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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1 Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): May I, first of all, congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to the Presidency of this year's General Assembly session and greet you as the representative of a friendly country.

2. I should also like to express my appreciation for the useful work done by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in tirelessly fulfilling the tasks of our Organization.

3. Permit me also to welcome among us a new Member—the Republic of Seychelles. We wish all success to its people on their road to free, independent development.

4. We firmly believe that already in the course of the present session of the General Assembly the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will become a Member of the United Nations. The historic contribution of that country to the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia is generally recognized. This new State which plays an important role in the affairs of the Asian continent meets all requirements of the Charter for United Nations membership in our Organization.

5. We are also convinced that justice will finally prevail in the matter of the admission to membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola. The admission to our Organization of that State would be the logical consequence of the crushing defeat of colonialism and of all forces endeavouring to nip in the bud the progressive development of that country.

6. Each historical period is evaluated according to its contribution to the progress of mankind and the fulfilment of the aspirations of peoples to be free and equal and to live and develop in peace and security. We should, therefore, exert every effort also here in the United Nations to make

this period in which we live one which will earn the gratitude of succeeding generations—the more so, because it is precisely our own generation, which has the horrors of the Second World War deeply etched in its memory, that has already left as the heritage of our era the tremendous contribution of 30 years without another world war, and that has succeeded in improving the international atmosphere.

7. After all, we have heard from this rostrum during the general debate a number of facts and examples which prove convincingly that the move from tension—always fraught with the danger of explosion—to détente and wide co-operation is being gradually effected in spite of all the pitfalls. These facts show, too, that new progress has been made in that respect during the year that has elapsed since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

8. That is how the recent Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia evaluated the development of the present international situation. On the basis of a profound analysis the Congress has laid down a further programme for the peaceful construction of our country as well as the line to be followed in our foreign policy, the basis of which is Lenin's policy of peace. As a solid part of the socialist community, Czechoslovakia has fully and whole-heartedly supported the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples formulated in such clear terms by the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. We are proud that, in close and fraternal collaboration with the States members of the Warsaw Treaty, we are actively taking part in the transformation of present international relations into relations of lasting peace and fruitful co-operation.

9. The people of our country have a vital interest in the implementation of that policy. That has been clearly attested once again by the current preparations for the elections to the Federal Assembly and other representative bodies of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The broad masses of our population have convincingly manifested their support of the policy of peace, friendship and progress.

10. We have already been living for more than three decades in peaceful conditions. The realistic possibility of lasting peace for mankind is taking shape in face of all difficulties and problems which had to be overcome. That is how the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, characterized the present international situation when he spoke at the Fifteenth Congress of the Communist Party. In his

evaluation is reflected the firm belief of our people in the victory of the great struggle for peace and peaceful coexistence in the world waged for many years already by the countries of the socialist community and all progressive forces.

11. The Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which has been described as the triumph of common sense, has, in our opinion, become a historical milestone in that positive development. The year which has elapsed since its conclusion fully bears out that assessment. The political climate in Europe has considerably improved. A broad dialogue has developed among States of that continent primarily in the political field. Central Europe, in the past always a hotbed of tension and conflicts, has now become a zone of détente. The very fact that the highest representatives of that part of Europe have met for the first time in half a century needs no further comment. And also ever-increasing numbers of people in Europe are beginning to realize that the policy of international détente represents the reality of our times, that it is the only sensible alternative in our nuclear age and that even the most complicated problems can be settled by negotiations and not by confrontation.

12. Détente is a matter of such paramount importance that it cannot be the target of irresponsible attacks—even under the pretext of pre-election campaigns—on the part of its opponents, the advocates of the cold war. Therefore, we cannot be indifferent to the fact that those attacks are not being resisted everywhere with sufficient firmness. The policy of international détente is not a one-sided issue. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, signed on 1 August 1975, must be further implemented by all participants to its whole extent, fully and consistently, in the spirit of that purposefulness which prevailed throughout the Conference.

13. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, we on our part have consistently applied the Final Act and are resolved to contribute and to continue contributing in the future to the full implementation of its principles and provisions. This is precisely the approach of the Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic to this historic document.

14. We are aware that the implementation of the Final Act by all signatories is not a single action but a process which needs a certain time. We think, however, that the time is ripe for the solution of questions reaching beyond the framework of bilateral relations. One of the most important of them is the normalization of commercial, economic, scientific and technological relations at the level of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community. It also could significantly assist in the solution of questions of co-operation in the field of the human environment, transport and energy at all-European conferences, as proposed by the Soviet Union.

15. The success of this policy in Europe can be a prominent encouragement for the whole world to follow the same road.

16. The road to peace, mutual understanding and mutually beneficial co-operation among countries with different social systems is neither easy nor short. However, it is the only way corresponding to the interests of peoples of all

countries and the progress of all mankind, as was stressed by the Conference of European Communist and Workers' Parties held this June in the capital of the German Democratic Republic, Berlin.

17. As I have already stated, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is interested in the further broadening of mutual relations with countries having different social systems.

18. As far as our immediate neighbours are concerned—the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria—much has been attained in this direction even if a lot remains yet to be done. A significant step forward has been made in our relations with France. We have relations of fruitful co-operation with Belgium, Finland, the Netherlands, Denmark, Luxembourg, Cyprus, Iceland, Portugal, Greece, Norway, Great Britain and Turkey, and we are interested in further broadening those relations. We should also like to point to the favourable development of our relations with Italy and Canada.

19. The normalization of our relations with the United States of America remains an unsettled question. We expect that the Government of the United States of America will finally sign the agreement concerning the legal question of property rights, which was already initialled in 1974, and will thus open up the way to the normalization of relations and the development of mutually advantageous co-operation between our two States.

20. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always consistently supported the struggle of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America for political independence and economic and social progress. The contribution of those countries to the common struggle for peace and security of nations is becoming increasingly manifest day by day. The policy of non-alignment has become a dynamic factor of international development directed against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and the oppression of peoples.

21. We welcome the results of the recent Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, which we consider a significant event of international life. The non-aligned movement has gained political prestige on the international stage and has significantly contributed to further détente and the strengthening of the principles of peaceful coexistence in international relations.

22. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic supports efforts directed at giving effect to the idea of collective security in Asia, which would lead to a further improvement of the international situation. The establishment of peace in Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea has contributed to the stabilization of the situation in South-East Asia and has positively influenced the just struggle of all progressive forces in the world.

23. We will continue to widen and deepen the mutually beneficial multilateral co-operation with the countries of the Asian continent interested in such co-operation.

24. As in the past, Czechoslovakia stands side by side with the nations of Africa in their struggle against the criminal

policy of the racist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. We demand the immediate liberation of Namibia and the handing over of all power to the people of Zimbabwe in their country without the attachment of any conditions. We categorically demand an end to the policy of racism and *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa, where Vorster's régime has recently turned to the mass slaughter of patriots fighting for freedom and basic human rights.

25. Czechoslovakia maintains good relations with the majority of independent African and Arab countries. We are resolved to continue with the developing and broadening of these relations for mutual benefit.

26. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic will continue actively to support the endeavours of the Latin American countries for the strengthening of their independence, the advancement of their struggle against imperialism and the strengthening of the principle of peaceful co-operation in international relations.

27. We wish to stress once again that we fully support the valiant struggle of the Chilean people against the criminal military junta and demand freedom for Luis Corvalán and all Chilean patriots. Together with all progressive people, we are indignant at the junta's continuous disregard of the United Nations appeals and its unceasing campaign of terror against the democratic forces which it spreads even beyond the borders of Chile.

28. The positive development now taking place in the world would certainly be given further impetus if it proved possible to eliminate all existing hotbeds of war and tension.

29. At the present time our task is to end the protracted conflict in the Middle East. A political settlement of the conflict can be attained there only on the basis of the three interconnected principles: the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the granting of the legitimate national demands of the Arab people of Palestine, including their inalienable right to establish their own State; international guarantees for the security of all States in the Middle East and their right to an independent existence and development. It is quite logical and fully confirmed by past developments that the over-all political settlement on the basis of those principles can be achieved only in the appropriate forum, namely, at the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, the work of which should be resumed with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

30. We are deeply alarmed by the tragic events in Lebanon. We believe that the situation there should be resolved as soon as possible by peaceful means and by the Lebanese people themselves with the unconditional preservation of the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon.

31. We also fully support a just solution of the problem of Cyprus as called for by the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus, namely, on the basis of a reasonable consideration of the interests and rights of both national communities and with complete respect for the sovereignty, indepen-

dence, territorial integrity and the policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

32. We support the efforts of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve a peaceful unification of the country without any outside interference. The withdrawal of the foreign troops from South Korea is one of the cardinal tasks involved in ridding the Korean peninsula of the remnants of the cold war. The resolution on the creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into a durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, adopted by the last General Assembly [*resolution 3390 B (XXX)*], should be implemented.

33. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic wishes to do everything in its power to see to it that the process of détente be also extended into the military sphere.

34. We often hear that it is first necessary, by concrete steps, to create an atmosphere of trust among States. We are convinced that at this session of the General Assembly we have a great opportunity to do precisely that, thanks to the proposal for the adoption of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations submitted here on behalf of the Soviet Union by its Foreign Minister, Mr. Gromyko [*A/31/243*]. Czechoslovakia whole-heartedly supports that proposal, which is entirely in keeping with the needs and goals of our Organization. After all, this is a matter of giving effect to the principles embodied in the United Nations Charter, something which would reduce the danger of the outbreak of new wars and promote a restructuring of international relations on a peaceful basis. Approval of this proposal by the international community would do much to strengthen trust among States and would without doubt also provide an incentive for further movement forwards in the field of disarmament.

