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AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/31/250/ADD.1)

1. The PRESIDENT: The first item on our agenda this afternoon is the second report of the General Committee [A/31/250/Add.1].

2. In paragraph 1 the General Committee recommends that an item entitled "Drafting of an international convention against the taking of hostages" be included in the agenda of the current session and allocated to the Sixth Committee for consideration and report. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts these recommendations of the General Committee?

It was so decided.

3. The PRESIDENT: We now come to the recommendation in paragraph 2 of document A/31/250/Add.1 regarding the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item proposed by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and entitled "Conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations". The General Committee decided to recommend to the General Assembly that the item be included in the agenda. The General Committee also recommended in paragraph 2 of its report that the item should be allocated to the First Committee and, at the appropriate stage, referred to the Sixth Committee for examination of its legal implications. From the discussion in the General Committee it is my understanding that it was

agreed that the item be referred to the Sixth Committee promptly upon completion of its consideration in the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts the General Committee's recommendations?

It was so decided.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

4. Mr. GARCIA ROBLES (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I consider it a signal honour that it is I who today express to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government and people of Mexico, our sincerest congratulations on your election by the General Assembly to guide the work of its thirty-first session. The several years during which we have both been Permanent Representatives of our respective countries to the United Nations have enabled me to assess your exceptional qualities, which not only explain but also fully justify the well-deserved and honourable distinction conferred upon you by the international community.

5. I also wish to place on record our appreciation for the contribution made to our Organization by Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, when he was President of the thirtieth session.

6. Lastly, I should like to say to the two Presidents—the outgoing and the present—that we attach special significance to the statements made by them at the opening meeting of this session on several specific aspects. Because of their true vision, correct approach and bold analysis those two statements should be the subject of serious meditation and should serve as a point of departure for deliberations and action in the Assembly with respect to some of the problems dealt with in them.

7. I believe that it can be said without fear of contradiction that the method followed in the statements made year after year in the general debate in the main offer two possibilities: that of speakers who strive to touch, even though fleetingly, on a large number of the more than 100 agenda items, and that of those who prefer to be more thorough, rather than cover a broad field, and concentrate on a review of the items to which their respective Governments attach more importance.

8. May I state at the outset that on this occasion I shall not follow either of those two procedures; so that when items come up for consideration, whether in the plenary Assembly or in the Main Committees, a statement of Mexico's position will be made on those items.

* Resumed from the 4th meeting.

9. The reason is that within two short months the six-year period of Mexican administration under President Luis Echeverría Alvarez will come to an end; and, on 1 December, we shall start, on the constitutional mandate of his people, the six-year period to be presided over by President-elect José López Portillo.

10. Given the existing parallelism between the purposes of the United Nations Charter and those of the six-year government period which is about to come to an end in my country, as well as because of the continuity which we can foresee in the authoritative statements of both Presidents, it seems to us that it will be more useful and encouraging for the representatives of Member States meeting here—particularly if we bear in mind that the map of democracy in Latin America has been shrinking alarmingly of late—to give a brief recapitulation of the outstanding events of that six-year period and choose those that are most relevant to this forum.

11. As has been rightly said, since the United Nations is but the sum of the States Members and its attributes ultimately depend on the co-operation that they are prepared to give the Organization, it might not be superfluous if we, from time to time, review what our countries have done or are doing to comply with that fundamental duty.

12. I should like to start by making it clear that the Government of Mexico considers that the purposes of our domestic and foreign policy cannot be separated, but are a part of the same strategy. Hence, the universal concern about the effects of economic colonialism is answered on the domestic front by a striving for social renewal. As the Head of the Mexican State said in his last report to the Congress on 1 September 1976:

“Social democracy, which is the essence of the Mexican doctrine of development, has been the permanent objective of the nation, since its origin. It combines the need to broaden the system of freedoms with that of guaranteeing them by acting in solidarity. To reaffirm decisively is to show generations to come the course of our history. The mere accumulation of wealth is not development. A society advances when its people advance. To govern is not only to manage goods and supply services: it is to encourage the energies of the community and seek the means that will allow the community to progress morally, culturally and socially. To govern is to co-ordinate the historical tasks of a nation.”

13. The results of six years of government—on this understanding—have been innumerable economic, social and cultural achievements, and here I shall mention a few by way of illustration.

14. We lowered the minimum age for deputies from 25 to 31 years, and for senators from 35 to 30. We lowered the membership requirement for the establishment of new political parties from 75,000 to 65,000 members. Those already registered were given the right to speak and vote in all electoral organizations as well as the right to free postage and telegraph and free access to radio and television.

15. Mexico began 1975, International Women's Year, by eliminating, through constitutional and legislative reforms,

all existing barriers to the complete integration of women into every activity of national life.

16. Mexico made a gigantic effort to improve prospects for economic and social progress. Between 1970 and 1975 annual public investment rose from 30 billion pesos to more than 100 billion pesos.

17. The State company known as National Financing reassumed its role as the chief industrial promotion and development bank. The total financing authorized in the six-year period amounted to almost 128 billion pesos, which is equivalent to more than half the total which had been authorized since the company was established 42 years ago.

18. In the industrial sector we doubled our oil production, which this year will amount to a million barrels a day. We also doubled our installed capacity for generating electric power, which has now reached 12 million kilowatts. In the steel industry we doubled the 1970 production, which reached 10 million tons of steel.

19. In the agricultural sector we added more than a million hectares of irrigated land. We enacted a federal law on agrarian reform, established a secretariat for agrarian reform, and distributed to farmers 16,239,428 hectares. Public expenditure on farm land rose from 6 billion pesos in 1970 to a little more than 60 billion pesos, which is to say a tenfold increase. Credits for agriculture in the six-year period amounted to almost 90 billion pesos, which is more than double what had been granted in the previous 35 years.

20. Investments to expand the transportation and communication systems were triple those of the previous six-year period. They rose from 28.3 billion to 90 billion pesos, so that the network of roads of all grades increased from 70,000 kilometres in 1970 to 200,000. Furthermore, most parts of our national territory have been linked by means of modern telecommunication services as a result of additional investment of 23 billion pesos.

21. Social security institutions now cover 25,020,000 persons as compared with 11,119,000, which is an increase of more than 100 per cent.

22. The budget for education, which in 1970 was 8 billion pesos, in 1976 rose to 40 billion pesos, which is five times higher. The national educational system now reaches 27 per cent of the total population. Five hundred and forty-two million school books were distributed free by the Government, which means approximately nine books per inhabitant, an increase of almost 200 million books over the total distributed in the 10 previous years.

23. We have set up several organizations to meet the demand for adequate housing for a constantly growing population. Thanks to the action taken by those bodies, the principal among them being the Institute of the National Fund for Workers' Housing [INFONAVIT] and the National Institute for the Development of Rural Communities and Housing for the People, it was possible to build approximately 300,000 houses or other dwellings, that is to say more than double the number that had been built in the previous 20 years.

24. We must not forget that this enormous task of renewal was carried out at a time when the economic and monetary decisions being made in the centres of power as well as an acute inflationary process generated essentially by the economies of the highly industrialized countries were being detrimental to the normal rate of growth and were making it infinitely more difficult.

25. It is therefore not surprising that, in order to maintain continuity in restructuring the national economy in the vital sectors of our basic infrastructure, agriculture and industry, the Government, on 31 August last, was compelled to decide on a regulated floating rate of exchange for the Mexican peso, nevertheless maintaining without any limitation the traditional free convertibility of our currency to any other as well as the free transfer of money and capital.

26. The strategy for internal development which I have just outlined had to be tied to foreign policy which, at the same time as it adjusted to the traditional principles which served as its basis of support and which in essence are analogous to those which in 1945 were deemed most appropriate for the San Francisco Charter, opened new horizons for the progress of Mexico—a foreign policy at the service of our internal democracy as well as that of democracy among nations.

27. To achieve this, we added to the permanent vitality of the principles that emanate from our history—the sovereign equality of States, non-intervention and the self-determination of peoples—other innovative elements such as the broadening and diversification of our international relations, creative and responsible association in solidarity with the struggle of the developing countries that are generally grouped under the title of the “third world” and the campaign to establish and consolidate a new international economic order based on sovereign equality, justice, equity and interdependence.

28. As regards the first of these elements, I could quote from numerous statements made by the President of Mexico from the very moment when he took office on 1 December 1970. Among them, I shall limit myself to recalling the statement he made in his third government report on 1 September 1973, when he affirmed that:

“In an era characterized by dialogue, Mexico emphasizes its universal outlook. We are an active part of the community of nations and our life is conditioned in many aspects by external events . . . We have no prejudices nor fear of their influences. We accept ideological pluralism as an obvious feature of this historical stage. On the basis of a broader perspective, we reaffirm confidence in ourselves and in the course we have selected.”

29. This position as defined was unchallengingly confirmed in practice: in six years we practically doubled the number of peoples with whom we had friendly relations in the world. At the beginning of the six-year period Mexico had diplomatic relations with 67 nations, and at present we have them with 131.

30. The President of Mexico has visited 36 countries—9 in Europe, 4 in Asia, 9 in Africa and the Middle East and 14 in

the Americas. During the same period, Mexico was host to more than 30 high dignitaries, Heads of State or Government and Ministers for Foreign Affairs.

31. As a result of the President's travels abroad, more than 160 international conventions or agreements were signed, of which approximately one third are for technical and scientific co-operation or in connexion with cultural matters and the remainder on economic and trade questions. In the same context we signed the co-operation agreements with the European Economic Community and with the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which opened to Mexico the markets and technology of 17 countries of Western and Eastern Europe.

32. As regards Mexico's solidarity with the countries of the third world, this too has been explained by the Mexican head of State in a number of statements of which, as in the previous case, I shall take as an illustration only one, which appears to me as most significant, that he made on 21 February 1974 upon inaugurating at the Mexican Foreign Office a conference on continental co-operation, when he said, *inter alia*, that:

“Latin America is part of the third world. Its struggles are similar and parallel to those which other nations are carrying out against colonialism, the new attempts at subjugation, the injustice present in international transactions and the concentration of political power, wealth and the means of multiplying it . . .

“In seeking factors to promote its moderation, Latin America should not restrict itself to the inertia of its continental relations, which are often an extension of old forms of servitude and which decrease the number of multiple options offered by an open exchange with the world.

“Let us eliminate certain geopolitical determinisms which are anachronistic in the complexity of contemporary economics. On the continent, let us consolidate links based on autonomy, equality and justice. Let us establish the basis for sincere co-operation and, within our own hemispheric home, let us practise militant solidarity with the peoples of the third world.”

33. Mexico has always held the belief that theoretical pronouncements must go hand in hand with specific deeds; thus, our affinity for ideological pluralism and our recognition of the need for action in solidarity with the members of the third world has been constantly demonstrated in the most diverse international forums. As an illustration of this, I need only give a very brief account of our action on three questions of vital importance: the new law of the sea, disarmament and the new international economic order.

34. At the four substantive sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea—which, I would say in passing, were presided over, as is well known, with such exceptional skill by the President of this session of the General Assembly—that have been held since 1974, one in Caracas, one in Geneva and two in New York, the purpose of Mexico's participation has been to protect what we regard as the legitimate interests of the countries of the third world and to claim for them the exercise of what

seems to us to be their inalienable rights regarding the benefits to be derived from the natural resources of the sea and the sea-bed.

35. Thus, from the outset our endeavours have been directed towards reaching just and equitable solutions to the two questions that undoubtedly are most vital today for our peoples: the question of the so-called “exclusive economic zone” and the question of the régime to govern the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction—because the questions relating to the breadth of the territorial sea and the continental shelf have practically been solved.

36. With regard to the first question—the exclusive economic zone—the competent Commission of the Conference, the Third Committee, was able to formulate a single informal negotiating text¹ representing the common denominator on certain essential aspects of the various points of view expressed by delegations. From that single negotiating text we can already see without any doubt at all that the exclusive economic zone will have a breadth which, combined with that of the territorial sea, will extend to an outer limit of 200 nautical miles and that within the zone itself the coastal State—with some limitations that will have to be defined in the negotiations not yet concluded—will exercise sovereign rights for the purposes of exploration and exploitation of the natural resources, both renewable and non-renewable, of the sea-bed, including the subsoil thereof, and over the superjacent waters.

37. With regard to the second question to which I have just referred, on which, unfortunately, similar progress has not been made, our endeavours have been directed towards a full application of the basic principle adopted at the twenty-fifth anniversary session of the General Assembly, under which it was established that the area of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as well as their resources, are the common heritage of mankind. That necessarily means that that area “. . . shall not be subject to appropriation by any means by States or persons, natural or juridical, and no State shall claim or exercise sovereignty or sovereign rights over any part thereof” [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*], and that the area shall be reserved exclusively for peaceful purposes.

38. I turn now to the subject of disarmament. By way of introduction I would recall that the General Assembly has been pointing out for more than 15 years now that the nuclear arms race constitutes the most serious danger for world peace and the survival of mankind. It seems fitting to add that it not only involves a threat of mass destruction, but also entails an unjustifiable waste of resources and is a serious obstacle to the functioning of the new international economic order. Indeed, it must be borne in mind that the nuclear arsenals of the two States which are customarily called “super-Powers” have alone been conservatively estimated at the equivalent of 1 million bombs of the type which in 1945 caused 100,000 deaths. That means that those arsenals would be sufficient to annihilate 100 billion human beings—that is, 25 times the number of inhabitants

of the earth. Furthermore, the military expenditures have been estimated at the stratospheric figure of \$300 billion per year.

39. In order to assess Mexico’s contribution to this urgent task, I should point out that Mexico has participated in one way or another, to a greater or lesser degree, in the drafting of all but a few of the hundred or so resolutions on disarmament items which the Assembly has adopted in the six-year period to which I have referred. That applies, for example, to the subjects of the comprehensive programme for disarmament, the reports by the Secretary-General on various disarmament items, the World Disarmament Conference, and several items relating to nuclear disarmament, such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*] between the United States and the Soviet Union, the cessation of all nuclear weapon tests, the military denuclearization of Latin America and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones. The same can be said of the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held in May 1975, and of the 1976 session of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament in connexion with the question of a convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment for military purposes.

