

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



**14th
PLENARY MEETING**

Friday, 1 October 1976,
at 3.30 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Waiyaki (Kenya)	233
Speech by Mr. Khalatbari (Iran)	238
Speech by Mr. Mladenov (Bulgaria)	241
Speech by Mr. Blanco (Uruguay)	245
Speech by Mr. Bwakira (Burundi)	249
Speech by Mr. Nogués (Paraguay)	253
Speech by Mr. Montiel Argüello (Nicaragua)	255

President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE
(Sri Lanka).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. WAIYAKI (Kenya): Mr. President, allow me, first of all, to join the others who have spoken before me to congratulate you warmly on your unanimous election to this high and demanding post. It gives my delegation much satisfaction to see that a distinguished son of a country with which we have very cordial relations and co-operation presides over this very important session of the General Assembly. We have all confidence that, with the distinguished service you have had within your Government and with your vast wealth of experience in international affairs, you will steer this session to a satisfactory and fruitful conclusion.

2. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, who with singular distinction led the General Assembly successfully through the thirtieth session. As all representatives will no doubt remember, that session was not particularly easy. Its successful conclusion was mainly due to the wise leadership and relentless efforts to resolve problems displayed by Mr. Thorn. We owe him a debt of gratitude for all this.

3. I would also like to place on record our gratitude and thanks to our distinguished and untiring Secretary-General and his staff for their devotion to duty and loyalty to the Organization. They ploughed through many difficulties, prepared numerous conferences and fulfilled the many tasks assigned to them by this community of nations. They all deserve encouragement and thanks.

4. Before I go into the main part of my statement, I have the honour to convey, through you, to all delegates here assembled, warm greetings from my President, His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, the Government and people of the Republic of Kenya. His Excellency the President, an

ardent believer in the United Nations and a staunch freedom fighter, has particularly instructed me to send his personal best wishes for the success of this session, which he considers crucial for the final blow to colonialism, the restoration of human dignity to those still oppressed, particularly in southern Africa, and the establishment of peace in the world as a whole.

5. It gives my delegation great pleasure and satisfaction to welcome amongst us the new Member of our Organization, the Republic of Seychelles. Its admission is an important landmark: it symbolizes the progress made towards the eventual total elimination of colonialism; it also brings us closer to the fulfilment of the much desired principle of universality of the United Nations. We would like to assure the Seychelles of Kenya's full support and co-operation, and we are confident that together we shall accomplish the difficult tasks that lie ahead towards attaining a more developed and prosperous Africa.

6. While we rejoice at the admission of the new Member, we must not lose sight of the fact that some countries, notably Angola, Viet Nam and the Koreas still remain outside this Organization through no fault of their own. We would like to urge those Powers that obstruct their admission to reconsider their stand and let these countries be admitted.

7. As we are meeting here, southern Africa constitutes the main centre of tension in the world today, threatening international peace and security. We in Africa had cautioned this august body and the whole world that the racists' policies in that region constitute a threat to international peace and security, but the friends of the racists' régimes turned a deaf ear to our warning. Recent developments indicate that there is a change of heart. This is a positive step, and my delegation hopes that, now that we are all agreed that the racial policies in that region are a threat to international peace and security, we shall likewise agree to take measures that will put an end to the threat.

8. In Azania, the racist régime of Vorster has unleashed a spectre of terror against the mounting forces of nationalism. The barbaric murder of innocent children in Soweto, whose only crime was to demonstrate peacefully against the imposition on them of an alien language and the diabolic creed of *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. As we stated during the Sharpeville massacre, mere condemnation of such heinous crimes was not sufficient to deter the racists of South Africa. We warned then that, unless South Africa was punished for that crime, it would be encouraged and would continue to perpetrate further atrocities against the innocent Africans. The apologists of the Vorster régime were quick to come to its defence. They even told us that

the Sharpeville massacre was only an isolated incident and that, at any rate, it was an action taken to preserve law and order.

9. The same mad reasoning of maintaining law and order is now being used by the murderous, trigger-happy, Hitlerite police forces in South Africa to murder hundreds of people and maim thousands. Kenya condemns in the strongest terms possible these barbaric murders of innocent children, women and old people by the racist régime, and calls on the international community to impose sanctions on South Africa.

10. What is happening in Soweto (Johannesburg), Cape Town and other areas, is not an act of lawlessness on the part of the non-whites. The demonstrators are not rioters as the racist régime is desperately trying to convince the world. They are freedom fighters. Their actions are a spontaneous reaction against continuous exploitation, degradation and deprivation of their fundamental human rights and dignity. The war of liberation has indeed set foot in the soil of Azania. So Vorster and his collaborators must realize that the handwriting is on the wall—Azania shall be free—and no amount of brutal murders or the suppression and massacre of the black and non-white, or empty boasts that *apartheid* is here to stay, will turn back the hand of the clock of freedom in Azania. A systematic psychological war is being waged against those States and people who support the freedom struggle in Azania and other parts of southern Africa, who are constantly being accused by the supporters of the racist régimes of being vengeful against the whole population in these areas. The aim of this campaign is to slow down the momentum of the freedom struggle by inculcating a sense of guilt in those who advocate the use of legitimate force.

11. Africa, indeed the whole of the non-aligned group, cannot be accused of not having explored all channels for a peaceful settlement of the political issues in southern Africa. The Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa¹ and the Dar es Salaam Declaration,² both of which the racists spurned with impunity when they believed they were invincible, speak for themselves. Now that the Vorster régime has realized that their sense of security was but an illusion, several conspiracies are being hatched, aimed at continuing to deprive the oppressed people in South Africa, of their inalienable rights. The first of these conspiracies, the now infamous dialogue, has been exposed for what it is—a mere time-buying device! Kenya rejected and continues to reject the idea of having a dialogue with the South African racists. In our view, to do so is not only to give respectability to the régime, but is in fact equivalent to selling the interests of the oppressed people. We find it quite unacceptable to dine and wine with the racists when they are brutally continuing to murder and oppress our brothers and sisters in South Africa. We have stated before and we would like to reiterate it again; the security of the white population in Azania does not lie in the assurances given to them by outsiders. If Vorster and his friends truly desire peace in Azania, they must enter into negotiations

without delay with the authentic representatives of the Africans and the other non-whites in South Africa.

12. The second conspiracy is the policy of establishing “bantustans”. The racists have the audacity to tell the world that this policy is aimed at inculcating a sense of pride in the various communities that live in South Africa. This is adding insult to the injury already experienced by the oppressed masses of South Africa. What civil pride can there be in continuing to be robbed of land and other rights in any part of the country of your birth? The white supremacists are using this device for two main purposes. First, to divide the African majority who, as a united force, are posing a serious threat to the privileged position of the racists. Secondly, once weakened by divisions, the “bantustans” will constitute a further continuing and useful source of cheap labour.

13. We reject the policy and the pseudo-independence that is supposed to go with it. Towards the implementation of our rejection of the policy, Kenya will not recognize the so-called independence that will be “granted” to Transkei this month. We are encouraged to see that many other States, even outside the non-aligned group, have also rejected this illusory conspiracy of South Africa. We in Kenya have known South Africa as one country and we shall continue to recognize it as one country that will soon be under black African majority rule.

14. The South African racist régime continues to occupy and colonize Namibia in defiance of the United Nations and international opinion. This is intolerable. The illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is rendered even more intolerable by the racists’ imposition on Namibia of the abhorrent *apartheid* system with its essential complement, namely the policy of “bantustans”. The illegal occupation, and the imposition of the foregoing policies on Namibia is a violation of the fundamental rights of the Namibian people and deprives them of their inalienable right to self-determination.

15. South Africa must quit Namibia. It must abide by the United Nations resolutions and hand over power to the Namibian people. The delaying tactics employed by South Africa in convening the so-called constitutional talks of hand-picked ethnic delegates must be rejected by us all. The Windhoek Conference was an illegal conference, organized by an illegal occupying force. South Africa must recognize the authentic representatives of the Namibian people—the South West Africa People’s Organization [SWAPO]—and enter into negotiations with them, under the auspices of the United Nations, with a view to convening a proper constitutional conference that will lead Namibia to independence. South Africa must free Namibian political prisoners and remove their troops and bases from Namibian soil.

16. Condemnation of the illegal occupation of Namibia is no longer enough. We have done so for a long time. What is needed is action to dislodge the illegal régime from that African Territory. Should South Africa refuse to comply with the request to convene a proper constitutional conference under the supervision of the United Nations, economic and other measures of compulsion must be taken to oblige South Africa to comply with the decisions of the

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

² Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

international community. In the opinion of my delegation, it is high time the United Nations considered sending a buffer force to Namibia to protect the interests of the Africans as well as to assert the United Nations resolve to free the Territory. We call on all States to effect a complete embargo on the sale, gift or transfer of arms and of all other forms of military equipment to South Africa. We also request all countries to put the respect for human dignity above short-term economic interests and cut their economic ties with South Africa as long as she continues to defy the United Nations and occupy Namibia illegally.

17. I would like to take this opportunity to place on record my delegation's appreciation of the good work done by the United Nations Commissioner for Namibia, Mr. Sean MacBride. He has been a dedicated servant of the Commission, and in our view, has carried out the mandate bestowed on him by the General Assembly, namely, preparing Namibia for independence. We would like, through you, Mr. President, to convey our thanks to him.

18. We are now witnessing the final blow administered to the bastion of racism by the liberation movements in Zimbabwe. The rebel, Ian Smith, has taxed for a long time the patience of Africans. He has engaged himself in delaying manoeuvres, as well as outright deceit to keep the rebellion going, always hoping for international recognition.

19. Kenya stated on many occasions that there was no justifiable reason to talk to a rebel. The only language that a rebel understands is force. We urged the British Government that had been, and continues to be, the legal administering Power to take appropriate measures to remove the rebel from its colony. We were told repeatedly that the administering Power was in no position to use force on Ian Smith and his group. The Africans had, therefore, no alternative but to take the responsibility for ridding themselves of this scourge. We have now witnessed victory after victory by the liberation movements. The Smith clique know that defeat is not far off, but they intend to cling to power as long as possible, regardless.

20. Smith has now stated he is prepared to accept majority rule. While this, on the face of it, appears to be a definite and positive development, Kenya will not be deceived by his utterances and will continue to press for immediate independence with African majority rule, on the basis of the principle "one man, one vote". What the rebel, Ian Smith, has stated is new in that there appears to be capitulation, but there are many drawbacks in the supposed plan. It is a plan that aims at continued racial subjugation of the black people, and a possible prolongation of the interim period, and this cannot be accepted by Africa.

21. In the view of my Government, the first requisite to rapid restoration of peace in the rebel colony is the immediate removal of Ian Smith himself, and the replacement of the white chairman of the Council of State by a black chairman, with Africans forming a majority in the Council. We also consider the period of two years as unacceptably long. Kenya had an interim period of only six months between self-government and independence, and we deem this same period to be sufficient for Zimbabwe.

22. We have noted that the rebel Smith has placed premium on the success of his proposal on the cessation of

the armed struggle by the liberation movements. This is not the first time that he has used this device in order to buy time to strengthen his armed forces. We have to take cognizance of the fact that, in his proposal, he has reserved the portfolio of defence for the hands of the white supremacists. This strengthens our belief that he wishes to use the time when the freedom fighters have laid down their arms to entrench himself and his clique firmly in power. Kenya, therefore, will continue to support armed struggle to go hand in hand with negotiations until the objective of independence and majority rule is achieved. What is wrong with having an African as minister for defence, and law and order, if Smith now genuinely agrees to majority rule as he says?

23. We have noted that part of the package deal is a promise for financial and economic assistance to the beleaguered colony. While we support this, we must emphasize that it must not be used to blackmail an African-majority government or an independent Zimbabwe, nor should it be used to cripple the young State through the burden of heavy debt-servicing arising out of the plan.

24. As I stated earlier, southern Africa constitutes the main area where international peace and security is jeopardized. We have witnessed a growing tendency towards big Power rivalry in the subregion. Kenya would like big Power rivalry to be kept out of that subregion, indeed, out of the whole of Africa. What we need in the region is a genuine support by all States, aimed at bringing to an end *apartheid*, discrimination and the oppression and denial of human rights. Above all, we want freedom for all the peoples in the region to freely determine their future.

25. Southern Africa is not the only area in Africa still under colonial domination. There are two Territories, namely Djibouti and Mayotte, that are still under French colonial rule.

26. With regard to Djibouti, my delegation has noted with satisfaction the intentions of the French Government to grant independence to that Territory within the coming year. What is incumbent upon us all now is to assist the people of this Territory to move to independence as one nation. We call on all the States to recognize the territorial integrity of Djibouti and to do nothing that will endanger this. To this end, we recommend that no independent State in Africa should have any claim to any part of this Territory.

27. The continued occupation of the island of Mayotte by France constitutes a flagrant violation of the rights of an independent African State, that of the republic of the Comoros. As long as France continues to defy world opinion on this matter, the issue will continue to be a bone of contention between France and the independent States of Africa. Kenya, indeed the whole of the continent of Africa, will continue to give aid to the Comoro people until the island of Mayotte is liberated.

28. The plight of the people of South West Sahara needs our attention too. In the view of my delegation, the people of this region have a right to self-determination. They should, in accordance with resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations be

allowed to choose a Government of their own representatives without any interference from outside.

29. The Middle East continues to be a region fraught with all the elements of danger to international peace and security. While the state of no peace, no war continues, the dangerous signs for international peace and security are manifested through the tragic events that are taking place in Lebanon. The heavy daily loss of life and property in that unhappy country is a reminder to us all that there is an urgent need to resolve the political issues of the Middle East. The international community cannot any longer sit and wait for another holocaust because of indecision.

30. Kenya has stated on many occasions that peace will not prevail in the Middle East until the rights of the Palestinian people are recognized and implemented. Those rights include the right of the Palestinians to a homeland of their own. A whole nation of people cannot continue to live in exile, depending on charity from other people. It is not right to consider their problems only in the humanitarian context. Theirs is a political issue and must be solved through political decisions.

31. As we have stated, Kenya feels that we should not wait for another outbreak of war to call for a peace conference. We urge the reconvening of the Geneva peace talks, where all the parties concerned, including the Palestinians, will be represented, to discuss all the political and other issues afflicting the area.

32. Finally, we urge Israel to implement the decisions of this Organization and to return to the Arabs all the land it occupies as a result of force of arms. We cannot stress too strongly the dangers of flouting the United Nations in such an important and fundamental international principle, namely, the inadmissibility of acquiring territory by use of force of arms. To allow this to continue will encourage belligerency with its resultant outcome—a threat to international peace and security.