35. Indeed, military détente is necessary and must be brought to the level of political détente. We are actively attempting to see to it that nations are freed from the heavy burden of the arms race, which adversely affects their economic and social development. Countless hundreds of billions now being spent on armaments could well serve more noble purposes. We are striving for a curbing of the arms race, for reducing of accumulated stockpiles and for disarmament.

36. Regarding general disarmament as a final goal that would turn such concepts as armaments, weapons and armies into anachronisms. Czechoslovakia is, at the same time, striving to achieve any partial progress which might be possible in the field of disarmament. Much has already been done in this regard. The results of the work of the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament this year have given us good grounds for hoping that existing agreements on disarmament will be supplemented at the current session of the General Assembly by a convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment for military or other hostile purposes.

37. There is a proposal that has been before the Assembly for a number of years now which, if it were put into effect, would produce considerable progress in disarmament ef-

forts. I refer to the World Disarmament Conference, which in the past has been favoured by an overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. Indeed it is appropriate to ask, What are we waiting for? The results of such a conference on disarmament and accordingly on the strengthening of peace could have only beneficial results. Why not seize this opportunity? Specific steps should be taken to work out the agenda of the conference, and to come to agreement on its timing, and possibly, if this is considered advisable, a special session of the General Assembly might be convened as an interim stage in preparing for the conference.

38. Considerable progress in disarmament efforts would undoubtedly be made through the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. Talks on this subject have already been held by experts in Geneva. Can there be any doubt whatsoever about the advantages of the adoption of the proposal on the total prohibition of nuclear weapons tests everywhere and by everyone? The adoption of the proposal for the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapons tests submitted by the socialist countries, one of the sponsors of which was the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic,<sup>1</sup> would certainly promote the adoption of measures for the reduction and ultimately the complete prohibition and elimination of nuclear weapons. However, all the countries that possess nuclear weapons must show, without exception, that they are genuinely ready to join in this work. Nuclear disarmament is of such vast importance and is so urgent that it can be resolved only by common effort. We welcome the fact that an increasing number of States are acceding to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. In our view the Treaty on Underground Nuclear Explosions for Peaceful Purposes concluded between the Soviet Union and the United States on 28 May 1976 strengthens hopes for the possibility of using nuclear energy for exclusively peaceful purposes.

39. For many years now, within the United Nations, we have been trying to achieve the prohibition of chemical weapons. Czechoslovakia was a sponsor of the draft convention on the complete prohibition and elimination of such weapons submitted by the socialist countries at the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament as far back as 1972.<sup>2</sup> We associate ourselves with the proposals of the Soviet Union to introduce the practice of systematic reduction of military expenditures and are ready at any time to participate in preparing a concrete agreement. We also attach great importance to the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. In 1974, therefore, we actively supported the proposal of Finland for the study of that question.<sup>3</sup> Further negotiations on nuclear-free zones would help to open up prospects for the creation of such zones.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 31, 34-48, 120, 122 and 126, document A/10447, para. 8.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Disarmament Commission, Supplement for 1972*, annex B, section 5, document CCD/361.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 24, 27-31, 34, 35, 100, 101, 103 and 107, document A/9907, para. 12.

40. To be brief, there is a whole range of concrete proposals which must be put into effect and which we hope would lead, in the near future, to further agreements and measures on disarmament. If we wish to achieve our goals, we should not bury these problems in complicated procedural issues, in lengthy discussions on what, how, when and why we conduct negotiations, because as a result the main issue—the achievement of specific agreement—may be relegated to the background.

41. So-called global measures in the field of disarmament, which I have already mentioned, are now being supplemented by endeavours to reduce armed forces and armaments on the regional scale. I have in mind in particular the talks now proceeding in Vienna among representatives of 19 countries on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. We strongly desire the success of these talks and, as direct participants, are making every effort in this direction. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, like other countries signatories to the Warsaw Treaty, has supplied the Western countries with data and figures on the total strength of the armed forces deployed in the reduction zone. This realistic and constructive approach, however, should be forthcoming not only from the socialist countries but also from their Western partners. Only thus shall we witness the triumph, in Vienna, of the principle that reductions should not give one-sided military advantages to any one of the participating countries. It is only by this approach that we shall achieve agreement.

42. The Government of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is doing its utmost to contribute to implementing détente in practice also by deepening mutually beneficial co-operation between countries, regardless of their social systems or levels of economic development. We support the establishment of a new international economic order and the introduction of progressive changes directed at the speedy elimination of the heritage of colonialism in the developing countries. We are therefore striving for a just participation of all countries in the international division of labour among all countries, for the development of relations of equality among States and for the removal of obstacles in the way of such development. We favour the equal participation of all countries in the solution of important international economic questions. We fully support the right of every State freely to choose freely its economic and social system and to exercise sovereignty over its own natural and material resources. These are the principles upon which the ever broadening relations between the socialist States and the developing countries are being built.

43. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which is peacefully building up its economy, is directly interested in the development of an international division of labour. We would like to see the expansion of trade, economic, scientific and technological relations with all countries which are ready to co-operate with us on the basis of equality among partners, non-intervention in internal affairs, mutual advantage and non-discrimination.

44. In our desire to live in lasting peace and develop peaceful endeavours, we place considerable hope in our Organization. As one of the founding Members of the United Nations, Czechoslovakia considers itself in duty

bound to make a constructive contribution to the fulfilment of the Organization's noble mission. In the three decades of post-war development, the United Nations Charter has successfully stood the test of time as an international legal document of paramount importance and at the same time remains an important reminder of the lessons of the Second World War. We shall therefore continue to strive for the strengthening of the United Nations, for the enhancement of its effectiveness in the struggle for world peace and security, and for the development of co-operation and mutual understanding among nations on the basis of consistent and strict respect for the aims and principles of the Charter.

45. It is a principle of dialectics, which we take as our guide, that there is nothing and can be nothing that does not change: everything is in motion. The task of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly, then, is to do its utmost to ensure that this dialectic dynamism, in spite of all diversity and contradictions, develops in a direction beneficial to mankind: towards the strengthening of peace and international co-operation and towards mobilizing and harnessing the powers of all nations for their comprehensive development and well-being.

46. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic): Permit me first of all, Mr. President, to convey to you the warm salutations of His Excellency Abdel Halim Khaddam, Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Syrian Arab Republic, who, because of some important duties, is unable to attend today's meeting in person but who has entrusted me with the honourable task of delivering his statement before this august Assembly. It is my pleasurable duty to fulfil that task and to add to all that he has expressed in his statement regarding your election to the very high office of the Presidency of the General Assembly my personal expressions of high esteem and admiration.

*[The speaker continued in Arabic (interpretation from Arabic).]*

47. It pleases me to commence my statement by stating how proud we are, Sir, of your assuming the presidency of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. We all know the role you have played since you assumed the representation of your esteemed country at the United Nations in upholding the principles of the international organization and supporting the rights of the underprivileged peoples, as well as in the constant initiatives you have taken to uphold justice. In doing so, you have expressed the adherence of your country to the principles of right and its major contribution to the call for liberating humanity from slavery and backwardness. The last initiative taken by your country in this connexion was the recent Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the efforts Sri Lanka exerted for its success. Therefore, please accept our best wishes for your continued success. Hope is pinned on the present session for consolidating the bases of right, justice, peace and progress.

48. On this occasion, I likewise praise Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg and President of the previous session, for the efficient way in which he conducted the proceedings of the thirtieth session and for his endeavours to translate its deeds into tangible results.

49. We are meeting today after having taken another step towards the universality of the United Nations through the admission of Seychelles to our Organization. We congratulate that State on the sovereignty and independence that have crowned its struggle and we welcome it as an active Member in our midst. We hope to take more steps forward towards the universality of this Organization, so as to see in our midst the representatives of Angola and Viet Nam—those two heroic peoples who deserve the world's admiration and who, through the misuse of the veto in the Security Council, have so far been denied admission to the United Nations. We are certain of the victory of the cause of right and we are confident that the complete liberation of the peoples who are still divided and denied entity and independence by the proponents of aggression and racism will soon be consummated. We earnestly look forward to the day when all these peoples will become Members of this Organization and share in enhancing co-operation, security and peace.

50. Last, but not least, I take this opportunity to praise the untiring efforts exerted by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, in the service of justice, progress and peace. We would like to assure him of the continued support of the Syrian Arab Republic in the pursuit of these efforts.

51. The present session of the General Assembly is meeting today, following an event that attracted the attention of the whole world. Two months ago, the Fifth Conference of the non-aligned countries met in Colombo, where the Heads of State or Government of 85 States met and issued declarations and resolutions that embodied the will of more than half the countries of the world to affirm the identity of the non-aligned movement, upholding it and affirming its principles. Events have proved that these humane and international principles are designed to achieve justice, equality and coexistence among States and peoples.