40. I shall make some brief comments on only five of those items, since it would be impossible to dwell on all of them without speaking at undue length.

41. With regard to the cessation of nuclear weapons tests, it seems appropriate to recall that it was on Mexico’s initiative that during the aforementioned six-year period the Assembly has adopted three resolutions in which it not only has reaffirmed that the continuation of nuclear weapon tests intensifies the arms race and thus will increase the danger of nuclear war, but also and even more important—using terminology it has rarely used—has vigorously “condemned” all nuclear weapon tests, in whatever environment they are carried out, and has reaffirmed its conviction that, whatever differences may exist on the question of international control, there is no valid reason whatsoever for delaying an agreement on the total prohibition of all nuclear weapon tests, in conformity with the provision included more than 10 years ago in the preamble to the Treaty prohibiting nuclear weapon tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water.²

42. Furthermore, at the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, held in May 1975, Mexico submitted a draft additional protocol co-sponsored by many third-world countries and intended to achieve the final cessation of all nuclear-weapon tests as provided for in the tenth preambular paragraph of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons itself [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], and to that end it outlined a simple, practical procedure of automatic application. That draft protocol, later distributed as a document of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, is also available to the General Assembly as a document of the First Committee.³

¹ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. V (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.V.8), document A/CONF.62/WP.8/Rev.1, part III.

² Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963.

³ See document A/C.1/1055.

43. As regards the bilateral negotiations between the United States and the Soviet Union on the limitation of strategic arms, in which the two super-Powers have been engaged since 1969, Mexico's action had a special influence because the General Assembly adopted four resolutions having essentially a similar content whereby the General Assembly deplored the absence of positive results in those talks and expressed

“... its concern for the very high ceilings of nuclear arms set for themselves by both States, for the total absence of qualitative limitations of such arms, for the protracted time-table contemplated for the negotiation of further limitations and possible reductions of the nuclear arsenals and for the situation thus created”.

And time and time again the General Assembly has urged those States to broaden the scope and accelerate their talks on the limitation of nuclear strategic weapons, stressing

“... the necessity and urgency of reaching agreement on important qualitative limitations and substantial reductions of their strategic nuclear-weapon systems as a positive step towards nuclear disarmament”.

44. As regards nuclear-weapon-free zones, it is appropriate to point out that Mexico is the headquarters for the Agency for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, a permanent organization for the only one of such densely populated zones in the world. Mexico succeeded in this at the thirtieth session, with the adoption of General Assembly resolution 3472 B (XXX), which contains two internationally authorized definitions of what is to be understood by “nuclear-weapon-free zones” and also mentions the principal obligations of nuclear-weapon States towards the nuclear-weapon-free zones and the States included therein and defines the objective, which is to strengthen the efforts recently undertaken and those already achieved in the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

45. As regards the possibility of holding a world disarmament conference—and this initiative has from the outset had the firm support of my country—the Mexican delegation to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries⁴ had an opportunity to make its modest contribution to the text of section XVII of the Political Declaration adopted by the Conference [see A/31/197, annex I], which recommends convening a special session of the General Assembly as early as possible and not later than 1978, the agenda of which would include, *inter alia*, a review of disarmament questions and the question of convening a World Disarmament Conference.

Mr. Boyd (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.

46. As a final, though no less important, example of a positive contribution by Mexico in the field of disarmament I shall mention the decision taken by my country regarding the draft convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques,

submitted by the Co-Chairmen of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament—that is, by the United States and the Soviet Union [see A/31/27]. In this connexion the Mexican delegation to the Geneva Committee submitted a working paper CCD/516 of 1 September 1976 [*ibid.*, vol. III]—which explains why Mexico considers it to be “extremely alarming that there can be any thought of legitimizing in an international convention such monstrous actions as . . . the deliberate manipulation of natural processes to cause earthquakes, tsunamis, cyclones of various types and tornadic storms, or changes in the state of the ozone layer or ionosphere or in ocean currents”.

47. If we proceed to consider the co-operation of Mexico in disarmament and its contribution to the creation and consolidation of a new international economic order, there is no difficulty whatever in choosing from among the many available examples the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

48. In this connexion, what will always be essential to what I might call an “explanation of reasons” for that far-reaching document are the relevant paragraphs of the statement made before the third session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] by President Echeverría on 19 April 1972,⁵ when he submitted his historic initiative, couched in the following terms:

“We must strengthen the precarious legal foundations of the world economy. A just, orderly and stable world is not possible until there are created obligations and rights which will protect weak States. If we remove economic co-operation from the field of goodwill, let us crystallize it in the field of law. Let us transfer the consecrated principles of solidarity among men to the sphere of relations between countries . . . The solidarity we demand is a condition for survival. If, in the adjustment processes now under way, the developing countries are once again forgotten, then the economic divisions between the world Powers themselves will be greater and the relative international stability we have attained will not last long.

“Any decision which contemplates only the immediate, even though it may appear correct, is historically wrong. What is really effective is that which transcends incidental interests and looks ahead to the future.

“Peace is not only harmed by weapons. We shall be preparing for the twenty-first century in so far as we realize that we have a common destiny. The underdeveloped countries are in the right, not merely in a moral sense. We are right from the point of view of history too, because our vision of the world embraces a real possibility of peace and prosperity.

“It is up to the present generation to fulfil its task, and there can be no postponement. We are on the threshold

⁵ For a summary of this statement, see *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Third Session*, vol. Ia, part one, *Summaries of Statements by Heads of Delegation* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.73.II.D.Mim.1, part one), pp. 184-186.

⁴ Held in Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

of a structural change in human society which can come about only if all nations work for it equally.

"If the experience of the past decade is repeated in the present decade, perhaps nothing can then prevent an irreparable deterioration in the relations of the third world with the major industrial nations . . .

"To build an economy for peace is, in our time, the primary duty of the international community. On the other hand, to refuse to co-operate for the reduction of disparities between peoples is to prevent the principles of the United Nations from acquiring real content."

49. Even though the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, together with the Declaration and Programme of Action which were adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], constitutes, so to speak, the corner-stone of the new international economic order, it is far from being an end in itself. For the purposes it pursues to become reality, it is necessary that its general principles, norms and other provisions be faithfully applied in practice. That is Mexico's view, and at Manila, at Nairobi, at Colombo, at Geneva, and in our own capital, we have contributed, in so far as we were able, to what has been called the "instrumentation" of the Charter.

50. In February 1976 the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 adopted the Manila Declaration and Programme of Action;⁶ in May, the same countries meeting on the occasion of the fourth session of UNCTAD, agreed to strive to ensure a high degree of participation at the Conference to be held in Mexico and to hold a meeting of experts at Geneva to carry out the preparatory work. In August of this year in Colombo, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries adopted several decisions [*see A/31/197*] which implied their unequivocal support for the Manila programme. Subsequently, in the early part of September, in Addis Ababa there was a meeting of African ministers on economic co-operation for the same purpose; and finally, from 13 to 21 September, the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries was held in the capital of my country.

51. As a result of the last-mentioned Conference there emerged a series of decisions which, no doubt, will have a paramount influence in developing and strengthening the so-called "horizontal co-operation" sought by the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States as a means by which negotiations between developing and developed countries can be held on a footing of genuine equality. The objectives of those decisions include, among other things, the establishment of a global system of trade preferences among developing countries; the creation of a reserve fund for the regulation of basic commodities; the convening of a conference of plenipotentiaries for the approval of the statutes of the Council of Associations of Producers of Raw Materials; the establishment of multinational transport companies; the creation of a united front for the promotion of the urgent restructuring of the international monetary

system; and the establishment of a data and information bank designed to stimulate technical co-operation among third-world countries.

52. The Conference, furthermore, agreed upon the need for adequate global machinery to ensure the prompt and effective implementation of measures for co-operation among developing countries, it having been agreed to entrust to ministerial meetings of the Group of 77 the task of reviewing and evaluating the implementation of the steps contemplated in the Measures for Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries,⁷ as well as the co-ordination and harmonization of the position of the Group of 77 in all international forums of concern to it.

53. The era of horizontal co-operation begun in Manila has thus been consolidated in Mexico, and great strides have been taken towards the collective economic autonomy which, as is stated in the opening paragraph of the introduction to the report of the Conference, is "an imperative of history to which all developing countries have committed themselves", and which will become an effective instrument for the achievement of the new international economic order contemplated in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

54. There would be serious gaps in this background information if I failed to add a few words about the Centre for Economic and Social Studies of the Third World. Thanks to another fruitful initiative on the part of the President of my country, that Centre was opened in the San Jerónimo Lídice section of the Mexican capital on 14 September last. At the ceremony held on that occasion and attended by representatives of more than 50 third-world States, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who had been with us little more than a year earlier, in June 1975, when we had laid the corner-stone of the institution, and who has offered the fullest co-operation of the United Nations, expressed the following ideas, which are an excellent definition of the principal objectives of the Centre:

"... I feel that this Centre could provide invaluable service. It could develop new knowledge through extensive exchange of experience related directly to third world conditions. Indigenous solutions to such problems as technology, social organization and institution-building can develop, not just as an extension of existing patterns in industrial countries, but as spontaneous creations of third-world thinking and experience."

55. The uninterrupted work carried out by the Government of Mexico during the last six years has, as the President of the Republic himself said, been intended to serve both "our internal democracy and democracy among nations", and this cannot but redound to the benefit of this Organization.

56. That is why, as I indicated at the outset, I thought that the summary recapitulation which I have just given would be an encouragement to anyone who is concerned with strengthening the purposes pursued by, and the principles inspiring, the United Nations.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Fourth Session, vol. I, Report and Annexes (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

⁷ See document A/C.2/31/7, part one A.

57. Anything that is an encouragement and stimulus to us in discharging in good faith the obligations of the Charter and in suiting our conduct to those obligations, both in domestic and in foreign affairs, is, it seems to me, of particular value and relevance at a time when respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms is simply a matter of scorn for many and when attempted assassinations involving great distances are on the increase—in Washington, Buenos Aires and Rome, to mention but a few which have directly affected Latin America—attempts which aim at and, unfortunately, very often succeed in, eliminating excellent statesmen whose only crime has been to reject Fascist authoritarianism and to believe still in government of the people, by the people and for the people. No doubt this was what the 1,600 political exiles, who requested and were granted asylum in Mexico, felt.

58. In closing, I feel it appropriate to choose two from among the statements made most recently by the present President and the President-elect of Mexico which provide a solid foundation for faith in the continuity of a policy such as that whose internal and external benefits I have briefly reviewed in my present statement.

59. On 1 September last, before my country's Congress, President Echeverría analysed the results of the voting of 4 July, in which, out of 17,695,043 Mexican citizens who went to vote on that day, 16,703,801 voted freely in favour of the candidate of the Institutional Revolutionary Party, and stated:

“Our country has gone beyond the era of improvisation and ‘bossism’. It has refined its democratic institutions and through them forged national unity. It has reached a level of development where only men formed by study and by genuine militancy, thoughtful in decision-making and valiant in action, can aspire to guide it. That is why, with full hope and with full trust as a Mexican, I shall hand over the supreme office of the Republic to José López Portillo.”

60. For his part, the President-elect, on being officially informed of the results of the elections, on 9 September, made the following solemn declaration before the members of the Chamber of Deputies:

“It falls to me to succeed the visionary, valiant and creative presidency of Luis Echeverría. I shall take over at a time which is particularly significant in the modern history of a world of which our country forms a part . . . I receive this notification in the full awareness of the responsibility involved in my assumption, in due course and by the sovereign will personified in you, of the Federal Executive Power, which, in the history of our country, means preserving and constantly renewing our institutions as time goes on without losing the fundamental direction given our country by our forefathers by their words, the blood they shed, their decisions and their will—the responsibility of keeping to our course in the pursuit of liberty and of justice, under a democratic régime, the strength and the vitality of whose institutions are a constant, where law rules and where reality conforms to the law”.

61. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the Hungarian delegation, may I whole-

heartedly congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe on his election as President of the General Assembly during its thirty-first session. I am pleased to see this high post occupied by the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka, a country with which Hungary maintains friendly relations and which has recently acted as host to the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries.

62. May I welcome, on behalf of my Government, the representative of the Republic of Seychelles on the occasion of his country's admission to membership in the United Nations. We wish this young State success in its pursuits within our world Organization.

63. Today it is clearly realized by all that the practical implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence and the extension of détente create favourable conditions for social progress and peaceful construction, while increasing trust among peoples. That is why the foreign policy initiatives of the socialist community are directed towards extending the process of détente and making it irreversible. The proposals of the socialist countries, particularly of the Soviet Union, give constant impetus to the struggle for peace, security and fruitful international co-operation.

64. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, like those of the other countries of the socialist community, actively contributes its part in joint efforts for the strengthening of peace and security and for developing co-operation among peoples and nations as well as in further developing détente. Lasting peace and stable security are the central goal of our foreign policy. We are convinced that this policy is, at the same time, fully in keeping with the vital interests of the Hungarian people.

65. The development of bilateral relations between socialist and capitalist countries is of great importance to the strengthening of peace and security. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic has already done a great deal in this domain. We have wide-ranging political, economic and cultural relations with capitalist countries. Exchanges of visits by statesmen are frequent. The exchange of goods and co-operation in the field of industry are widening in scope. We have accomplished a great deal towards enabling our people to become acquainted with the true cultural values of the countries in Western Europe and North America. The development of personal contacts between peoples is greatly facilitated by our flexible practice in the granting of visas. In 1975 our country, with a population of 10 million, was visited by more than 9 million foreigners. In the spirit of the 10 principles endorsed in Helsinki at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe we stand ready to develop inter-State relations with other countries, broaden the scope of political, economic and cultural co-operation, improve the exchange of information and widen human contacts.

