our system. Effectiveness will depend on true reflection, not on the psychosis of an apocalypse which would follow on the division of responsibilities.

31. With regard to world economic relations, the relations of domination of the developed world over the third world have led to the definition of a new international economic order based on a world-wide democratic redistribution of power in the economic, commercial, financial and industrial sectors. The third world, faced with the constant deterioration in the terms of trade, could no longer be satisfied with simply being a provider of raw materials and energy in exchange for what amounts to alms in place of the co-operation promised by the wealthy countries. The fear of seeing the third world transformed into an equal partner in the conduct of world economic affairs might suggest to certain strategists, politicians and economists the making of a few spectacular concessions and a favourable response to specific claims in order to defer the fundamental requirements. Thus the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and the convening of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation might appear to be bold concessions.

32. But what exactly do we see today? The creative and venturesome dialogue that the third world requested has not been seriously started. It is constantly deferred to a later time. The fundamental problems remain the same, and my Head of State, Major-General Juvénal Habyarimana, President of the Rwandese Republic and Founder-President of the National Revolutionary Development Movement, recently expressed again his concern in the following terms:

“At the level of international economic relations, it is regrettable to note that the present economic crisis weighs daily more heavily on the peoples of the third world. Any declaration and any programme of action will remain a dead letter in the absence of a definite commitment by the developed countries to alter the structures of world economy and trade.

“The conduct of the developed countries during the latest negotiations was not fully in accordance with the declarations of good intentions they had made at the seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

“To be persuaded of this, it is sufficient to note how little heed was paid to the legitimate and reasonable

proposals of the third-world countries formulated at the fourth session of UNCTAD and Nairobi, or at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation which, at the beginning of last June, decided that an intensified review of the many problems in abeyance should be continued within the United Nations.”

33. Along with all these timid steps, we might mention the law of the sea. The Third Conference on that subject has just concluded yet another session, pending another one, but in the most absolute silence. What was expected to be cried out loud as the greatest victory of mankind within the United Nations did not occur. Rather it was in an embarrassed silence that the representatives departed. Once again a convention on the law of the sea acceptable to all was not forthcoming. It is certainly a failure, because mankind has not been able to agree with itself on its own interests, but there is not yet nothingness, since the dialogue has not been definitely broken off.

34. The crises, the tragic divisions and the inequalities which our earth is witnessing today show how far we are from the attainment of the objectives included in the Charter of our Organization. Nevertheless, it is not Utopian to expect that the aspirations of mankind to peace, unity, freedom and universal social justice will be attained, if only in certain measure. It is to the extent that each Member State is vigilant in seeing to it that new international ethics prevail that our Organization will be strengthened and fully play its role as a privileged centre for dialogue and agreement and also for seeking the final triumph of justice and solidarity throughout the world.

35. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): It has been repeatedly stressed from this rostrum at the current session of the United Nations General Assembly that the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia was the main event of the twentieth century, one which radically changed the course of development of all humanity. The first socialist State in the world came into existence 60 years ago. Since that time socialism, which has become a world-wide system, has brought to the peoples of the world peace, freedom, new equitable relations and mutually beneficial co-operation.

36. The outstanding achievements of the land of Soviets and the successful implementation of the peace-loving Leninist foreign policy of the Soviet State have become an important factor in the acceleration of the world-wide revolutionary process and social progress. The magnificence of the October Revolution is undying indeed. It is embodied in the historic successes of the land of socialism, the first in the world, and of all States of the socialist community, in the victory over the dark forces of fascism in the Second War, in the collapse of the colonial system of imperialism, in the consolidation of the principles of peaceful coexistence in the relations of States with different social systems, and of the ideals of peace and friendship among peoples.

37. The world-wide historic forces of socialism and progress brought into being by the great October Revolution are growing and becoming stronger; they have multiplied many times over their influence in the world and have

established an entirely attainable and realistic objective—that of eliminating the danger of a new world war and of radically restructuring the whole system of international relations on the basis of democratic principles. The Soviet Union, together with the fraternal socialist States, is waging an untiring struggle to achieve this objective. Indeed, the whole history of Soviet foreign policy is literally pervaded by the struggle for peace and equitable international co-operation—from the historic Leninist Decree on Peace to the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for freedom and independence of the peoples, adopted by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

38. The peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet State has been enshrined in the new Constitution of the USSR. Every line of its section on foreign policy reflects its noble goals and defines specific ways of further strengthening the security of the peoples and the development of broad international co-operation.

39. The most noticeable changes in international relations have occurred in recent years. The process of restructuring international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence is gaining increasing momentum, and détente is emerging as the dominant trend in world politics, thereby diminishing the danger of a new world war and opening the way for further development of comprehensive co-operation. All this is a result of the joint struggle of the States of the socialist community and other peace-loving countries in the world arena in general and in the United Nations in particular.

40. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, stated:

“Current international development is characterized by great dynamism. The opportunities for strengthening peace are growing—and growing irresistibly. . . . We firmly believe that realism in politics and the will for détente and progress will ultimately prevail and that mankind will be able to step into the twenty-first century in conditions of peace, more secure than ever before.”

41. In their struggle for peace, for the deepening of the process of international détente and for its extension to all parts of the world, the States of the socialist community have taken the initiative and are rendering unfailing support to United Nations efforts to prevent war, strengthen international security and develop co-operation among States, in accordance with the provisions of its Charter.

42. Of extreme importance to the cause of peace is the item, “Deepening and consolidation of international détente and the prevention of the danger of nuclear war” included in the agenda of this session at the request of the Soviet Union [*item 127*]. By approving the draft declaration on the deepening and consolidation of international détente proposed by the USSR [*A/32/242, annex I*], and the draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war [*ibid., annex II*], the General Assembly would demonstrate the commitment of the States Members of the United Nations to détente and their determination to carry out a broad range of measures aimed at fleshing out the

bones of détente with specific material content in the most diverse fields.