33. The tragedy afflicting Cyprus, a founder member of the non-aligned movement, deserves our immediate attention. Kenya has always called and will continue to call for respect and recognition of the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. We urge the Cyprus people, with whom we have very cordial relations, to bury their sectional interests for the benefit of the whole people of Cyprus. We encourage them to continue with their discussions, and call upon all external forces to cease interfering with the internal affairs of Cyprus.

34. Much has been said about the need to reduce the armaments race, with apparently no effect on those who manufacture these means of mass destruction. While the poorer nations continue to experience economic difficulties as a result of lack of funds, the industrialized nations continue to pour billions of dollars into an industry that benefits no one but only acts as an instrument of intimidation. The arms race is not only a threat to international peace, but is also a clear violation of the ideals of this Organization. If our Organization was founded in order to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, why are we rushing so blindly into another catastrophe?

35. Kenya believes in living in peace with its neighbours. We urge that the major manufacturers of arms consider diverting the money they use for producing arms to the economic needs of mankind. We believe that, when States are not pressed by mere basic daily needs, they will have a better opportunity to devote their attention and energy to the pursuit of peace and happiness.

36. Kenya is greatly alarmed at the increasing pace of major-Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean. We have witnessed in the past few years a building up of the naval presence of the major Powers as well as the actual construction of bases. All the coastal States in that region have stated again and again that they desire to develop their countries without intimidation by the presence of the military might of the super-Powers. We have made a solemn declaration that we would like the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace. We therefore call upon all States to respect this solemn declaration. We do so because we are convinced that the continued existence of the rivalry of the major Powers in the region constitutes, in our view, a threat to international peace and security and will, no doubt, also be a threat to the territorial integrity of the littoral States, of which Kenya is one.

37. My delegation would welcome a conference of all interested parties whose aim would be to free the Indian Ocean from the possibility of super-Power confrontation.

38. Let me now turn to another issue to which my delegation attaches utmost importance. I refer here to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which has just concluded its fifth session in New York on 17 September 1976. The Kenya delegation is fully aware and appreciative of the tremendous amount of work that has been done so far under your very able guidance, Mr. President. My Government is, however, seriously concerned that, despite all the efforts so far exerted, it has not been possible to arrive at a generally acceptable convention. While we appreciate the immense difficulties that have to be surmounted before a broad consensus on the outstanding issues can be achieved, Kenya cannot afford an interminable conference which entails an unacceptable burden of financial and manpower requirements.

39. We, therefore, request those delegations who have continued to adhere to rigid positions, to rise to their responsibilities, so that this conference, on which the international community has placed so much hope, can come to a successful conclusion.

40. Already a broad outline of a generally acceptable treaty has merged in some areas. It is gratifying to note that the concept of an exclusive economic zone, representing a compromise between the approach of a territorial sea consisting of 200 nautical miles and the traditional approach of maritime Powers that the area beyond the 12-nautical-mile territorial sea is the high seas with all the so-called "freedom of seas" idea, has now been accepted. Detailed elaboration of this concept, which fully guarantees the freedom of navigation and overflight, have almost been completed. Unfortunately, some major maritime Powers have obstructed final agreement on this process of elaboration by their insistence that the exclusive economic zone constitutes part of the high seas, other than for resources of

the area. As a compromise concept, we continue to propose that the exclusive economic zone is neither territorial sea, nor high seas, but a zone *sui generis*.

41. Kenya appeals to all countries, especially the maritime Powers, to accept the realities of the exclusive economic zone and to work in close consultation with the coastal States in matters of scientific research and other activities not specifically authorized in the treaty. The coastal State must also be granted adequate powers within the 200-mile zone to control, abate and prevent pollution which, with the emergence of super-tankers, can cause untold damage to the marine environment and result in immense economic dislocation for any coastal State. The progress achieved in this field so far is encouraging, but more effort still remains necessary to arrive at adequate provisions.

42. The greatest concern to my delegation, however, is with respect to the deadlock that has arisen in the formulation of a régime and a machinery to regulate the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction. Kenya believes that a solution can be found by correctly reflecting the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV), adopted without objection in 1970, which declared that area and its resources to be the common heritage of mankind. A system of exploitation which only pays lip service to this concept of the common heritage of mankind, while restricting effective exploitation to the developing countries with the necessary capital and technology, is unlikely to receive general acceptance. Realistic solutions should be found which will ensure that the machinery to be established, in particular the proposed enterprise, will be effective tools to ensure that the immense wealth of the deep sea-bed as the common heritage of mankind will benefit all nations, particularly the developing countries, and shall not serve to widen further the economic gap between the developed and developing countries. The Kenya delegation will remain open-minded to any proposals to arrive at equitable and just solutions to all outstanding difficulties. We expect all other delegations to approach these issues in the same spirit so as to achieve a speedy conclusion of the Conference, resulting in a generally acceptable convention. Kenya will, however, not accept the misuse of the rules of procedure, and in particular the use of the so-called consensus rule as a veto to prolong this important Conference indefinitely.

43. Kenya attaches great importance to the work done by the United Nations in the field of environment and general improvement of the quality of life. We have noted with satisfaction that within the short time that the United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP] has been in existence, it has embarked on practical projects and assisted Member States in tackling their environmental problems. This is indeed a most welcome aspect of co-operation between the United Nations system and Member States.

44. This year the United Nations is focusing its attention on the needs of Habitat. As we stated in the Vancouver Conference,³ this is most appropriate. The world popula-

tion is increasing each year. Industrialization is encouraging the concentration of people in smaller areas with the result that slums are increasing in the world. My Government will give all support to the United Nations in the field of urban planning and rural development. We are particularly encouraged to see that the United Nations is not going to confine itself to the problems of urban slums, but will also deal with the needs of the rural areas where more than 90 per cent of our people live.

45. I could not end these remarks without expressing my Government's satisfaction in the manner in which UNEP has taken root in my country. We feel greatly honoured that this great institution of the United Nations is located in our country, and we shall do all that we can to see that its work is successful. We must not forget that much of its success has depended on officers who serve it, in particular those who were entrusted with the task of leading it. My Government would like to place on record its appreciation for the magnificent job done by its first Executive Director—Mr. Maurice Strong and his successor, Mr. Mostafa Tolba, who has shouldered the responsibility with energy and foresight. The Kenya Government will continue to give full support to his effort to ensure that the first United Nations body in a developing country will effectively and successfully discharge its responsibility to Member States.

46. Kenya has followed with great interest the work that is being done in reconstructing the United Nations system. We are convinced that there is room for improvement, but we would like to emphasize that, whatever we do, we must at all times place the interest of the Organization first. The move should be towards making the system more appropriate to the needs and aspirations of Member States.

47. One area that Kenya feels needs urgent consideration in the reviewing of the Charter is the power of the veto. The world political and economic balances, basis and priorities have shifted since the United Nations was established. The membership of the Organization has increased more than twofold and with it the demands on this august Organization. The Kenya delegation is therefore of the opinion that the distribution and the powers of the veto should also be reviewed to reflect the changed world situation.

48. Allow me now to turn to some other issues which my delegation feels are of equal importance to the ones already enumerated. The principles which will govern our future international economic relationships have already been established. This was done at both the sixth and seventh special sessions, after the realities of our interdependence had finally convinced the world community that the time for smooth expressions of international economic solidarity was definitely over; words had to give way to tangible expressions of this co-operation. Hence, the adoption by the General Assembly of both a Declaration and a Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] based on equity, justice, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interests and co-operation among all States. We are now firmly in the implementation stage of these noble objectives.

³ Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, held at Vancouver from 31 May to 11 June 1976.

49. It was with this expectation that the Government of Kenya had awaited eagerly for the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], which, if I might be permitted to add, my country had the honour and privilege to host on behalf of the African region. The constructive spirit and the favourable climate which had prevailed towards the end of the 1975 seventh special session of the United Nations General Assembly had engendered great hopes in the peoples of the developing countries especially. The successful conclusions of the special sessions had, in fact, led us to believe that there did now at last exist an opportunity for the international community to concretize issues which had been the subject of discussions and confrontations for over two decades.

50. While noting the ground work that was covered at Nairobi, my delegation would be less than candid if it did not express its honest disappointment with the limited nature of the outcome of the fourth session of UNCTAD. The failure of the session to make the expected breakthrough, especially in the fields of international trade, debt problems, the transfer of financial resources and the reform of the international monetary system, left the developing countries far from satisfied with the pace at which our negotiations were proceeding. Our economies are in fact declining to unacceptable levels when each day passes without action in these critical fields. The international community should not expect the developing countries to acquiesce in the prolongation of an international economic system which is by itself the greatest constraint on our development. The economic predicament which my country finds itself in at present is deep-seated and of such a complex and inherently international dimension that my Government is firmly convinced of the immediate necessity of implementing new concepts, new options and an entirely new range of international economic ground rules to govern our future international economic relationships.

51. How can we, for instance, pay for our imports when from time to time the uncertainties and fluctuating nature of the international monetary system continues to play havoc with our balance of payments? How can we improve the lot of our people when our exports—our principle engine for growth—are perpetually in a disadvantaged position in international commodity markets? How can food production be increased when the prices of strategic inputs such as fertilizers and agricultural machinery are continuously being raised by the exporters? And to what extent can we maintain a reasonable rate of industrialization when we have to contend continuously with staggering price increases for practically all the capital inputs that we need?

52. This is the problem, and any effort to blur its focus or to assure the world community that no crisis exists and that no consequential extraordinary new measures are required is to engage in self-deception. Benefits will have to be more broadly distributed if justice is to be served and potential violent confrontations avoided. The world's wealth cannot be allowed to continue to flow just to a limited and privileged few. The immediate establishment of an international economic system which will promote, rather than obstruct, the economic emancipation of the peoples of the developing countries should continue to occupy the prior-

ity attention of the international community, for it is still our firm contention that hunger, poverty, economic deprivation and deliberate exploitation can never form a solid base for either international understanding or international peace and stability.

53. Peace cannot be maintained in a world where one third of the population lives in economic splendour while the other two thirds continues to wallow in the vicious grip of economic squalor, misery and human degradation. In promoting the establishment of a new international economic order, the United Nations system has embarked on a noble task whose objectives are manifestly enshrined in the very ideals and objectives of the United Nations Charter. As Member States solemnly pledged to those ideals and objectives, each Member State has a role which it can and must now play. It is imperative that we make a positive effort to perceive our interdependence and common dependency in a more comprehensive and enlightened perspective, for it is only out of such a perception that meaningful recommendations and action-oriented programmes can be evolved, quickly agreed upon and implemented. For our part, we in the developing countries do recognize that the road to a fair deal between us and the developed world may be difficult, and perhaps even long. Our determination is, however, resolute; we are prepared to walk the distance. The Government of Kenya will not be found wanting either in the battle for the needs of our people or in the search for a stable and just international economic co-operation.

54. Mr. KHALATBARI (Iran): Mr. President, your election to the presidency of the General Assembly is the crowning of long and distinguished service at the United Nations, and a most deserving tribute to your personal qualities as a diplomat. It is a matter of particular satisfaction for the Iranian delegation to see so distinguished a representative of our continent elected to guide the counsels of this Assembly. We are confident that your proven qualities of leadership will be a great asset to the success of the work of this Assembly during these troubled times. I also take this opportunity to express our sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who so ably guided the work of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. For the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we once again reiterate our support and wish him well in the discharge of the challenging responsibilities of his high office which he has performed with dedication.

55. We are delighted, also, to welcome into our midst the delegation of Seychelles. Its presence here brings our Organization even closer to the goal of universality.

56. In the period since we last met there have been new setbacks in areas affecting world peace. It is indeed distressing to observe that the situation in most of the major problem areas was either kept stagnant or allowed to deteriorate. Such was particularly the case in the Middle East, where a new tragic war threw confusion in the already complex and untenable situation.

57. In Africa, however, following a traumatic experience, a wave of diplomatic activities had produced encouraging signs of a break-through.

58. The lack of progress was striking in the economic field. Hopes raised at the seventh special session have not yet been translated into action, and this was particularly evident at the fourth session of UNCTAD and at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

59. I do not propose to deal with the entire range of problems confronting the world today. I would rather confine myself to areas of more direct interest and concern to my Government.

60. In the Middle East, we find that this troubled area, already the victim of perennial crises, is now thrown into further chaos and turmoil.

61. The initiatives taken last year in the Sinai had made us hope for a brighter future. Nevertheless, the very core and substance of the Middle East problem remains unresolved. Whatever the modalities and the specifics of the eventual settlement, one thing remains abundantly clear: no one can harbour the illusion that a lasting peace will return to the area until such time as Israel withdraws from the Arab territories occupied by force.

62. We commend the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Emergency Force and the acceptance by Syria of the renewal of the mandate of the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force. But the role that the United Nations peace-keeping forces can play in this situation, however useful, must of necessity be interpreted to be of limited scope and duration. This instrumentality for preventive action must not be allowed to perpetuate the uneasy and unacceptable status quo in the area.

63. In this respect, we wish to reiterate our conviction that the key to the solution of the Middle East problem lies in the full implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), together with other relevant decisions, including those dealing with the status of Jerusalem. It is evident, furthermore, that any proposed solution of the Middle East problem should fully take into account the legitimate rights and aspirations of the Palestinian people.

64. I cannot leave this subject without mentioning that yet another distressing situation has emerged in the Middle East. No responsible nation, especially States enjoying close and historical ties with Lebanon, can ignore the tragedy that has befallen this land, which had symbolized for the world the tradition of peaceful coexistence. Courageous and just action must therefore be forthcoming to put an end to the agony and bloodshed. Peace must be restored before it is put beyond reach.

65. The situation in Cyprus remains stagnant and still fraught with serious potentials for armed conflict. My Government has always urged the continuation of inter-communal talks with a view to arriving at a just and durable solution in conformity with the aspirations of both ethnic communities. We regret that these talks that have been conducted under the auspices of the Secretary-General have not yet yielded results. In the political climate now prevailing in that region the Aegean problem between Greece and Turkey last summer demonstrated how any dispute can reach crisis level.

66. In recent years, Iran's co-operation with other countries situated to its east has assumed ever-increasing importance. It is only natural that peace and stability in Asia and the Indian Ocean littoral should be one of the major concerns of Iran's foreign policy. It is, therefore, no small cause for rejoicing when we perceive the recent developments towards the normalization of relations among the countries of the subcontinent, especially the restoration of diplomatic relations, communication links and the resumption of private trade between India and Pakistan. In the same vein, we welcome also the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Bangladesh and the improved relations between Pakistan and Afghanistan.

67. Speaking of this region, we continue to view with great interest and concern all developments related to the Indian Ocean. My country has consistently stressed the necessity of keeping this area free from great Power rivalry and tension. In our opinion, it is up to the littoral States themselves to assume the responsibility for the peace and security of the region. We wish, therefore, to reiterate our abiding faith in the value of positive co-operation on the part of the littoral States. Furthermore, such co-operation, we believe, can assume greater depth and significance if supplemented by arrangements designed to foster trade and economic relations among the countries of the region.