52. The fundamental significance of the Colombo Conference lies in the determination of more than one half of the world population to rid themselves of the system of unequal relations; to establish democratic relations among nations in political, economic and scientific spheres; to eliminate all forms of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*; and to end domination, occupation, backwardness and deprivation. The Colombo Conference has proved that the non-aligned movement is moving with sure steps towards the realization of these goals. The clarity of concepts that characterized the work of the Conference enabled it to conform to international changes and to develop its positive aspects without deviating from the principles and bases of the non-aligned movement. We hope that the General Assembly will support the demands included in the declarations and resolutions of the Colombo Conference [see A/31/197], since all the stands and demands expressed therein are in full harmony with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter.

53. International peace cannot be established as long as the differences between rich and poor countries remain as big as they are at present, the technological gap between industrial and developing nations continues to increase, and trade dealings remain tarnished with aspects of exploitation, rising prices of manufactured goods and production



equipment, and declining prices of raw materials. Is the deficit suffered by the third world countries not a direct outcome of such exploitation? Are not the constant disturbances witnessed by the world monetary system, for which responsibility lies with the capitalist countries, a source of imbalance in world trade and an addition to the huge burdens already borne by the economies of the developing countries in order to overcome backwardness, accelerate the rate of development, and achieve economic and social progress for their toiling people?

54. Should the economic strategies of the major industrial countries continue to be guided by the quest for maximum profits without regard for the principle of equal co-operation, and should they continue to maintain their dealings with the developing countries on a purely materialistic, closed and narrow basis, and should they not appreciate the major problems—whether current, medium term, or long term—and the burdens of the third world, and, consequently, participate seriously in relieving its debts and supporting its development, then the present world situation foreshadows an explosion the victim of which will be the whole of humanity.

55. Our earnest desire for peace and the realization of true equality and the shaping of a better future for the overwhelming majority of mankind prompts us to press for the implementation of the resolutions adopted during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI), 3202 (S-VI) and 3362 (S-VII)*], supported by the resolutions of the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*]<sup>4</sup>, and by the Economic Declaration of the non-aligned Colombo Conference [*A/31/197/annex II*], as well as of the resolutions of the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held in Mexico in September.<sup>5</sup>

56. On this occasion, it should be pointed out that one of the foremost duties of our Organization is to implement the transfer of part of the funds spent by the super-Powers on the arms race to development purposes. The sincere appeals of the non-aligned and developing countries in this regard must not remain unheeded.

57. We, in the Syrian Arab Republic, believe that no solution can be found to the suffocating world economic crisis that would produce an impact on over-all international relations—particularly that of international co-operation—unless we expedite the establishment of a new international economic order based on equality, equal sovereignty, co-operation and common interests among all the countries of the world.

58. We hope the debates of the present session will yield the best positive results. Apart from the serious crises it has to deal with, this session has before it critical matters to tackle, since it is on the effective solutions for these issues that the future of humanity depends. Total disarmament, strategic arms limitation, the prevention of nuclear pro-

liferation, and the convening of a world disarmament conference are problems that require a great deal of goodwill and constant effort, so that the resolutions shall not remain theoretical and without practical application in relieving tension and halting the arms race.

59. The whole of the human race pins its hopes on the exploration and use of the wealth in the bottom of seas and oceans for the sake of the whole of humanity. Therefore, it would be worth while if we move ahead in shaping the exact executive international framework that would realize such hopes in order to secure new sources of food supplies and eliminate hunger and backwardness.

60. Of no less importance is the possibility of enacting advanced rules for maritime law and materializing the keen desire to safeguard the environment through tangible comprehensive measures that would eliminate all kinds of pollution threatening all nations.

61. Moreover, the numerous economic, cultural and social matters whereby the Organization is trying to disseminate the spirit of the Charter in theory and practice and to ensure justice, equality and progress in the international community, must be given the greatest attention, since they help in strengthening international friendship and understanding among peoples, especially since attention is focused at present on the fruits of the international détente which we hope might become general, embracing all regions and not limited to European or to East-West relations.

62. Moving to other spheres in which the United Nations plays a leading role, we note that, though decolonization is making important progress, this process, however, falters sometimes because of the obstinacy and manoeuvres of some colonial Powers confronting it. Therefore, numerous peoples and regions are still struggling for their freedom and right to self-determination.

63. Racism, which is causing many people great suffering, notably in South Africa and Rhodesia, is a shameful blot on the history of mankind and an obstacle to the advance of civilization. The racist régimes in those African regions persist in slaughtering African patriots and committing aggression against independent States, such as Angola and Zambia, even going so far as to occupy Namibia.

64. Those régimes which are the enemies of mankind could not have persisted in their crimes were it not for the political, military, and economic support and backing they are receiving from some Western Powers and were it not for the close collaboration between the said régimes and the Zionist racist entity in occupied Palestine.

65. While those racist régimes have managed to impose their existence through injustice and aggression, the awareness of the indigenous population was able to create national liberation movements that are endeavouring by every possible means to eliminate racism and its régimes and to create the necessary conditions enabling the peoples of those regions to exercise their right to self-determination, sovereignty and independence. We hail the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe under the leadership of their liberation movements. We also applaud the decision of the Government of

<sup>4</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A.

<sup>5</sup> See document A/C.2/31/7, part one.

Mozambique taken in March 1976 to close its borders with Southern Rhodesia, in application of the relevant United Nations resolutions. We call upon the General Assembly and the Security Council to take all measures under the Charter to help those peoples gain their liberation and to deter the racist régimes from pursuing their obnoxious policies and practices, and to force them to implement the pertinent United Nations resolutions.

66. I feel duty-bound to declare our support for the just struggle waged by the people of Korea for the reunification of their country. We believe it has become necessary to eliminate the causes of tension and explosion in that part of the world by withdrawing all destructive weapons and all foreign forces from South Korea, and to commence dialogue between the two parts of Korea aimed at their reunification.

67. The problem of Cyprus remains unsolved due to imperialist manoeuvres and attempts to transform the island into a NATO base. We hereby declare the necessity of speeding up the implementation of the United Nations resolutions related to this problem. We call also for the respect of the sovereignty of the island, its independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment. We commend the efforts exerted by the United Nations Secretary-General for the resumption of negotiations between the two parties to the conflict.

68. While we warmly welcome the Helsinki document<sup>6</sup> and the constructive spirit enshrined in it, we still believe that any talk about international détente and European security remains inadequate if the causes of tension in the Middle East are not eliminated. This can be done only through the evacuation by the Zionist forces of all the occupied Arab territories, and the guaranteeing of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people as provided for by United Nations resolutions. The world community has realized this fact, as was manifested by the October war. It has also realized that the core of the problem is the Palestine question and the expulsion of the people of Palestine from their homeland, and Israel's occupation of this homeland in addition to its occupation of important Arab States in the region. Therefore, it was natural and logical to regard the policy of partial solutions and small steps as merely a policy of anaesthetization and bluff, the failure of which has been proven by events. It has also been shown that the Sinai Agreement, signed over a year ago,<sup>7</sup> was nothing but a move that immobilized peace efforts and restored to the region the state of no war, no peace. Syria has therefore refused to fall into the trap of the agreement and has put an end to the step-by-step policy.

69. The manoeuvres of imperialism and the enemies of peace have not stopped there. While the Arabs were struggling to recover their occupied territories, the forces hostile to the Arab nation concerted their efforts to provoke a new crisis in the Middle East. Those forces

generated the events in Lebanon, which led to bloodshed and destruction and thus dimmed the hopes for a just peace in the region and diverted the Arabs' attention from the Palestine question and the path of struggle to secondary issues. The aims of these forces are to hamper the search for a just peace, to leave the problem unsolved, and to create one crisis after another, all for the sake of perpetuating Israel's occupation of Arab territories and keeping the Palestinian people displaced and without a homeland.

70. In the face of this explosive situation, and considering the fraternal and national ties, as well as the special ties, which exist between Syria and Lebanon, and in response to the sentiments and to the appeals of the diverse parties to the conflict in Lebanon, Syria had no alternative but to contribute to the efforts aimed at putting an end to the fratricidal fighting and to encourage the parties to find a common ground on which dialogue would take place in a democratic manner. To do this, Syria has exerted all possible efforts. You are undoubtedly aware of all the steps that we have taken, the latest of which was our effective contribution to enabling the new President of Lebanon, Mr. Elias Sarkis, to assume his constitutional functions and to create the necessary positive conditions for him to be able to solve the crisis. We shall not fail or hesitate to provide him with all necessary assistance for the restoration of stability to our brothers in Lebanon and for the preservation of the country's territorial integrity and the national unity of its people.

71. We have also exerted every possible effort to alleviate the sufferings and diminish the difficulties of our Lebanese and Palestinian brethren in Lebanon. Syria has had, at the same time, to shoulder the burden and meet the daily needs of nearly 1 million Arab citizens—Lebanese, Palestinians and others—who fled death and hunger. These sincere efforts have been successful in bringing security and tranquillity to vast regions in Lebanon. Syria is pursuing its national and humane efforts until the conspiracy against Lebanon, the Palestine cause and the Arab nation is completely defeated.

72. If the first task of our Organization is admittedly the consolidation of international peace and security, it follows that any talk about such peace and security cannot be separated from the Middle East situation, which is becoming increasingly explosive as a result of Israel's intransigence and its flouting of United Nations resolutions.

73. The Palestine question and the problems arising therefrom, notably the June 1967 aggression, have occupied the various bodies of the United Nations, especially the General Assembly and the Security Council, for nearly 30 years. The General Assembly has examined the Palestine question year after year until the number of resolutions adopted by the United Nations and its specialized organs on the Palestine question and its ramifications exceeded 360, towards which Israel has adopted an attitude of rejection and defiance.