43. These documents should become a sort of code of conduct and a programme of concerted efforts on the part of all States in the interest of peace, security and co-operation among peoples.

44. By building upon what has already been achieved, and by making efforts to achieve the universal participation of States in the multilateral treaties and agreements now in force and their implementation in good faith, the United Nations can set itself such goals and settle such problems as the prevention of the danger of nuclear war, the containment of the arms race, disarmament, the elimination of conflict situations and of the vestiges of colonialism and racism, the deepening and expansion of international co-operation on the basis of the non-use of force in international relations, equality, non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States, and the strengthening of the feelings of friendship, co-operation and mutual trust among all peoples.

45. It is quite obvious that détente is necessary for all countries which participate in normal international relations; it brings benefits to all those who are concerned about peace.

46. But the road to peace has never been an easy one, and the present state of affairs proves this. The arms race is continuing, and more and more States are involved in it. A hostile propaganda campaign is being waged against socialist countries in certain circles.

47. There is no more urgent or vital task than that of making peace durable and unbreakable and of making détente universal, general and irreversible. Any State, whatever its size, can and must have a say in the deepening and advancement of the noble cause of détente, and it is only through the joint efforts of States and peoples, by overcoming the resistance of the forces of war and reaction, that it will be possible to achieve the strengthening of universal peace and the transformation of détente into an irreversible process, and to bring about a restructuring of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

48. Of practical importance to the cause of peace would be the beginning of negotiations, and the conclusion of a World Treaty on the Non-Use of Force in International Relations, as proposed by the Soviet Union and provided for in the pertinent resolution of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly [resolution 31/9]. In the conditions of the current international situation, the implementation of additional measures to ensure strict implementation of the principle of the non-use of force and to make it an immutable law in international relations is an urgent and important task in the interests of all States. The conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force would promote the creation of favourable conditions for curbing the arms race and for making progress towards disarmament, the further deepening of détente and the prevention of nuclear or any other kind of war.

49. The implementation of the proposal of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, that all participants in the

Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against one another, together with the implementation of the measures proposed by the Soviet Union in the draft resolution on prevention of the danger of nuclear war [A/C.1/32/L.2], would play an important part in reducing the threat of nuclear war and in further improving the whole international political climate.

50. We can judge the state and the development of the international situation primarily by the degree to which we succeed in moving forward towards the strengthening of peace and the elimination of the threat of nuclear war. Certain positive results have been achieved in recent years in that respect. A number of multilateral treaties and agreements limiting the arms race in certain areas are now in force. We should add to these the well-known bilateral agreements, such as the Soviet-American agreement on the prevention of nuclear war,<sup>3</sup> and the Soviet-French agreement on the prevention of the accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons.<sup>4</sup>

51. However, peace on our planet is not yet as durable as it should be in the light of the situation in today's world.

52. The prospect of further proliferation of nuclear weapons constitutes a serious danger to the cause of peace. The most urgent and effective efforts on the part of the United Nations, and of all States, are essential to prevent the production of such weapons in The Republic of South Africa and to prevent their emergence in other countries.

53. Among the major and urgent tasks whose achievement is awaited by the peoples of the world of central importance are, of course, curbing the arms race, and the transition from amassing stockpiles of ever more deadly means of destruction to beginning their limitation and undertaking disarmament.

54. The continuation and even intensification of the arms race are threatening the further development of détente. As we stressed in the message of L. I. Brezhnev, to the participants of the World Forum of Peace Forces, meeting in Moscow from 14 to 16 January 1977:

“Without even mentioning the direct danger of nuclear catastrophe, the arms race is in itself a senseless waste of the material and spiritual resources of mankind, of which it has such need in fighting hunger, disease and illiteracy, and in solving social problems, and problems of energy, raw materials and the ecology.”

55. The history of the foreign policy of the Soviet State is a story of consistent and tireless struggle for disarmament. The fact remains that the Soviet Union has submitted more than 70 proposals on questions of disarmament for the consideration of international organizations and the Governments of other countries. All main initiatives in this field have come, and are still coming, from the Soviet Union and the other States of the socialist community. The

<sup>3</sup> Document A/9293, annex I.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976*, document S/12161, annexes I and II.



stubborn resistance to any changes for the better or to the implementation of specific proposals comes from the military-industrial complex in Western countries and the political circles connected with them, as well as from the Peking leadership. At the same time, in the course of the current wide-ranging lively discussion on the questions of disarmament, one can glimpse an approach which is not conducive to progress towards their solution. There are certain people who, disregarding the facts of life, are pretending to be as it were the initiators in some questions of military détente. At the same time, they are resisting the implementation initiatives already approved by the United Nations on questions of disarmament, or are putting forward proposals which fall short of the principle of equality and equal security, and are thereby endangering the security of other countries.

56. The progress that we have achieved in recent years in implementing a number of partial measures is convincing proof that if there is real determination, the problems of disarmament can be solved. One of the latest examples of this is the signing, in May of this year, of the Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques [*resolution 31/72, annex*]. We firmly believe that the earliest possible entry into force of this Convention, with the broadest possible participation of States Members of the United Nations, would be a further step towards limiting and curtailing the arms race, and would be in keeping with the interests of the security of all peoples and the interests of the protection of human environment.