66. When we speak of progress made in the cause of peace and security we must not overlook the fact that the adversaries of détente in certain Western countries have recently come to intensify their efforts, casting absurd slanders at the socialist countries, blaming détente for specific political and economic problems in their own countries, coming forward with trumped-up “problems” and making renewed attempts to interfere in the internal affairs

of socialist countries. In a word, by using political means combined with propaganda campaigns, they are seeking to disturb the peaceful co-operation of countries with different social systems. There is mounting evidence that what the extremist circles are seeking is to destroy not only the results of the Helsinki Conference but détente in general.

67. Here in the forum of the United Nations let me voice my conviction that those who support peace and international co-operation will be able to thwart the attacks on peaceful coexistence, uphold the achievements of détente and create the conditions for further progress.

68. Détente has emerged as the result of the joint activity of countries with different social systems. We are all aware of the outstanding role played in bringing this about by the joint efforts of the Governments of the Soviet Union and the United States. We for our part are hopeful that this constructive co-operation will continue to prevail and will make it possible to achieve still more significant results.

69. My Government believes that in the period ahead we shall be faced with major international tasks, the accomplishment of which is likely to give a new impulse to the process of détente; tasks such as that of giving full effect to the provisions of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, achieving further results in tackling the problem of disarmament and liquidating the still existing hotbeds of crisis.

70. The year following the Helsinki Conference bears witness to the viability of the recommendations contained in the Final Act. That document reflects the contemporary reality in Europe and corresponds to the interests of the peoples living there. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic attaches great importance to the performance of tasks arising out of the Final Act. We are of the view that the provisions of the Helsinki document should be implemented in full, bearing in mind, of course, that the Final Act offers a long-term programme to work for. We look on the Final Act as an organic whole and we are not prepared to accept a selective approach to its different parts. We find it essential that reciprocity should prevail in the application of the provisions of that document.

71. The provisions of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe can be implemented most effectively in the framework of bilateral relations between the participating countries. Imbued with this spirit, we have presented concrete proposals to the Governments of many countries of Western Europe during the past few months.

72. Multilateral co-operation could be an important vehicle for the implementation of the Final Act. My Government agrees with the idea of holding congresses to discuss questions relating to environmental protection, transport and energy. The implementation of this Soviet proposal would considerably enhance the cause of pan-European co-operation. Similarly, we actively support efforts to establish an institutional framework for relations between the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community.

73. We consider that the consultative meeting to be held in Belgrade next year will be an important landmark in the promotion of peaceful co-operation in Europe. That meeting, should, in our view, be prepared in such a way as to allow it to accomplish constructive work, strengthen mutual understanding and good relations among the participating countries and make for continued advancement in the implementation of the Final Act and the expansion of co-operation among the countries of Europe. My Government wishes to work in this spirit.

74. The requirements of international peace and security call for the extension of political détente to the military field as a matter of increasing urgency. Some steps have already been taken in this direction, but it is now time to make still greater progress.

75. A central issue of present-day international life is that of curbing the arms race. Military and economic circles in some countries are exerting growing pressure on their Governments to keep military spending soaring, justifying this intention by phrases culled from the time of the "cold war". We believe the United Nations cannot remain inactive in the face of such developments.

76. I should state that my Government fully shares the view expressed by the Government of the Soviet Union in its memorandum of 28 September submitted to the General Assembly on ending the arms race and disarmament [A/31/232]. We think that the implementation of the ideas contained in that memorandum would largely contribute to the solution of that important set of problems.

77. The Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] are followed by the Hungarian Government with due attention. We hope that the conditions will soon emerge for reaching the SALT II agreement, which would exert an exceedingly positive influence on both the relations between the two great Powers involved and the international situation in general.

78. In the context of disarmament, reductions in military forces and armaments in Central Europe are a question of the greatest timeliness. The proposals of the Warsaw Treaty countries seek to ensure that none of the countries concerned will see its security prejudiced by a mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments and to preclude the possibility for either side to obtain unilateral military advantages. We hope that, instead of trying to gain unilateral advantages, the NATO countries will in future seek a mutually acceptable arrangement by engaging in an activity similar to that of the socialist countries.

79. My Government has warmly welcomed the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes, signed between the Soviet Union and the United States of America last May. That is another step towards nuclear disarmament. The Soviet-French agreement on the prevention of accidental or unauthorized use of nuclear weapons⁸ is an added contribution to the reduction of international tensions. May I express my hope that similar agreements will be reached between all nuclear States?

⁸ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1976*, document S/12161.

80. The initiatives for the general and complete prohibition of nuclear weapon tests equally enjoy the support of my Government. Such proposals and their implementation would serve to reduce the danger of nuclear war.

81. We welcome the fact that the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has drawn up a draft convention on the prohibition of military or other hostile uses of environmental modification techniques, and we are hopeful that it will be given final shape and be approved by the General Assembly at its present session.

82. As far back as the twenty-first session of the General Assembly in 1966, my country was one of the initiators of action to ban chemical weapons.⁹ Today, with 10 years behind us, we believe the time has come to take a concrete stride towards the conclusion of a convention banning chemical weapons.

83. My Government places great emphasis on adoption of the Soviet draft agreement on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons [see resolution 3479 (XXX), annex]. We are gratified to see a growing number of countries showing interest in having that problem solved.

84. The Hungarian People's Republic invariably favours the earliest possible convening of the World Disarmament Conference, but it would have no objection to such interim stages of the consideration of the problems of disarmament as the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on this question.

85. Real headway in implementing the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, solving certain problems of disarmament and achieving still closer co-operation among peoples cannot be made unless the requirements of peaceful coexistence between countries with different social systems are met to the fullest in international relations. Therefore, my Government regards the non-use of force in international relations as being of outstanding importance. We are convinced that the adoption and practical implementation of the draft treaty submitted by the Soviet Union in its memorandum of 28 September would greatly increase confidence among peoples.

86. The acute hotbeds of tension in the proximity of our continent are a source of particular concern for the Hungarian people engaged in peaceful, creative work. The Middle East crisis, the tragic events in Lebanon and the delay in finding a solution to the Cyprus problem are all fraught with the danger of a broader conflict.

87. The liquidation of the Middle East crisis is a primary task to be solved in strengthening international peace and security. My Government deplores the increasing complexity of that situation.

88. It is now evident that secret talks, separate agreements, and the slackening of relations between the socialist

community and the Arab States obstruct the achievement of a durable peace in the Middle East. The unilateral attempts have not achieved their publicly stated purpose of stabilizing the situation in the region. They have only resulted in the perpetuation of Israel's occupation of the Arab territories, the division of the Arab forces seeking a just settlement, the strengthening of the positions of Israel and its supporters, and the postponement of a solution to the crisis.

89. My Government maintains that a comprehensive settlement is possible only if the Israeli troops are withdrawn from all the Arab territories occupied by aggression in 1967; if the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to establish a State of its own, are enforced; and, lastly, if the security of all States in the Middle East and the inviolability of their frontiers are guaranteed under international safeguards.

90. My Government is deeply concerned over the developments in the Lebanese crisis. The tremendous losses in human lives and the devastation in consequence of the armed clashes only play into the hands of the enemies of the Arab countries and the Palestinian Arab people. Further delay in having the situation settled is likely to conjure up the danger of an escalating conflict. We continue to hold that the Lebanese crisis can be solved only by the Lebanese themselves and that any foreign intervention cannot but aggravate the situation. My Government stands for preserving the territorial integrity of Lebanon.

91. My Government invariably supports guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus and eliminating all kinds of foreign intervention. We maintain that the internal problems of the island country are for the Cypriots alone to solve, taking account of the interests of the Greek and Turkish communities.

92. Turning now to Asia, my delegation is pleased to note that the conditions for a lasting relaxation of tensions in that part of the world are gradually emerging. This process is largely enhanced by the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which, established in July last, is a stable factor of peace and security in South-East Asia. Unfortunately, the admission of that country to the United Nations has so far been blocked. The interests of international peace clearly demand that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should, at this very session, occupy its rightful place among the States Members of our Organization.

93. My Government welcomes the active participation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and of Democratic Kampuchea in international political life.

94. My delegation feels that the United Nations and the specialized international organizations should assume their appropriate role in the reconstruction of Indo-China. The States bearing primary responsibility for the suffering caused to the peoples of Indo-China should comply with their obligations undertaken in international agreements, and should provide assistance in healing the wounds of war.

95. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic continues to support all efforts by the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to reduce tension

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 27, documents A/6529 and Add.1, para. 5.

on the Korean peninsula, consolidate the peace of the region, and attain the peaceful reunification of Korea. We deem it necessary that the relevant resolution adopted by the United Nations last year [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*] should be carried out.

96. Further changes of importance have taken place in Africa since last year's session of the General Assembly. The proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, the victory of the Angolan people over foreign intervention and internal reaction, has been an event of historic significance in the disintegration of the colonial system. The Hungarian people is in sympathy with and gives support to the Angolan people in its efforts to rebuild the country, revive the national economy, and establish a progressive society. In common with the overwhelming majority of Member States, we stand for the admission of the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations.

97. The African patriots can count upon the solidarity and support of the Hungarian people in their just struggle against the illegal minority governments and the policy of *apartheid*. We are convinced that the circles obsessed by the ideology of racial superiority will not be able to prevent much longer the people of Zimbabwe from the exercise of its rights. We are confident, too, that the people of Namibia, now under occupation by the South African racists, will accede to real independence in the near future.

98. The actions that are encouraged from abroad to turn back the clock of history in Latin America induce world public opinion to be vigilant. There is ample evidence to show that the rightist, Fascist Governments, which assumed power through conspiracy, are no advocates of détente but, on the contrary, direct their activities against peaceful coexistence and co-operation among peoples.

99. Hungarian public opinion follows with unflagging attention and firmly condemns the terror by the Fascist junta in Chile. The Hungarian people, at one with the other progressive forces, demands the release of Luis Corvalán and all Chilean patriots.

100. Good relations between the socialist and the developing countries are an important factor of the world situation today. Accordingly, the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is striving to have its relations with the developing countries become more substantial.

101. My country attaches great importance to the international activity of the non-aligned countries. We warmly welcome the positive results of the Colombo Conference and are convinced that the implementation of the Colombo resolutions [*see A/31/197, annex IV*] will result in stronger co-operation between the socialist and the non-aligned countries.

102. We understand and support the endeavours of developing countries to bring about mutually advantageous international economic relations free from discrimination and based on equality. The position of Hungary on the establishment of a new international economic order was extensively explained by the Hungarian delegations to the sixth and seventh special sessions and the twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly. We deem it

necessary that the principles laid down in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States should be implemented as soon as possible.

103. It is our conviction that any notable progress in the economic prosperity of the developing countries can only be made under a favourable international climate. We take satisfaction from the fact that the resolutions adopted at the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries in Colombo also reflect a growing awareness of the interrelationships existing between détente, disarmament, and the economic advancement of individual countries.

104. We attach great importance to the provision of international assistance to the developing countries. We ourselves are trying to contribute our share, commensurate with our means and possibilities, to the development programmes of these countries.

105. Nevertheless, we are also of the view that the fundamental guarantees for the economic advancement of the developing countries lie in progressive socio-economic measures to be carried out at national levels. The correctness of this approach is also vividly shown by the accomplishments of socialist Hungary in the rapid increase of industrial and agricultural production, the flowering of cultural life, and the marked improvement of living standards.

106. An important basic condition for increasing the effectiveness of the activity of our Organization lies in a more consistent practical application of the spirit and letter of the Charter. During the past 30 years the Charter has withstood the test of time and its application has contributed to the maintenance of peace and security, to the development of relations among nations, to the solution of economic, social, cultural and humanitarian tasks, and to the expansion of international co-operation. Hence there is no need to amend the Charter.

107. During the last five years our world Organization has furthered the settlement of several international issues and has taken a number of initiatives. For the results achieved thanks are due also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, with foresight and inexhaustible energy, has promoted the cause of friendship, co-operation and peace among the peoples. I should like to assure the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, of my Government's high appreciation of his noble activity and of its readiness to lend him continued support.

108. I should like to conclude by assuring the President that the Hungarian delegation will also at the present session do its very best to ensure the successful conclusion of the work of the General Assembly.

109. We believe that this session of the General Assembly can also make an effective contribution to solving the important questions on the agenda.

Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

110. Mr. THOMPSON (Jamaica): On behalf of my delegation and my Government, I wish to extend warm con-

gratulations to Mr. Amerasinghe on his election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. His wealth of experience in international affairs and his active participation and leadership in matters of vital importance for global peace and the well-being of all mankind assure us that under his able guidance this session of the General Assembly will result in meaningful progress on the range of issues with which the international community is faced. His most positive statement at the opening of the session attests to this.

111. I also wish to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who was President of the General Assembly during a year of far-reaching developments. I take note of his very forthright statements in his address at the opening of this Assembly, particularly on the subject of global economic injustices.

112. To Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, I should like to add my congratulations, yet again, for another year of unselfish dedication to the task of maintaining the peace of the world. In this context my delegation also wishes to welcome Mr. Buffum, the new Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs, and to express our appreciation of the role played by his predecessor, Mr. Bradford Morse in the work of the Assembly over the past few years.

113. On behalf of the Government and the people of Jamaica, I wish to express profound regret over the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung of the People's Republic of China. This is a loss not only for China but for the entire world, which mourns a great leader and statesman of immense standing, whose place in history has long been assured as one of the giants of the twentieth century. I offer my condolences from this rostrum to the delegation and the people of China.

114. My delegation joins others in welcoming Seychelles as a new member of this world body. We also look forward to the removal of obstacles in the way of early admission to membership of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet-Nam.

115. The last two decades have witnessed a dramatic evolution of the international system from the colonial towards the post-colonial era. The question during that period was not whether colonial, imperialist and racist domination could be overcome but how long the process would take and whether it could occur with a minimum of violence, upheaval, oppression and dislocation of mankind. Today we are in the crucial and final stage of transition towards the post-colonial era—a stage where the major outstanding issues can no longer remain unresolved without posing the gravest of threats to international peace and security and risking a degree of human calamity beyond anything we have so far seen.