74. This obstinacy and arrogance led to the October war, exposing the world to the menace of a new war. By pursuing this path, Israel is pushing the world once again to the verge of a general world conflict. Daily declarations and innumerable incidents confirm that the Zionist entity will

<sup>6</sup> Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

<sup>7</sup> Signed at Geneva on 4 September 1975. See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1975*, document S/11818/Add.1.

not withdraw from the territories it occupied through aggression and that the Palestinian people will remain under occupation and in exile. Conflict will thus continue in the region, endangering international peace and security.

75. Following the October war, the international community became aware of the dangers implicit in the troubled situation in this region. The United Nations was moved by the gravity of the tragedy of the Palestinian people. Engaged in settling the conflict with a measure of justice, and recognizing that the Palestine issue is the core of the Middle East problem, the United Nations has called upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. The world community has also recognized the legitimacy of the struggle of the Palestinian people by receiving the Palestine Liberation Organization in the General Assembly and the Security Council as the representative of this people who voices their rights and aspirations.

76. Israel has gone far in its continued rejection of all the United Nations resolutions related to the Palestine cause and the Middle East problem. By such conduct, Israel has never, since its admission to the United Nations, departed from the line it set for itself, namely that of violating the principles of the Charter, of international law, of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights, and the United Nations resolutions. Such conduct on the part of Israel is not to be wondered at, since its structure is founded on aggression and usurpation. Israel has never hesitated to resort to lies and deceit although it undertook before the United Nations and in the context of its membership to abide unreservedly by the Charter and its principles, and to implement General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, and resolution 194 (III) of 11 December 1948 relating to the return of the refugees. It is high time for the General Assembly to act firmly and decisively and to assume its responsibilities and exercise its powers under the Charter by reconsidering Israel's membership in the United Nations. It is high time for the General Assembly to take the necessary measures with regard to the present explosive situation by implementing its resolutions 3236 (XXIX), and 3376 (XXX) on the question of Palestine and its resolution 3414 (XXX) on the situation in the Middle East. The General Assembly must determine the steps and timing of the implementation of the said resolutions and take practical measures both to ensure their effective implementation and to deter the recalcitrant party.

77. Having felt profoundly the grave injustice suffered by the Palestinian people, and desiring during its last session to implement the international will to do justice to this people and to restore their rights not only by reaffirming general principles but also by ensuring their practical application, the General Assembly adopted its historic resolution 3376 (XXX) relating to the establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. The general functions of this Committee are based on the principles of the Charter and the United Nations resolutions. Its task is to draw up a procedural plan aimed at enabling the Palestinian people to exercise the rights recognized in resolution 3236 (XXIX).

78. This Committee has completed its task in the best possible manner and deserves the appreciation of the

overwhelming majority of the members of the international community. In its report [A/31/35], it specified the phases necessary for putting an end to the Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories occupied during the 1967 aggression.

79. This constructive initiative manifesting the will of the international community and the valuable work that has been accomplished by the Committee, was reaffirmed by the majority of the members of the Security Council. Last June, however, the United States vetoed the draft resolution approving the report of the Committee [*ibid.*, annexes III and IV]. Thus, the United States aborted a valuable effort which was bound to achieve the most concrete tangible move towards the establishment of peace and justice in this strategic region, so vital to international peace and security. The United States veto this year also aborted two other attempts when we resorted to the Security Council, which is the highest international organ, and won the support of the majority of the Council's members. Thus the United States has blocked other paths that could have led to a just and durable peace.

80. The Zionist occupation of Arab territories following the June 1967 aggression has continued. Israel has persisted in carrying out its settler-colonialist plans and designs and in annexing the occupied territories, as well as in oppressing the Arab population in order to force it to submit permanently to occupation, or to depart. About 70 settlements have been established in the occupied territories.

81. In the face of all these aggressive acts, the Palestinian people had no alternative but to organize their ranks inside and outside the occupied territories and to fight with every means at their disposal to recover their usurped rights. This was the cause of the widespread popular uprising that has been raging in the occupied territories since last spring despite all the Nazi-type measures used by the forces of occupation to suppress the rebelling population and to perpetuate occupation.

82. The revolt of the Palestinian people and the Zionist-Nazi methods of annihilation and oppression, and the explosive situation in the Middle East have constituted a decisive answer to all those who imagined that Israel would withdraw from the occupied territories and would recognize the rights of the Palestinian people. A few months ago, the Israeli Cabinet faced an acute crisis because of a proposal to move a settlement that had been established in the vicinity of an Arab village. The Cabinet was about to collapse when some of the ministers considered that such a move contravened Israel's alleged right to settle in the Arab territories. The Israeli Cabinet finally reached a compromise, namely to maintain the settlement until another location could be found in the occupied West Bank. If the relocation of a colony illegally established on Arab territories has caused a Cabinet crisis, is it at all possible to believe that Israel might withdraw from the occupied territories or recognize the rights of the Palestinian people?

83. We are striving for peace. However, the desired peace we are eager to attain through your help and that of all peace and justice-loving peoples is the just and durable peace that would ensure for us the complete restoration of all our occupied territories and of the national right of the Palestinians.



84. We have spared no effort and we have tried to seize every opportunity to achieve this aim. We have welcomed, and still welcome, every initiative conducive to the implementation of the United Nations resolutions in conformity with the principles we have repeatedly affirmed. The first principle is that any initiative that ignores and disregards the unity of the cause and does not aim at a comprehensive solution perpetuates stalemate and carries with it the germs of a flare-up. The second principle is that any initiative that is not based on the recognition of the complete and inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and on total withdrawal from all the territories occupied in 1967 is in contravention with the principles of the Charter and United Nations resolutions, and is doomed to failure. The third principle is that any international effort made to establish a just and lasting peace without the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people as a principal party equal to the other parties concerned is in contravention to the General Assembly resolutions, and deprives the desired peace of its basic factors of justice, continuity and comprehensiveness.

85. In addition to this, we believe that any delay in seeking means to avoid the current stalemate or in implementing the United Nations resolutions would inevitably lead to a heightening of the tension in the region and would expose peace and security in the Middle East and in the entire world to grave dangers.

86. We can sum up the three-year period that has elapsed since the October war of liberation—whose third anniversary we are celebrating today—by saying that all peace initiatives in the Middle East have been obstructed by Israel's aggression and colonialist tyranny. So long as serious and constructive efforts towards peace stand immobilized and paralysed in the face of doors hermetically sealed by zionism and imperialism, the only course left open to our people is to continue the struggle by all means until our aims, which in fact are the aims of the Charter, and the aims of the General Assembly resolutions, are achieved. The October war has proved that we possess the necessary and adequate potential and that we are capable of utilizing it, and that we have no alternative but to utilize it should peace efforts continue to fail. This makes it incumbent upon our Organization to stand firm against the aggressor and to deprive it of means of aggression and compel it to carry out the provisions of the United Nations Charter and resolutions.

87. Achieving the desired peace depends on the earnest desire of the members of the General Assembly to implement the resolutions adopted by them, resolutions based on the principles of the Charter. Members of the Assembly, we are fully confident of your belief in the Charter and your eagerness to consolidate the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, as well as in establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This can be achieved only if you determine the steps and time phases for the implementation of your resolutions, and if you adopt the practical steps that would ensure such implementation and would deter the aggressor and force it to heed the decisions of the international community.

88. Mr. MALIK (Indonesia): The thirty-first session of the General Assembly, like all previous sessions, will be a

reflection of the world of the present day. It is a world confronted by perplexing and complex problems—a world plagued by international conflicts and rivalries, by foreign domination and racism, by inequitable monetary and trade relations, by economic crises, by pollution and ecological imbalances, by unregulated use of the ocean and its resources—to name but a few. When confronted by this wealth of problems, it gives my delegation a reassuring feeling to see you, Mr. President, presiding over the deliberations of our present session of the Assembly. Your personal qualities, your great experience in the affairs of the United Nations and the manifold contributions that you have brought to the work of our Organization reaffirm our confidence in the success of the work of this Assembly.

89. Your election is also a fitting honour to your country, Sri Lanka, which has been in the forefront of the efforts of the non-aligned movement to bring about a new pattern of international relations based upon a greater democratization of decision-making and a more equitable and rational international order through consultation rather than self-destructive confrontation.

90. As the representative of a fellow Asian State dedicated to the realization of those principles, and one which has enjoyed long and close relations with Sri Lanka, it gives me great satisfaction to see such a distinguished son of Asia chosen to preside over our deliberation.

91. Our sincere appreciation also goes to the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for the proficient and dignified leadership with which he has guided the work of the thirtieth session.

92. It is my pleasant duty, moreover, to welcome a sister archipelagic State, the Republic of Seychelles, as a Member of our Organization. My delegation looks forward to establishing a close and friendly relationship with the delegation of Seychelles and hopes to have a mutually fruitful co-operation with that delegation.

93. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that soon we will be able to welcome also the delegations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and of Angola as full participants in the work of our Organization.