68. With respect to the Persian Gulf, my Government's policy is based on our belief that there should be in this region the fundamental stability in which the nations of the area can pursue their goals of development and progress. And, in our opinion, friendly and productive relations among the countries of the region is a prime element for the existence of such stability. It is with this purpose in mind that we have repeatedly stated that we consider the maintenance of security in the Persian Gulf to be exclusively a responsibility of the littoral States and that such peace and stability should be safeguarded by co-operation among these States, free from any outside interference. In this context, we are gratified to note that our neighbours in the Persian Gulf have, during the past year, demonstrated keener interest in closer co-operation among the littoral States designed to promote closer ties in various fields and to buttress the safety and security of the entire region.

69. While on this subject, allow me to report that following my announcement at the last General Assembly session that all outstanding differences between Iran and Iraq had been settled as a result of the Algiers agreement of 6 March 1975,⁴ the two countries have now succeeded in building even more solidly on the foundations laid last year. As a result, a treaty and final agreements have been concluded on a whole range of issues which had for so long been points of contention between the two traditionally friendly countries.

70. The continent of Africa has been the scene of much turmoil in the recent past. Largely as a result of this state of affairs intensive diplomatic activities were undertaken which in recent days have produced interesting developments with a potential promise of a settlement in Rhodesia. My Government sincerely hopes that, following the acceptance of the principles of majority rule and the establish-

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2361st meeting.

ment of a transitional government, prompt and meaningful dialogue will now commence to determine the form and modalities of a peaceful transfer of power to the black majority in Rhodesia.

71. We also look forward to a parallel progress with respect to the question of Namibia and towards a final eradication of the evil policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. My Government does not minimize the complexity of the issues involved. We nevertheless find the policies of racial discrimination not only abhorrent and unacceptable, but also self-defeating. My Government has undertaken a basic review of its policy to determine in what way it can most effectively contribute to the efforts of those African Governments which strive with political realism to eradicate *apartheid*, promote majority rule and remove the last vestiges of colonialism in southern Africa and turn their region of the world into one of peace and prosperity free from alien domination and interference.

72. In reviewing progress in the field of disarmament, we find that, although we continue to draw encouragement from ongoing negotiations and well-intentioned efforts, the over-all situation leaves much to be desired. General and complete disarmament remains an elusive goal for the international community. Confidence-building and partial arms-control agreements, while steps in the right direction, cannot provide a substitute for genuine measures to reverse the nuclear arms race. And while the dangers of horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons are pointed out frequently and with undiminished vigour, we believe that a genuine, general and complete disarmament cannot be achieved unless the major Powers which have themselves stockpiled an arsenal of nuclear and other sophisticated weapons work more actively towards this goal. In this connexion it is encouraging to note that the Soviet Union has taken the initiative of proposing the conclusion of a treaty designed to prohibit the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction.⁵ We express the hope that such a treaty may be elaborated in the near future.

73. As far as my Government is concerned, we will continue to play an active role in efforts to achieve the vital objective of general and complete disarmament. But as long as this goal eludes us and as long as there is no secure machinery to guarantee peace and international security, nations have no other recourse but to provide for their own security needs.

74. I would be remiss in my duty if I moved on from my discussion of disarmament without mentioning how greatly encouraged we are by the near unanimous support received at the last General Assembly session by the draft resolution, originally sponsored by Iran and Egypt, on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East, which became resolution 3474 (XXX). The basic concerns that underlay our proposal when we first made it have not diminished over the intervening time. On the contrary, subsequent developments have exacerbated the turbulent political atmosphere of the region. And this has reinforced our conviction that the introduction of nuclear weapons into the area would undoubtedly have the most ominous consequences for the entire region and indeed for world peace.

75. In the past two years we have witnessed an increasing focus on the need for ending the obsolete scheme of dependence and dominance and the need for its replacement by a new international economic order in which the legitimate interests of all countries—particularly the developing ones—would be met.

76. In assessing the prospects for the implementation of the specific decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions, we had expressed doubts whether some of the industrial nations would ever translate their promises at the United Nations into effective and concrete action. Unfortunately, subsequent events in the intervening period have done little to dispel these misgivings. In fact, the meagre response of the industrialized nations to the problems of the developing countries have reinforced our apprehension.

77. This is not to deny that much effort and some progress have been made towards the achievement of the goals and objectives of the new order. Nevertheless, the outcome of the strenuous work and intensive debate conducted within and outside the United Nations framework has not so far been commensurate with the gravity or magnitude of the problems facing the world.

78. For instance, the results of the fourth session of UNCTAD were by no means encouraging. A certain amount of limited progress was achieved in Nairobi in areas related to primary commodities. However, the session failed to come to grips with the needs and aspirations of the developing countries in other substantive areas.

79. And to compound our disappointment, the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation has not, to date, achieved positive results, mainly due to the preoccupation of the developed countries with energy-related problems and to their lack of interest in other items on the agenda of the Conference.

80. The Assembly will recall that the idea for the Paris Conference was initiated at the time when most of the industrialized countries were severely hit by a largely self-inflicted economic crisis. Hence the genesis of the Conference lies not only in the developing countries' desire to terminate past injustices and inequities in their economic relations with the industrial countries but also in the developed countries' anxiety to resolve their own energy and other problems. However, as far as the developed world is concerned the situation has to a large extent been transformed. During the interim period the industrial world has managed to emerge from its economic crisis and is now launched on the way to recovery. In contrast, the situation in the poor countries has gone from bad to worse.

81. The world-wide inflationary spiral, accompanied by the decline in commodity prices, has continued to erode the purchasing power of the developing countries, and the terms of trade of their primary commodities relative to manufactures, services and technology which they import from the industrial world have continued to deteriorate.

82. We have been saying all along that the erosion of the purchasing power of our depleting assets cannot be allowed to continue. None the less, last year the countries members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries

⁵ *Ibid.*, Annexes, agenda item 126, document A/10243.

[OPEC] agreed to freeze the price of oil in the hope that the industrial world would put its economic house in order.

83. But inflation in most of the developed economies continues to pose new hardships for us and we can hardly be expected to follow the present policy in the face of soaring inflation and currency fluctuations. Therefore, it is the developed countries which will have to shoulder the responsibility for any new adjustment of the price of oil.

84. In spite of the financial difficulties that we have recently experienced we have continued to lend our assistance to needy countries. Our bilateral and multilateral assistance has continued more or less at the same level as in previous years. In the past few years, Iran's foreign aid has amounted to nearly 6 per cent of its gross national product. Moreover, last year we proposed the setting up of a special fund by OPEC to grant assistance to the less privileged countries. The proposal materialized last January, though with a lesser contribution than had been originally proposed. I am, none the less, happy to note that the \$800-million fund has now become operational.

85. It is worth noting that, while OPEC aid has increased in the past few years, official assistance by the developed countries has been progressively declining. It is only natural to expect that the industrial countries should make every possible effort to live up to the expectations in this respect.

86. As we go over such a disquieting balance-sheet we cannot fail to note that the yearning of the third world to catch up with the industrialized nations is in the long run a struggle for survival. What this awareness means in practical terms is that the failures of the past efforts should not discourage new initiatives. In this connexion, I wish to note the proposal made by Prime Minister Bhutto of Pakistan to hold a summit conference of all the developing countries.

87. The negotiations conducted within the framework of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, have been among the momentous diplomatic activities of the past year. The participation of 150 nations in this important international enterprise attests amply to the significance of the issues involved and the complexity of the task at hand in drafting a single comprehensive global convention.

88. It is our firm conviction that, in order to capitalize on the momentum already generated, efforts must continue to resolve contending claims on the basis of an equitable balance between the legitimate rights and interests of the international community as a whole. In this connexion, I find it pertinent to reiterate my Government's view that, while it is essential that transit through international waterways be ensured to facilitate international trade and communication, it is equally imperative that the legitimate rights and interests of the strait States be respected as well.

89. I wish now to refer to an item which deserves particular attention: that of international terrorism, which continues to be a source of major concern for the world community.

90. During the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth sessions of the General Assembly I had occasion to express my

feeling of dismay and abhorrence at acts of violence involving threats to, or loss of, lives of innocent people. We have repeatedly reiterated our position calling for strong international action. Recent developments which have pointed up the new ramifications and additional dimensions of this question strengthen our belief that, if unchecked, this problem threatens to throw the whole fabric of international order into disarray.

91. The rule of law must prevail in the interest of the entire international community, and every available resource must be mobilized to rid the world of this cruel malaise. It is in this spirit that we have supported action to combat all manifestations of terrorism including its underlying causes. It is in this same spirit that we now whole-heartedly welcome the initiative on the part of the Federal Republic of Germany in urging the preparation of a convention on international measures against the taking of hostages [A/31/242].

92. Allow me to say in conclusion that, while we look upon the present gloomy panorama of world events, we should not lose our faith in the prospects of international harmony and co-operation. Let us therefore hope that our endeavours at this Assembly, as well as the intensive diplomatic efforts which are being exerted outside its framework, would bring us closer to the objectives we all pursue—those of universal peace, progress and prosperity.

93. Mr. MLADENOV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, please accept our whole-hearted congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I wish you every success in the discharge of these difficult but highly responsible functions.

94. I would also like to congratulate the representatives of the Republic of Seychelles on the proclamation of the independence of their country and on its admission to our Organization.

95. The attention of world public opinion is once again focused on the work of this highly representative and responsible forum which is the General Assembly of the United Nations. The peoples of the world have good reason to expect that the world Organization will make an ever more tangible contribution every year to efforts designed to translate into practice in international relations the noble principles and lofty ideals in the name of which this Organization was created. We have all witnessed the dynamic and profound positive changes that have occurred in the world in recent years. At the present stage of the development of international relations the struggle for a lasting peace has become a cause of paramount importance for the broad masses of people in all countries and continents. Their peace-loving efforts have led to concrete and lasting results, to a decisive transition from the era of confrontation to the era of détente. This turning-point, notwithstanding the opposition of those who are nostalgic for the days of the cold war, has established itself as the prevailing trend in international life. That is why the nations welcome this turning-point as the most significant achievement of our times.

96. We harbour no illusions that détente is accepted open-heartedly by all. There are quite a number of those who are trying to use peaceful coexistence to further their own interests and to distort its essence. According to some, détente should mean that people should renounce their struggle for national and social liberation. Others would like the socialist countries to "pay" for peace by making one-sided concessions. Yet others consider that détente entitled them to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries. In essence, these efforts are aimed at reaching by a roundabout way those same objectives which the "positions of strength" policy failed to accomplish in the past.

97. These efforts, however, are in vain. The facts of life make it clearer with every passing day that the reduction of tension in international relations and the reaffirmation of the principles of peaceful coexistence correspond, to an equal degree, to the interests of all peoples and States, irrespective of their social systems, the degree of their social and economic development, the size of their territory or the number of their population. There is no doubt that the improvement of the international climate achieved so far is a result of the joint action and common will of all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces, and of all sober, realistic people and statesmen.

98. In all justice we must emphasize the exceptional—I would even say the decisive—role which the consistent policy of the member countries of the Warsaw Pact, primarily the Soviet Union, have been playing in removing the danger of war. To this very day, this policy continues to be the most important factor in the further deepening and broadening of the process of détente, and in promoting comprehensive and beneficial co-operation among all States.

99. The current year has been rich in events which confirm that the countries of the socialist community will continue to do their best to make détente an irreversible process. In this respect I would like to stress in particular the historic significance of the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, adopted at the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It is no accident that this Programme has met with such wide response and support on the part of all progressive, democratic and peace-loving forces in the world. The Bulgarian Government and people fully support this Programme and will do everything that lies in their power to have it implemented.

100. There are more than 120 items on the agenda of the current session. There is no doubt that many of them are very important and necessitate an urgent solution. Their just settlement will be a contribution to the strengthening of peace, understanding and co-operation among nations. There is no doubt either, that today, more than ever before, the problem of ending the arms race and of achieving effective disarmament, occupies the foremost place among them.

101. If we analyse the reasons which led in the past and are still leading now to intensification of tension in the world, it is not difficult to see that in most cases they are primarily the result of the arms race. It is undeniable that

immediately following the Second World War, certain major Western States began feverishly to rearm themselves. They turned the arms race into a basic policy of their own. It is this line of policy which led to the unprecedented piling up in the arsenals of States of a growing number of new types of lethal weapons, including increasingly dangerous types of weapons of mass destruction.

102. Nowadays only short-sighted statesmen and politicians could maintain that the arms race might be considered compatible with lasting peace and security. It is hardly necessary to remind ourselves once again of the heavy burden which tremendous military expenditures place upon the shoulders of all States and nations with no exception whatsoever. It is high time to realize that this senseless policy is fraught with danger to peace, and that it is fatal to the vital interests of all countries and peoples, even those States which are not directly involved in the arms race.

103. As the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov, said recently:

"No one can doubt that a nuclear war on our planet is tantamount to suicide for humanity, and that the only alternative left to this suicidal course is peaceful coexistence. This is not just one of the roads open to man for his future. This is man's only road."

104. Nobody denies that the problems of disarmament are difficult and complicated to solve. This cannot justify, however, the lack of political will to halt the arms race and to begin taking effective measures for disarmament. It would be difficult to dispute the fact that, if it depended only on the countries of the socialist community, the arms race would have long since been ended.

105. This is shown by the numerous and important initiatives taken by the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which have found widespread support among the Member States of the United Nations. World public opinion insists on political détente being complemented by military détente as well. Indicative in this respect are the millions of signatures, collected for the Stockholm appeal of the World Peace Council.

106. That is why the United Nations must direct its efforts to the implementation of a number of its important resolutions which have been adopted by an overwhelming majority.

107. There can be no justification for the non-implementation so far of such decisions as the resolutions on the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, on the reduction of military budgets, on the total prohibition of all nuclear-weapon tests, and on the prohibition of the manufacture of new weapons and systems of weapons of mass destruction.

108. The implementation of those and other resolutions is the most effective way to enhance the prestige of the Organization and to strengthen its role in the field of disarmament. It is precisely to this end that our efforts must be bent. The concern of the Soviet Government,

reflected in its memorandum submitted to this session [A/31/232], is therefore fully justified. In essence, this memorandum represents a broad programme for effective action by the United Nations, aimed at curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament.

109. The Vienna talks on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe are another forum where it is possible to reach agreement on real measures in the interests of peace and security. There is no doubt that fruitful results can be expected only if all participants in the talks adopt the only realistic approach, which is the observance of the principle of equal security.