116. The continuing delay by the international community in coming to grips with long-standing major problems increases the likelihood of new tensions and problems arising from them. The upsurge of international terrorism, the real possibility of a full-scale racial holocaust in southern Africa and nuclear proliferation are but examples. Economic crisis after economic crisis and the

continuing massive under-development of mankind can be largely attributed to the unwillingness of the industrialized countries to take positive and constructive steps towards removing economic inequity through the establishment of a new international economic order. In short, we are in a situation where the United Nations, and particularly the major Powers, must come to grips with the long-standing major problems affecting international peace and security, if we are not to find ourselves faced with critical problems arising largely from those which they have not managed to resolve.

117. Among the many reasons for our seeming inability to overcome a number of major international issues facing us is that the order of the day appears largely to be a matter of belated crisis management stemming from earlier failure either to perceive an obvious problem or to engage in a genuine search for lasting and rational solutions.

118. Another factor is the increasing tendency of some Powers to ignore even the most widely held views of the body of world opinion represented here. This is clearly shown by the abuse of the veto in the Security Council, particularly in situations where all but the party using it are agreed. It is a natural consequence of this that even lesser Powers are prepared to risk ignoring the opinions and resolutions of this body—until, of course, it is too late.

119. There is also a fundamental obstacle to the solution of critical political issues in terms of the extent to which the issues are viewed by the major Powers in the context of spheres of influence policies. They fail to recognize that such policies as well as the outmoded international system which gave rise to them are increasingly more difficult to sustain in a world in which the vast majority of developing States have declared themselves firmly in support of non-alignment and against competing Power blocs.

120. It is indeed a happy coincidence that Mr. Amerasinghe should have assumed the office of President of the General Assembly only a few weeks after his country was host to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. The outstanding success of that Conference is clear testimony of the determination of the non-aligned countries to act with unity and solidarity in accelerating the transition from an international system centred on colonialism, imperialism, racism and super-Power domination and rivalry to a new world order based on mutual respect for the sovereignty and political independence of all States, the elimination of all forms of racial discrimination, regard for human rights and the dignity of the individual and international economic justice and equity. The texts of the consensus declaration and resolutions reached at Colombo, which have been transmitted to this Assembly [A/31/197], provide both an incisive analysis of many of the complex issues facing the international community today and concrete proposals for dealing with them.

121. Of major concern to all of us at this time is the situation in southern Africa, and particularly the recent diplomatic developments relating to the struggle for liberation of the people of Zimbabwe from the minority racist tyranny of the illegal Smith régime. We support the African stand that it be clearly understood that the terms of any

settlement for the liberation of Zimbabwe will be dictated by the front-line warriors of liberation themselves who are fighting in the bush and not by belated diplomacy resulting in a formula for settlement which would only serve to perpetuate and entrench the position of the illegal racist minority régime. Why is it necessary, for instance, to have a two-year period of transition at all? And why the revocation of sanctions before the achievement of the objective or at least significant progress in drawing up the constitution on the basis of majority rule?

122. The time for majority rule is not two years from now, or one year, or even six months, but now. Now! Such arrangements as might be considered necessary for the finalization of a constitution should themselves be based from the outset—that is, from now—on the full application of the principle of majority rule at all levels of the decision-making process, with basic safeguards to protect the fundamental rights of the individual, regardless of race, sex or creed. Blood has been shed and is still being shed by black Africa to achieve this end, and until it is achieved my Government will continue to give full support to the further intensification of the struggle for liberation.

123. Turning to Namibia, we have witnessed yet another example of the criminal arrogance of the Pretoria régime in presenting to the international community the results of their manipulations with the “settler” interests of that Territory over its political future. But let it be made clear that further efforts in this direction will also come to naught if two basic principles are not adhered to by the racist Vorster régime—first, that representatives of the South West Africa People’s Organization [SWAPO] fully participate in constitutional discussions and early attainment of full independence for Namibia; and secondly, that free elections be supervised by external machinery acceptable to black Africa. The question of confrontation in Namibia is not only between the Vorster régime and the indigenous peoples but also between that régime and the entire international community in the form of the United Nations. There is not one single legal impediment to prevent the Security Council from exercising its authority over Namibia today.

124. As to South Africa itself, I stand here with mixed emotions—of profound horror at the massacres which have been perpetrated against children by the racist Pretoria régime with trained dogs and brutish men; and of pride that the indigenous peoples have demonstrated to the world that they are prepared to die *en masse* for their freedom. To those who continue to support the Vorster régime by supplying military equipment I say this: let it be known that not even nuclear capability can save the Pretoria régime from being consumed in the determination of the millions of black Africans at home and abroad to rid their continent of alien domination.

125. I turn now to the situation in the Middle East. The Palestinian question, which has long been recognized as the central problem in the Middle East, remains unresolved. At the same time, the increasing collaboration between Israel and the Pretoria régime constitutes a major cause for concern.

126. In order to move towards an urgent settlement in the Middle East my delegation joins with others in calling upon the parties concerned to ensure the early resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, including the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

127. In addition to the Middle East, we are faced with the impotence of the United Nations to deal effectively with the dismemberment of Cyprus, whose sovereignty and independence have been sacrificed on the altar of big-Power military relationships and alliances. It is clear that no lasting solution to the problem will be found as long as foreign troops are stationed on Cyprus, not only to give aid and comfort to one party to the dispute, but also to maintain the *status quo* of partition. Progress appears therefore to hinge on the phased withdrawal of foreign troops coupled with the resumption of meaningful negotiations between the two communities towards a satisfactory solution.

128. I wish to dwell a little on the question of participation in international peace conferences, particularly where the failure to reach agreement on who should have the right of participation prevents the commencement of meaningful negotiations on a major issue constituting a threat to international peace and security.

129. The Charter of the United Nations provides for pacific settlement of disputes, and in Article 33 the obligation is placed on the parties to any dispute the continuance of which is likely to endanger international peace and security to seek a peaceful solution. Regrettably, the obligation is sometimes either flouted or rendered practically meaningless principally on account of differences as to who the parties to the dispute are or, put in another way, as to who should have the right of participation at the conference table.

130. In these circumstances, surely the time has come for the international community as a whole to lay down a basic definition of “interested parties” as well as rules governing the right of participation in international peace conferences. That is a matter which it appears can no longer be left to be decided by tilts of diplomatic or political strength. At the present moment there are two major outstanding international problems among many—the Middle East and Korea—and there can be no headway on these either, largely because no agreement can be reached on who should sit at the conference tables. Moreover, it is interesting to note certain inconsistencies in the different lines of argument being pursued in each case concerning the question of participation. My delegation calls upon this body to establish once and for all appropriate machinery under an international convention for the purpose of determining universally applicable criteria for the right of participation in peace negotiations based on real and identifiable interests. This we feel would be a significant step towards international peace and security, which has suffered immensely from unnecessary and arbitrary delay in the conduct of negotiations towards lasting settlements.

131. My delegation notes with interest the initiative by the Federal Republic of Germany in proposing a convention on international action against the taking of hostages [A/31/242]. We completely abhor and denounce the inhuman act of taking hostages, which endangers the lives

of innocent individuals. We are, however, equally concerned to see that the measures taken to stamp out this evil not only are consistent with the recognized principles of international law but do not in themselves create possibilities for the violation of international law in securing the release of hostages. For that reason my delegation is of the view that any convention on this subject should extend beyond international action against the taking of hostages to include procedures for securing their prompt and safe release and that this should be reflected both in the content and in the title of the convention.

132. We are all aware of the grave threat posed to mankind by the intensifying arms race. Repeated calls for general and complete disarmament have gone unheeded by those major Powers which continue the production and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction. It is a sad state of affairs for humanity when not only are we unable to control our propensity for self-extinction but also the growing callous disregard for human economic and social deprivation can permit expenditure on armaments to reach \$300 billion a year, thereby exceeding by 20 times the net flow of official development assistance. The issue of disarmament is thus to be seen as one of the most urgent issues of international peace and security, as a means of averting catastrophic warfare and in terms of increasing the availability of financial resources for development. My delegation wishes to add its support to the call for a world disarmament conference to deal with the basic issues of general and complete disarmament under strict international control.

133. The process of political decolonization is nearing completion. In addition to the major problems already mentioned there are, however, a number of other important issues to which solutions have to be found. Of particular concern is the situation in regard to Belize. The independence of that country has been delayed under the threat of aggression from neighbouring Guatemala. My delegation deplores this situation and calls upon the international community to take urgent measures in accordance with resolution 3432 (XXX) with a view to ensuring the exercise of the inalienable right of the people of Belize to self-determination and independence as well as the preservation of the inviolability and territorial integrity of Belize.

134. As we proceed through the final stages of transition towards the post-colonial era there is one fundamental principle upon which the new international system must be built. That is mutual respect for the sovereign equality and political independence of States. Only by observance of this principle can we lay to rest the classic relationship of the domination of the many by the few. Regrettably, despite the constitutional liberation brought about by the decolonization process, there is evidence of increasing interference in the internal affairs of States. This is in flagrant violation of respect for sovereign and political independence and is contrary to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV)] and is also contrary to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

135. As the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of the Non-Aligned Countries points out, such interference could assume multifarious forms, political, economic and military, as well as being exercised through the information media [see A/31/197, annex I, para. 146]. It includes the politics of pressure and domination, economic subversion and measures calculated to cause disruption and destabilization in an effort to undermine the independence of sovereign States. Urgent action by the international community is required to bring this issue under close scrutiny and to come up with appropriate solutions for the removal of this constant threat to international peace and to the principle of sovereign equality and the political independence of States.

136. In the field of international economic matters the current year has been disappointing. The sixth special session of the General Assembly held in May 1974 laid the groundwork for the new international economic order based largely on proposals of the non-aligned countries. The seventh special session, which took place in September 1975, although disappointing in many respects, at least provided some hope for a transformation of the style of the dialogue between the developed and the developing countries in order to ensure progress towards the implementation of a new economically just order.

137. On the initiative of the developed countries, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation was launched in Paris early this year against a background of reservations on the part of many developing countries concerning the fact that such a conference was being held outside the ambit of the United Nations system. The Conference has been meeting for nine months, and participating developing countries have publicly expressed their deep concern at the absence of progress. At this stage of the Conference, and on the basis of the attitudes displayed by the developed world over the past few months, it is still most uncertain whether significant and concrete results can be achieved by December of this year.

138. The results of the fourth session of UNCTAD are viewed by my delegation more as an avoidance of the disaster of total failure than as a positive achievement. The insensitivity with which most developed countries treated the debt situation of developing countries only adds to our despair. The acid test will be the negotiations on the major issues of primary commodities and the common fund.

139. In summary, developing countries are facing a situation in which, with few exceptions, the international community has far too little that is significant, meaningful or concrete to show as a result of the series of intense negotiating events held with the aim of achieving equity for developing countries since the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly. In fact it would appear that in little more than a year since the much hailed seventh special session developed countries, with a few notable exceptions, have retained much of their attitudes and approaches of 1974 and earlier. This is borne out by the relatively decreasing support of developed countries for even long-standing development programmes which are themselves based on traditional but not irrelevant concepts of development.

140. Despite the disappointments of the current year, the developing countries have maintained their thrust in the area of economic co-operation among themselves. The succession of meetings of the non-aligned countries from Lusaka to Colombo which culminated in the non-aligned Action Programme for Economic Co-operation [see A/31/197, annex III] has been paralleled by similar endeavours by other developing countries, leading up to the dialogue of the third-world countries which recently took place in Mexico.

141. Another matter which we regard as being inseparably linked to the new international economic order is the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. While significant progress has been made on many important issues, the resolution of the well-known central and fundamental issues, such as the composition and functions of the international sea-bed authority, now requires high-level political representation in order to expedite the completion of the work of the Conference. We join in urging all the participants to accelerate the negotiations towards a successful conclusion of this major endeavour in international co-operation.

142. In closing, my delegation wishes once again to stress the urgent need for the international community, and particularly the major Powers and the industrialized countries, to come to grips with the crucial political and economic issues before us—not by trying to postpone or to freeze them but by tackling them squarely, having regard to the body of opinion expressed in this and in other forums of world opinion.

143. Unless the developed countries now begin to display some degree of urgency and sincerity in tackling the international economic issues affecting the developing countries, the result will be a further widening of existing disparities between North and South, forcing the developing countries towards more effective alternatives in order to ensure improvement in their situation. It is all too apparent that the lack of foresight, and self-interested delays, which so obviously pervade the treatment of major international political issues, also extend to international economic issues. Yet, it should be clear to all that the consequences of failure to find effective solutions in either sphere could be equally disastrous. The future depends on our determination to resolve the urgent political and economic problems before us. It is only by so doing that we can hope to maintain international peace and security and ensure the well-being and progress of mankind based on the fundamental principles of equality. As my Prime Minister, Michael Manley, said in his address to the General Assembly in October 1972,

“We believe that the idea of equality is the only enduring principle by which mankind may be guided in the conduct of national and international affairs”.¹⁰

144. Mr. GARBA (Nigeria): The election of Ambassador Amerasinghe to preside over this session of the General Assembly could not have come at a more opportune time. He is a man totally committed to the cause of justice and

the restoration of human dignity in the areas of the world where both attributes are being trampled with reckless abandon. He represents a country which has actively promoted the cause of world peace and universal progress through common discussion of problems in conditions of sovereign equality. Having the opportunity to participate in the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo two months ago, I saw at first hand the great devotion of the Government and people of his country, Sri Lanka, to the promotion of international friendship, on which peace and progress must necessarily rest. On behalf of the Nigerian delegation, therefore, I congratulate him warmly and pledge him our support in guiding the deliberations of this session.

145. I should like also to pay a tribute to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, whose devotion to duty and enthusiasm in the pursuit of the objectives of the Charter of the United Nations have endeared him to us. Nigeria's confidence in him is unqualified, and Africa's hope for his continued service to this Organization was reflected in an appropriate motion which I had the honour to propose, adopted at the last OAU conference held in Mauritius in July this year.¹¹

146. Since the inception of our great Organization, real peace has eluded the world. We have groped our way in search of better quality of life for all mankind. The successful solution of the problem of strife, hunger and poverty that plague the international community hinges on our understanding and realization that we, the Members of this Organization, are closely interdependent. Racial and national diversity are facts of life which do not, however, preclude coexistence. Ideology, like nationalism, serves as the motive force for group survival, but need not supplant coexistence among groups and nations.