57. There are important proposals on the strengthening of peace and disarmament now on the negotiating table. Negotiations are under way on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, and also on the limitation of the strategic armaments of the USSR and the United States of America. In Belgrade there is the meeting of the representatives of States which participated in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We hope that concern for peace and security in Europe and for the development of co-operation among European peoples will be the main item before this meeting.

58. The principal guidelines for the co-ordinated actions of States in the field of disarmament were set down clearly in the memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions relating to the ending of the arms race and disarmament, submitted for the consideration of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly.<sup>5</sup> They were also reflected in the document entitled "Basic provisions of the programme of action on disarmament"<sup>6</sup> submitted recently by the socialist countries for the consideration of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. In this document the socialist countries urge States Members of the United Nations to strive for appropriate international agreements in the following main areas: cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament; prevention of the danger of nuclear war; complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests; all possible means of strengthening the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons;

prohibition and destruction of stockpiles of chemical weapons; prohibition of the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction; creation of zones free from nuclear weapons and zones of peace; limitation and reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments; reduction of military budgets; full demilitarization of the sea-bed and ocean floor; regional measures of military détente and disarmament.

59. Our task now is to proceed to the implementation of broader and deeper measures than hitherto in all the fundamental problems of disarmament.

60. This session of the General Assembly must provide further momentum for the completion of work on the preparation of an international agreement on the prohibition of the creation of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. This problem has now become even more urgent because specific steps are being taken in the opposite direction. The duty of the United Nations is to associate itself with the world-wide protest against the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction. We note with satisfaction that in the course of the general debate many delegations have been condemning plans for the creation of the neutron bomb.

61. The elimination of existing hotbeds of tension is indispensable in the struggle for peace and international security. That is why the Byelorussian SSR most strongly favours the elimination of the consequences of Israeli aggression in the Middle East. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967, the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own State, the ensuring of the right of all States directly participating in the conflict to an independent existence and security.

62. The path to the solution of the problem of the Middle East lies through the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East which, in our view, must resume its work as soon as possible with the participation on an equal footing of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

63. We must strive for a solution to the problem of Cyprus on the basis of unconditional respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and respect for its policy of non-alignment, the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of Cyprus and non-interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus, as is provided for in Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

64. In the struggle for a further improvement of the international political climate, for the strengthening of international security and the progress of détente, it is not enough to confine ourselves to the elimination of existing armed conflicts and hotbeds of tension. It is no less important to prevent the creation of new ones.

65. The time has come to implement the decision of the United Nations General Assembly on the withdrawal of

<sup>5</sup> See document A/31/232.

<sup>6</sup> See document A/AC.187/82.

foreign troops from South Korea, thereby creating the necessary conditions for the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis free from outside interference.

66. Because of the racists and their imperialist protectors, one of the flash-points on our planet is southern Africa. Peace and security here can be achieved only through the elimination of the domination of the racist régimes and the genuine, and not the fictitious, liberation of the peoples of the area. The United Nations must continue its policy of isolation and boycott of the illegal régimes of The Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, of full eradication of *apartheid*, of ensuring the independence and sovereignty of Zimbabwe and Namibia and of full implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples including, as applicable, to small colonial possessions and enclaves.

67. Since the very beginning of their existence the socialist States have constantly striven and continue to strive for the development of broad commercial, economic, scientific and technological co-operation with all countries on an equal, mutually advantageous and democratic basis. We are convinced that the solution of today's urgent economic problems in the interests of all the peoples of the world is possible mainly by observance of the principle of the sovereignty of every country over its natural resources, of the right of every people freely and without impediment to choose its own path of development and by the elimination of the exploitation of the peoples of developing countries by foreign capital and transnational corporations. In these circumstances the aspirations of developing countries for the establishment of just and equal international economic co-operation can become feasible. In this regard I should like to point out that the successful economic development of the Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community has created propitious conditions for the further development of their foreign economic links with all countries.

68. The society of developed socialism built in the Soviet State is opening up ever more fully its life-giving and creative forces. In celebrating the Sixtieth Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we cannot fail to emphasize the outstanding successes which have marked the development of the Byelorussian SSR during this period. The economy of the Byelorussian SSR is developing at a stable and high rate of growth. In less than two days the Republic now produces as much industrial output as it had in the course of a whole year before the Revolution. This has been achieved in circumstances when during the years of the Fascist invasion the industries of the Republic were in actual fact completely destroyed. The steady increase of public production and the growth of its efficiency have ensured further progress towards a solution of the main socio-economic problems—the raising of the standard of living for working people.

69. The achievements of our people in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres have been made possible because of the advantages of the socialist system. Socialism is the most just way of organizing society in the interests of the working people. It is a system which is a stranger to economic crisis, unemployment and inflation. It is precisely

these factors which are decisive and which in the most direct way determine the status of man in society, the social and economic conditions of his life and the purport and content of human rights.

70. The tremendous gains and successes of the Soviet people achieved during the years of Soviet power have been strikingly embodied in the new Constitution of the USSR, the articles and provisions of which prove that in our country, in which a society of genuine humanism and genuine democracy has been created, the fundamental rights proclaimed by the Great October Revolution have been confirmed and guaranteed. It is precisely socialism which for the first time in human history has ensured for all such fundamental human rights as the right to work, education, the protection of health, housing, social security and leisure and active participation in the government of State affairs.

71. The fruitful co-operation of States in the field of encouragement and development of human rights is possible only through the observance of the principles of the sovereign equality of States and non-interference in their internal affairs, the adoption and the fulfilment of international undertakings by all and the struggle against massive and gross violations of human rights in southern Africa, Chile and the occupied Arab territories.

72. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR attaches great importance to the question of the protection of persons detained or imprisoned for their struggle for self-determination, independence and social progress, against colonialism, aggression and foreign occupation, racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination. At last year's session of the General Assembly our delegation submitted a draft resolution on this question,<sup>7</sup> and we shall now seek to secure its adoption.

73. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR has repeatedly set forth its position of principle on the question of the Charter of the United Nations, and our position is this: that we have consistently favoured an increase in the role and effectiveness of the United Nations as an important instrument for the strengthening of peace and international security on the basis, not of the revision, but of the strict observance of the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

74. The United Nations is the most representative and influential international organization in which the peoples of the world have placed high hopes. Its authority and its degree of influence over the course of events in the world are determined primarily by the way in which it fulfils its principal task—fostering the maintenance of international peace and security, and preventing a new war. It is precisely this—an active role in the world-wide struggle for the elimination of the danger of war and, above all, the prevention of nuclear war—that the peoples of the world expect from the United Nations. It is our common duty to justify these hopes and, in conditions of increasing international détente supplemented by measures for military détente and disarmament, to strive to solve all remaining problems, from the elimination of the vestiges of racism,

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 12, document A/31/395, para. 27.

colonialism and the hotbeds of tension to achieving the goals of the economic and social progress of the peoples of the world.

75. Mr. TALBOYS (New Zealand): Mr. President, I offer you my warmest congratulations on your election as President of this Assembly. It is at once a notable mark of confidence in you personally and a timely acknowledgement of your country's standing in the world community.

76. We welcome as new Members the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. New Zealand was privileged to be a sponsor of Viet Nam's application for membership. We did so not merely because of our belief in the value of universal membership of the United Nations, but because we regard the participation of Viet Nam as indispensable in the task of solving the pressing problems of South-East Asia. We look forward to developing a positive relationship with this dynamic State both within the United Nations system and in our direct bilateral dealings.

77. This year's General Assembly, like its predecessors, confronts awesome problems which we human beings have created and which—we must believe—human beings have the intelligence to solve, if only we can summon the will and forge the consensus. Our Secretary-General has pinpointed the issues in his valuable report. Many of them have been with us for a long time. Others, as he notes, are new. All directly affect the peace, security and welfare of our fragile world community. Indeed, they are basic to its continued functioning and even to its continued existence.

78. Whether the issue be the softening of the expensive and potentially deadly rivalry between the super-Powers, whether it be the establishment of human justice for all the people of southern Africa and the Middle East, whether it be the imperative of a more just and workable international economic order, whether it be the conservation and orderly use of the resources of the sea and the sea-bed, whether it be the sensible management and sharing of the finite resources of this planet, whether it be the halting and reversal of the arms race—whatever the issue, all of us have a direct stake in the outcome. No one of us can opt out. All of us face the challenge; all of us will share the responsibility if we fail to find solutions and then uphold them in good faith.

79. It would, of course, be naive to pretend that this body is an objective research institution or a philanthropic agency, or that national or regional interests are likely to be set aside, or that advances will be made except step by step through deals and compromises. That is the nature of national or international political institutions, of which this is one. We represent our constituents, and they have their interests and their aspirations, to which we must be responsive. But all of us, I think, can feel in our bones that in its economic, no less than its political, condition the world is not many steps away from chaos; and that for all of us the consequences of failure are so grave that, however intractable the problems, however elusive the solutions, we are called upon to make the effort to face them with seriousness and compassion. We are then in the area of attitudes. Attitudes determine political will, and without a shift of attitudes the indispensable consensus will continue to elude us.

80. No issue calls more urgently for agreement among us than that of the more just and effective use of the world's economic resources. It is at our peril that we should ignore the fact that one third of our fellow beings are subsisting in conditions of destitution and mounting despair, that, after two decades of international consideration and some, but all too little, action, development problems have increased in magnitude, that, despite dozens of conferences, the relative position of the people of the developing countries has each year steadily deteriorated.

81. In recently reviewing the decline in the terms of trade of countries which produce agricultural exports, and considering measures such as the supplementary financing facility established by the IMF, my Prime Minister made this observation:

“We cannot say to a poor country, ‘We will pay you much less in relative terms for your goods than we used to pay, but you need not worry as we will lend you the balance at market rates of interest providing you take the steps to lower the standard of living of your people.’ It is difficult,” he said, “to cut what you haven't got.”

82. As an exporter of agricultural products, New Zealand has suffered greatly from declining terms of trade and, I might add, from the social burdens involved in adjusting to a greatly reduced income. We are therefore well placed to understand the far greater difficulties of the oil-deficient developing countries. We claim no special sympathy for New Zealand because we are well placed by comparison with most of the world's population. But our difficulties stem from causes similar to some of those which frustrate the developing world: declining terms of trade for countries which export agricultural goods and increasing protectionism on the part of the affluent industrial countries. In many countries belts have already been tightened up to, and beyond, what is socially and politically acceptable. We must all think in terms not of palliatives but of fundamental shifts of attitudes and policies.

83. In such a situation more attention must be given, not just to financing deficits and tightening the belt, but to enabling the primary producing and newly industrializing countries to increase their earnings. And this must involve facing squarely two fundamental questions, namely, the relationship between the prices of primary products and industrial goods, and the question of access to the markets of the affluent industrial countries of the world. These are political questions of the greatest importance, questions that must be tackled by those in whose power it lies to diminish both surpluses and deficits. And surely it must be obvious that for the rich, industrialized world to do so would be no more than enlightened self-interest. Could it not help to revitalize their faltering economies and to provide their societies with a renewed purpose and sense of direction?