110. Both the Charter of the United Nations and a number of fundamental documents of the General Assembly and the Security Council stress the importance of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations. Under conditions of the increasing application of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations assumes an ever greater importance. With the undertaking of international treaty obligations by all States, including all nuclear States, not to resort to force or the threat of force, new and extremely favourable conditions for the maintenance of world peace will be created. The conclusion of such a treaty will strengthen confidence among States, will facilitate the process of disarmament, and will promote the successful solution of the major and acute social and economic problems which are now confronting mankind.

111. Therefore the Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria fully supports the provisions contained in the draft world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, submitted by the Soviet Union [A/31/243].

112. The efforts of the peoples of the world to strengthen peace and reduce tension have brought about deep changes in contemporary international relations. The key task now is to consolidate the results thus achieved. In this respect, a movement forward has been launched in Europe. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe creates the framework for participating countries to develop their relations on an entirely new basis. Faithful to their obligations, the countries of the socialist community adhere strictly to the principles and provisions of this historic instrument. They are putting forward concrete initiatives, the aim of which is to implement the decisions adopted in Helsinki. This is evidenced by the proposals for convening all-European congresses to deal with questions of co-operation in the field of energy, protection of the environment, and transport, as well as the establishment of equitable and mutually beneficial co-operation between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community.

113. Despite attempts in certain circles to distort the results of the Conference, the spirit of Helsinki is already being confirmed in our continent. This, however, is only the beginning. It is necessary for all the 35 States participating in the Conference to show consistency, so that what was agreed upon in Helsinki can be fully implemented.

114. The People's Republic of Bulgaria is a small country which cherishes lasting peace, security and co-operation among nations. By pursuing an active peace-loving policy, it makes its contribution to the further promotion of the process of détente. Along with the other fraternal socialist countries, Bulgaria works untiringly to turn peace and co-operation into a natural mode of international life. These lofty objectives inspire our policy in the Balkans too. Our policy there is aimed at building this part of the old continent into a region of good-neighbourly relations, understanding and co-operation. This has been demonstrated by Bulgaria's latest initiatives.

115. The positive changes in Europe transcend the boundaries of that continent. It is necessary to extend the spirit of Helsinki to other parts of the world as well. In this respect we are pleased to note the high appreciation accorded to the European Conference by the non-aligned countries, which was only recently reaffirmed at their Conference in Colombo.⁶

116. It is in conditions of détente that it has also become possible to bring to the fore the problems of restructuring international economic relations, of doing away with under-development, left by imperialism and colonialism, and of accelerating the development of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. An important prerequisite for the economic and social progress of these countries is the consolidation of their economic independence, the struggle against the encroachments of multinational corporations, the securing of sovereignty over their natural resources and the elimination of all forms of neo-colonial exploitation.

117. The decisions of the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries⁷ reaffirmed their determination to seek the attainment of the above objectives. These countries can rely on the support of the socialist community of nations, which has always fought for the establishment of just international economic relations and for the eradication of all manifestations of inequality, dictat and discrimination.

118. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria attaches great importance to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which is to work out a comprehensive convention governing relations among States in the use of the world's ocean and its resources. The problems which exist in this field at present must be resolved on the basis of the just respect for the legitimate rights of all countries, in the interest of peace and international co-operation.

119. It is enough to glance at events in recent years to become convinced of the exceptionally beneficial impact of détente in international relations upon the settlement of a number of major problems. Some of these problems have plagued the international atmosphere for years and have seriously jeopardized world peace. In this respect I would like to emphasize the historic victory of the heroic people of Viet Nam and the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea. The triumphant end of the struggle of the people of Angola is a great success for the forces of peace and progress.

⁶ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

⁷ See document A/31/197.

120. I would like to avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate wholeheartedly, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the representatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of the People's Republic of Angola. Regrettably, for reasons well known to all, these two countries were unable to take their rightful place in the United Nations, which they won through their valiant struggle against foreign intervention and for freedom, national independence and social progress. I would like to stress our deep conviction that the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations will be an act of wisdom and justice, a confirmation of the purposes and principles of the Charter and of the universal character of the United Nations.

121. The process of the elimination of colonialism, which has now entered its decisive phase, is also favourably influenced by the positive changes in international life. The victorious course of this process is the result of the struggle of colonial peoples for self-determination and independence, which from the very beginning has enjoyed the unswerving and over-all support of the countries of the socialist community. We are deeply convinced that the eleventh hour is striking for the racists and neo-colonialists in southern Africa. They are sitting on a smouldering volcano which may erupt at any time. This is well understood by their sympathizers and supporters, who resort to last minute attempts and various schemes in order to gain time, to stop the national liberation struggle, to prevent the complete and irrevocable elimination of colonialism and neo-colonialism. But they shall not succeed, for the oppressed peoples have already learned how to tell their friends from their enemies.

122. Faithful to its international duty, the People's Republic of Bulgaria supports unreservedly the struggle of peoples for national independence, for the complete elimination of colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

123. In the present international situation, the reactionary and aggressive forces find it increasingly difficult to pursue their policy of expansion and to impose such decisions as are profitable to them. The attempts of these forces to preserve their domination, to restore their lost positions, are meeting with a growing and decisive resistance of the peoples. Yet, we note with grave concern that in various parts of the world there still exists the danger of military conflicts with far-reaching consequences.

124. Those who still hope to turn the world back to the days of confrontation spare no effort to thwart the just and lasting solution of a number of acute international issues, which require immediate settlement.

125. One of these issues is the crisis in the Middle East. In order to settle it, Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine must be fully restored, including their right to create their own State; and the rights of all peoples and countries in the region must be guaranteed to enable them to live in genuine peace and security. As the development of events shows, the establishment of a just and lasting peace in this region can be achieved only by

means of an over-all political settlement of the conflict within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

126. The Government of the People's Republic of Bulgaria follows with concern the growing aggravation of the situation in the Lebanon. The developments in this country have resulted in heavy suffering for the people and represent a serious threat to peace in the Middle East. It is imperative to find a political solution of the crisis without delay through peaceful democratic means, without foreign interference, while preserving the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon.

127. We are also concerned over the problem of Cyprus, which generates dangerous tension in the Eastern Mediterranean. The Cyprus problem can be resolved only by ensuring the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, in the interests of the people of Cyprus, the Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots.

128. For more than 30 years now, the Korean people have not been able to see their sacred aspirations realized, namely, the reunification of their country. Bulgaria fully supports the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at peaceful reunification, without any intervention by foreign forces. The resolution of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, which provides for the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the United Nations flag [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*], furnishes favourable conditions for a political settlement of this problem. This resolution must be implemented.

129. World public opinion continues to be profoundly indignant at the brutal and massive violations of human rights by the military junta in Chile. New and energetic efforts are needed in order to put an end to the cruel and arbitrary persecutions of the Chilean patriots and to release all political prisoners immediately.

130. The capacity of the United Nations to discharge its fundamental mission, which is the preservation of peace and the strengthening of security, is now considerably greater than before. Today, the United Nations can and must become a real unifying centre for the efforts of all peace-loving and democratic forces against the attempts of the enemies of peace and understanding to reverse or to stop the development of the positive processes which are taking place in the world now.

131. For more than three decades our Organization has trodden a difficult path. Hard though it may be, that path is illuminated by noble ideals; it is the path of international co-operation. The Organization's activity has been accompanied both by encouraging successes and by a number of setbacks. There is no doubt, however, that the contribution of the world Organization to the realization of these goals will continue to depend directly on the policies of its Member States and on their adherence to the highly humane principles which inspired the very creation of the Organization. We are deeply convinced that the strict compliance with the principles and provisions of the United

Nations Charter is the safest guarantee for the future of this Organization, for the affirmation of its prestige and for the enhancement of its role in the settlement of the key issues of our times.

132. As for our country, Bulgaria will continue as it has done so far to pursue its fundamental foreign policy line, which is aimed at strengthening co-operation and understanding among nations. This policy was reaffirmed at the Eleventh Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, held last March. We shall continue to work together with the fraternal countries of the socialist community and with all peace-loving and democratic forces, for the full implementation of the noble purposes and ideals of the United Nations.

133. Mr. BLANCO (Uruguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I should like to express my warm congratulations to Mr. Hamilton Amerasinghe on his election as President of this Assembly and to extend to him every good wish for the success of his noble mission. At the same time, I should like to extend my greetings and my thanks to President Gaston Thorn for having carried out such excellent work in this capacity at the thirtieth session.

134. Uruguay also would like to extend a friendly and cordial welcome to the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to our Organization and on having attained full participation in world affairs.

135. Just as at the last session I intend to give the general lines of my country's thinking about international economics and politics without entering into detail about the numerous items on our agenda. These general lines describe the foreign policy of Uruguay, which remains unchanged in accordance with the traditional principles which constitute its essence and in accordance with the deep-rooted feeling of its people.

136. It is a commonplace to say that modern weapons technology has created special conditions in international politics which are very different from classical concepts. Hegemony cannot be acquired through traditional means, except on very rare occasions and in very limited ways. Therefore, an attempt is made to try and achieve this through new means which in substance pursue the same end, domination. Thus the conquest of countries is sought by means of subversion and guerrilla warfare; constant agitation to destroy the economy; external selective support (from the supplying of money to the sending of weapons and combatants); infiltration in countries' institutions; campaigns of international deprecation with a view to isolating the country; all this in close connexion with the various subversive movements, at both the operative and ideological levels.

137. All those actions, therefore, are instruments or means placed at the service of one sole objective, namely, to impose upon countries radical changes in their political, economic and social systems as well as the very characteristics of their national identity.

138. What cannot be attained directly, because of conditions of strategic equilibrium, are sought to be obtained indirectly. The battlefield, so to speak, has moved within

countries, thus giving rise to violence and agitation. What is involved is a real war within a purely formal peace.

139. In this context the relaxation of tensions among great Powers is, in the view of my Government, one aspect—obviously a very important one, but nevertheless a partial aspect—of the question. It avoids atomic crisis and brings about forms of co-operation between those Powers, but it is not comprehensive in providing moral, political and practical assistance to each country in achieving its own national life, safe from interference and aggression.

140. The fact of the relaxation of tension, therefore, is insufficient, and does not create either the appropriate atmosphere or conditions for security. Reality shows that the current and concrete threat for most nations does not come from any possible atomic holocaust or any conventional invasion; that threat consists in the utilization of certain of the instruments of struggle which I have mentioned and which could be referred to generically as organized subversion. These instruments are implanted in and made part of any of the many motives and causes of domestic conflict and tensions which are inherent in the internal life of countries and which cannot be eradicated completely. Thus in this way those motives, those causes, lose their original characteristics when injected with an ideological content. They are used as pretexts for the true purpose of violently imposing on countries radical changes in their systems. Conflicts and local tensions are in this way brought into a field of outside forces, thus forming part of an alien universal strategy in the midst of ideological confrontation. Tensions and local conflicts become part of the world situation and of the balance of power.

141. Consequently, it is clear that until such time as covert policies carried out in new forms of struggle are ended, conflicts will continue, since an extraneous element, political and ideological in nature, is added to their original factors, preventing them from being resolved. Then insecurity and violence will continue gaining intensity in the world. It is even possible to foresee that the various disarmament initiatives will lack any scope as long as this situation persists, because if the conquest of countries through indirect means persists the necessary basis of confidence to achieve this will be missing.

142. In this context, if the relaxation of tension between the great Powers is to be complete and benefit all, it should also include the rapid reduction, leading ultimately to the complete elimination, of the new forms of struggle and conquest. This is the major issue to be solved.

143. My country hopes that an increasing effort made by all countries in this connexion, together with a constant policy of international security, will enable self-determination to acquire real effectiveness as an expression of the freedom of peoples and the creative capacity of the human mind.

144. Uruguay for its part is carrying out in this connexion a political process of development and institutional restoration which is truly its own and has a national character free of any extraneous influence, in order to give new juridical forms to its continuing ideals of freedom and democracy in an integrated and just society.

145. As my country scrupulously respects the path chosen by every other nation, by the same token it demands equal respect in turn. The respect for national personality is the true and only path towards international peace. Until such time as this principle is firmly established in the international community my country, resolved to defend its national individuality and the free development of its political processes without interference, will assume, as it has done thus far, full responsibility for that defence using the resources available to it and, under domestic and international law, will prevent the occurrence on its territory of the phenomena of violence to which I have referred.

146. The initiatives announced for joint action to combat terrorism can therefore count on the resolute support of Uruguay, which for many years has been vigorously pressing, both in this Organization and elsewhere, for action on this matter, in line with the thoughts I have just expressed, inasmuch as we reject all forms and pretexts under which this manifestation of violence appears.

147. Therefore I cannot fail to express the pleasure with which the delegation of Uruguay welcomes the comments in this connexion contained in the Secretary-General's introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/31/1 Add.1, sect. VI], as well as all initiatives taken on this matter. My delegation trusts that these will be given specific form during our present session.

148. However, I should like to draw attention to the fact that such initiatives are limited to one aspect of the situation and do not cover the whole problem. In actual fact the terrorist phenomenon of our day generally occurs not as an irrational action of a few isolated individuals, but as a method of struggle adopted by vast and complex subversive organizations with an ideological motivation, which are very closely interrelated, giving each other mutual support at the international level. Therefore these are, I would say, the multinationals of violence.

149. This necessitates concerted and far-reaching action, in keeping with the nature of the challenge, which will disrupt their operations. Otherwise we would be attacking only one aspect of the phenomenon, leaving all the others intact, as well as the real inspiration of this activity. That is to say, it is not enough to focus attention on the terrorist agent and leave aside all the organizational structure of a subversive nature which makes the terrorist action possible.

150. Initiatives with regard to terrorism are usually presented in conjunction with others relating to human rights. The link between the two topics, in my Government's view, deserves very precise comment.

151. First of all, it is necessary to distinguish between concern with human rights as such and the use of this subject as an indirect way of attacking countries which resist the new modalities of struggle and domination.

152. With respect to the substance of the topic of human rights, in its internal aspects, my Government attaches priority attention to this and reaffirms its continuing efforts to maintain and improve the high levels attained throughout the history of Uruguay. This does not stem

from circumstantial motivation nor from rhetorical declarations of the moment, nor does it come from external or international factors. It results from the existence in my country of moral and political patterns which are very demanding and which stem from a free, civilized and cultural society.

153. With regard to the international aspects, my Government rejects beforehand and with equal resoluteness the use of any mechanisms in this connexion aimed at interfering in its domestic political processes or favouring the forces of subversion and intervention under the pretext of protecting human rights.

154. International activity, if it is sincere and motivated by genuine feeling, cannot be discriminatory and concentrate almost exclusively on a few countries, which happen to be the same which, through their own efforts, have succeeded in checking the action of internal and external factors threatening to corrode and destroy its national personality. Such international action should be extended simultaneously everywhere, with equal intensity and depth, and include in its investigations similar and comparable periods, so that it will express true humanitarian concern free of political or ideological colouring. Greater demands should not be made of one than of another. Otherwise, all international machinery in this matter would fall into increasing and wide-spread disrepute which would inevitably render them practically powerless.