147. Although banners have been formed and placards invented, in spite of our common goals and objectives, progress appears lost in *clichés*. We are all agreed that the purpose of our Organization is the promotion of human well-being, the dignity of man and a well-ordered international society in order to ensure the survival of the human race. These are basic human values and common experiences which transcend the boundaries of race, creed and colour. The evolution of planet earth and its people does not ignore these reactions of man, nor can they be permanently suppressed.

148. Collectively, we must share our various burdens and distribute our benefits. We must appreciate that, through the matrix and complexities of the present state of affairs, one of the fundamental instincts of man is his affinity with those who have shared common experiences.

149. Unfortunately, the present international economic relationship does not reflect the ideals of collective security and responsiveness to the realities of international order based on realistic co-operation in a world divided between the “haves” and the “have-nots”. Self-reliance must therefore necessarily be emphasized, in addition to close

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2049th meeting, para. 32.

¹¹ Thirteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2 to 6 July 1976.

co-operation among those who share common experiences and objectives.

150. Nigeria belongs to the third world, encompassing the non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 within the framework of the United Nations system. These groups are not inconsistent with the aims and objectives of our Charter. It is therefore sad to observe in some statements made earlier in the course of the general debate that some see this co-operation as a trend to dissipate and emasculate the effectiveness of the United Nations. It is even sadder to note that these criticisms emanate from those who have formed themselves into economic, military and political blocs for the purpose of defending their interests.

151. It is very clear to all that the non-aligned movement was born in the wake of international ideological conflicts with the objective of defusing the cold war tension. As long as these ideological conflicts exist, albeit at a reduced level, the non-aligned movement will continue to serve its purpose. As long as the world continues to be divided into the "haves" and the "have-nots", the developing countries will continue to seek ways and means to articulate programmes for collective self-reliance in protection of their legitimate interest within the New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

152. We in Nigeria, in spite of our population and our gigantic development programme to combat illiteracy, disease and poverty, and to provide the infrastructure lacking from years of colonial neglect, have diverted a modest but substantial proportion of our resources to economic co-operation with other developing countries, particularly in our region. Along with the international community, Nigeria responded to the compelling needs of our neighbours in the Sahel region. We have contributed modestly to infrastructural development in our region. We have, in response to the needs of our region, afforded bilateral assistance to our neighbours.

153. In concert with our neighbours, we have embarked on programmes to develop our natural resources in the Chad Basin Commission, the Niger-Nigeria joint Commission and the River Niger Commission. Nigeria is embarking on a gigantic programme to improve the navigability of the River Niger and to promote easy access to the sea through Nigerian ports, for our own benefit and that of our land-locked neighbours.

154. Also in our region, we are dedicated to making economic and social co-operation a reality with the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States. Here again, Nigeria is committed to playing its full part in the implementation of the aims and objectives of the Organization.

155. Recently, Nigeria made available to the African Development Bank the sum of \$80 million as a trust fund to provide soft loans to the neediest of African States. In addition, so as to strengthen the Economic Commission for Africa and to maximize its operational effectiveness, we have provided the sum of \$1 million to augment its resources from the United Nations.

156. These are all modest and practical measures. Despite the pressures of internal requirements, we have managed to share our resources with other developing countries.

157. Nigeria is fully committed to co-operation among developing countries. We shall fulfil any obligations which flow from these commitments, be it in the non-aligned solidarity fund for economic and social development or in the special fund for the financing of buffer stocks for raw materials and primary products of interest to developing countries.

158. As a means of assisting developing countries outside Africa, Nigeria has increased its contribution to international financial institutions in order to enhance their capacity for providing additional resources for development. Nigeria has also joined with other members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] in launching the OPEC Fund for Development and in making substantial contributions towards the operation of the International Fund for Agricultural Development.

159. The developed market-economy countries and, to a certain extent, the countries with centrally planned economies have gone through a devastating recession and an unprecedented inflation and unemployment, from which they are only just recovering. One of the main contributory factors to this recovery has been the availability of the huge investment by third-world countries, particularly from the oil-exporting countries. In any case, the recycling of surplus liquidity from third-world countries contributed in no small measure to this recovery.

160. This is interdependence. This amply illustrates the desirability for a reorientation of approaches and patterns of solution in the context of the new international economic order, based on reciprocity.

161. Developing States like ours, in view of the constraints on our economy, can play a role to the extent which I have attempted to outline. It is the responsibility and obligation of the developed countries to make concessions and adjustments in their approach to international economic relations for the development of the entire human society. I believe that it is about time that the international community began to take positive steps to show that it regards itself as an organic whole and, like any nation State, avoid fragmentation of society into groups composed of the rich and the poor.

162. The results of recent international conferences have not encouraged us to believe that these realities of economic interdependence have been fully appreciated and accepted. There is a growing frustration among third-world countries and a polarization between the "haves" and the "have-nots". Only two weeks ago, in Mexico City,¹² the third-world countries met to articulate measures designed to ensure their collective survival. If this lack of sensitivity continues, this polarization could entrench a permanent chasm.

163. This is a situation that we would wish to avoid. We therefore call for a reappraisal of attitudes and positions

¹² Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976.

towards international economic co-operation. All of us must demonstrate a willingness to adopt concrete measures to ensure: a free flow of trade; stability in the real income of developing countries; easy access to capital market on preferential terms; the attainment of the official development assistance target; the acceleration of the pace of industrialization in developing countries; the transfer of appropriate technology on favourable terms and conditions, and the redeployment of suitable industries from developed countries to developing countries; and the finding of urgent and adequate solutions of the problem of the official debts of developing countries, particularly the least developed countries.

164. It is distressing to note that, while they quibble over funds for economic development, powerful States Members of this Organization continue to lavish outstanding amounts on armaments. The current estimate of annual expenditure on armaments by the developed countries is \$300 billion, in contrast with a mere \$20 billion in the flow of financial resources from the developed to the developing countries. When, therefore, we emphasize the imperative need for disarmament, we bear in mind both the security and economic implications of disarmament. We continue to believe that every country has a role to play in disarmament because it concerns peace, and peace is indivisible. But year after year, while we continue to appear to play some role in disarmament negotiations, a feeling has been created that we are gradually being relegated to an observer status. The truth is that progress in disarmament is being hampered by the super-Power concept of the balance of strategic power—in other words, a balance of terror. The vertical proliferation of nuclear and conventional armaments continues unabated. In the meantime, the prospects of a nuclear horizontal proliferation of nuclear armaments have become the nightmare of mankind.

165. The third world has continued to maintain that the disproportionate human and financial resources committed to armaments and to the acquisition of nuclear capabilities for destructive purposes are totally unjustified in an era of relaxation of East-West tension. Last year, the Assembly reiterated the link between disarmament and development, and requested the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament to continue to explore this link [*resolution 3470 (XXX)*]. We in Nigeria fully support this move. It is our conviction that efforts should be made in this direction. Nigeria has opted for utilizing its resources for development and international economic co-operation. We believe in peace; we live at peace with our neighbours and have not fallen prey to the compulsive urge to become a phantom military power against the grain of reality. In this same forum last year, I said that if the attempt to convene a world disarmament conference continued to be frustrated, my delegation would not hesitate to join in demanding the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to focus attention on disarmament.¹³ The Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries in Colombo emphasized the need for such a session when it decided to work towards convening it not later than 1978. The General Assembly should take appropriate steps at this session towards this end.

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2378th meeting.

166. Nigeria regrets that the problems of the Middle East still defy solution. The people of Palestine continue to live in refugee camps or to be scattered in many foreign countries. Nigeria wishes once more to reaffirm its belief that there will be no durable and lasting solution of the Middle East problems except one which, *inter alia*, takes into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinians to a homeland of their own and the right of all States in the region to exist in peace within secure and recognized borders.

167. It is obvious that the impasse in the Middle East imbroglio constitutes a threat to international peace and security. Nigeria reiterates its call for the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories it occupied as a result of the 1967 Middle East war. Nigeria fully supports the idea of convening a conference to which all the parties concerned in the Middle East problem, including the Palestinians, should be invited to discuss and settle all the issues at stake.

168. Allow me now to turn to the dominant theme of this session and the major preoccupation of my delegation, the problem of southern Africa. Before we disperse to our various capitals in December, we may witness the culmination of momentous events concerning the explosive situation in southern Africa. Without being unmindful of other issues that will confront the General Assembly, I venture to say that this session will justify itself by the way it reacts to the rapidly evolving situation in that part of Africa. It has been clear for some time that that area is the last bastion for the preservation of everything that is the antithesis of the Charter of our Organization: namely, colonial exploitation, deprivation of elementary human rights, the blatant practice of racial discrimination, the dehumanization of the indigenous people of the area, daily exploitation by powerful economic interests and, what is more, the perpetration of that heinous crime against humanity, *apartheid*. It has also been apparent that the United Nations, which Africa looked up to for the eradication of the evils that plague southern Africa, was being increasingly rendered powerless to discharge its obligations. The cynicism and hypocrisy of those who should be in the vanguard of the United Nations action against the racist imperialists of southern Africa rendered this Organization almost irrelevant in the drama that was unfolding in that area. Even those who normally sympathize with the plight of the misused and oppressed people of southern Africa began to wonder whether we had not reached the end of the road as far as liberation on the African continent was concerned.

169. The continent of Africa has for three centuries been afflicted with a malaise inflicted from outside our continent. We are all too aware of this historic evolution—an evolution tinted with despair. We have always looked forward to, and relied on, the conscience of mankind and the changing value systems of the international community, in our continuous search for peace, justice and equality. Africa has been a continent of unfulfilled hopes. It appears to be in a state of flux. Once we hoped that slavery was behind us—only to be engulfed in colonialism. Next, we hoped for freedom—only to be immersed in a whirlpool of frustrations. Today, the dimensions of these uncertainties are reflected in the lack of will on the part of the Western

world to grapple effectively with the problems of southern Africa. The racist régime of South Africa has compartmentalized its people into classes. Some are categorized as white, some as Coloured and others as black. The black man, in his own country, is treated as subhuman. The white man, by the powers inherited through the same system of colonialism, has by brute force transformed colonialism into an instrument of repression, oppression and chicanery. This process has been synthesized into a system which is notoriously known as *apartheid*, a veritable crime against humanity. A major part of the world community continues to be indifferent, judging by its responses to and its actions regarding this problem.

170. In South Africa, Vorster, like his predecessors, is a great ally and companion in the exploitation of the resources of South Africa in the interest of the white minority and the Western world. He is today being proclaimed the hero in the complex process which is yet to unfold in the search for a solution in Zimbabwe and Namibia. This adulation is misplaced and unacceptable.

171. First, my Government has not seen any positive basic shift in policy by Vorster and his racist henchmen which can lead to a just solution to the problems of southern Africa generally. Thus Vorster is merely being given a ticket of respectability for a role he has not played.

172. Secondly, Vorster has not relented in spite of the impression being created that he has ceased his intervention in propping up the racist régime in Zimbabwe.

173. Thirdly, the nationalists and most African leaders will not wish for a settlement in which Vorster is appearing to play a role.

174. Fourthly, the quid pro quo for the so-called co-operation of Vorster in resolving the problem of Zimbabwe appears to be not only this respectability which I mentioned earlier but also an agreement to relegate to the background the basic issues of *apartheid*, which is the crux of the problems of South Africa.

175. In South Africa itself, while our attention is being diverted, 26 October is almost here with us, when the first "bantusan", the Transkei, will be declared "independent", a show window in the "bantustanization" process.

176. It is worth mentioning here what I said in the Security Council a few days ago, that "we will not accept any dialogue with the racist régime of South Africa without its renouncing the policy of *apartheid* . . .".¹⁴ In addition, we must not be diverted from the reality of the situation in South Africa, where "bantustanization", the quintessence of *apartheid*, continues to be implemented.

177. As I also stated in the Security Council, no African will endorse a solution in South Africa whereby 6 to 7 million blacks are to be forcibly herded into 200 scattered locations within South Africa that will be constituted into about eight "bantustans". Nineteen million owners of the land cannot be repressed by brute force or be bullied by 3.5

million whites at the muzzle of the gun and resettled into 13 per cent of the poorest land areas in South Africa.

178. We shall never relent until the South African racists appreciate that such abuse of power, such degradation of human values, cannot stand the test of time. We in Nigeria are convinced that the genocide being perpetrated by the racist régime in South Africa, to which some powerful Members of this Assembly continue to turn a blind eye, cannot solve in perpetuity the basic problems of human resistance and reaction to suffering.

179. The events of the past few weeks ought to have made that point clear even to the most complacent supporter of the *apartheid* régime and its instruments of terror. We have all been living witnesses to the spontaneous uprising of the oppressed people of South Africa against the barbarism of the Vorster régime and its *apartheid* policy. The children born in the wake of Sharpeville—an event that shocked the world 16 years ago—who are now in their teens have spearheaded the beginning of a revolution that is bound to destroy *apartheid* and its apostles. Against the arsenals of the Vorster Government, these children are daily showing a determination to sacrifice their blood for the destruction of *apartheid*.

180. *Apartheid* pervades every fact of life in South Africa. Combating it requires action at all levels. Following the African action at the Montreal Olympics, I hope that those who hide under the hypocritical view of separating sports from politics now realize the depth of our feelings. *Apartheid* does not exempt any sphere of human activity from its very long arm. Therefore, anyone who believes he can verbally condemn *apartheid* but in practice helps to sustain it must count on concerted African reaction.

181. My delegation is extremely concerned that in spite of the record of the Vorster régime, in spite of numerous United Nations resolutions, an important Member of our Organization has decided to co-operate with South Africa in a very sensitive and dangerous area—nuclear technology. Itself a nuclear Power, France knows the danger of the weapon. As a permanent member of the Security Council, France knows what danger the Vorster régime constitutes to international peace and security, especially as South Africa has refused to join the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Yet, in spite of all those facts, France has decided to encourage South Africa's nuclear ambition, thus making real Africa's fear of nuclear blackmail by South Africa.