84. The problem is, of course, at the very essence of politics. It is the far from easy task of convincing electorates and, more specifically, of ensuring that special interest groups in those electorates are harnessed to wider national and international imperatives. We are convinced that most of the leaders of countries whose policies will determine the course of the world's economy, and the



social and political ramifications of those policies, are aware of what must be done if the looming economic and political chaos is to be avoided. Their problem, and the problem of all in government, is to mobilize sufficient determination and creative leadership to change entrenched attitudes and to confront those interests which, however obsolete they may be, are nevertheless deeply entrenched in their national history and their political processes. But time is short, and it is running out.

85. I have concentrated some attention on the responsibilities of the affluent market-economy nations, but it is not only their problem. It is the problem of all, regardless of ideology, regardless of economic system.

86. There appears to be a general recognition that it is within the United Nations framework that the efforts of the international community to promote such action should be carried forward. The present session of the General Assembly has a special responsibility to put in hand preparations for a new international development strategy. The conclusions and agreements of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation held earlier this year need to be followed up.

87. New Zealand was not a participant at the Paris Conference. We have, however, welcomed the progress made, and my Government has now completed its study of the measures agreed at that Conference. We endorse the agreements reached, limited though these were, and will take up the debate in the various forums concerned on the topics left uncompleted.

88. An important element in our efforts to promote development and greater equity in the distribution of the world's resources is, of course, international energy co-operation, with particular reference to the interests and needs of energy-deficient developing countries. We are encouraged that the Secretary-General has recently made proposals for such co-operation within the United Nations system, and we shall play our part in working out this concept in the course of this session and thereafter.

89. It is now almost three years since the World Food Conference decided to establish an International Fund for Agricultural Development. The Fund represents a new approach to the age-old problem of world hunger—the pooling, on a hitherto unprecedented scale, of resources to be devoted exclusively to improving agriculture in developing countries. The Fund's initial pledging target of \$1 billion was achieved at the beginning of the year, and the Agreement establishing the Fund was thrown open for signature in February. New Zealand will formally ratify the agreement today. We look forward to its early entry into force and the fulfilment of initial pledges by donor countries so that operations may begin.

90. New Zealand will also participate actively and constructively in the resumed session of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities. We earn our living by the export of primary produce, and therefore share the concern of developing countries that greater stability should be introduced into the commodity markets of the world.

91. New Zealand is experiencing the most prolonged and deep-seated recession in its post-war economic history. This fact has sharpened our appreciation of the lot of developing countries. It has, however, circumscribed our ability to help those beyond our shores, but we remain pledged to the target of 0.7 per cent for official development assistance, and we shall move again towards that target as soon as our economic circumstances permit.

92. In our interdependent world there are no issues that can be considered in isolation. The refashioning of the global economic system is closely linked to negotiating settlements in southern Africa and the Middle East, to halting the arms race, and to controlling and ultimately eliminating weapons of mass destruction. The more we can establish conditions of security and stability the more chance there is of securing the massive diversion of resources and the rearrangement of economic activity needed to reduce the unacceptable disparities that now exist among nations. How, then, do we address these problems?

93. All of us agree that the situation in southern Africa is a tragedy, a tragedy compounded by intransigence and repression, a tragedy of expanding and enveloping dimensions. Change must come, and it will come. The question is not if, but how. Here, of course, there is less agreement.

94. Some claim that armed struggle is the only way; and if intransigence persists they will, of course, be right. But it is a way that would extract a terrible price in human lives and suffering and would create bitter problems for the future.

95. When the Anglo-American proposals on Rhodesia were announced, I said publicly that they offered the last chance for a peaceful settlement. If the Smith régime tosses this chance away it might buy itself a little time, but it can only be a time of tension and a time of knowing that the end will almost certainly be bloodshed in Salisbury and Bulawayo. I would urge the Smith régime to realize it, not only for their own sake, but also for the sake of Zimbabwe as a whole.

96. There has been some progress on Namibia. The southern African authorities have apparently recognized the futility of pressing ahead with the Turnhalle proposals and have accepted the need for elections on the basis of one man, one vote. The Maputo Conference showed them, if they needed any showing, that the international community is united in its demand that Namibia should be free and independent. But if there has been some progress, there remain formidable problems. One of the most taxing is that of Walvis Bay. There can be no question that any exclusion of Walvis Bay from Namibia would undermine that country's integrity and impede significantly its chances of building a viable economy.

97. The gravest problems are those of South Africa. They are complex and deep-rooted. And they are on a huge scale. White South Africa remains to be convinced that it has no alternative but to accept fundamental changes of attitude. Even a society that is as inward-looking and as determined to go its own way as South Africa cannot survive alone. It is part of the world whether it likes it or not. If the rest of the world makes it clear that it will have nothing to do with

South Africa so long as it persists with its discriminatory policies, the pressure for change will sooner or later become irresistible.

98. We in New Zealand have played our part in this process. We took part in the Lagos World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* and subscribed, without reservation, to the terms of the Lagos Declaration. We have minimal trade with South Africa and virtually no investment. We have supported the Swedish initiative calling for the ending of all new investment in South Africa. We have refused to contemplate any exchange of diplomatic representatives. My Government is actively discouraging sporting contacts. We support the United Nations Trust Fund for South Africa and the appeal for South African refugee students. We are opposed to the creation of the so-called "bantustans" which would seek to make black South Africans aliens in their own country. We have scrupulously observed the voluntary arms embargo and will give our full support to any proposal to establish a mandatory arms embargo in terms of the appropriate provisions of the Charter. We have taken a forthright stand in pressing for the release of political prisoners and in condemning the brutal treatment which has led to the unexplained deaths in confinement of more than one black leader—most recently Steven Biko. In short, we shall do all we can to bring about the atmosphere in which a just solution of the problems of racism and minority rule in South Africa might be achieved before a long, drawn-out and bloody armed struggle becomes inevitable.