155. For this reason, my country, consistent with its traditions, considers it necessary to bring about a far-reaching change in the approach and in the means used up till now at the international level. It proposes, for our joint consideration, a new approach in order to free the concern for human rights from any trace of political or ideological purposes which perturb judgement: instead of concentrating on the formal defence of partial aspects, this new approach should assume a positive role in promoting the true substance of human rights, encompassing all their aspects.

156. The community of nations should, therefore, embark upon a far-reaching process of review with regard to the status of human rights throughout the world in each and every country and carry out a mature and meaningful analysis of the real effectiveness of these rights everywhere. This review, however, should not be limited to a few isolated cases of presumed violations. In the present circumstances of tensions and struggles in which slandering countries is a political instrument for undermining their progress, an analysis of isolated cases, in only a few countries, lends itself to political manipulation or publicity or as an instrument of coercion to bend the will of States. The approach is fragmented, with events disconnected from the real context in which they occur and which frequently reveals their true causes. We lose sight of the general level of the effective observance of rights in a given society and are implicitly making over-all judgements on the basis of partial samples. Therefore this review should cover the totality of human rights in its broadest meaning and be carried out according to models and methods which are comparable in both time and space. What should be determined is how in fact the men and women of all our countries live; whether they are members of free societies in which each human

being is of value *per se*, or if, on the contrary, they are members of totalitarian societies in which everything is regimented, even the most intimate aspects of human life and in which personality disappears, dissolved into abstract categories; what *inter alia* are the conditions in which the members of those societies work, whether they can choose or change their jobs, what social protection they have against abuses; whether they have free education and access to higher levels of culture; what is the degree of their social mobility and their real possibilities of acceding to key positions in the various fields of endeavour, including political affairs; whether they have freedom to obtain information and to express their views; how public power is really obtained; what are the conditions in prisons and of prisoners; whether the death penalty or life imprisonment is meted out; what are the general conditions of health, hygiene and life expectancy, the level of nutrition, the absence or lack of absence of discrimination as to sex, race or religion, the way in which wealth is distributed, the existence of conditions of security and tranquility for the life and honour of persons, or the degree of violence which prevails in a community.

157. All of this, however, should not just be the letter of the law but should be a living and concrete reality in the daily acts of life. This is a matter which concerns whether we are capable of collectively assuming an attitude of self-analysis and examination without exceptions or concessions, without hypocrisy and without any political use being made of human rights.

158. As long as this path is not embarked upon, my country will, within the frame of international law, continue to exercise, in this field as well as in others, all its attributes as a sovereign State, without permitting any interference or directives and without accepting or tolerating distortion of international mechanisms by political factors.

159. These considerations and these rules of conduct are surely applicable to international relations; they are *a fortiori* applicable to the unilateral conduct of countries. Thus, it is inadmissible for a State or an organ of a State to go beyond the sphere of action defined by international law and to claim, for itself and on its own, the function of judging other countries or Governments on the sole basis of its material power, or in other words to assume, for itself and on its own, a supposed universal code of the political and moral values without any validating international title.

160. Still less admissible, if possible, is that such an attitude should be used to bring to bear selective and discriminatory criteria of evaluation or arbitrarily to choose a target for attacks in the light of circumstantial political sympathies, disregarding the real levels of the over-all effectiveness of human rights.

161. I am, of course, referring to the measure which was taken against my country by the United States Congress this week. In this case or in any other similar case, relating to my country or other countries, Uruguay will systematically oppose decisions such as the one I have just mentioned which, aside from the undeniable internal authority of a national organ to dispose of funds as it sees fit, means in its international projection an offence to

national dignity and interference which is totally unacceptable and which my Government rejects sharply and vehemently.

162. Therefore I say, repeating what has been said on numerous occasions, that these or any other actions from wherever they may come, will not change the path followed by my country in pursuit of its national objectives. On the contrary, such actions will be a reason, as in the present case, for greater consideration and unity against this interference.

163. In the context of these various aspects which I have just mentioned it is quite clear in the world of today, and perhaps more now than ever before, that the maintenance of international peace and security depends basically on full respect of the principle of non-intervention and rejection of the use of any coercive measure, including economic measures, which would tend to induce any State, unlawfully, to adopt a given political conduct. These two principles are binding on all States in the international juridical order but in the order of ideas to which I have referred they should constitute the point of departure in relations between the most powerful and the less powerful.

164. We cannot attain in an effective way an order of peace based on law for the achievement of values of justice as long as interventionist practices continue, whatever their purposes or the pretexts used to justify them.

165. We will not attain a real policy of security and the relaxation of tensions as long as we continue in the attitude of wishing to impose in an exclusive and intolerant way concepts and points of view which for some may have the virtue of truth but which for others give rise to the exercise of the inalienable right to hold a different view.

166. It is therefore in adherence to the principles and norms of international law that we must seek the solution to disputes as the only valid path towards international justice, peace and security.

167. Permit me now to refer to certain economic aspects of the present world picture.

168. A brief analysis of economic developments over the past year shows that the forecasts made by my country during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly⁸ have been fulfilled and the trends outlined at the time have persisted.

169. The measures undertaken to alleviate the crisis of 1973-1974 proved to be inadequate to help the oil-importing developing countries, which are affected both by the increase in import expenditures and by the drop in their export earnings. The deficit in the current account of those countries, according to the International Monetary Fund, went from \$10 billion in 1973 to \$37 billion in 1975. Those nations have participated only in a very limited way in the so-called recycling of the greater part of the earnings from increases in the price of oil. They have encountered very serious obstacles in commodity trade owing to the

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2360th meeting.*

protectionist measures adopted by the industrialized countries.

170. The developing countries with medium income have not been given adequate attention, since they have been left out of the emergency plans devised by the United Nations and the "third window" of the World Bank. The trade prospects for those countries have been limited by the protectionist policies of the industrialized nations.

171. The economy of the industrialized countries, as was to be expected, reacted more rapidly than that of other countries. Thus, for example, in Latin America 16 countries showed lower growth rates in 1975 than in 1974 and only two showed any increase. The rate of growth for the whole of Latin America was over 3.5 per cent, as compared to 7.3 per cent in 1974. In the main industrialized countries the estimated gross product for 1976 showed an increase of 5.5 per cent, which is markedly higher than that for 1975, which was negative.

172. The attempts to overhaul the international economy are far from their attaining their objectives. The various forums in which the main international economic questions are discussed have still not made any significant progress. Therefore efforts must continue to bring into operation such machinery as the integrated commodity programme, the common fund for buffer stocks of commodities, and the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

173. The picture that I have just described shows clearly the lack of specific solutions for the situation of medium-income developing countries which do not export oil. Uruguay has faced this adverse situation by opening up its economy, liberalizing its system of foreign trade, diversifying its exports through internal efforts, seeking new markets for its traditional products and adjusting its currency in realistic terms. It has compensated for the inadequate response from the international community as a whole by an active policy of regional ties.

174. Now I should like to outline my country's position with regard to the picture that I have just described.

175. Uruguay will continue to co-operate constructively in the various forums in efforts to devise global solutions through negotiation and accommodation, and it will be guided by the following criteria: first, it will seek preferential treatment for developing economies in all existing machinery, including the middle-range economies; secondly, it will promote understanding and progressive association between the developed and the developing countries in respect of constructive and mutually advantageous solutions, taking account of the difference in their levels of development and seeking consistently the growing expansion of their economies and trade; and thirdly, it will seek the opening of markets generally, including rectification of protectionist policies in developed countries and the quantitative and qualitative expansion of preferences for developing countries.

176. There is no doubt that the reality of interdependence at the world level necessitates global solutions which must also be adopted at the world level. However, the search for joint over-all plans should not interfere with the solutions that must be found immediately to certain problems.

177. In this connexion my delegation's suggestions are focused on two aspects, namely the promotion of regional agreements which progressively will cover the fabric of international relations and the intensification of efforts on certain subjects or sectors which, because of their nature or the urgency of the problems they involve, should be given priority.

178. Uruguay wishes once again to stress the important role which regional efforts can and must play in the task of organizing and rationalizing the relations of interdependence. Naturally, I should like to stress in particular the position of Latin America, where most countries are at an intermediate stage of development with special features. The main economic and social indicators and the growth rate of the Latin American economies show levels which, generally speaking, are higher than those in most developing countries. However, on the whole Latin America is still far from attaining the higher stages of dynamism and strength. This region has old economic relations with the developed countries and in recent years we have begun to discern a very intense interregional economic activity, which thus is added to the old cultural and historical ties of the continent.

179. This singular set of circumstances places this region in an exceptional position to achieve great advances in the formation of more orderly and more advantageous mutual relations and to contribute to a greater understanding at the world level between the various areas of development—that is, between the developed and the developing world.

180. My Government considers that this outstanding role in the building of a more co-operative and stable world is consonant with the traits that characterize America and is consistent with its contribution to the Charter of San Francisco and its participation in much of the work of the Organization. I offer Uruguay's willingness to co-operate with the other nations of the American continent with a view to reshaping the area's function in the world context and its constructive and independent support, seeking, not confrontation, but agreed formulas and a balance in these main topics of international economics.

181. This morning, at the 13th meeting, we could discern the spirit which inspires Latin America in the comments and exchanges of view between the Foreign Ministers of Peru and Ecuador, who dealt with very delicate subjects for their countries and their mutual relations in a cordial, constructive and balanced way. This confirms my optimism about Latin America's ability to make, together with other nations, an important contribution to the building of a more co-operative and peaceful world.

182. I should like now to indicate the second direction: solutions for priority matters.

183. Special reference should be made to agriculture and food, two subjects that are closely interconnected with the problems of population. In the opinion of my Government, this is one of the most critical areas not only in economic terms but also from the political and moral points of view. No system can indefinitely support a situation in which many lack food-stuffs vital for survival, while others face serious difficulties because they cannot find a market for

these same products. In the face of this contradiction, any agricultural development programme to increase world production of food loses all effectiveness. This dramatic vicious circle causes more suffering and death than any other factor. This criterion will continue to be the pillar of international economic policy.

184. In this connexion, I should like to pinpoint certain aspects which we think might guide us in solving this dilemma.

185. First of all, a financial mechanism which will stimulate the production of food-stuffs and simultaneously make them available to peoples with lowest incomes must be established. This point is what Uruguay calls a food bank and which I would like once again to put forward for your consideration.

186. Indeed, I must lay special emphasis on the fact that the agricultural programmes and the funding to support them will not be effective unless mechanisms for stable marketing can be found for the increased production. Otherwise, we may find paradoxically that these surpluses will give rise to economic and financial disaster for their producers, while failing to reach the people who need, but lack the means to acquire, such products.

187. In the second place, upsets in food-stuff production and trade must be avoided. I am referring now to the agricultural policy of the developing countries, and, in particular, of the European Economic Community. It is obvious that the protectionist policies followed, with their restrictions on trade, subsidies and dumping, disrupt the market and discourage agricultural production in developing countries. This results in a drop in the over-all world supply of its products because it eliminates all incentives and even minimal security for farmers. In the case of Latin America, these practices disrupt the formation of the regional agricultural market, substituting subsidized and uneconomic production for regional supply at competitive and efficient levels.

188. The adoption of unilateral policies is inadmissible because this would bring about tremendous disruption with far-reaching consequences for the economy and for mankind. We must therefore all look at this problem together. In a joint approach, we must make appropriate proposals to try to reconcile the social interests involved with the principles of sound economy, making a comparison of the relative advantages. My country is prepared to discuss this problem as part of its policy of co-operation. We are sure that a similar spirit also inspires other developing countries and we hope that this position will find an equally constructive echo in the developed countries so that the present unjust unilateral policy will be transformed into a constructive association beneficial to the lofty values involved.

189. With regard to energy, I should like to reiterate that which I have repeated on several occasions since 1973. It is certain that developing countries which do not produce oil have had to face a rise in energy prices that has entailed greater indebtedness and internal upset in their fledgling productive structures.

190. The international community must devise special measures to alleviate the burden of indebtedness already contracted in order to mitigate the cumulative effect that this phenomenon will continue to have on weaker economies. The resources devoted in the past to this emergency have been insufficient and, with regard to my country, have been limited to facilities formerly offered but now discontinued by the International Monetary Fund.

191. The topic should be looked at as a whole: not solely as a temporary emergency, but as an ongoing factor permanently affecting development.

192. I believe that the United Nations can play a very significant role in the co-ordination and promotion of projects and proposals emanating from the various international agencies with regard to the priority topics of food-stuffs, agriculture and energy. This would represent a specific step forward along the road towards world co-ordination.

193. I have referred to the political and economic aspects of the world as seen by my country. We are obviously living through an era of threats and hopes, of violence and of achievements. It would be easy to give way to the temptation to bend our efforts in one direction only: to concentrate on the task of building and achieving in accordance with aspirations and hopes, or to concentrate on defence against the threats and attacks which surround us. To do so, however, would incur great risks and the result would be negative. If we were to opt exclusively for vigilance and the prevention of attack and aggression of any kind, development and levels of living might suffer irreparably. But if we opt solely for the promotion of economic and social expansion, we risk the loss of our freedom in the context of power politics.

194. The road to follow is not easy, but it is clear. The characteristics I have described of politics in our time impose on us the immense task of doing both things at the same time: to defend ourselves from attack and to find the answers to economic, social and human development. We must balance the exigencies of an undeclared war against the growing requirements of our peoples. Uruguay is willing to do this at both international and national levels, in the context of its policy of development in security.

195. Mr. BWAKIRA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): As I speak in this world assembly, my first words will be a message of peace, solidarity and success which the President of the Republic of Burundi, His Excellency Lt. General Michel Micombero, instructed me to transmit to all nations represented here at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

196. The unanimous election of Mr. Hamilton Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka to the presidency of the present session is a great tribute to the spiritual worth of his people and to his own abilities, to his great experience in the work of the United Nations and to his activities over many years in this Organization. Permit me then, Mr. President, to offer you our warm congratulations.

197. I should also like to address my thanks to the outgoing President, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of

Luxembourg, who, thanks to his outstanding qualities, his great experience as a statesman, and his dedication to the ideals of the freedom of peoples and equality among all men, has discharged the lofty functions of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly with the skill, wisdom and tact which are his.

198. In addition, I should like to express the satisfaction and gratitude of my people and my Government to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for the outstanding work which he has done as Secretary-General of the United Nations and for the efforts which he continues to make in the service of the international community.

199. The General Assembly has just admitted the Republic of the Seychelles as the one hundred and forty-fifth Member of the United Nations. May I offer to this young State the warmest congratulations of my Government?

200. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to express the indignation and disappointment felt by my country when a single vote, in abuse of the right of veto, has prevented the People's Republic of Angola from taking in our Organization the seat which the valour of its people has earned for it. It is unacceptable that so anachronistic and unjust an attitude should still exist in this century thus trampling underfoot the principles of equality of States and the universality of the United Nations.

201. Determined to practise tolerance, to live in peace with others in a spirit of good neighbourliness and co-operation and to seek together the means of maintaining international peace and security, the representatives of all peoples of the entire world have, since 1945 in San Francisco, met 30 times in regular sessions and seven times in special sessions to debate together international problems in order to find for them, with the assistance and collaboration of everyone, solutions which satisfy all mankind.

202. Meeting today for the thirty-first time in a regular session our Assembly will have to express itself on several questions, some of them to remind us that we are still hungry despite the many resolutions and recommendations which the General Assembly has already taken on them, and others which are new ones and with respect to which we must determine our approach.

203. Much concern about political problems remains undeniably important, and yet it seems to us that the economic situation requires from the whole of the international community special attention and detailed analysis. Delay, the deaf ear and even the silence of some countries with regard to proposals for the establishment of new and more just international relations, strangely echo the attitude of the colonial Powers towards the just demands for independence of the countries under their rule. In the same way that these countries finally triumphed over their former rulers, those which are fighting for a necessary revision of international economic relations will win—and this is our firm conviction—over those who egotistically argue for the maintenance of the present *status quo*. Our optimism is based on the justice of our claims, and the fact that a number of industrialized countries are adopting positions favourable to the arguments put forward by the

countries of the third world is an encouraging sign for the poor countries which have the greatest need of a new international economic order. Those countries should be thanked for that.

204. The United Nations has reached the age of adulthood, which coincides with clear thinking and wisdom. May this fourth decade of the United Nations promise us a happy future in international relations. The countries which up to now wished to be the sole masters of the conduct of international affairs and the only guarantors of peace and security in the world will now wish to accept the principle that others, who also desire understanding and harmony, will make their valuable and indispensable contribution to the search for a world in which friendship and brotherhood reign in a climate of solidarity, mutual assistance and understanding.

205. Permit me to take up all these problems in order to express the views of my Government on each of them.

206. The Government of the Republic of Burundi, which understands the meaning and the price of the liberty which it won and which practises an independent policy, would like to begin by restating its immutable and unconditional support for the national liberation movements which are engaged in an armed struggle for the restoration of their national identity. We are thinking, in particular, of the freedom fighters in southern Africa.

207. The victories which have already been won in this part of our continent and which peace and freedom-loving men must welcome, and the determination of the nationalists to free themselves from the degrading yoke of the corrupt régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria, enable us to expect their final victory in the near future.

208. The more the rebel Government of the renegade Ian Smith stubbornly refuses to hand over power to the black majority, the more severe will be our condemnation and the more determined and unconditional our support of the freedom fighters of the African National Council of Zimbabwe. The Republic of Burundi considers that Rhodesia remains, despite everything, a colony, a rebel colony too, unfortunately, and it believes that Great Britain, which remains in principle the administering Power for this Territory, should finally decide to compel Ian Smith and his supporters to accept majority government, which alone can guarantee their safety.

209. Burundi reaffirms that the Rhodesian problem must be solved by the Zimbabwean nationalists and the British Government. We urgently appeal to the British Government to convene a constitutional conference to study the means of transferring power to the majority. For us, it is out of the question to ask the freedom fighters to lay down their arms, and even less to think of lifting the economic sanctions against rebel Rhodesia until the constitutional conference has achieved substantial results.

210. With regard to Pretoria, the Government of the Republic of Burundi has always expressed its total disapproval of the racist régime of the Vorster Government. This Government, which does not recognize the dignity of the black man because of the colour of his skin, disgraces not

only the race whose supremacy he claims to defend but all mankind. The policy of *apartheid* which is identified with Hitlerian fascism must be fought by all those who believe in human dignity.

211. We condemn vigorously the activities of the frightening butchers of Pretoria who beat up and kill school-children and workers in Soweto and other places, whose only wrongdoing was to claim their most fundamental rights.

212. Legally speaking, Namibia is still a Territory administered by our Organization. My country is a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia. The failure of the international Organization in its task of administering and bringing this Territory to freedom and independence are due not so much to the refusal of Pretoria to hand over power to SWAPO, which is the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, but also to the active and blind support which certain major Powers give to the South African régime. As far as we are concerned, we are convinced that, if these major Powers had so wished, freedom would have been restored long ago in this part of Africa.

213. In Western Sahara, Burundi profoundly deplores that the Saharan people have not been given the fundamental right to decide its own future. The situation prevailing in this Territory is in flagrant contradiction with the decision of OAU, which recommends respect for the old colonial frontiers. This fait accompli constitutes a dangerous precedent in international relations.

214. With regard to the so-called French Somali coast or Djibouti, the Republic of Burundi hopes that this African territory will as quickly as possible have its independence restored and will exercise it freely without any outside interference.

215. My country believes the Balkanization of the Comoros to be unacceptable because it is contrary to the oft-repeated principle of the territorial integrity of States.

216. In the Middle East, my Government's position is very well known. We roundly condemn the intransigent attitude of Israel and its refusal to restore to the Arabs the territories which it occupied by force. We restate our total support for the Palestinian people in its legitimate claim to the inalienable right to have a homeland.

217. We would like once again to thank and at the same time to congratulate the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos for the stern lesson which they gave to the whole world by destroying the myth of the invincibility of imperialism. We regret to see that the worthy representatives of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam must still wait at the door of our Organization.

218. The victories of the peoples of Indo-China, which strengthen us in our conviction that nothing can bring to its knees the united people, naturally give us grounds to hope that we will soon be celebrating the peaceful reunification of independent Korea. In this part of the world in which a people forms a single nation, the Korean nation, and which remains divided against its will and despite the protest of

the international community, my country believes that peace will not come except by the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea without any external interference and by the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea, in accordance with resolution 3390 B (XXX). Our Organization must discharge all its responsibilities and make good the wrong it has caused the Korean people.

219. At San Francisco, only 51 countries, helpless and anguished at the thought of a new war, decided on the Charter which was to govern all mankind. In their bewilderment, only the great Powers, which believed themselves to be the only masters and protectors of mankind, attributed to themselves an exorbitant power—the power to thwart the will of each and every one—thus violating a principle which they themselves had made sacred, namely, the sovereign equality of all States.

220. Just as in the past the People's Republic of China could not occupy its seat among us because of the right of veto, Angola and Viet Nam, countries whose candidatures are supported by more than 123 States Members of our Organization, remain outside our great family. That cannot go on.

221. The peace and security which underlay the establishment of the United Nations will not be guaranteed until all peoples of the world understand that, being brothers, they must march hand in hand towards the building of a just and equitable society.

222. We believe that the inequalities between rich and poor countries constitute a source of insecurity in the world. While, for some of us, the major concerns are those of over-armament and over-equipment, for many others it is a question of how to deal with hunger, poverty and ignorance.

223. For some time, the representatives of the peoples of the third world have been meeting, sometimes together, sometimes with the representatives of the rich countries, to talk about the present state of affairs, which is unfavourable to the great majority of human kind.

224. The meetings at Georgetown, Dakar, Lima, Manila, Nairobi, and recently those in Colombo and Mexico, can each of them constitute a complete file of analyses which the developing countries have made of the international economic situation. And in addition to those meetings there were also the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, and between those two sessions, the twenty-ninth regular session, which highlighted the flagrant inequality in international economic relations. What can we say of the Conference on International Economic Cooperation which is merely marking time in the French capital?

225. I wish briefly to take up in a general way these points in order to give the position of my Government on a matter which Burundi considers very important.

226. Throughout its existence, the United Nations has had to deal with international problems and has used all its moral weight to defuse crises which might sometimes have

led the world into incalculable disasters. This must definitely be put to the credit of our Organization.

227. But political problems are closely linked to economic problems, and we are happy to see that the international community, after having gradually recognized their importance, although somewhat belatedly, is now focusing increasingly on economic relations and is making efforts to invest them with a new character.

228. Furthermore, we note, not without bitterness, that some developed countries are trying to label as confrontation the negotiations which are going on to establish a new international economic order.

229. My Government thinks that this means of proceeding is a major obstacle to the efforts to promote international economic relations on a more equitable basis.

230. The developing countries, for their part, have shown great imagination in the various international forums devoted to present economic problems.

231. When in 1974, on the initiative of President Houari Boumediène, the sixth special session of the United Nations was convened, some recognized the imperative need to establish a new economic system based on the interdependence and equality of States. At the end of that session the General Assembly adopted, *inter alia*, the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and recognized the inalienable sovereignty of States over their natural resources.

232. My Government believes that the international community must strengthen its activities with a view to the adoption by all States of specific measures concerning the implementation of that Declaration. It is in that sense that the developing countries held a series of meetings with a view to making international opinion aware of that problem.

233. In 1975 at Dakar⁹ the Group of 77 underlined the implications of the exploitation of raw materials on the social and economic development of the countries of the third world. The ferocious exploitation of these raw materials, which began in the long night of the colonial period and which is being continued at break-neck speed by the multinational corporations, had distorted the economies of those States in such a way that they are incapable of coping with the violent crises which shake even the soundest economies.

234. In order to permit these countries to obtain the resources they need for their development the countries which import raw materials must agree to pay more just and remunerative prices.

235. At Lima the Conference on industrialization and international co-operation¹⁰ and the ministerial conference

⁹ Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials, held at Dakar from 4 to 8 February 1975.

¹⁰ Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held at Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975.

of the non-aligned countries¹¹ have adequately stressed the importance for the developing countries of the implementation of concerted action to free two thirds of the population of the world from under-development. The ministerial conference of the non-aligned countries stressed in particular the need for international economic co-operation based on the principles of equality and mutual interest.

236. At the seventh special session of the General Assembly, the group of non-aligned countries clearly stated the demands of the developing countries in the field of international co-operation. We believe that resolution 3362 (S-VII), although it does not fully meet the desires expressed by the developing countries, does constitute a step forward towards the establishment of a more equitable world economic order.

237. That is why my country with all its strength calls upon the international community to ponder seriously the question of economic co-operation among States. For some food experts the world will be threatened with serious shortages in coming years. But what is being done to prevent such disasters? We cannot say exactly. But we do know that other experts, colleagues of the food experts, continue to push to absurd lengths expenditures made for the sake of prestige, of which armaments are the most frightening example.

238. The developing countries, which are rightly making tireless efforts to break the resistance of the imperialist forces, which stubbornly reject any change in the present system, value greatly the support of the progressive forces in the industrialized countries. For our part we think that the efforts by those countries should be strengthened in order to stamp the present decade with an irreversible movement towards the establishment of truly democratic international economic relations.

239. Pursuing this work of economic liberation the Group of 77 at the Manila Conference¹² held at the beginning of this year elaborated even more specific proposals which in our view also meet the interests of both the developed and the developing countries. The Manila Declaration and Programme of Action¹³ is a document of very great importance for the future of international economic relations, not only as the most legitimate claim of the third world but also as a broader framework within which economic relations among States may develop.

240. The Group of 77 had hoped that all countries members of UNCTAD would have no difficulty in supporting these very reasonable proposals, in particular the proposal for the adoption of an integrated commodity programme, including the creation of a joint fund for the financing of international stocks.

241. But our disappointment was very great when at the fourth session of UNCTAD at Nairobi some of the richest

¹¹ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

¹² Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976.

¹³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

countries opposed the establishment of that fund and wished us to believe that an international resources bank would meet better the interests of all.

242. For our part, we believe that the integrated programme, with all its elements, would protect the interests of all parties and would on the one hand enable the developing countries to guarantee a degree of stability in their export earnings and, on the other hand, enable the developed countries to count on a regular supply of raw materials for their industries.

243. My delegation therefore appeals from this rostrum to all States to take specific and speedy measures with a view to implementing the recent recommendations of the fourth session of UNCTAD.¹⁴

244. Despite all these efforts which the developing countries continue to make either within our Organization or at other international meetings such as those of the non-aligned countries or the Group of 77, the gap between developed and developing countries continues to grow. This is due mainly to the lack of political will on the part of certain developed countries.

245. In the field of production and investment, multinational corporations, supported by the political powers to whom they are tied, continue to play an evil role in the process of social and economic development of the countries of the third world and constitute a permanent danger to the political stability of young States.

246. In the field of trade, manufactures and semi-manufactures from the developing countries continue to run up against the almost insurmountable tariff and non-tariff barriers raised by the developed countries, mainly those with market economies, with a view to maintaining their grip on the traditional markets.

247. With regard to monetary questions, we reiterate our appeal to economically strong countries to decide to reform the present international monetary system in order to enable developing economies to cope with the problems facing them. The manipulation of prices and currency speculation are the two main factors which weigh heavily on the budgets of young States, cause disturbing deficits in their balances of payments and increase their external indebtedness to unbearable proportions.

248. We are aware that it is those same Powers that condemn us to under-development and despair, that are doing everything they can to make those debts even heavier and that thus strengthen the economic dependence of the poor countries and seriously compromise their political independence.

249. In the group of developing countries there is a category which deserves special care and attention on the part of the international community: the least-advanced and land-locked developing countries. These countries have to overcome additional obstacles due to their land-locked situation. The extremely high costs of transport on the one hand weigh heavily on their export earnings and on the other hand greatly swell the cost of their imports.

250. The Government of Burundi attaches very great importance to an international agreement which would concede to land-locked States free access to the sea and from the sea, as has been proposed at the recent Manila Conference.

251. Furthermore, we ask the richest countries to give substantial aid to that category of countries in their efforts to find a way out of their under-development. We know that the means do exist, but what is lacking is the will to use them better.

252. We stand by impotently and observe the arms race of the great Powers, which devote astronomical sums to the manufacture of weapons of mass destruction, but we must proclaim aloud and repeatedly our total disapproval of this wastage, when two thirds of mankind is fighting ignorance, poverty and despair. We affirm that a small percentage of the military budgets of certain Powers, if it were devoted to the development of essential sectors of the poor countries, would alone contribute considerably to raising the standard of living of these poor peoples.

253. We are convinced that it is not the balance of terror which will guarantee world peace for all time but only the speedy development of the poor countries, which will be a decisive element in promoting international peace and security.

254. Mr. NOGUES (Paraguay) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since my appointment as Foreign Minister of Paraguay this is my first opportunity to address the General Assembly of the United Nations to express the view of my Government with regard to the extensive agenda for the discussion of which we are here convened. As is customary, may I begin by greeting all the representatives seated in this international arena: President Amerasinghe, whose efficient work in this normal climate, so well suited to his innate qualities deserves our praise; Prime Minister Gaston Thorn, whose keen clear-sightedness has left a shining imprint in the roster of those who have brilliantly presided over the deliberations of our Assembly in the past; and our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim who has, through the fruitful years of his activity, which we hope will continue in the future, shown constant and unequivocal proof of this great oecumenical vocation. I should also like to welcome most cordially the Republic of Seychelles, which has become a Member of our Organization; and in so doing places in it high hopes for its future, with a promise on our part not to disappoint them in this joyous undertaking to preserve peace and to act together to promote the economic and social progress of all the peoples of the planet.