182. Even with the conclusion of the safeguards agreement between France, South Africa and the International Atomic Energy Agency, Africa's fears cannot be allayed. For the safeguards agreement is no guarantee that South Africa will not divert nuclear material to non-peaceful purposes. In the interest of the security of Africa, therefore, this session of the General Assembly must call on France to cancel its nuclear power deal with South Africa. France, which has a lot of goodwill, as well as economic interests, in Africa, cannot continue to presume on Africa's verbal protests alone in the ever-growing chain of France's contacts with South Africa in defiance of the international community. I hope that France will take this friendly advice with all the seriousness in which it is given.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1957th meeting.*

183. The Federal Military Government of Nigeria believes that the call for change has been sounded by the Africans and other non-whites in South Africa; the international community must listen to the call and must give all assistance.

184. Last week I had the opportunity to state in the Security Council Nigeria's views on Namibia.¹⁵ The basis of an end to Vorster's illegal occupation of the Territory should be Security Council resolution 385 (1976) which, characteristically, Vorster has ignored. In keeping with his usual trick of confusing the unwary, Vorster has convened a fake constitutional conference in Windhoek. The facts about that conference are too well known to be repeated. That conference is a gross insult to the international community. It did not deliberate, and was not intended by Vorster to deliberate, on the fundamental issues. It merely rubber-stamped the South African plan for a so-called independence "with reasonable certainty" in December 1978.

185. The world community has laid down specific conditions for the process of self-determination for Namibia. Those conditions include the unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Namibia, the release of all political prisoners, the maintenance of the territorial integrity of Namibia, and negotiations between the Vorster régime and the authentic representatives of the Namibian people, SWAPO, on the modalities for the withdrawal of the South African administration. It is the hope of my delegation that the United Nations will not relent in its determination to ensure the implementation of those conditions. SWAPO must be given all necessary support to continue and intensify the struggle against South African atrocities in Namibia. It is the responsibility of the United Nations to ensure that an independent Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, will take its place in the community of nations very soon.

186. It is quite clear to my delegation that a number of factors have led to the present situation in Zimbabwe. First is the nationalist military pressure which has shattered the resistance of the rebel régime of Ian Smith. Second is the increased material and political support that the Zimbabwe People's Army has enjoyed from progressive forces all over the world and, in particular, from the front-line States. Third is the continued pressure of the United Nations for the maintenance of mandatory sanctions against the illegal régime. The combination of those factors has obviously brought the rebels virtually to their knees.

187. My Government believes that those pressures must be kept up and not relaxed until the racist minority régime in Salisbury has been completely toppled. Nigeria accepts its responsibilities in this respect and will continue to discharge them.

188. In keeping with the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa¹⁶ and the Dar es Salaam declaration¹⁷ to which we

subscribe, Nigeria notes with considerable interest that arrangements are being made for a constitutional conference as a follow-up of the Anglo-American initiatives on Zimbabwe. While we welcome the efforts to work towards a negotiated settlement, we should not be lured by Ian Smith into an impossible and unworkable position. Such is likely to be the result of the proposals for an interim Government announced by the leader of the rebel régime. According to Ian Smith, there is to be a council of ministers with a black first minister and a Council of State with legislative powers to be white dominated. It is obvious to us that the functioning of the council of ministers will be immobilized by that arrangement.

189. It is also clear that arrangements whereby the law-enforcing institutions—the military, finance and the judiciary—would be controlled by white ministers is unrealistic. An interim Government so constituted could and would easily interfere with the forces of change and thwart the process of evolution to majority rule, with their advantage of retaining the forces of law and order in Zimbabwe. Once those arrangements have given the racist government legality, there is the likelihood that, as soon as sanctions are removed and guerrilla action stopped, the racist Government of Ian Smith would renege on its obligations, to judge by the experience of the past.

190. We also understand that a trust fund is being set up for the purpose of compensating the white minority in Rhodesia. Those who wish to set up the fund appear to be oblivious to the suffering of thousands of blacks who are in gaols and refugee camps and of many others in exile in various parts of the world. Nigeria is opposed to any such solution, which would not take the needs of the entire people in Zimbabwe, black and white, into consideration and would entrench white security at the expense of the blacks. Nigeria hopes, in addition, that independent Zimbabwe would not be burdened by such indebtedness for financing white security.

191. I should make it clear that no solution in Zimbabwe can be expected to succeed unless the military wing and all ideological shades of the liberation struggle are carried along in any negotiations; otherwise, we shall again be faced with civil strife and with the world Powers jockeying for positions of advantage and aggravating the problems of Zimbabwe.

192. I said earlier that this session of the General Assembly will to a large extent be judged by its reaction to the rapidly evolving events in southern Africa. Having played a commendable role in the process of decolonization, the United Nations cannot now be a mere bystander when the final push against the last bastion of imperialism and racism in Africa is in progress.

193. We in Africa have faith—faith in the inexorable forces of the wind of change which nothing can stop; faith in the human spirit which, as has been shown over and over, will not perpetually submit to oppression; faith in the basically good and sympathetic nature of the generality of mankind; faith that those who profit by oppression will find that in the long run they are bound to lose, unless they face realities early enough; faith, above all, that the United

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

¹⁷ Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

Nations will ultimately live up to the ideals of its Charter, notwithstanding the obstacles placed in its path.

194. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Allow me, on behalf of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, whole-heartedly to congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe on his election to the high post of President of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly and to wish him sincerely every success in discharging the responsible tasks entrusted to him by the Members of this prestigious international Organization.

195. The Mongolian delegation, on behalf of its Government, warmly congratulates the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations and wishes the Government and people of Seychelles every success in the building of a new life.

196. I should like to state that the Mongolian People's Republic fully supports the legitimate request of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to membership in the United Nations and resolutely opposes an unrealistic approach to this question. My Government is also in favour of the immediate admission of the People's Republic of Angola to membership in the United Nations. We are firmly convinced that the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola will contribute to enhancing the prestige and efficiency of this Organization.

197. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the most pressing issue of the day is the consolidation of universal peace and security through the further deepening of the process of the relaxation of international tension and the adoption of effective measures to halt the arms race and bring about disarmament. Our belief is that détente, disarmament and development are closely interrelated in both their political and their material aspects. It is obvious that gains in any of these areas will facilitate progress in the other two areas, and vice versa.

198. Indeed, the process of further deepening of the relaxation of international tension and of giving substance to the principles of peaceful coexistence through the development of mutually beneficial co-operation between States helps to strengthen the spirit of confidence and mutual understanding among States and to facilitate the adoption of measures in the field of disarmament as well as the solution of the pressing problems of development. On the other hand, the accelerating arms race, for which the military-industrial complexes of the Western countries are to blame, threatens to erode the foundations of international détente and severely affects the objectives of the socio-economic development of all nations without exception.

199. The socialist countries, in close co-operation with all peace-loving and progressive forces, are making a decisive contribution to the achievement of further progress in those closely interrelated areas of international life. This is borne out, for example, by the fact that practically all the important multilateral treaties and agreements so far concluded in the field of disarmament and the curbing of the arms race are based on proposals originally put forward

by the socialist countries, primarily by the Soviet Union. Upon the initiative of the same socialist countries, the United Nations has adopted a number of important documents on fundamental issues related to the strengthening of international security, the promotion of friendly co-operation among States and the safeguarding of the rights of peoples to freedom and national independence.

200. The Congresses of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the countries of the socialist community held this year have drawn up the guidelines for a further intensification of the foreign policy activities of those countries in the interests of universal peace and security.

201. The Seventeenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, held last June, laid down the goals and objectives of our foreign policy as an integral part of the purposeful activities of the socialist community in the international arena. We should like here to emphasize the great international significance of the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples put forward by the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. That programme, as is known, contains a broad range of objectives aimed at deepening the process of the relaxation of international tension, carrying out disarmament measures, introducing the principle of the renunciation of the use of force in international relations, eliminating hot-beds of colonialism and racism, and eradicating all forms of inequality, discrimination and exploitation in international economic relations.

202. The policy of the socialist countries, which is fully in keeping with the vital needs of all peoples, is gaining ever growing support, and the combined efforts of the peace-loving and progressive forces are scoring new successes in the strengthening of peace and security and in the development of international co-operation.

203. At the same time, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that recently attempts have been made in the West to discredit the idea of détente and to revive the spirit of the "cold war" and the policy of operating from a "position of strength". Attempts are also being made to use détente for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, particularly of the socialist countries, on the false pretext of defending human rights. Behind those attempts lie intrigues on the part of the most aggressive and reactionary circles of monopoly capital who are placing their narrow selfish interests above the interests of the security and well-being of mankind.

204. Great service is being rendered to the opponents of détente in the West by those who, under the cover of demagogic phraseology, are attempting to undermine the improvement of the international political climate and are openly calling for preparations for a new world war.

205. Nevertheless, the positive developments and changes in the world continue to expand and deepen, in spite of the opposition from the forces of reaction and adventurism. This is only natural because these changes have been engendered by the objective conditions of the development of contemporary international relations and by new shifts in the correlation of forces in the world arena.

206. The Mongolian People's Republic attaches great importance to the effective implementation of the decisions of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Measures agreed upon in that forum, as is clear from the name of the Conference itself, are of vital importance for all countries and peoples without exception. Their importance lies also in the fact that the participants in the Conference pledged themselves strictly to observe the principles agreed upon in their relations with all countries. It is therefore obvious that the implementation of the decisions of this important international Conference will have positive consequences for all the peoples of the world.

Mr. Kaduma (United Republic of Tanzania, Vice-President, took the Chair.

207. As an Asian country, the Mongolian People's Republic attaches special importance to the strengthening of peace and security on that vast continent inhabited by more than half of mankind.

208. In recent years, substantial changes have occurred in Asia in favour of the forces of peace, national independence and social progress. In this regard the historic victory of the Vietnamese people over the imperialist aggressors and internal reactionary forces as well as the formation of a unified socialist Viet Nam are of particular importance.

209. The proclamation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the fall of the anti-people reactionary régime in Kampuchea also constitute notable events which contribute to the improvement of the political climate in Asia.

210. The positive changes in South-Asia, moves towards a stabilization of the situation in South Asia, and the growing realization of the need for mutual understanding and co-operation among States with different socio-economic systems are opening up new prospects for the further normalization of the situation on the Asian continent.

211. It is against this background that the speedy elimination of the still existing hotbeds of tension in Asia assumes paramount importance.

212. Particularly, it is imperative to achieve a comprehensive political settlement of the protracted Middle East crisis by eliminating the consequences of Israeli aggression against the Arab States. It is only through such a settlement and not through partial and separate arrangements that a durable peace in the Middle East can be secured.

213. The Mongolian People's Republic continues to hold the view that the key to the solution of the Middle East problem lies in the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967, the satisfaction of the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to establish their own State, and respect for the right of all the States of the region to an independent existence.

214. The Mongolian Government considers it necessary for the work of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East to be resumed as soon as possible with the participation of all the parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

215. The tragic situation of crisis in Lebanon, which arose as a result of the intrigues of imperialist and Zionist forces, as well as of domestic reaction, should be resolved by the Lebanese people themselves on the basis of the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of that country.

216. Justified anxiety has been aroused by the situation of the Korean peninsula, to which imperialist circles assign an important role in their schemes to perpetuate the division of Korea and turn its southern part into a base for aggressive encroachments. The presence of United States troops under the cover of the United Nations flag is the principle obstacle to the fulfilment of the aspirations of the Korean people for their national reunification.

217. At the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations a resolution was adopted recommending the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in the southern part of Korea, the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command and the replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a permanent peace agreement [resolution 3390 B (XXX)].

218. We believe that the immediate implementation of these provisions of the General Assembly resolution would create favourable conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem.

219. The Mongolian Government continues to advocate a just and peaceful settlement of the Cyprus problem without outside interference and on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions and of total respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

220. The Mongolian People's Republic feels in duty bound to do its utmost to contribute to the cause of strengthening peace, security and co-operation on the Asian continent.

221. At the Seventeenth Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural, Comrade Tsendenbal, stated:

“... a lasting peace and security in Asia can only be ensured through the joint efforts of the States of the continent. The elimination of existing hotbeds of tension in Asia, a political settlement of outstanding international problems, permanent rejection of the use of force or the threat of use of force in international relations and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation between the States of the continent serve as a basis for ensuring peace and security in Asia.”

222. In our view, these are the international conditions which are necessary for the successful solution of the vital socio-economic problems facing the peoples of Asia today.

223. In this context we believe that the need to ensure peace and security in Asia on a collective basis, with the participation of all the countries of the continent, is becoming particularly urgent.

224. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the positive changes which have been observed both in bilateral relations and in the multilateral efforts of the Asian States constitute a foundation upon which endeavours for ensuring lasting peace in Asia should be built.

225. Strict observance of the principle of the non-use of force in international relations is the most important prerequisite for the normalization of relations between States, thus strengthening their peaceful co-operation. My Government therefore fully supports the proposal of the Soviet Union to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations [A/31/243]. The essence of this peace pact would be the commitment of States to prevent aggression and to renounce the use of any types of weapon, including nuclear weapons, for the settlement of disputes among themselves. The conclusion of such a treaty would greatly strengthen mutual confidence among States and contribute significantly to the further deepening of international détente and to the reduction of the threat of world war. This would also represent a practical step towards the implementation of the objectives of the United Nations Charter and the historic declaration on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons solemnly adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly [resolution 2936 (XXVII)] on behalf of all Members of the United Nations. Proceeding from the above-mentioned considerations, the Mongolian delegation considers timely and urgent the proposal of the Soviet delegation to include in the agenda of this session of the General Assembly on item on the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

226. The continuing arms race not only conflicts with the interests of the deepening of the international relaxation of tension but also threatens to undermine the effectiveness of measures already agreed upon in the field of disarmament. It also obstructs the objectives of development. It has been estimated that the resources devoted to the arms race since the end of the Second World War have exceeded \$6 trillion, which is roughly equivalent to the gross national product of the whole world in 1976.