94. In his usual eloquent and at the same time sober manner our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has reminded us in his introduction to the report of the work of our Organization that "we live in a transitional period when the undoubted fact of increasing interdependence has by no means decreased the power or the prevalence of the concept of national sovereignty [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. I]. It is not without hesitation that I touch on the problem of interdependence, for the main reason that this expression has through the years become rather well-worn. None the less, the interdependence of nations has become a fact of life which we cannot negate, either now nor in the future. Men and nations have always needed each other. No man is an island, and neither is any nation. The advent of the economic crisis in 1973, precipitated by the October war of the same year in the Middle East, was a catalyzing factor in the process of the reawakening of the developing world, which propelled the world towards making a new reappraisal of interdependence among nations. The world has

now reached a stage in which nations, both developed and developing, not only need each other, but at the same time possess the capability to harm one another—a stage where interdependence contains seeds of confrontation that may result in the extinction of mankind. So, while we still stand a chance, let us not pass the opportunity to build such systems and institutions, which will ensure a more equitable and just political and economic order indispensable to the survival and progress of mankind.

95. My delegation has on several occasions hailed détente as a process of special importance. When the Final Act of Helsinki was signed in 1975, we acclaimed it as a significant step towards easing the atmosphere of suspicion and enmity of the European continent, thereby greatly enhancing the prospect for more constructive relations between all countries in this region. But, while noting the hopeful developments in East-West relations, the limited scope of this process, both in substance and in geographical extent, never escaped our notice. Détente should not be a mere pre-occupation with East-West affairs, but should also address itself to finding solutions in respect to problems affecting North-South relations, giving more positive response to the legitimate demands of the developing countries for the establishment of an equitable world economic order.

96. The establishment of a new international order is undoubtedly in the objective interest of the entire world community. The Conference of non-aligned countries in Colombo advanced this ideal by adopting a number of positions of great importance to the Members of the United Nations. The decisions taken by that Conference will certainly help to encourage the establishment of a new order in international relations, one based upon co-operation and the equality of all States.

97. True to its firm adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement has always sought to commit itself to the cause of the strengthening of the role of this Organization. Non-alignment will, therefore, never lend itself to become the instrument of fragmentation of the United Nations. Let me quote in this regard a paragraph from the statement before this Assembly of the distinguished current Chairman of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries, the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike, and I quote:

“I have said this before, but it will bear repetition as there are still some nations which look upon non-alignment as a new alignment, a new bloc, even a new threat. The world should not be victim to this fear and distrust of a movement which came into being as a creative alternative to mutual suspicion, recrimination and hate.”  
[11th meeting, para. 85.]

98. Indonesia will continue to support the historic policy of the non-aligned movement and to promote constructive co-operation when and wherever possible.

99. The region of South-East Asia finds itself now in the wake of new realities and, therefore, new challenges. Indonesia, together with the other members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], has given a positive, and at the same time a realistic, response to these changes and challenges.

100. The strategic and economic importance of South-East Asia has made the region the subject of rivalry and competition for influence and control among the big Powers. The leaders of ASEAN realized that the time had come for the States of the region to co-operate and to stand together in order to take their destiny in their own hands, free from outside interference. It is in conformity with this resolve that the ASEAN countries in 1971 called for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. The determination of ASEAN to materialize the aspirations of zonal peace and stability, free from external interference and big-Power rivalry was reaffirmed on 24 February of this year at Denpasar in Bali, where the Conference of Heads of State and Government of the ASEAN countries pledged to take active steps for its early establishment.

101. I submit that it was in the same spirit and because of identical preoccupations that the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries expressed concern that, as a result of recent developments, the Indian Ocean is becoming the main focus of big-Power rivalry in Asia through growing competition among the big Powers for naval superiority. In this context of continuing rivalry and arms escalation, the establishment of zones of peace in areas such as the Indian Ocean, South-East Asia or any other area in the world had, therefore, assumed a new urgency. And it is in this context also that my Government strongly supports the proposal to convene as soon as possible a conference of littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean in order to co-ordinate efforts in seeking the accelerated implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

102. We are all aware that since the end of the Second World War there have been nearly continuous rounds of negotiations to end the arms race. In addition, every year the General Assembly has before it an ever-growing number of items dealing with disarmament. Yet, the results so far achieved are far from satisfactory. The escalation of the arms race has now reached even more frightening proportions.

103. While Indonesia remains committed to the idea of convening a world disarmament conference, my delegation reaffirms its support to the initiative taken by the non-aligned countries at the Fifth Conference in Colombo to convene not later than 1978 a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to be devoted to the problems of disarmament. We strongly believe that such a special session might be able to generate a break-through in the stalemate that so far has characterized disarmament negotiations. It is therefore our hope that the present session will be able to decide to convene this special session in order that preparatory work can soon be started.

104. My delegation cannot but view with deep concern the increasing deterioration of the situation in the Middle East. Today we are still confronted by Israel's persistent policy of occupation by force, by the establishment of permanent settlements in the occupied territories and by the alteration of their geographical, demographic and economic features and the destruction of their cultural aspects. My delegation hopes that the present session of our Assembly will be able to intensify its efforts to secure a

comprehensive, just and lasting solution in the Middle East. Indonesia's views on the basic requisites for such a solution and its unswerving and total support for the cause of our Arab brothers and for the fundamental rights of the Palestinian nation need no reiteration. I would like to affirm Indonesia's readiness to extend all possible support to the struggle of our Arab brothers to regain their moral, legal and historical rights.

105. The tragedy that has befallen the people of Lebanon is a matter of deep distress and concern to the Government and people of Indonesia. The discouraging absence of a solution to Lebanon's deepening crisis has already caused incredible suffering to the people. On certain occasions there seemed to emerge a ray of hope that the contending armed factions would be reconciled. However, again and again these slender hopes have evaporated into oblivion, and fighting has been resumed in all ferocity. My delegation therefore expresses its sincerest hope that the forthcoming summit meeting of Arab leaders in Cairo will finally succeed in putting an end to further suffering of the unfortunate people of Lebanon.

106. Indonesia views with deep regret the stalemate that has occurred in the talks under the aegis of the United Nations between the two communities in Cyprus. It is our hope that these talks could be resumed so that renewed efforts could be made towards the achievement of a peaceful settlement that would preserve the territorial integrity and independence of Cyprus, in which the two communities can live together in harmony as equal partners and on an equal footing.

107. It must give the Assembly somehow a certain sense of relief that our present session is absolved from the consideration of the perennial problem of Korea. Indonesia believes that the solution of the problem of Korea should first and foremost come as a result of the efforts of the Korean people themselves. In this context, the creation of an atmosphere conducive to a continued and direct dialogue between North and South Korea is of the utmost importance. All efforts should proceed from a recognition of existing realities on the peninsula. Disregarding these realities can bring no other result than the further aggravation of the situation.

108. A problem of crisis proportions has for some time engulfed southern Africa, caused by the persistent and stubborn pursuance of the policies of *apartheid*, colonialism and racist minority rule. The violence that has recently erupted in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe is, however, testimony to the indomitable determination of the peoples of the subregion to resist oppression and the degradation of human dignity.

109. For years the minority régime in Southern Rhodesia had defied United Nations sanctions and arrogantly rejected any approaches made by African States, as set out in the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa,<sup>8</sup> to settle the problems of southern Africa by peaceful means. The heroic struggle of the Zimbabwe people has now, however, forced the illegal régime to bow to the inevitable and to open the door for majority rule long overdue.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

110. The white minority racist régime of Pretoria displays the same arrogance by intensifying its repressive measures against the Namibian people, causing untold misery and deprivation, which come only as the natural result of its hideously inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The international community cannot be deceived by the recent manoeuvres of the Pretoria régime to perpetuate its rule by dividing the Namibian leaders and by excluding the representative of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] from the so-called constitutional conferences. SWAPO, which is the only movement recognized by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations as the sole representative of the legitimate aspirations of the Namibian people, should be accorded a decisive role in the determination of the future political status of Namibia. The tragic events in Soweto and other places, which have shocked the human conscience all over the world, showed the indomitable determination of the people of Azania to put an end to the policies of *apartheid*.

111. In conformity with relevant resolutions adopted by the Colombo Conference, Indonesia reaffirms its solidarity and pledges all possible support to the gallant people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania in their struggle to regain freedom, justice and human dignity. While Indonesia commends all efforts that have been undertaken to achieve a negotiated settlement for the problems in the southern Africa subregion, we are, at the same time, of the view that utmost vigilance should still be exercised, as the régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury are doing their utmost to procrastinate in order to win time and attempt to strengthen their already tottering power. In this regard, Indonesia shares the view expressed by the Presidents of the "front-line" States in the subregion in their statement of 26 September that no solution would be acceptable if it were "tantamount to legalizing the colonialist and racist structures of power".

112. While in the sphere of international peace and security the world has been spared from armed conflicts of a global dimension, this situation is continuously being threatened by persistent inequalities and discrepancies in the international economic scene. Economic backwardness and stagnation, mass poverty and unemployment continue to be the condition of the vast majority of mankind. This situation has to be rapidly improved if our achievement is to be preserved and fostered.