255. The balance of power is governed by well-entrenched patterns which hardly ever change for the simple reason that history has been weaving an increasingly complex fabric of appetites for prestige and domination. Thus those who do not have power are at the mercy and whim of those who use this power as the dreadful tool of their conduct. However, this Organization seeks, through the proclamation of its principles and objectives, to establish the rule of reason; and under its protection we welcome those peoples to whom fate has denied the opportunities given to others of being the only lords of war and peace. It is with

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, part one A.

eagerness and uncertainty that we struggle, and our agony is a reflection of our faith in the principles laid down in Chapter I of the Charter.

256. For this reason, although not always with encouraging results, we come here year after year to profess our persistent faith in the imponderable forces which govern mankind and without whose existence and assistance our planet would more than once have turned into a pyre of atomic madness.

257. And thus, for countries like mine, and we are a majority here in this Assembly, the issue of world peace is only the repeated expression of a hope which we voice with some trepidation, since the political decision to establish it on firm and lasting foundations is beyond our control. However, despite our handicap, we realize that our unity is a powerful tool with which to destroy the frontiers of scepticism and thus Paraguay, in its association with the United Nations, contributes its enormous spiritual strength to the cause of peace.

258. As in the case of human beings where somatic make-up and physical traits are merely accidental, we do not recognize some countries as being greater than others because of the size of their territory or their population, or some as being more deserving than others merely on the basis of computer data. For us, the peoples of the United Nations, there is only one criterion of dignity, and that is purity of blood gained at the service of great ideals. Because of its heroic past and its promising present my country, Paraguay, occupies its rightful place in this Assembly of the peoples and believes it is its urgent duty to play an active role in this contest where, in the final analysis, the fate of the universe itself is being played out. My country occupies a seat of honour in this Assembly because it has forged its ultimate shape, its features, and its personality through hard work and virtues difficult to acquire; and let this just patriotic exaltation stand in support of the voice of a nation which feels genuinely self-confident.

259. Clearly, out of the many items on the agenda before the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, all important, there are some on which we should like to dwell, be it ever so briefly, because of their special interest for our country.

260. We have the highest regard for the extremely important functions of the Security Council and those of the Office of the Secretary-General, and when we recall the crucial role which they have played in dealing with numerous crises, we can expect from them nothing less than the strictest, even heroic accomplishment of their lofty mission. Often they hold the thread of life itself in their hands, and Paraguay, like the overwhelming majority of the countries represented here, has full confidence in the vital mechanism of this world body, and we hope that the elections that will take place for several vacant posts will justify our confidence in their sound and serene judgement.

261. As the protagonists of this problem in days gone by, and because of our own experience, we have a well-defined position on colonialism, although this word, like many others in modern international parlance, often lends itself to regrettable misinterpretations. Accession to indepen-

dence is a right which cannot be denied if the necessary requirements exist to meet the challenges of independent life; but the rupture of administrative links is not always the right solution. Indeed, there are cases where the process of self-determination should avoid giving the stamp of approval to former ownership of territories which, by history and by law, belong to other political entities. Thus my delegation will support all efforts made to find the right solution for each individual case.

262. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea resulted in a number of valuable achievements. The 1958 Geneva Conventions did not fully meet the challenges offered by the sea at that stage in the history of technology. Countries that have from time immemorial derived profit from their seashores, as well as those which were deprived of them, turned to the ocean in search of wealth with great hopes and aspirations. For although trade is facilitated by the ownership of seaports, with modern means of communication and existing conventions on terrestrial transit, trade is no longer the only reason why nations want to have a coastline. Science and technology have discovered new wealth in the subsoil of the sea-bed, a wealth which makes their possession especially desirable, and as the population explosion, which reduces our breathing space, creates new and urgent problems concerning food and the production of energy, the sea offers ever greater opportunities to overcome these crises through the efficient exploitation of fishing industries and the skilful utilization of petroleum as well as other mineral resources of the sea.

263. However, the Third Conference does not seem to hold the promise of satisfactory solutions. The conquest of the sea will go the way of the conquest of the earth and although certain limits may be established now which seem to meet present needs, we seriously wonder whether in future the criteria and aspirations of this Conference will prevail.

264. The proposal for an "exclusive economic zone" of 200 miles has given rise to serious differences of opinion, as land-locked countries still wonder whether they will be given what they consider to be theirs by right, namely the possibility to share in the benefits of the exploitation of the resources of the sea. Faced with this uncertainty and for political, historical and geographical reasons, Paraguay will continue to seek solutions to this fascinating and fundamental question of the law of the sea through bilateral negotiations.

265. This is an extremely important undertaking not unlike that which has transported man from his planet into outer space. Those who with optimism and courage embarked upon this great adventure are in a manner of speaking the new conquerors of modern times.

266. May I take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe for his conduct of the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea, from which we continue to expect the positive results due to his great ability and enthusiasm.

267. We are all concerned with the question of disarmament but we recognize with satisfaction the efforts made

by the *Ad Hoc* Committee¹⁵ to ease the tensions caused by this old but persistent problem. We have crossed the half-way point in the Disarmament Decade and yet regrettably no effective progress has been made which could allay our fears. Many commendable efforts have been made to achieve denuclearization in various parts of the planet, designed to bring about general and complete disarmament, and yet we are concerned as we observe the beginnings of an arms race in the Americas. We hope that this existing war fever will soon pass, for it is the duty of our countries to seek integration rather than aggression.

268. Paraguay is sensitive to the question of human rights and I mention this specifically because our country has been the target of a malevolent campaign designed to undermine its international prestige.

269. Each nation has its own way of life and ours was shaped many centuries ago when the peaceful settlements of the Guaraní Indians intermarried with Spanish soldiers. The result was the birth of a nation that has the highest regard for life, freedom and independence, which are rooted in our existence. My country has never had an ethnic, social, or religious problem which could jeopardize its unity or prosperity. There is no racial discrimination or other forms of discrimination in Paraguay. The Government of the Republic continues, as always, to make every effort to incorporate into society the few indigenous groupings in its territory which are still outside the mainstream of civilization.

270. Certain modern philosophical and political trends, particularly certain Marxist philosophies, have tried to subjugate the will and the thoughts of the Paraguayan people to foreign interests. This ill-intentioned attempt to disrupt the harmonious development of our nation has been unanimously rejected by our people. However, this propaganda campaign has made allegations of violations of human rights, attempting to distort the meaning of the legitimate defence measures which our Government has taken and will continue to take in order to protect our nation against those who are plotting to subjugate us to Communist imperialism. Thanks to the political stability of the Government of President Stroessner, Paraguay can boast of a record of continued progress which has enabled it to maintain a stable currency, to exploit its natural resources, and to establish progressively the necessary infrastructure to bring about a speedy development of the country and the improvement of our democratic form of Government.

271. For all these reasons, we, like others, are concerned with the question of human rights and our delegation will give its unwavering support to all initiatives designed to ensure their real protection.

272. There is another item closely related to this one and that is international terrorism. This painful experience, together with the threat of nuclear war, is the inexplicable price of a better world. We strongly condemn all violence and, as the most brutal expression of a return to primitive animality, this infernal machine must be rooted out lest our

so-called "civilization" be allowed to perish in misery. We are prepared to give our firm support to all drafts designed effectively to combat terrorism, this modern version of the Horsemen of the Apocalypse.

273. The Organization has convened a United Nations Water Conference, to be held next year, a subject to which my country attaches special importance. The world's population growth, industrial activities, the expansion of farmlands, as well as other lesser problems make the existing sources of water supply inadequate. The large human settlements which have changed the landscape have also created an ecological imbalance which is reflected in inadequate rainfall and an alarming index of water pollution and erosion.

274. There now exists an awareness of these problems among States and international organizations, and this is reflected in the holding of the United Nations Conference on the Human Environment, the International Hydrological Decade, the World Weather Watch programme, the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements and the studies prepared by various committees on natural resources and the environment. All these initiatives emphasize the importance of the forthcoming water Conference, to which we will give our special support and from which we expect encouraging results.

275. These are the general guidelines which the delegation of Paraguay will follow in dealing with the questions to which I have specifically referred. I wish to express the hope that the deliberations of this session of the Assembly may contribute to strengthening our faith in a troubled world which, perhaps without quite realizing, continues to cling to certain irreplaceable values which will always serve to explain the wondrous daily miracle of life in this region of the universe, so dear to our hearts, which we call earth.

276. Mr. MONTIEL ARGUELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, on behalf of my country and on my own behalf I am extremely pleased to express the sincere congratulations of my delegation to Mr. Amerasinghe on his election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The outstanding work which he has done as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea assures us of wise, effective and expert leadership which will undoubtedly contribute to the success of our deliberations.

277. May I also pay a tribute to the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for his remarkable work as the head of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

278. On behalf of my Government and on my own behalf I should like specially to greet our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has served our Organization loyally and selflessly, with an honesty and dignity that have earned for him the gratitude of the entire world. His excellent understanding of the aspirations of mankind and his constant struggle for a lasting peace in the world, for the advancement of the peoples and for the strengthening of international security have established him as the most valuable official of the United Nations whose presence creates trust and confidence. We wish Mr. Waldheim all

¹⁵ *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Review of the Role of the United Nations in the Field of Disarmament.

success for his future at the service of the international community.

279. I should like, on behalf of the President of my country, His Excellency General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, to thank the Latin American group of States for having supported our candidacy for one of the vice-presidencies of the General Assembly. I should also like to thank all Member States who voted for us. As in the past, we shall give our full co-operation to the President of the General Assembly in discharging the duties and responsibilities entrusted to him.

280. This year we are welcoming the delegation of the Republic of Seychelles, the newest Member of the Organization and we hope that we will in future give full effect to the principle of universality. We must keep that principle in mind and not let ourselves be influenced by a country's form of government or the way in which it may conduct affairs falling essentially within its own jurisdiction.

281. In the statement which I made last year before the General Assembly,¹⁶ I expressed the belief that we should not feel proud of the behaviour of the international society in the year which we were then considering. New developments, especially in the last few months—although they do not improve the general picture—make it possible for us to be cautiously optimistic when we look at the long-term situation.

282. Clearly there has been a relaxation of tensions among the great Powers, a greater recognition of their interdependence and in general the creation of more favourable conditions for the maintenance of a situation of peace between them.

283. Unfortunately, as regards the developing countries, I must once again and with great emphasis say that the conditions for peace are becoming increasingly more precarious every day.

284. In Lebanon there has been re-emergence of internal problems, which we truly regret. It is painful to see a nation dismembering itself and heading for a very serious situation of conflict whose consequences are difficult to foresee. Lebanon's fate introduces new factors in the general Middle East situation to which we cannot be indifferent. We urge all Powers from outside that area to act as cautiously as possible in order to prevent any deterioration of the situation.

285. We do not share the simplistic views of those who feel that the worsening of the general situation in that part of the world is due only to the existence and acts of the State of Israel. We firmly believe that there exist in the Middle East factors totally unrelated to the Jewish-Palestinian problem and that it is rather the interference of elements which are extraneous to the problems of those peoples, their special characteristics, their way of acting and their beliefs that have actually brought about the present situation. Various countries have suffered the consequences of this process of systematic agitation. For some their

progress towards a higher level of economic and social development has been set back; realizing their mistake, such countries are taking the necessary action to make up for lost time and, abandoning the use of force, are seeking through negotiations to normalize their international relations. Others have had to go through cruel, internal struggles in order to restore their administrative and political unity, threatened by unnecessarily large penetration systematically stirred up by outside interests, forgetting that peace is the most certain and best way of achieving national integrity and progress for their peoples.

286. In our opinion solutions for that region cannot be found *a priori*. We are all in favour of peace, but it is the parties that are directly involved that can find solutions, because it is the only way in which these solutions will truly be accepted by all sides and will have the lasting quality derived from agreement and accommodation among the parties. What we must do is to stimulate and promote negotiations, open and unbiassed negotiations inspired only by the desire to achieve a peace in which there will be no victors and no vanquished.

287. Last year I expressed our joy at the acceleration of the process of decolonization. We have witnessed the marvellous emergence of new nations in Africa through the accelerating process of liberation which a century and a half ago caused upheavals in the American continent. One by one the peoples of Africa, formerly languishing in a desperate colonial situation, have arisen to demand the inherent right of all peoples to self-determination and freedom and have emerged as independent States which today confirm the universal vocation of our Organization.

288. However, the methods used to achieve freedom and to go from freedom to international co-operation and interdependence differ greatly. In some States freedom was the offspring of bloody struggles in which arms asserted what the law denied. In those circumstances, the wounds will be slow to heal and the return to a reasonable mean from the extremist positions which inspired the struggle has to be slow and painful.

289. In those countries where freedom was achieved through the upheavals of revolution, it is there that we have seen most clearly the dangers of all forms of foreign intervention. The presence of those external factors prevents the new directions taken by the people who have been victims of the intervention from being determined by the will of its citizens and, through subterfuges or overt violations of the right to self-determination, the forces of intervention impose on new States from abroad a particular foreign ideological policy which does not always reflect the interests, concerns and true needs of the people they say they have helped to liberate.

290. My Government maintains the hope that the serious problem which has been confronted by all African nations in solidarity today can be resolved by means of negotiation, and that the international community will take all necessary measures in order to lay the foundations for a movement towards more just forms of political organization and towards higher levels of economic development.

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2355th meeting.

291. In referring to the problems of Africa we do not intend to engage in pious expressions of egalitarianism. We have never advocated a policy not in keeping with our own conduct. We do not claim to be, but rather we are and we act as, opponents of racism. Our Government has not only promulgated laws for the elimination of all traces of racism but has also granted, as an inherent human right, equality of opportunity for all sectors of the Nicaraguan population, whose various ethnic groups can hope to participate effectively and successfully in our foreign relations and in the economic and social development of our entire human potential.

292. We wish to leave no doubt of the fact that we disapprove of violence and that we believe that national and international dialogue have no substitutes as means to promote the rational advance of human institutions, and that all the peoples of the world without exception have the same right to exist with their own characteristics and identities.

293. For this reason we regret the fact that in matters of disarmament so little has been achieved so far. The arms race, which was formerly carried on only by the great Powers, is being continued more intensively by medium-sized and small countries, which divert to the manufacture or acquisition of armaments considerable human and economic resources which could be used to accelerate the economic and social development so urgently needed by our peoples. Furthermore, this new phase of the arms race continues to increase international tension and is a danger to international peace and security.