227. Such a situation clearly underlines the urgency and timeliness of the memorandum presented at this session by the Soviet delegation containing the views of the Soviet Government on urgent steps to be taken to halt the arms race and to put into effect measures of disarmament. It is our view that this memorandum is notable, *inter alia*, for its constructive and flexible approach to the solution of the major issues of disarmament and related matters.

228. My delegation, like many others, agrees that primary attention should be devoted to nuclear disarmament measures. To that end, effective measures must be taken in the first place to strengthen the non-proliferation régime of this weapon of mass destruction. We hope that the General Assembly will devote special attention to this problem and will invite all States that have not yet done so to accede to or ratify without delay the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], in the highest interests of preventing the threat of nuclear war.

229. The complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests would constitute an effective means of preventing the further perfection of nuclear armaments.

230. In that connexion, we view as being of great importance the treaties concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of underground nuclear tests and on peaceful nuclear explosions.

231. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic regrets the lack of progress in the implementation of General Assembly resolution 3478 (XXX), which called upon all nuclear Powers to enter into negotiations not later than 31 March 1976 with a view to reaching an agreement on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests. The major responsibility lies with those nuclear Powers which refuse to comply with the provisions of that resolution. The General Assembly should call upon those States to display a constructive approach so that the negotiations can begin as soon as possible, on the basis of the existing draft treaty.

232. In this age of intensive scientific and technological progress the task of preventing the emergence of still more dangerous means of destruction becomes a matter of ever greater urgency. It is imperative immediately to reach a binding agreement on the prohibition of the manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction, as has been proposed in such a timely fashion by the Soviet Union. My delegation notes with satisfaction certain positive steps in activating negotiation on this problem in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament. Progress in the SALT talks would be a decisive contribution both in political and in technological respects to blocking the emergence of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Therefore, the Mongolian People's Republic attaches particular importance to the need to convert the Vladivostok understanding on the limitation of offensive strategic armaments into a binding agreement.

233. We welcome the finalization in the Conference of the Committee on disarmament of a draft convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques, and express the hope that this session of the General Assembly will endorse this draft convention.

234. Our Government favours the speedy adoption of effective measures in the field of the prohibition of chemical means of warfare.

235. We consider that the reduction of military expenditures and the level of armed forces of States, in particular those with large potentials, is one of the practical measures to curtail the arms race.

236. Our delegation, like those of the overwhelming majority of States, favours the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. Such a conference would undoubtedly give an impetus to the preparation of concrete measures to check the arms race and promote the creation of a political climate conducive to the achievement of the goals of general and complete disarmament.

237. Before turning to another subject, I should like to emphasize that the United Nations should increasingly take

into account the vigorous efforts of broad sections of the public in its efforts to strengthen peace and international security, and specifically to further the cause of curtailing the arms race and promoting disarmament. In this regard we endorse the idea expressed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, that world public opinion should be far more actively involved in the struggle for disarmament. In this regard my delegation would like to express its desire to see United Nations information media give wider coverage to important events like the recent world-wide campaign of the World Peace Council to collect signatures on the new Stockholm appeal for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament, and the Helsinki World Conference of Public Movements for the Cessation of the Arms Race, for Disarmament and for the Relaxation of International Tension, held on 23 to 26 September this year. My delegation is convinced that the United Nations stands to gain a great deal from close links with mass movements favouring the cause of peace and international security.

238. The peoples fighting for their freedom and independence have scored fresh victories, which has led to the further weakening of the position of imperialism, colonialism and racism.

239. The Angolan people won a historic victory in their struggle against the aggression launched by the South African racists, with the direct encouragement of imperialists and other reactionary forces. This victory, achieved with the assistance of their true friends, and in the first place the socialist countries, has given a new impetus to the struggle of the peoples of Africa for the final elimination of the remnants of colonialism and racism.

240. The national liberation movements of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, as well as the indigenous people of South Africa, are becoming ever broader in scope. Confronted with the prospects of the complete collapse of colonial and racist domination, the racist régimes and their imperialist protectors have been compelled to manoeuvre in their attempt to paralyse the national liberation movements and to safeguard their economic and strategic interests in Africa. The Mongolian delegation is confident that the progressive forces of the African continent, enjoying wide international support, will be able to safeguard the cause of the genuine national liberation and social progress of the peoples of the southern part of Africa. The Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the basis of recognition of the right of oppressed peoples to wage the struggle for their freedom and independence by all means at their disposal. We associate ourselves with the demand that effective measures should be taken for the complete liquidation of colonial and racial domination in Africa.

241. Colonialism and racism, as well as régimes of a Fascist type, rely on the practice of the denial and gross violation of human rights.

242. Mongolian public opinion resolutely condemns the criminal acts of the Chilean junta against the progressive and patriotic forces of Chile in flagrant violation of elementary human rights and freedoms. We associate ourselves with demands that an end be put to all these actions and that the staunch fighter for the genuine freedom and vital interests of the Chilean people, Luis

Corvalán, be released along with all the other Chilean patriots and democrats languishing in the gaols of the Fascist junta.

243. The Mongolian People's Republic, along with other socialist countries, has consistently supported the just demands of the developing countries for the democratization of international economic relations inherited from the past and for the elimination of all forms of inequality, discrimination and exploitation. We believe that the transformation of present economic relations which reflect the selfish objectives of imperialist monopolies is in keeping with the interests of the social and economic development of all countries and primarily with the need to strengthen the economic independence of developing countries.

244. The discussions on international economic issues in the light of the needs of the developing countries at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly and in other representative international forums under United Nations auspices have been of great significance. Important positive documents have been adopted.

245. However, the efforts of developing countries to bring about the practical implementation of the goals and principles of those documents, in particular the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States, have met with stubborn resistance from a number of Western Powers which, despite their repeated promises, have taken a negative stand on problems of vital importance for the developing countries.

246. In these circumstances the unity of action of the developing countries in their struggle to secure their legitimate and vital interests and to strengthen their co-operation with the socialist world takes on growing significance.

247. In this connexion, my delegation notes the importance of the statement in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo that the non-aligned countries should continue to endeavour to co-operate with all peace-loving and progressive forces throughout the world and thus strengthen the capacity of this movement successfully to combat imperialism in its desperate efforts to recover the ground it has lost in recent years. We believe that this statement is in keeping with the interests of the consolidation of democratic and progressive changes in world development.

248. The Mongolian delegation believes that the deepening of international détente and the increasing weight and influence of those forces which advocate international peace and co-operation have opened up for the United Nations new broad prospects for more effective implementation of the principles and purposes of its Charter.

249. We believe that at the present stage the main tasks of the United Nations lie in active promotion of the consolidation of new positive trends in world development, in rendering all possible assistance to the efforts of the international community to end the arms race and to bring

about measures of disarmament, and in raising the efficiency of the Organization in supporting the struggle of the peoples for peace, national independence and social progress.

250. The Mongolian People's Republic, through its efforts in both bilateral and multilateral relations, will strive to make its contribution to the attainment of the noble objectives of the United Nations Charter.

251. Mr. CISSOKO (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is a signal honour for our delegation to address through you on behalf of the Party-State of Guinea and its Secretary-General President Ahmed Sékou Touré our most sincere congratulations upon Mr. Amerashinghe's brilliant election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. His outstanding qualities and his lengthy experience shall be for us a precious augury of true success.

252. We should like similarly to address a tribute to the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, whose personal qualities made it possible for the thirtieth session of the General Assembly honourably to discharge its duties.

253. We should also like warmly to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, with the passage of time and events, has vigilantly ensured respect for the provisions of the Charter.

254. Our delegation wishes to welcome here the admission of the Republic of Seychelles to our Organization. We are convinced that through its participation in our activities it will make a worthy contribution.

255. The delegation of Guinea would also take this solemn opportunity to pay a well earned tribute to the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, one of the great figures of the international proletariat, an outstanding leader whose authority, conferred upon him by his great ideological and practical contributions, has decisively marked the phase of world revolution dating from 1945 until today.

256. The Guinean revolution considers the eminent role played by Chairman Mao has made a very positive contribution to the multifaceted enhancement of the theory of the popular revolution and of the struggle of peoples for self-determination.

257. This session's agenda includes some interrelated questions of great importance not only to the developing countries but also to the world as a whole.

258. In this connexion, international economic relations are characterized by an intolerable injustice. Relations of dependence are now closer and firmer, giving our countries no opportunities whatsoever for independent development, which could imperil the position of economic subordination inherited from the colonial era.

259. The development of industrial production propagated one of the disguised forms of dependence—that is, technology controlled by the monopolies of imperialistic companies.

260. The deficit in the balance of trade has for many countries become a structural aspect of their economies.

261. Despite two special sessions devoted to problems of development and raw materials, and the adoption at the twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States; despite the several sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea; despite the so-called North-South Conference in Paris¹⁸ and the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi, the international economic situation remains unchanged and is therefore still the overriding preoccupation of developing countries. Everything points to a total absence of political will on the part of the industrialized Powers to establish a new international economic order. Thus, for developing countries, the final solution remains to struggle by effecting radical changes within each State, to remove key sectors of the economy from the corrosive action of transnational companies, subsequently to modify their relations of dependence vis-à-vis developed States, and finally to ensure full and complete economic emancipation.

262. At the international level, our delegation fully subscribes to the Declarations and Action Programme for Economic Co-operation recently adopted at Colombo [*see A/31/197*], which emphasize, *inter alia*, the convening of a ministerial conference in 1977 to deal with the problem of the external debt of developing countries. The creation of new associations of producers of raw materials and the consolidation of existing associations can only hasten the arrival of the new international economic order we so deeply desire. In this effort to change international relations, the co-operation and cohesion of non-aligned and other developing States are necessary. It is appropriate here to express our pleasure at the recent meeting in Mexico, which constitutes a first step in this direction.

263. Our delegation, like those of other States, has always considered that present negotiations on the law of the sea have a special role. Among the economic questions touched upon during the 30 years of the existence of the United Nations, there are none more important. We must be able realistically to define the continental shelf and the economic zone. In this connexion, a 200-nautical-mile limit seems to be most reasonable, because of the immense possibilities offered by modern technology. International solidarity naturally implies that navigation and communications should be facilitated. Once and for all, a decision must be reached with regard to the financing of the authority called upon to manage the resources of the sea-bed beyond the continental shelf for the well-being of mankind. But that authority must be established immediately, and it must be provided with an effective administration. A small proportion of the resources of the sea, in the view of our delegation, should, at a suitable time, be utilized for the financing of the United Nations. Then, and only then, a new international brotherhood will be born, because unequal financing always goes hand in hand with unequal influence.

264. Faced with the problem of disarmament, the Republic of Guinea believes that solutions should not be

¹⁸ Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

envisaged merely among Powers possessing nuclear weapons, because, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré says,

“Disarmament is a question of paramount importance and interest to all peoples. Thus its postulate must be respect for the will of peoples to escape from imperialist domination. This necessarily means that relations of subordination must disappear, and that colonialism, neo-colonialism and exploitation must be liquidated and an equitable economic order established.”

265. That is why our delegation supports the initiative taken by the non-aligned States to convene in 1978 a special session devoted to the consideration of this burning issue. We are convinced that the results of such action will facilitate progress in the negotiations already under way.

266. Also, if the conclusions of the Helsinki Conference are to be meaningful in the context of détente, they must necessarily be applied to other areas where military bases for imperialist aggression are implanted—such as the Indian Ocean, the coastal States of which deeply desire total demilitarization and complete denuclearization—since it is true that international peace and security concern all States of the world, without exception, and absolutely equally.

267. Moreover, analysis of the international situation reveals more than ever the fundamental contradiction pitting imperialism against peoples struggling for their political, economic, cultural and social independence. Indeed, hotbeds of tension are still numerous throughout the world—in Asia, in Latin America, in Africa and the Middle East—supplied and abetted by monopolistic capitalism, which refuses to yield to historical reason and only considers its selfish interests, based exclusively on the exploitation of peoples and the systematic pillage of natural resources.

268. As we know, the dominant Powers think they have several strings to their bow. When, under pressure from the liberation struggle, they are forced to let go, they find other ways and means to perpetuate their presence. Their final aim is the establishment of neo-colonial governments. To this end they sometimes go so far as to encourage secession. The case of the Comorian island of Mayotte constitutes the most flagrant example of this. That is why our delegation reaffirms its staunch support for the people and Government of the Comoros in their efforts to recover their province.

269. With regard to French Somaliland, our delegation demands the immediate, unconditional independence of that Territory, in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of its people.

270. The crisis in the Middle East is as yet unsolved. Just as yesterday in Viet Nam, imperialism at work today, pitting brother Arabs against one another, is seeking by all means possible to liquidate Palestinian resistance and its vanguard, the Palestine Liberation Organization. While voicing its deep concern over this situation, our delegation wishes to renew its active and resolute support for the courageous struggle of the martyred Palestinian people and demands that the Zionist State of Israel return all occupied Arab territory. The Party-State of Guinea gives it full

support to the document drafted by the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/31/35].

271. Despite decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations recommending a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus crisis, talks between the Greek and the Turkish communities remain deadlocked, and the island continues to be occupied by foreign troops; all the while, everything is being done to turn it into a NATO military base, thereby creating an area of tension prejudicial to the establishment of a climate of confidence and peace in the world. Therefore, our delegation voices its support for the unity of the Cypriot people and for the safeguard of its territorial integrity.

272. In Asia, the liberation struggle victoriously waged by the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Democratic Kampuchea and Laos compels the admiration of all, and constitutes an inestimable contribution to the triumph of the ideals of liberty and progress. The international community must contribute to the efforts of national reconstruction undertaken by those States.

273. Our delegation wishes to take this opportunity to pay a particular tribute to the great people of the immortal Ho Chi Minh, which, after having defeated, one by one, all the imperialist armies, has just proclaimed to the world the birth of its reunified nation, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

274. The American veto, two years in succession, of the admission to the United Nations of this country, which has contributed so much to the liberation of peoples and to the strengthening of peace, is inadmissible and demonstrates the omnipotence of some countries in the conduct of world affairs within an Organization which seeks universality.