99. The Arab-Israeli dispute is another problem that threatens world peace. It is a dispute about which we have little direct knowledge and we are certainly not well placed to presume to offer any new ideas on how it can be resolved. Even so, it seems to us that certain things stand out. One is that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) must continue to form the basis for any settlement. We are obliged, therefore, to reject any attempt by one party to the dispute to pursue policies that are contrary to the principles laid down in resolution 242 (1967). We believe that territory occupied by Israel must be returned.

100. The second thing is that the Palestinian people have a right to a homeland, either as a separate State or as a part of a larger Arab State. The precise boundaries of that homeland are a matter for negotiation by the parties directly concerned. But if there is to be a peace in the Middle East, the principle must be recognized. It does not derogate in any way from the fundamental right of Israel to exist as a sovereign, independent State within secure and recognized boundaries, free from threat by any acts of force, and indeed we believe that a final territorial settlement will confirm and help to protect that right.

101. And, finally, it is imperative that negotiations begin soon. The longer a start is delayed, the greater the build-up of tension and the greater the chances of the outbreak of another war. Obviously, to be constructive, negotiations must include all the parties to the dispute, including the Palestinians, through their chosen representatives.

102. In another long-standing dispute, that between North and South Korea, the resumption of early negotiations

between the parties directly concerned is, in our view, an urgent requirement. My Government remains deeply concerned lest the tensions on the peninsula should lead, once again, to confrontation. It is our earnest hope that, during the pause in international deliberations on the problem, a peaceful solution can be found through negotiations between the two Korean parties. New Zealand hopes that all Governments which are in a position to encourage this peaceful means to a solution will use their influence accordingly.

103. We have a deep concern also for the security and prosperity of South-East Asia. We therefore welcome the co-operative, constructive efforts of the countries of the region through the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*]. *ASEAN* is a non-military association dedicated to the establishment of peace and stability in South-East Asia. Its leaders have made clear on many occasions their desire to promote friendship and understanding with their neighbours. We hope they will soon get a response. For our part we are glad to be associated with *ASEAN* in its efforts to improve the well-being of the people of this area.

104. This same developing regional co-operation is to be found also in our own part of the world, the South Pacific. There, the South Pacific Forum, a group of ten States, five of which are represented in this Assembly, is the principal vehicle for co-operation and consultation. Two of the Forum's recent initiatives deserve particular mention. In June it was agreed to establish a regional shipping line, the Pacific Forum Line. Ships are to be chartered to the Line by participating Governments and it will operate services within the region, commencing early next year. Sea transport, of course, is the key to economic development in the region and the Forum Line will open new possibilities.

105. The second major initiative was the agreement of the Forum, at its most recent meeting in Papua New Guinea, to establish a fisheries agency to co-ordinate and develop protection and surveillance of fisheries within the economic zones of member countries. The proper control of this huge area, which in total is one of the largest in the world, is clearly beyond the capability of any one member country. By sharing their skills and knowledge, the members will be able to exploit their resources to the best advantage of all countries in the region. At the same time the establishment of exclusive economic zones in the South Pacific and of a regional fishing agency in no way diminishes the importance for the area of the early completion of the treaty on the law of the sea. It is our earnest hope that negotiations will result in an agreed text during 1978.

106. Before I leave the subject of regional co-operation I should like to refer, very briefly, to the signing on 7 September in Washington of the Panama Canal Treaties. This is a significant advance which my Government welcomes. We see the agreements as a milestone for the principal parties, the United States and the Republic of Panama, for the Americas as a whole, and for countries as far flung as my own. The large volume of our trade which passes through the Canal causes us to take a positive interest in its security and efficiency. I warmly congratulate the Governments concerned.

107. The protection and promotion of human rights is one of the basic purposes of the United Nations and next year

will be the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. New Zealand attaches great importance to the Universal Declaration and to the values enunciated in the International Covenants on Human Rights, the one covering political and civil rights, the other economic, social and cultural rights.

108. Before formally committing ourselves to the Covenants we have sought to ensure that in every respect our laws and juridical system were capable of enforcing the obligations of those Covenants. This has been a lengthy task involving the drafting of new legislation. That task is now substantially completed. Enactment of this legislation will mean that our laws will sustain any scrutiny under the Covenants. I expect, therefore, that we will ratify both those Covenants, as well as the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [*resolution 260 A (III)*], not later than 1978. Respect for human rights, for human dignity and the individual's fundamental freedoms have long had a central place in our traditions and values. Through this codification the law in fact will have caught up with our practice.

109. In preparing for the ratification of the Covenants the New Zealand Government has drafted, and Parliament is expected to adopt during the current parliamentary session, a measure which will outlaw every kind of discrimination based on sex or religion. Racial discrimination is already contrary to New Zealand tradition, law and practice and New Zealand reports regularly to the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination. Under the new legislation a national commission of human rights will be established to deal with complaints of racial, religious or sexual discrimination. This legislation should facilitate New Zealand's signature and ratification of the draft Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [*A/32/218 and Add.1 and 2*]—when it is adopted—in the preparation of which New Zealand has taken an active part. We hope it will be completed and opened for signature at the present session of the Assembly.

110. I have touched on a number of problems and I want now to turn to the most menacing of all—the arms race. No other issue before this Assembly creates greater hopes and engenders greater despair. The gap between our aspirations and our achievements frustrates and dispirits us, and that gap must be closed.