113. It is widely recognized that the basic cause of this deplorable condition has its roots in the structural imbalances in the international economic relationship. We are all committed to build a better world economy based on equality and justice, for which we had adopted at the sixth special session the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

114. The seventh special session, which followed and was hailed as a milestone in international negotiations, has set in motion the process of restructuring the world economic system through a series of negotiations. The results of the seventh special session indeed represent the first global consensus on the need to restructure the international economic system substantially in favour of the less fortunate countries. The progress in the implementation of this consensus has so far been extremely slow, and in certain

areas there is indeed no forward movement at all. But as our outgoing President rightly stated at the opening meeting of this session, it is a source of encouragement that this problem of sharing fairly the resources of the world continues to be the focal point of our debates. It was notably at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi this year that an important stage was reached in the restructuring process as called for in the decision of the seventh special session. Although clearly falling short of the aspirations of the developing countries as contained in the Manila Declaration,<sup>9</sup> a number of decisions reached at Nairobi can be regarded as essential steps forward in the continuing progress towards the goals as envisaged in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

115. In the area of world commodity trade, a field of vital interest to the economies of developing countries, general consensus was for the first time obtained for the integrated programme for commodities, including a common set of objectives, interrelated measures and agreed procedures, as well as a specific time-table for the negotiation of a number of individual commodities and the common fund. As a result of these decisions on commodities, we are to embark upon a major negotiating process over the next two years. These negotiations will provide us with a real opportunity and challenge to bring about a significant break-through in our efforts to arrive at the new international economic order.

116. In the fields of manufactures and the transfer of technology, important advances were also made on the major issues involved. A significant decision was also taken on the institutional issue, which considerably strengthened the role and function of UNCTAD as a major forum for negotiations within the United Nations system.

117. My delegation has however noted with dismay that no progress was made at the fourth session of UNCTAD with regard to money and finance. No measures could be agreed upon for an increase of financial flow to the developing countries. No satisfactory solution could be found to the critical debt problems of the developing countries. My delegation is aware of the urgency of the need to find a comprehensive solution to these problems, and of the serious political and economic implications of prolonged failure to do so. The performance of the International Development Strategy in the first half of the Second United Nations Development Decade is indeed disappointing in many important areas, including the area of money and finance. The net flow of official development assistance not only remained below the target set for the Decade, but its distribution was hardly related to the development needs. There has, however, been an encouraging increase of the share of the developing countries in world financing flows, in particular from the members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, which has injected a dynamic element into the picture.

118. The pressing need for development finance on a continuing and expanding basis has time and again been

emphasized on successive occasions at various forums. We therefore earnestly hope that positive response be given to the appeal made by the Mexico Conference of the Group of 77,<sup>10</sup> which urged the donor countries to demonstrate their goodwill regarding the fifth replenishment of the International Development Association and at the same time also urged the member countries of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to agree to significantly increase the Bank's capital.

119. Another point, which I wish to refer to with regard to the Mexico Conference, is its consensus which took note of the proposal of the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, on a summit conference of the Developing Countries of the third world [see A/31/208]. Indonesia is giving this important proposal the serious consideration it deserves.

120. The non-aligned Conference in Colombo undertook a comprehensive assessment and review of the results of the multilateral trade negotiations, the Kingston Conference, the fourth session of UNCTAD, the Paris Conference, and arrived at a number of important conclusions and decisions which will have an important bearing on our future negotiations. Failure to achieve significant results could then seriously jeopardize the spirit of dialogue which was hailed as the most important achievement of the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

121. An essential element that is bound to make a significant contribution to the restructuring of the old economic order is the realization of the concept of collective self-reliance through strengthening economic co-operation among developing countries. My Government has long since been aware of the potential benefits which can be derived from such co-operation. For the past decade, the countries of ASEAN have been actively engaged in seeking joint solutions to problems of national development and regional co-operation with a view to strengthening their individual as well as collective resilience and self-reliant growth.

122. Over the years, ASEAN has gradually evolved into an increasingly effective vehicle to co-ordinate policies both in regard to intra-ASEAN problems as well as in safeguarding ASEAN's economic interests vis-à-vis the developed countries. With the recent signing of the Declaration of ASEAN Concord at the Bali Conference another major step forward has been made in concretizing and accelerating mutual co-operation in several important fields, such as the establishment of joint ASEAN industrial plants.

123. The complexities and injustices facing the world can be resolved only through joint and concerted action by the international community. The United Nations as the most universal instrument for collective action should be made more responsive to the requirements of the new economic order.

124. At the seventh special session, the international community recognized the need to make the United Nations system a more effective machinery for economic

<sup>9</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

<sup>10</sup> Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976.

co-operation. We welcome the positive work undertaken by the *Ad Hoc* Committee,<sup>11</sup> which provides a useful basis for pursuing the approach of the restructuring process in the United Nations system. We share the view that the effectiveness of the General Assembly should be enhanced. There should be more coherence in the decision-making process of the United Nations system, and better synchronization of the work at the different levels of organs dealing with economic and social problems. The role of the Economic and Social Council as the central co-ordinating body should be revitalized. UNCTAD, as a major organ within the United Nations system, in which major elements of the new international economic order are increasingly brought up for negotiations and decisions, should be strengthened and made more effective.

125. Indonesia attaches the greatest importance to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose mandate is to draw up a new international legal order of the sea. The success or failure of the Conference will indeed have far-reaching effects on mankind. Indonesia, being an archipelagic State which is vulnerable due to its strategic location at the cross-roads of international communications, has a vital interest that the outcome of the Conference will safeguard its security, territorial integrity and national unity. The fifth session of the Conference has just ended a month ago. We have noted with caution that in certain areas some progress leading to a consensus or agreement has been made. Unfortunately, however, this did not prove sufficient to bring about general agreement on concrete texts, since progress in those areas has been thwarted by deadlock in others, such as the question of the régime for the international sea-bed and the problem of the rights of States in the exclusive economic zone. Moreover, acceptable balanced formulations on some other issues, like passage through straits used for international navigation, have yet to be found. It is our sincere hope that the coming sixth session will be the last substantive one and that comprehensive agreements can be reached on all issues, not only on the so-called "key issues" or "priority issues", but equally so on issues of vital interest to a certain number of countries, such as the régime of archipelagic States. I take this opportunity to express Indonesia's deep appreciation to those friendly countries who have given their support and sympathy to Indonesia's position on the principles relating to archipelagic States.

126. With regard to the problem of the taking of hostages, Indonesia welcomes the initiative taken by the Foreign Minister of the Federal Republic of Germany, which will enable us to consider this issue in all its aspects [A/31/242].

127. I believe that an expression of appreciation is due to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the efforts he has exerted in the interest of our Organization during his tenure. His dedication has contributed much to the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations.

128. The delegation of Indonesia has been gratified by the many positive accomplishments achieved by the United Nations, often in the face of great obstacles. The attain-

ment of these accomplishments owes much to the near-universality of membership in our Organization and to the growing awareness which it has demonstrated of the need to create a new system of political and economic relationships based on peace and the recognition of the equality of all States. My delegation is confident that in the coming years the United Nations will play an even more significant role in the application of these progressive principles to international relations.

129. Before concluding, may I take this opportunity to present our views regarding East Timor. I shall confine my remarks to a brief review of our position and to an explanation of the latest developments in East Timor. From the outset Indonesia has made it clear that it has no territorial ambitions in East Timor. It has always insisted that the political future of East Timor should be decided through the exercise of the right to self-determination by the people of that Territory. These are the underlying principles of Indonesia's position as reflected in its record in the United Nations, where Indonesia supported the aspirations of all dependent peoples and their national liberation movements throughout the world. It is upon the basis of these principles that Indonesia responded to developments in East Timor.

130. At the town of Balibo in East Timor on 30 November, 1975 four political parties (União Democrática de Timor, Apodeti, Kota and Trabalhista) representing the majority of the people of that territory proclaimed their decision to become independent through integration with the Republic of Indonesia. While welcoming this decision, the Government of Indonesia expressed at the same time its considered view that such a decision should be based upon the result of the exercise of the right of self-determination by the people of East Timor. After normalcy had returned to the territory, the people of East Timor exercised on 31 May 1976 their right to self-determination through the People's Representative Assembly, whose members were elected in accordance with established customary practice in East Timor. Having taken this action, the people of East Timor declared that as of that date they had already exercised their right to self-determination and thereby had concluded the process of decolonization of their Territory. And now the people are concentrating their efforts on the task of reconstruction and development.

131. The constitutional process of the integration was subsequently completed on 17 July 1976, when a statute of integration was formally promulgated by the President of the Republic of Indonesia. It was with great emotion that the people of East Timor listened to President Suharto, when he declared on 16 August 1976 before the House of Representatives:

"Now the people of East Timor have made the decision about their own future, namely integration with the people and State of the Republic of Indonesia. There is no other way, therefore, but to accept with full responsibility such an integration. And now, from this forum, on the eve of the commemoration of the thirty-first anniversary of the independence of the Republic of Indonesia, I hereby officially inform the people of Indonesia, the people of East Timor and the world, that the people and the territory of East Timor have been integrated with the

<sup>11</sup> *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.



people of Indonesia, within the unitary State of the Republic, in compliance with the freely expressed wishes of the people of East Timor themselves, and this integration was warmly accepted by the entire Indonesian people and nation."

132. In the history of decolonization no two cases have ever been implemented in the same way. Each case has to be viewed in its own particular situation and circumstances, taking into account the historical, social, cultural and political realities which prevail in the territory concerned. What is even more important is that the right to self-determination should be exercised on the basic precepts of the Charter which stipulate that "the interests of the inhabitants of the Territory are paramount".

133. These paramount interests were translated by the people of East Timor in their declaration to integrate with the Republic of Indonesia expressed in a manner of their own choosing and in conformity with their traditional institutions. Consequently, the people of East Timor have exercised their right to self-determination in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV). In his statement before the House of Representatives on 16 August 1976 President Suharto stated:

"Time and again we have stated that the East Timor problem is a question of self-determination. It is a problem of abolishing colonialism. The fate of the people of East Timor can only be decided by themselves and right there on the soil of East Timor, neither in New York, nor in Lisbon, nor in Jakarta."