275. Our delegation hopes that, during the upcoming discussion of this matter, reason will prevail over rancour.

276. With regard to Korea, the Republic of Guinea will at any time welcome with satisfaction any peaceful solution which could permit the unification of this country according to the freely expressed will of the entire Korean people, without any foreign intervention.

277. However, the Republic of Guinea, which has recognized the Democratic Republic of East Timor as an independent and sovereign State, denounces the invasion of this territory by foreign troops and supports the decisions contained in resolution 3485 (XXX) of 12 December 1975 and in Security Council resolution 389 (1976) of 22 April 1976, by which it called upon the Indonesian Government, *inter alia*, to withdraw without further delay all its forces from the Territory; requested respect for the territorial integrity of East Timor; and called upon neighbouring States to co-operate with the United Nations in order to facilitate the decolonization of that country.

278. Some regions of Latin America remain hotbeds of tension of no less concern to the international community.

279. This is why we condemn the inhuman actions of the Fascist régime in Chile and express to the Chilean resistance our militant solidarity.

280. Our delegation would also like to express its support of the claim of the Panamanian people to exercise sovereignty over its Canal. The inalienable rights of the Panamanian people over the whole of its national territory should be recognized.

281. Belize, a member of the non-aligned movement, legitimately aspires to self-determination and national independence. The Republic of Guinea supports these noble aspirations in accordance with resolution 3432 (XXX) of the General Assembly.

282. In the Caribbean region, as a result of the legitimate measures of nationalization taken by Guyana and by Jamaica, and particularly because of their support of liberation movements, imperialism has launched in these countries a systematic action of subversion, economic sabotage and destabilization. Is there any need to emphasize once more with conviction the fact that, despite all of these imperialist plots, final victory belongs to the peoples of Guyana and Jamaica?

283. The Republic of Guinea and its State Party, under the enlightened guidance of its prestigious leader, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, faithful to the principles of the Democratic Party of Guinea, which have always underpinned our great revolution, would like to assure all these countries of its countries of its militant support of and total sympathy with the full achievement of the ideals of the United Nations, whose work nonetheless leaves a great deal to be desired today.

284. Indeed, after 31 years of existence, during which nearly 100 new independent and sovereign States were born, fundamental adjustments to the United Nations Charter appear increasingly indispensable if we wish to portray the scope and quality of the changes which have transpired, because, while it is proclaimed that all nations are equal within the United Nations, the truth is that the African nations are far from fully enjoying all these recognized rights, and as President Ahmed Sékou Touré recently emphasized:

"Africa alone is not included among the permanent members of the Security Council possessing the right of veto. For a long time, and, indeed, for too long, we have requested the elimination of the veto; this has not been achieved. Now it seems normal that an African State should also be a member of the Security Council, and should be a permanent member. This country would exercise, on behalf of the African continent, the right of the veto to preserve the higher interests of the African continent".

And President Ahmed Sékou Touré continued:

"We shall finally see the true face of imperialism, because each Power says that it is not imperialist. Those who would oppose our proposal to give a permanent seat to an African State will reveal themselves before the world as being imperialists, racists, colonialists and anti-African Powers".

285. Our delegation would like to echo OAU resolution CM/Res.486(XXVII) [see A/31/196] inviting all members

to work for the pure and simple elimination of the iniquitous veto in order to ensure respect for the principle of the equality of all States Members of the United Nations because, as the head of the Guinean State says, "the United Nations is practising *apartheid* in the Security Council".

286. In fact, the repulsive veto cast by the United States against the entry of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola constitutes a perfect illustration of this flagrant iniquity. Injustice in international relations cannot last forever. The achievement of the legitimate aspirations of our peoples will surely contribute to the building of a new world founded on solidarity, social justice and democratic progress.

287. The Republic of Guinea, whose support has never been found wanting by the freedom fighters, has, by this consistent policy, drawn upon itself the hatred of international reaction and of the agents of neo-colonialism.

288. In the African and international sphere, the effective participation of Guinea in all emancipation struggles of peoples has been constant and positive. Imperialism is continuing its struggle against all progressive African States, and particularly against us who are ceaselessly condemning it and struggling against it in all spheres where it acts contrary to the interests of the African peoples and those of other peoples in the world.

289. Since the establishment of the popular and independent State of Guinea, the imperialist forces have remained hostile to the Guinean revolution, which they unabatingly struggle against and attempt to bring down by all means, up to and including armed aggression, as was the case on 22 November 1970.

290. The Democratic Party of Guinea remains convinced that the cause which it defends is assured of resounding victory. The revolution, which has become increasingly radical in Guinea and in Africa, will overcome all obstacles to impose true sovereignty and African unity unencumbered by any reactionary influence.

291. After the numerous victories won over Portuguese colonialism, Africa notes with legitimate pride that prospects for the liberation of southern Africa in the relatively near future are today even more real.

292. The racist régime of Ian Smith, maintained in place with the complicity of the imperialist Powers, can no longer confine the armed struggle of the Zimbabwe people. In the anguish of his inevitable downfall, his final weapon remains genocide and armed aggression against the neighbouring States, in particular the People's Republic of Mozambique and Zambia.

293. The Namibian people, whose immediate and total independence must be demanded and obtained by our Organization, continues to be illegally weakened by ferocious repression. The racist and Fascist régime of South Africa systematically flouts the numerous resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Even more, it was extending and consolidating *apartheid*, terrorizing the peoples and fragmenting them by utilizing this reprehensible "bantustanization", in a vain attempt to combat the

armed struggle of SWAPO. These acts of repression are regularly camouflaged by so-called "constitutional conferences and dialogues" which are convened with great publicity, either in Windhoek or elsewhere, and which bring together white minorities, tribal chiefs and other puppets.

294. In Soweto, in Alexandra and in other places, the supreme sacrifice of young martyrs will not be in vain, because no military arsenal can quell the fierce determination of Africans to eliminate *apartheid*. As President Ahmed Sékou Touré said: "Of what importance are atomic bombs? Africa will live for a long time, whereas *apartheid*, its allies and its weapons will be buried."

295. Africa is not duped by those who with hollow statements are condemning *apartheid* but with concrete acts are firmly supporting it. Thus the imperialist Powers are verbally condemning *apartheid* and the régime of Ian Smith, they are proclaiming their support for the principle of self-determination and the integrity of Namibia and are denouncing the demands of the white minority régimes against Africans, whereas at the same time they are increasing their investments in these racist countries and are providing them with weapons of mass destruction.

296. Before the general reprobation of the international community for the Pretoria régime, Vorster and his Western allies, in order to give an aura of respectability to their inhuman system and thereby perpetuate *apartheid*, are using subterfuge; but, despite all these political manoeuvres by the Vorster régime and the subtle game of its allies, final victory for the people of southern Africa is ineluctable.

297. My delegation would like to salute the memory of the martyrs of Angola. Few countries have paid such a high price for their national independence. However, despite the recommendations of OAU, the exercise of the iniquitous veto in the Security Council today prevents the admission of the sovereign State of Angola to our Organization—a State which is nevertheless recognized by more than 100 countries.

298. This is the appropriate time to pay a warm tribute to those States in our Organization which, in conformity with resolution 3328 (XXIX) of the General Assembly, have given moral and material assistance to the People's Republic of Angola.

299. The United Nations met and took away South Africa's trusteeship over Namibia. The Security Council has taken a stand in support of that brotherly people. OAU has also met and has supported its independence. All international organizations have already expressed similar views. However, South Africa has refused to respect this will of the peoples. What remains for us to do? Are we to believe in the exorcist seances that are now being organized with great publicity to allay our vigilance? No; the five heads of State of the front-line States of southern Africa have expressed the unshakeable will of our peoples, which proudly reject a compromise which would have merely dishonoured Africa and its thousands of martyrs.

300. Therefore it is perfectly normal to reject agreements which would have diminished the worth of the struggle of the fighters in southern Africa. Zimbabwe cannot wait

another 18 months to attain independence. No! It is perfectly normal to demand immediately and totally the full and complete liberation of Zimbabwe.

301. To judge negatively such an attitude of African dignity would be to be blasphemous towards the martyrs of Soweto and Alexandra, and Africa would be unable to pardon this.

302. The right of peoples to national independence, sovereignty and full and complete freedom, the right of peoples to self-determination, the right of peoples to choose freely their own government—this is an inalienable right. It is a right free from all conditions. Nothing, no power, can limit it or allow its realization to be delayed. This is not a right which can merely be enunciated without action being taken to achieve it immediately. It is not an abstract right; still less is it a potential right. It is a concrete right, the achievement of which can in no way legitimately be delayed.

303. Thus there is only one solution: that of struggle. Dignity is not conferred; it is conquered. Liberty is not negotiated; it is conquered. Victory belongs to the peoples that fight.

304. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise the right of reply. Members will recall that the General Assembly decided at its 4th plenary meeting that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

305. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): In his statement this morning [15th meeting] the Minister for External Affairs of India referred to a statement made earlier by the Minister of State for Defence and Foreign Affairs of Pakistan concerning the Jammu and Kashmir dispute. The Pakistan Minister had called for a final settlement of this dispute on the basis of the right of self-determination of the people of that State as recognized in the Security Council resolutions of 1948 and 1949. The Indian Minister for External Affairs has expressed the view that those resolutions were not implemented at that time because Pakistan did not fulfil certain essential pre-conditions. He then went on to assert: "As a consequence the resolutions became obsolete" [*Ibid.*, para. 73].

306. Neither of those assertions is valid. It is not our purpose to start a controversy on why or because of whose failings those resolutions were not implemented. The fundamental issue here is that those resolutions embody a sacred principle: that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have the right to the self-determination which is defined therein. What is more, those resolutions were unanimously adopted by the Security Council and accepted by both India and Pakistan.

307. The fact that the people of Jammu and Kashmir have not so far been allowed to exercise that right, no matter for what reason, in no way affects the validity of that right; nor is it open to any party to claim that those resolutions have become "obsolete" only because one or the other party has been obstructing their implementation. The important fact is that the United Nations has acknowledged the right of the people of Jammu and Kashmir to determine their own

future. That right cannot be taken away by any party. That is a reality which both India and Pakistan must face.

308. In our view, it would materially contribute to a final settlement of this dispute if both India and Pakistan took cognizance of that reality and made an honest effort to reach a settlement. The importance of such a settlement is self-evident. The Simla Agreement recognizes it in the context of the need to establish harmonious and friendly relations and durable peace on the subcontinent. Needless to say, without such a settlement that goal will remain unrealized.

309. Mr. MOLINA-ORANTES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Guatemala listened with surprise to the allegations made this afternoon in this Assembly by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica. He said that the independence of Belize had been delayed because of a threat of aggression by Guatemala. What the representative of Jamaica lightly called "the threat of aggression" [*supra, para. 133*], is indeed merely a just claim of Guatemala's sustained against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland to the territory of Belize which is occupied by that great Power and which the Guatemalan nation has always considered to be an integral part of its own territory.

310. My country is respectful of the peaceful procedure prescribed by international law for the solution of conflicts among States, and it has agreed to submit the controversy to negotiation with the Government of the United Kingdom. The negotiations are at present under way and have made encouraging progress.

311. That is why the allegations made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Jamaica and his urging that the international community take measures with regard to a matter which is at present being submitted to one of the legal procedures indicated by the United Nations Charter for the settlement of disputes among States is, in every respect, irrelevant.

312. The delegation of Guatemala energetically rejects the intervention of the representative of Jamaica in a dispute which is being discussed between two States Members of the Organization, because such interference constitutes what the speaker himself described in his speech as being

"...in flagrant violation of respect for sovereign and political independence and is contrary to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States..." [*Supra, para. 134*].

313. Mr. SCALABRE (France) (*interpretation from French*): I have listened with attention to the passage which the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria devoted in his statement this afternoon to what he calls co-operation between France and South Africa with regard to nuclear technology, but which relates more precisely to the provision by France to South Africa of a nuclear power station.

314. Last June, in the Security Council in the course of the discussion of the Soweto affair,¹⁹ Mr. de Guiringaud—at that time Permanent Representative of France to the United Nations—gave precise information about the provision of the power station. This evening I do not want to go into detail about what he said; and my statement is not, properly speaking, a reply.

315. With the Assembly's permission, my delegation would like to give to our African friends tomorrow afternoon, within the framework of the 10 minutes that we are allowed and which we shall strive not to exceed, the necessary explanations about its delivery—which I can safely say now will not permit South Africa to make any progress towards the acquisition of military nuclear capacity.

316. Mr. HASHMI (India): We have listened carefully to the statement of the representative of Pakistan. My delegation reserves its right to reply to it at a subsequent stage.

317. Mr. RICHARDSON (United Kingdom): My delegation had not intended to speak tonight but I feel obliged to do so briefly in the light of the remarks just made by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala in exercising his right of reply to the statement made earlier by the Foreign Minister of Jamaica.

318. It will not surprise the Assembly if I say that my Government has no doubts whatsoever about its sovereignty over Belize. We explained our position in detail last year in the Assembly and this is not the time or place to repeat it. Our sole aim is to terminate our sovereignty over Belize and to enable that country to exercise its right to self-determination and independence as soon as possible in close co-operation and friendship with its neighbours.

319. The Foreign Minister of Guatemala referred to the negotiations which have taken place on a number of occasions this year between his Government and my Government in conjunction with the Government of Belize. We share his hope that the negotiations will succeed and we shall do what we can to make them succeed.

320. In this connexion, I should like to recall my Ambassador's words on a similar occasion, on 2 October last year, when he said:

"We desire a peaceful and an honourable solution to this matter. It is our firm conviction that a solution which accords with the principle of unimpeded self-determination for the people of Belize can yet be found by pursuing the path of negotiation. We, for our part, will continue to work to that end."²⁰

The need remains, but the desire is still there.

The meeting rose at 7.45 p.m.

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1930th meeting.*

²⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2372nd meeting.*