111. There has been some progress. It is encouraging that at last serious negotiations have begun among three of the nuclear-weapon States on the content of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. This will provide the most effective restriction on vertical nuclear proliferation so far and is clearly the first priority. We hope that a generally accepted comprehensive test-ban treaty will have been drafted by the time the special session is held. No other development, in our judgement, would provide a happier augury for the success of that session. We do not consider it acceptable to wait for technology to solve all the political problems confronting a test ban. This would be to wait indefinitely and perhaps for ever. The time for action is now.

112. None of the great issues before this Assembly are capable of quick or simple solution. But we can make a start, and if the will is present we can move progressively

and consistently to the settlement of our disputes, to the changing of attitudes and to the reconciliation of our differences. The New Zealand delegation approaches this session of the Assembly determined to work conscientiously towards that objective.

113. Mr. NKHOMA (Malawi): Mr. President, just as the speakers who have preceded me have rightly done, I, too, congratulate you upon your election as President of this year's session of this Assembly. The responsibilities devolving on the holder of that high office are not only arduous but also very demanding. Indeed the task before you calls for a high degree of patience, fairness and impartiality. Happily these qualities are not lacking in your person. I have no doubt, therefore, that the Assembly could not have made a better choice. It only remains then for me to assure you of my delegation's co-operation.

114. I should like also, with your permission, to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, who presided superbly over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly and steered its deliberations to a satisfactory conclusion.

115. It would be remiss of me if I did not in like manner pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. His is an unenviable position and his responsibilities are enormous. My Government appreciates the difficulties he has in serving, to the satisfaction of all, a membership that is as a matter of principle equal in sovereignty but yet different in other aspects, such as population, economic strength, military might and, of course, political outlook. I am sure that representatives will agree with me that Mr. Waldheim has acquitted himself well in the discharge of his duties. My Government therefore regards his reappointment for a second term of office as a fitting tribute to his dedication to duty and his total commitment to international peace and stability.

116. We are meeting at the thirty-second session of the Assembly at a time when we face a global situation which gives both encouragement and grave concern: encouragement because, since we met last, there have been some signs of a decrease in tension in some areas of conflict and some progress towards the goal of achieving self-determination for all peoples of the world; and concern because in others of those areas tensions have escalated.

117. My delegation welcomes the lessening of tension in East-West relations manifested in the détente that has been taking place. We have noted with satisfaction the consolidation of peace in South-East Asia, making it possible for the peoples of that region to assume their rightful place in the community of nations. In this connexion my delegation welcomes the membership of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the United Nations.

118. These developments give mankind a ray of hope that our world can be made a little safer and demonstrate the usefulness of contact and dialogue as a means of solving problems.

119. My delegation has also noted with satisfaction that the process of decolonization in Africa, though still not completed, has achieved yet another step forward. A fitting

illustration of this is the presence in our midst today of the new sister State of Djibouti as a Member of the United Nations. My delegation welcomes the membership of Djibouti and has no doubt that our Organization will be the richer for it. In recognition of this development the Malawi delegation extends its heartiest congratulations to the Government and people of the new Republic of Djibouti on the attainment of their nationhood. My delegation also extends similar congratulations to the Government of France for expediting the process of decolonization in the Horn of Africa.

120. There are, however, disturbing developments in other parts of our continent of Africa. In southern Africa, for instance, the problems related to the denial of political rights to the majority governments remain unresolved and the situation has now become serious.

121. We are a part of that trouble-stricken region of southern Africa. We live with the situation day in and day out. We are thus among the best placed to understand the scope and magnitude of the problems of the area. By the same token, what happens there affects us in some way or other. Malawi has made no secret of its abhorrence of and distaste for the existing racial policies in South Africa. We have condemned *apartheid* and the methods used to enforce it; we continue to do so to this day.

122. In pursuit of its policy of *apartheid*, the South African Government last year granted so-called independence to an area of that country called the Transkei. Later this year, yet another area will be granted the same sort of independence. My Government rejects this type of independence. Therefore, Malawi could not and did not recognize the Transkei as a sovereign State, neither will it recognize any other area which is granted such paper independence.

123. But my Government has not stopped only at condemning *apartheid*. We have called upon the South African Government and the white people in that country to change. However, we have done that not with any rhetorical platitudes. We have done so in the context of political reality as we see it today. That is why we have preferred to employ persuasive means of contact and dialogue, as opposed to isolation and ostracism. We believe that this is a matter in which we, the truly independent black African States, must give the lead and example to the whites to the south of us. We believe that by seeing how black Africans treat the white citizens of their respective countries, the whites in the Republic of South Africa can be influenced to change, as they are assured that all we are against is the political system they pursue and not them as persons.

124. In Rhodesia, regrettably, the political deadlock remains unresolved. Indeed, the position has become even more acute. As representatives have already heard, lives are being lost there—the lives of people fighting for their political rights. We are happy, however, that the United Kingdom, whose responsibility Rhodesia is, in conjunction with the United States, has now taken positive steps to find a solution of the problem through peaceful means. We note with satisfaction also the positive decision adopted by the United Nations Security Council a fortnight ago in its resolution 415 (1977), endorsing these efforts.

125. I wish to record Malawi's support for these efforts, and any others that are directed towards finding a peaceful solution of the Rhodesian issue. We pray and hope that it will not be long before we welcome a free Zimbabwe into the community of free nations.

126. I should also like to record Malawi's support for the efforts being made by five Western countries of the Security Council, namely, the United Kingdom, the United States, France, Canada, and the Federal Republic of Germany, to find, on the basis of Council resolution 385 (1976) of January 1976, an internationally acceptable solution of the problem of independence for South West Africa (Namibia), again through peaceful means. My delegation has noted the positive steps taken by the Government of South Africa in this connexion, and hopes that good faith will prevail on all sides to ensure a successful conclusion to this long-standing problem. As with Rhodesia, we hope that an independent Namibia will soon emerge.