134. The people of East Timor have made their decision. Indonesia respects it. And it is our hope that this decision will also be respected by all members of the international community.

135. Mr. NSEKALIJE (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is with real pleasure that I add the voice of the Rwandan delegation to the chorus of praise addressed to you since the beginning of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, of which you have been elected President. Your great qualities as a man experienced in political affairs and your outstanding familiarity with international relations will, we are convinced, ensure further progress and real success in our work. Your unanimous election is not only a tribute to you personally but also a tribute to your people with whom we have relations of friendship and to whom we are grateful for the warm welcome we received at the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries.

136. We should also like to express our sincere thanks to your predecessor the Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, Mr. Thorn for the way in which he carried out his delicate mission in the course of the thirtieth session. The delegation of Rwanda last year was fortunate enough to have the opportunity to speak about the deep friendship and fruitful co-operation which exists between Luxembourg and Rwanda.

137. We also wish to pay an earnest tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of our Organization, for

his personal devotion to the efforts of the international community to bring about a world society where peace, justice, equity and human solidarity will prevail, and to express anew our Government's confidence in him. We should also like to pay this tribute to all his associates for their dynamism and the devotion which they have shown in the discharge of their tasks and heavy responsibilities.

138. I should also like, on behalf of the delegation of the Republic of Rwanda, to pay a pious tribute to the memory of one of the great figures of mankind who has left an indelible mark on contemporary history. President Mao Tsetung not only injected international relations with new dynamism in the direction of progress, peace and security throughout the world, but he was undeniably the master helmsman, the creator of a new China, whose accomplishments we cannot fail to admire. The delegation of Rwanda, because of the great friendship and fruitful co-operation which exists between our country and the great Chinese people, wishes once again to express our sincere condolences to that friendly country on the passing of one of the greatest men of all time. It is our fervent hope that his work will be perpetuated for the greater good of China and of all mankind.

139. Before speaking of the problems of the day, we wish particularly to greet here the presence of the Republic of Seychelles. Rwanda has already expressed to it its joy at the outcome of the glorious struggle it has waged for the independence and dignity of its people. Now, on behalf of my delegation, I should also like whole-heartedly to bid it a warm welcome to the ranks of this great family of nations. I feel certain that its fresh contributions will do much to ensure the success of our deliberations at this session.

140. The presence of the People's Republic of Angola and Viet Nam within our great family would have been a source of great satisfaction and joy to us. The frustration caused by the absence of those two fraternal countries because of the obstruction of their admission to the United Nations is shared by the great majority of the international community. My delegation earnestly hopes that the entirely legitimate and timely application of those countries will be accepted and that the door of the great family of nations will stand wide open to them very soon.

141. Although we have witnessed with much satisfaction the triumphs of the process of decolonization and although in recent years many countries have attained independence after many years of heroic struggle, it is nevertheless true that, in spite of those positive results, our continent is still a source of explosive tension and very recently it has been the theatre of violations of human rights and the rights of nations on the part of the racist régime in Pretoria and the rabid and incorrigible zionism of Tel Aviv.

142. We are convinced that peace in the world will be endangered as long as the principles of territorial integrity and sovereignty of States are flouted in the settlement of local conflicts.

143. Peace in the world will be endangered as long as colonial machinations and expansionist plans, in disregard of the obligations we assumed as Members of the United Nations, work against the rights of peoples and nations and

hence compromise peace and security in various parts of the world.

144. Peace in the world will be endangered as long as a number of peoples are the victims of interference marked by pressure and violence totally inconsistent with respect for the fundamental human rights which are the focus of the concern of the international community, and until we have unmasked all the forms of domination which are disguised behind a deceitful exterior.

145. Such vigilance requires from us courage linked to a fierce determination which will enable us to put aside personal and egocentric inclinations in our struggle against systems of destabilization, subversion or corruption, whatever their source.

146. Rwanda remains convinced that the solution of various crises must be found in respect for the sovereignty of each State and the self-determination of peoples within a framework that will guarantee them full and free expression of their will, without foreign occupation, interference or pressures, such a situation to be achieved through all possible peaceful means, such as dialogue and consensus.

147. On the subject of decolonization, southern Africa has experienced the most criminal and humiliating forms of white oppression of the black people. The evil geniuses of *apartheid* wish to establish an intolerable legal fiction, because a minority of white racists, flying in the face of common sense and the inevitable development of events, obstinately try to maintain under their ignominious yoke 20 million African blacks through the insidious, cunning and diabolic scheme of the Machiavellian policy of "bantustanization"—a clumsy trap aimed at making it impossible to achieve majority rule and hence to enable the majority to decide their own destiny.

148. As His Excellency Habyarimana Juvénal, the President of the Republic of Rwanda and the founder of our national revolutionary movement for development stated:

"We must denounce the obstinacy and intractability of the authorities of Pretoria, who in spite of the moving appeals of the black peoples under their domination, in spite of the recommendations of organizations reflecting the combined wisdom of mankind, continue to retain African lands and to consider themselves the best guarantees of the future of the black peoples they oppress."

149. We are convinced that peace-loving countries will never take seriously the myth oft-repeated in the South African press that the racist Vorster will introduce of his own accord changes likely to put an end to the system of *apartheid* and the policy of "bantustanization" which he obstinately pursues; the sole purpose of which is to perpetuate his criminal régime which has been rejected by all the Members of this Organization.

150. We are well aware that the political situation in South Africa is deteriorating daily. Tens of thousands of Africans are being expelled from urban zones and fertile agricultural areas and relocated on hard-pan lands, when they are not decimated by arbitrary arrests, sentenced to long prison terms or degrading hard labour.

151. This situation is particularly tragic because, in spite of the embargo decreed by the United Nations on arms sent to South Africa, that country continues to receive weapons from Western countries, as well as basic materials and technical assistance to produce those weapons locally. The situation is particularly tragic because, despite the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which has been in effect since 1970 and has been signed by all the major Powers, South Africa continues to equip itself with large quantities not only of conventional weapons but also nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction.

152. Our Organization must most vigorously condemn these threats to international peace and security posed by the arms race in South Africa. There can be no peace in that part of the continent or in the world as long as the retrograde doctrines of the racist régime of Pretoria are allowed to subsist.

153. Our Organization must condemn with great indignation the bloody events which have taken place last June in South Africa, where new, unspeakable crimes of genocide have been committed and constitute an act of defiance of humanity.

154. Our Organization must fully appreciate the possible disastrous consequences of these massacres, which flow, and will continue to flow, from the sinister plans of the advocates of *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

155. Together with this series of ignominies we must also mention the aggression against the People's Republic of Angola, the attack on the innocent village of Sialola in Zambia by the bloodthirsty, racist South African army.

156. My delegation believes that in the present circumstances it is high time that we go beyond the stage of ineffective and futile condemnations and that we take concrete and vigorous action, including the imposition of sanctions, as envisaged by Chapter VII of the Charter. We must support with all the force at our disposal the Security Council's unanimous condemnation of the régime of Pretoria for its illegal presence in Namibia, and we must make a solemn appeal to all Member States to put into practice all resolutions relating to the sanctions against South Africa for its persistent refusal to leave Namibia and for the brutal repression of the Namibian people by the Vorster régime. We add our strong opposition to efforts to negotiate with irresponsible tribal chiefs, the sole objective of which is to destroy the unity of the Territory and to perpetuate the South African presence in Namibia.

157. I shall not mention the case of Zimbabwe, where it is painful indeed to note that the survival of the illegal régime of Ian Smith is due to the complicity of certain Member States who, far from vigorously implementing economic sanctions against the rebellious Rhodesian régime, have, through practically overt trade relations, given them moral and material support.

158. We would be remiss if we failed to pay an earnest tribute to the People's Republic of Mozambique for its exemplary decision to close its border with the Salisbury regime in application of the sanctions decreed by the

United Nations. That has been of inestimable assistance to the cause of peace in the world and progress in Africa.

159. Washington's initiative and London's backing of the efforts of the Secretary of State of the United States have in recent days given us some hope for a peaceful solution to the problems of southern Africa, especially of Namibia and Zimbabwe. Rwanda nevertheless believes that the treacherous Ian Smith and the racist Vorster must seize this final opportunity to avoid a protracted and inexorable bloody armed struggle in that part of Africa.

160. In Namibia in particular, the African continent with justified impatience is anxiously awaiting the convening, under the auspices of the United Nations, of a constitutional conference in which the authentic representatives of the Namibian people, namely SWAPO, will participate, and we are anxiously awaiting the freeing of all political prisoners and the independence of Namibia as soon as possible.

161. Finally, the delegation of Rwanda believes that all non-aligned countries, and in particular African countries, must follow with keen interest developments in southern Africa, and we must not, for want of an appropriate strategy, miss an opportunity to bring about, albeit belatedly, a peaceful settlement to the problems of decolonization; nor must we, because of excess confidence, miss this opportunity which has been created by many sacrifices and efforts during the course of our long liberation struggle in our continent.

162. At the northern border of our continent, a consideration of the international situation hardly justifies optimism.

163. As far as Western Sahara is concerned, my country is devoted to the sacred principles of self-determination and the inviolability of the borders which colonialism has bequeathed each State. We condemn as vigorously as we can any violation of these principles, which we think would be an exceedingly dangerous precedent for peace and stability in several parts of the world.