294. Our laws embody the rejection by the people and the Government of Nicaragua of war and the use of force as an instrument of international policy, and, consistent with our Christian and democratic traditions, the only forces which we maintain in our country are those which are indispensable for the guarantee of good public order and the normal development of our institutions.

295. In international and national affairs our Government has recourse to the peaceful settlement of disputes, to negotiation and open dialogue without preconceptions as the normal tools of governmental action.

296. Our military budget is extremely small and much of what is allocated to the armed forces is actually used to help our local communities to improve their development-infrastructure or to achieve higher educational and technical levels for members of the armed forces in civilian occupations and for the civilian population.

297. What I have said applies in particular to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, which increases every day. In Latin America we took the first step in the banning of these weapons, although one of the great nuclear Powers has not as yet signed and ratified the Optional Protocol II of the Tlatelolco Treaty, which would oblige it to respect our denuclearization. In view of recent events in that field we believe that the efforts of the International Atomic Energy Agency should be most firmly supported in order to ensure that atomic energy is used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

298. In the last four years the United Nations has placed greater emphasis on the search for the solution to international terrorism. This criminal form of political action has been a constant universal evil with sporadic but proliferating manifestations.

299. Following an intensification of terrorism after the First World War attempts were made at establishing international limits applicable to the perpetrators of such crimes. At the International Conference for the Unification of Criminal Law in the 1920s and 1930s, attention was again paid to terrorism, leading to the revision of certain extradition treaties which defined as terrorist crimes those acts that could not be covered by the humanitarian principle of asylum.

300. In the first two decades of its life the United Nations attached relatively little importance to this problem. The work of the International Law Commission, particularly when it tried to define in its rules breaches of the peace and of the security of human beings in general for the war-crimes tribunal and judges, constituted the most serious attempt to codify applicable international law.

301. The culmination of the work of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression; the Declaration of the Principles of International Law Regarding Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)]; the adoption by the Organization of American States in 1971 of a convention for the prevention and punishment of acts of international terrorism;¹⁷ the work of the International Civil Aviation Organization, with its Tokyo Conventions of 1963, the Hague Convention of 1970 and the Montreal Convention of 1971; all these constitute the most meaningful efforts which have been made prior to the taking up of this item by our Organization at this stage. But these efforts have been frustrated, in fact ridiculed, by the refusal of some countries not to act as sanctuaries for those who—reasonably or not in terms of their objectives—resort to the crime of terrorism in order to underscore with innocent blood their so-called political demands.

302. The twenty-seventh session established a special committee of 35 members¹⁸ including my country. That Committee submitted a report to the next session,¹⁹ but since then no action has been taken in the matter. My Government believes that the need to take effective measures is growing daily more urgent. We cannot view with indifference the increasingly frequent sacrifice of innocent victims, whatever the cause or motivation, because nothing can justify or excuse it. Undoubtedly, the study of the underlying causes and subjective motivations of terrorist behaviour is of great importance, but such studies cannot serve as a pretext for postponing indefinitely the adoption of specific measures for the prevention of terrorist acts. Effective action should also be taken to prevent any State

¹⁷ Convention to Prevent and Punish the Acts of Terrorism Taking the Form of Crimes Against Persons and Related Extortion that are of International Significance. See *OAS Official Records, Treaty Series No. 37* (Washington, D.C., 1971).

¹⁸ *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism.

¹⁹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 28*.

from giving any co-operation in the commission of acts of terrorism, and to ensure that if they are committed they do not go unpunished.

303. I reaffirm here my Government's firm conviction that no effort should be spared in persuading all States that there must be no sacrosanct refuge or inviolable asylum, for political crimes, if we desire reason rather than recourse to crime to be the tool with which peoples forge their political institutions.

304. This is why my delegation listened sympathetically to the request by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany [7th meeting] that the item "Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages" should be included in the agenda as an important and urgent question at this session. My delegation offers here and now its firm and faithful support for this proposal and will oppose any delaying tactics in regard to it.

305. The civilized coexistence of individuals, the tranquility of homes and the flourishing of communities is impossible without a reasonable minimum of peace and calm. As long as terrorism continues to be an effective tool for political ends, no nation will be sure of that essential minimum of peace and calm.

306. Whatever its ideological banner, there can be no political or moral justification of terrorism, and we must use all our will and intelligence to ensure that those who take hostages or commit atrocities for the purpose of terrorizing whole peoples shall find refuge in no country and shall be subject to mandatory extradition or some other form of legal proceedings which satisfies the international conscience that condemns them.

307. A few days before this session of the Assembly opened the fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea came to an end. Looking at the work done by the Conference so far we see that the original hope of achieving in a short time a complete solution of these problems has not been fulfilled. Particularly if we take into account the complexity and difficulty of these problems we must recognize the fact that much has been accomplished. So serious would be the consequences if no solutions were to be found, that all countries are interested in finding solutions and are sparing no effort for that purpose. We are confident that at its next session the Conference will be able to reconcile the opposing positions and formulate a more equitable set of principles for the law of the sea than those that have traditionally obtained.

308. I should like to reiterate here that my Government will continue to maintain the most cordial relations with its neighbours and that it is unswervingly dedicated to the peaceful solution of any controversies that might arise as a result of the demarcation of its sea frontiers. I should like to make it clear that we claim the whole of our continental shelf in both oceans under concepts of sovereignty incorporated in our basic legislation and under the applicable rules of international law. This territorial integrity will be maintained in full, since this is the formal decision of the Government of Nicaragua.

309. Nicaragua is a country which strictly observes human rights. Thus it will support at this Assembly any initiative for their advancement at the world level. We understand the difficulties that exist in this respect, not least of which is that of reconciling such advancement with the principal of national sovereignty and resisting the temptation to apply it selectively only to countries whose ideologies differ from our own. We must note the proliferation of international organizations which, with the ostensible aim of promoting human rights, indulge in attacks on and denigration of the countries which for some reason do not share their thinking. Where human rights are concerned we think it essential to eliminate racial discrimination and the exaggerated economic imbalance which truly underlies *de facto* segregation. Although much progress has been made on these two problems, much still remains to be done to give human rights effect in all parts of the world.

310. We also believe it essential not to have a double standard for human rights. The sustained and full exercise of human rights finds its counterpart and can only be maintained when there is observance of the human duty to live in conformity with the law and to respect the rights of others.

311. Human rights are embodied in the Constitution and laws of my country, and even in states of extreme emergency their enforcement and protection have been the immutable concern of my Government. Being aware of national law and universal ethical norms, although we have not wavered in our unbiased application of the law to safeguard the right of all to live and flourish in peace, such application has not been more stringent than necessary, notwithstanding the political philosophy of *raison d'état*.

312. Nicaragua attaches great importance to problems of development and international co-operation. Today the problems of economic and social development are the most pressing ones and they require urgent solution if we desire that the growing crisis should not continue to divide mankind into two castes with different levels of welfare, whose separation increases in step with the technological imbalance between the two sectors of mankind.

313. It is clear that the present international situation, unless subjected to realistic and just changes, will continue to be one of the most important factors influencing the unsatisfactory promotion at the world level of the development of our societies and of the opportunities for integrated development available to the individual.

314. The struggle for the realistic and just revision of that international economic and social order must be sustained, persistent and intelligent. We are aware of the close link between economics and politics, but we do not belong to any deterministic school and we firmly believe that confrontation is not the most satisfactory approach to the problem or the most practicable way of solving it.

315. In that spirit we participated in the Third Ministerial Meeting at Manila which approved the declaration and plan of action of the Group of 77. My Government believes that one of the main planks of the new international economic order is the strengthening and rationalization of individual national economic systems. These systems must be based

on the philosophy and aspirations of each people and must aim at establishing the internal conditions needed to enable the citizens to participate equally in the benefits of their economic system and to adjust standards of living to the national capacity to generate wealth.

316. We share with the majority of the developing countries the conviction that international economic relations must undergo significant changes. We also believe that the solution to development problems does not depend only on the building of new international structures and the creation of new conditions within which international economic relations are planned and put into practice. We think that there are ways open in the present institutional situation and that they should be used.

317. It is significant that on the fringe of, or parallel with, the meetings of the economic bodies of the United Nations system, other meetings have been held which enable the more developed nations to draw up a strategy for action in the light of the demands of the developing countries. In some of those meetings developing countries whose economic development makes their interests more clearly identifiable with those of the developed countries have taken part.

318. It must be recognized that there exists a functional relationship between national Governments and the international structures which those Governments establish. All that we can expect from the international structures is the solutions that we actively seek. It is our own Governments that must determine the policies of the various international bodies, and we must be more sensitive than ever to the differences which have gradually entered what was once an international unity of thinking of the two main economic blocs in our Organization.

319. I will not repeat here the appeals which the developing countries have made for equity in international economic relations: on questions of raw materials; on international finance; on the terms of trade; on the flow of capital, the levels of external debt and the currency and brain drain. The effectiveness and equity of the international order will not depend—it never has depended—on the statements we make, but on the action we take and on the collective influence we can bring to bear.

320. When in this Assembly we consider the agreements reached at the meetings at Manila, Nairobi, Colombo, Rambouillet, Jamaica and Puerto Rico we should leave aside statements about our anxieties and concerns expressed in such past resolutions. Concrete plans have been put forward. The two main economic blocs have been specific. My Government expresses today through me its determination to participate fully in the objective study of those declarations and seek to harmonize its aspirations and thinking with all the other Member countries in all areas of international co-operation. Slowly and gradually we have been preparing for this clearly new international venture. We have laid the national legal foundations to enable us to promote and benefit from trade with other countries, including those having economic and political systems different from our own.

321. In economic matters Nicaragua places special emphasis on the development of its human resources, the true infrastructure for a national economy. In recent decades our Government has made notable progress in reducing total and functional illiteracy: it has increased the number and quality of its primary education institutions; diversified and increased the secondary and vocational education centres; maintained the autonomy of the universities and encouraged their growth and diversification. It is clear, however, that the quality of the education that we give has a direct relation to our access to the sources of technological development that will enable us not merely to import technology but to develop our own capacity to create it.

322. We intend to introduce a system for the planning of our economic and social development, giving increasing emphasis to those aspects of the development of our human resources, and we are convinced that frameworks for international co-operation and regional integration to which we can belong will not produce their maximum benefits for us unless we have the social infrastructure which such progress will make possible.

323. We have just attended the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries at Mexico City, which approved resolutions that will positively affect the lives of our peoples and ensure greater self-determination, self-sufficiency and group negotiating power. Among the resolutions adopted mention should be made of one concerning the reform and improvement of the present systems of integration. My country has collaborated vigorously in the efforts of the five nations of the Central American isthmus to revitalize the Central American Common Market and convert it into the Central American Economic and Social Community. Moreover we welcome enthusiastically the call by the Presidents of Mexico and Venezuela for the establishment of the Latin American Economic System, which will present in united form the thinking of our region on economic matters at world meetings. Another important aspect of the Conference was the recognition that multinational enterprises of the developing countries should be set up. In this connexion, Nicaragua participates in the multinational fleet of the Caribbean (NAMUCAR)²⁰ and views with growing interest the strengthening of its relations with the countries of the Caribbean region.

324. Nicaragua has benefited from the assistance programmes sponsored by the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP] and welcomes the fact that it is now able to overcome the economic problems which limited its activities in the past year. We wish to urge all those countries able to do so to support UNDP so that it may continue its work of building an international community in which all countries will enjoy a more acceptable and just standard of living. My Government reaffirms here its support for UNDP and urges its strengthening at the local level and thus—at the world level—the strengthening of its capacity to participate in the identification, evaluation and control of operational activities for development.

325. My Government views with great concern the problems arising from the constant pollution of the atmos-

²⁰ Multinational Maritime Transportation Enterprise.

phere, rivers and seas, and the diminution of the productive potential of agricultural land, which in turn diminishes the possibilities of survival of future generations. Accordingly, my Government supports the programmes of UNEP and is most ready to co-operate in the search for formulas and the implementation of measures to ensure the necessary conditions for the protection of the common heritage of mankind. Reaffirming our support for the UNEP programmes, it was with great pleasure that my Government observed World Environment Day celebrated by the United Nations on 5 June each year.

326. Environmental pollution is a problem which must be solved at the world level by such means as the world environmental monitoring system. Regional co-ordination could produce especially fruitful results in such areas as training and education, the drafting of national laws on the environment and the management of natural resources at the regional level. To that end it seems to us necessary for UNEP to consider holding seminars in the developing countries for the discussion of environmental problems.

327. But what is more important is for the differences in levels of development to be taken into account. For that purpose it is essential that international rules and regulations for the protection of the environment should not be so rigid as to affect adversely the development efforts of the developing countries. As the President of Nicaragua, His Excellency General Anastasio Somoza Debayle, stated on World Environment Day:

“We seek in technology the means of harmonizing the paramount responsibility of safeguarding the environment without limiting the activities of peoples such as our own which have embarked on a process of growth for the social and economic welfare of each of our citizens.”

328. Our country is making efforts to improve its present situation and make a substantial improvement in the standard of living of its inhabitants, on the basis of the principle that improvement of our state of development depends mainly on our own efforts. From the international standpoint we recognize that co-operation among countries is an important and complementary factor, founded on an international development strategy. It has been shown that the present international order does not foster the advancement of our interests and accentuates the gap between our countries and the industrialized countries. Thus, in talking of an international development strategy suited to our needs, we must refer to the imperative need for this order

to be changed so as to serve as the basis for more equitable relations among countries and co-operation for the common good.

329. Accordingly, our country, like the other developing countries, supported the decision of the vast majority of the international community to establish a new international economic order based on the principles of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and on the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and on the agreements reached at the seventh special session, without infringing the sovereign rights of all States to choose their own economic systems so as to provide the essential stimulus for capital and labour to work together for the good of the community.

330. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Two delegations have asked to be allowed to take the floor in exercise of the right of reply. They are the delegations of Benin and the United States of America.

331. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I thank you for giving me the floor to exercise very briefly on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin my right of reply following the statement made yesterday from this rostrum by the representative of Papua New Guinea [*12th meeting*]. I wish to avoid any useless polemics with that representative. It is easy to understand from what the Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of Benin said that it was not at all a question of Papua New Guinea, an independent State which was admitted to membership in our Organization last year with Benin's active support. But what we were concerned with was the part annexed by Indonesia, in other words, West New Guinea. Moreover, by reading the text distributed by my delegation on 29 September you will see that the Minister did not even use the term "Papua New Guinea". In the light of that, Mr. President, all attempts to sow discord in our minds are vain.

332. Mrs. POSTON (United States of America): The United States delegation has noted with interest the remarks of the Foreign Minister of Uruguay. I wish to reserve the right of my delegation to reply at a subsequent meeting of the general debate.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.