127. Change is inevitable in southern Africa. How soon it will come, however, will depend on our efforts to make the recalcitrant elements realize that time is not on their side. We must therefore create a climate that will lead them to respond positively to the call for change. In this respect, I make bold to say that Malawi has always been in the forefront in advocating peaceful change in our region of Africa. My Government has noted the positive development of the process of contact and dialogue which is manifested in a number of current developments. It is the Malawi Government's intention to continue to play a leading role in the creation of a permanent climate conducive to the rapid change desired by the international community.

128. Another troubled area whose problems continue to confront this Assembly year after year is that of the Middle East. We have welcomed and, indeed, followed with interest in recent months the efforts of the United States to find a way to bring to a conference table the various parties to the conflict. We have also noted the joint declaration issued on 1 October, over a week ago, by the two Co-Chairmen of the adjourned Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, the United States and the Soviet Union, as a further step towards facilitating the resumption of the Conference. It is our sincere hope that a solution will be found which will take into account the fears, hopes, needs and aspirations of all the people in the region. We believe that this can be achieved, given good will and a willingness to compromise among the parties concerned. For only then can genuine, lasting peace be assured.

129. My Government has noted with great concern the continuing sale of sophisticated and very costly military hardware to young nations by major Powers. We are concerned not only that these weapons drain the meagre resources of these emerging nations. The sale of arms does great harm to international relations and increases the threat to world peace. My Government is further concerned about the continuing nuclear proliferation on the international scene. Malawi can see no need for the increased manufacture of these instruments of mass destruction at a time when the United Nations is committed to a search for international peace.

130. As a developing nation, Malawi is concerned about the enormous amounts of money expended on the purchase



of military hardware. I am informed that the developing nations have been known to have spent at least \$40 billion in one year on the purchase of weapons. It can only be left to the imagination how much the manufacturing Powers must spend on the development of these weapons. Malawi believes that these resources could be better spent on improving the welfare of mankind than on threatening its security and peace. My Government, therefore, looks forward to a day when this body might meet to discuss ways and means of channelling such resources towards the elimination of poverty and disease, thereby bringing a good life to the entire international community. It is my Government's hope also that the current efforts at limiting the development of strategic arms among the super-Powers not only will continue but also will be matched by equal attempts at reducing the sale of unnecessary military hardware to developing nations, particularly us African nations, so that we can devote our time and resources to the task of improving the living standards of our people.

131. When I last had the privilege of addressing this Assembly,<sup>8</sup> I touched briefly on a historic event which promised the advent of a new era in trade and economic relations between developing and developed countries. This was the signing in April 1975 of the Lomé Convention,<sup>9</sup> under which 46 African, Caribbean and Pacific countries (the ACP group) and the nine members of the European Economic Community [EEC] agreed to regulate their trade and economic relations to their mutual benefit. The establishment of the Lomé Convention was achieved because both the ACP Group and the EEC had agreed to negotiate in a spirit of compromise and realism, realizing that their economic interests were intertwined.

132. Events in recent years have shown that, ultimately, developing and developed countries are economically dependent on each other and that the irresponsibility of one is detrimental to both. Developing countries provide not only the source of raw materials for the developed ones, but also the larger market for the finished goods produced by the latter. The ability of the developing countries to produce the raw materials and ensure markets for the developed countries depends on their economic stability and solvency. Unless the developing countries are able to sell at profitable prices, they cannot expand their productive capability, nor can they ensure a market for their finished goods. The continued economic stability of the developed countries depends on the economic viability of the developing ones.

133. My country had hoped that the example of the ACP/EEC Convention of Lomé might encourage the partici-

pants in the negotiations between developing and developed countries, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation or North-South dialogue, which ended in Paris early this year, to take bold steps towards achieving the long-expected new economic order. We had hoped, perhaps naively, that the time had passed when narrow interests and bullish attitudes were allowed to cloud reality; we had hoped that the era that the signing of the Lomé Convention promised to usher in had finally come. It was, therefore, with great disappointment that my country saw the dialogue drift on to an inconclusive end, bogged down by old parochial attitudes.

134. It is Malawi's sincere hope that the North-South dialogue can be resumed and that, when negotiations restart, realism and compromise will be the guiding principles. Malawi has been encouraged by the courageous steps taken by the Government of Canada, a Co-Chairman of the North-South dialogue, in deciding to convert into grants all Canadian loans to developing countries. It is our hope that others will give this example great consideration, as this will not only generate much goodwill between the developed and developing countries but also enable the latter to break out of the cycle that keeps them in perpetual debt and hinders their development. Developing countries will continue to need assistance from developed ones; but we believe that this assistance should be designed to help those to whom it is given to be independent and not perpetually dependent.

135. While problems and conflicts among nations continue in various parts of the world, my Government notes that peace and understanding have been achieved in many areas through the initiative and mediation of the United Nations. My Government appreciates all that is being done by this Organization in promoting peace and understanding among nations. Permit me to reiterate my country's readiness to contribute towards making this Organization a medium for ensuring the broadest co-operation among Members in order to promote world peace, understanding and security.

136. My delegation also notes the continuing interest and work of the United Nations in promoting and improving the economic, cultural and social well-being of the peoples of the world. In this connexion, I want to take this opportunity to express once again my country's appreciation for the assistance it continues to receive from the various United Nations agencies. This assistance is of great importance in our task of promoting the economic and social development of our nation.

137. I now wish to convey to this Assembly best wishes from my President and the Government and people of Malawi for every success in its deliberations.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2372nd meeting.

<sup>9</sup> See document A/AC.176/7.

*The meeting rose at 12.50 p.m.*