164. The fratricidal war which has engulfed Lebanon in a bloodbath for the past 17 months, and nearer to us, the Arab territories occupied by Israel and the humiliating treatment of the Palestinian or Arab populations in areas under Zionist domination are not the kinds of actions which can bring about peace in that part of the world.

165. A tight network of international interests exists in that part of the world; the murderous war is sustained by foreign aid and for direct interests that have not yet been made clear. Bloodshed continues in a completely confused and ominously clouded situation.

166. We have always believed that international peace and security cannot prevail in a situation in which sources of tension spread from one area to another, from one country to another. In Lebanon, human solidarity must replace egotistical attitudes. The desire for domination, for hegemony, for confrontation must be replaced by co-operation on a basis of equality.

167. The major Powers and all the countries in any way involved in these atrocities have heavy responsibilities. We

still hope that they will respond with humanity to the cries of pain of thousands of men who are dying without knowing why. Arms must be laid down so that the parties concerned may be able to conduct negotiations leading to a lasting peace in that part of the world.

168. Rwanda is a peaceful country. Respect for the ideals of our Charter, especially the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, has been a golden rule from which our national revolutionary movement for development, the supreme organ of our institutions, will never depart.

169. Our founding President and President of the Republic of Rwanda, His Excellency Major-General Habyarimana Juvénal, reaffirmed this position in his manifesto of 5 July 1975, as follows:

"The national revolutionary movement for development favours negotiations for the settlement of international conflicts. Our movement wants the Rwandese Republic to side with those who sincerely seek to strengthen world peace and international co-operation, and especially with the countries that are least privileged and those that are fighting for the liberation of their peoples or in defence of their independence."

170. While the problems of Africa and the Middle East are a source of particular concern to us, we cannot fail to mention certain other problems which, although they may occur a long way away, are nevertheless of concern to the Republic of Rwanda.

171. The problem of Korea, in particular, is one such problem, and an extremely important one, because it concerns the right of peoples to self-determination; it is moreover a serious problem because it is linked to international peace and security.

172. Thirty years ago the Korean nation was divided by the force of arms and by a shameful line of demarcation. That line became a definitive frontier not as a result of the desire or the decision of the Korean people but because of the presence of foreign occupying forces camouflaged under the colours of the United Nations.

173. That division of a single people to which the United Nations Command gave a semblance of legality has been denounced by the international conscience. Last year the General Assembly adopted two resolutions [resolutions 3390 A and B (XXX)] calling for the dissolution of the United Nations Command so that the Korean people might be in a position to bring about their independent and peaceful unification, without foreign interference.

174. The United Nations must persevere in that course in order to put an end to the consequences of former conflicts which have lasted all too long, creating a *de facto* situation of which the Korean people are victims because they have been divided between two conflicting political and social régimes.

175. The question of Cyprus is another one of those questions whose complexity and gravity are due to the handiwork of outside forces bent on dividing the island and proliferating sources of tension, with the unavowed purpose

of diverting the third world from its major objective: the economic, social and cultural development of their peoples.

176. In dealing with the Cyprus crisis, the manoeuvres of the proponents of a policy of the *fait accompli* should be disregarded, and honest and constructive negotiations should be encouraged between the Greek and Turkish communities in accordance with the relevant resolutions of our Organization.

177. The territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus require the withdrawal of all foreign forces, the unconditional cessation of competing foreign ideologies and the restoration of refugees to their homes.

178. Rwanda's position on this question is quite clear. One of the constant principles of the foreign policy of our national revolutionary movement for development is support for peaceful coexistence and co-operation on the basis of respect for the sovereignty of each nation.

179. The international community owes it to itself to act along the same lines and it is only through this realistic and eminently humanitarian policy that peaceful coexistence will be achieved between the two Cypriot communities.

180. The Republic of Rwanda has always been opposed to the division of peoples and nations. This applies to Namibia, South Africa, Cyprus, Korea, Viet Nam and, particularly, Germany. My delegation has never endorsed the erection of walls of shame within the territory of a single nation. That is why the head of the Rwandese delegation stated from this rostrum on 1 October 1973, at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly:

“Among [*the divided States*] we see the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic, two States which, we hope, will one day again become one nation, the great and noble German nation. . . .”<sup>12</sup>

181. My country will constantly uphold that clear position, dictated by our excellent relations with the entire German nation. We have indeed had such relations since the dawn of modern history. It is my Government's view that we should see to it that future generations do not inherit disastrous situations resulting from our errors, from the confrontation of interests or from the desire for hegemony.

182. My delegation would have liked to pass over in silence the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and the arms race because we believe that the egocentrism and desire for hegemony on the part of the major Powers have turned those sectors into their own private preserves. My Government believes that there can be no *détente* in the world until an end is put to the arms race, to the proliferation of nuclear weapons, and to the creation of nuclear power stations in Latin America, Africa, Asia and the third world in general.

183. As regards reforms in the United Nations, we should continue to realize that all nations, regardless of their size

or power, share certain rights and duties in the conduct of the affairs of our world. All wish to discharge their task fully within the community of nations. That is why the decision-making power of the General Assembly, whose functions are now more limited than those of the Security Council, must be strengthened.

184. The new structure of our Organization must be in keeping with the principles of international democracy and the new configuration of the world, in which many changes have occurred since the United Nations was created in San Francisco 30 years ago.

185. The conditions which prevailed at the time, justifying certain points in the Charter, no longer exist today and the Charter must follow the developments of history. The monopoly of the veto by the permanent members of the Security Council, a privilege that some of them have abused, very often promotes situations that are contrary to equity, to the principles of the Charter and to world peace.

186. The unjustified refusal to admit certain independent States to membership in our Organization and the reprehensible use of the veto to further territorial expansion on the part of certain Member States clearly show that that monopoly has harmful consequences. That is why my delegation believes that, first, in view of the changes in the world political situation since the adoption of the Charter, we must reduce the number of questions to which the veto can be applied and, secondly, that Africa and other regional groups which are recognized within our Organization but which do not have the veto must be given group vetoes.

187. In this way, when the Security Council adopts decisions on matters of substance, the veto of a representative duly accredited to the Council by a specific continent or a region would have the same effect as that of a permanent member.

188. In the area of social and economic relations for some time now, and particularly since the sixth special session of the General Assembly in April 1974, the Group of 77 has spared no effort to reform the present economic system and to set up certain structures in keeping with new economic realities. We are all well aware of the fact that it is no longer possible for a country or for a group of countries or for any alliance of transnational corporations to enjoy the benefits of the work and heritage of independent peoples.

189. Three quarters of mankind are therefore determined to participate in the organization of world power, in a spirit of dialogue, mutual concession and solidarity.

190. The Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States represents a great stride forward simply because opinions have converged and a consensus has emerged on certain very important questions such as the sovereignty of States and a State's control over its natural resources and the question of international co-operation for development. Although there are differences of opinion regarding how certain matters should be approached, that Charter remains a source of standards and of invaluable mechanisms in dealing with world economic changes.

<sup>12</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2135th meeting, para. 108.

191. The results of the seventh special session, the desire to come together, to consult and to bring about harmony which marked that session, had revealed a definite willingness on the part of the developed countries to take action without delay to put an end to the imbalance of power and to restore fair relations among nations.

192. The fourth session of UNCTAD, in keeping with the spirit and resolutions of the sixth and seventh special sessions and of the twenty-ninth and thirtieth regular sessions of the General Assembly, was to consider certain substantive proposals relating to the decisions which UNCTAD was to adopt to promote negotiations and the building of a world economy based on equity and international solidarity.

193. The Nairobi Conference and all the preparatory meetings which had preceded it focused on the problems of commodities, indebtedness, the transfer of technology, multilateral trade negotiations, trade relations among countries with different régimes, manufactures, action to help the least advanced countries and institutional questions.

194. We are all familiar with what happened to certain specific recommendations after four weeks of difficult negotiations on certain subjects.

195. The frustration of the third world arising from the postponement of consideration of certain matters important to it, the restrictive declarations by certain developed countries on positive resolutions—such as the creation of a common fund to finance international stocks—had prompted certain quarters even in the West to say that the fourth session of UNCTAD yielded “meagre results paved with good intentions”.

196. That eloquent comment on the part of certain nationals of the developed countries requires no comment. Nevertheless, the meagre results of the session should not undermine the morale of the international community but should rather encourage us to redouble our efforts to bring about the speedy establishment of more equitable and universal social justice. Vigilance is required if there is to be a carefully thought out and concerted strategy as worked out at Kingston and Rambouillet and in Puerto Rico.

197. Finally, I should like to say to this Assembly that our country has been following with close attention developments in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Everyone is well aware of the fact that all countries attach great importance to rules governing the sea-bed and ocean floor, whether they be industrialized countries or developing countries, coastal States or land-locked States. We believe that it is of utmost importance to stress here that the seas and the oceans and the living resources and minerals thereof all constitute the common heritage of mankind.

198. If the United Nations, our universe where we gather for dialogue and agreement, provides us with an ideal framework for international co-operation thanks to its many bodies, our Organization must, if it wishes to survive, assess in time the pressures and course of movements and events throughout the present-day world, faced as it is with imperfections, frustrations, anguish, conflicts and struggles for hegemony, in order fully to grasp their meaning and needs, direction and intensity.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*