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CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Jiménez (Dominican Republic) . . . . .	503
Speech by Mr. da Luz (Cape Verde) . . . . .	506
Speech by Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) . . . . .	510
Speech by Mr. Conteh (Sierra Leone) . . . . .	514
Speech by Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) . . . . .	519
Tribute to the memory of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan of India	522

**President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM**  
(United Republic of Tanzania)

AGENDA ITEM 9

*General debate (continued)*

1. Mr. JIMÉNEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, permit me, in these first words, after congratulating you on the assumption of your important office, to express the confidence that we have in your wisdom and exceptional experience in the matters which affect the States which constitute the United Nations. Also permit us to extend, on behalf of the Government of the Dominican Republic, our congratulations and thanks to the General Committee of our Assembly over which you preside for the spontaneous initiative, which does it credit, of including item 125 in the agenda of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. This item relates to measures for providing assistance to my country and to the Commonwealth of Dominica, a small country which, like our own, was cruelly battered by the fury of the hurricanes of this season of cyclones in the Caribbean.

2. We must admit that this, too, represents a contribution to the peace for which the United Nations is fighting so heroically, a contribution which takes into account in circumstances like these, not only the scourge of war, but also the destructive force of nature. This tragedy, which afflicts the peoples suffering from the results of the hurricanes, inevitably gives rise not only to hunger and destruction, but also to all the upsetting results produced when economies are disrupted and when human suffering reaches such depths that it bears comparison with what happens when war, an apocalyptic figure bent upon uprooting the constitutional instrument of the United Nations, is unleashed.

3. Our country was the victim in less than five days of two cruel hurricanes which spread tragedy, horror and chaos among its inhabitants, who were hoping for a future of peace and labour in a climate of democracy, and when the Dominican Government had already set up action programmes for the economic development of the nation and had been mobilizing all the forces of

production, in many scientifically new and revolutionary areas, in order to make the best use of all the resources at our disposal.

4. These adversities have suddenly interrupted and damaged everything we had managed to achieve during the past year.

5. A report by ECLA,<sup>1</sup> circulated to the representatives of the States Members of this Organization, reflects the extent of the damage caused in our country by the fury of these hurricanes. For the benefit of all the delegates here present, we should like to draw attention to the assessment contained in that document, which is available to all and which illustrates with reliable accuracy the disastrous situation from which the Dominican people is now suffering.

6. Like Dominica, we are now confronting the unavoidable challenge of having to repair the tremendous damage which we have sustained and which has set back the process of development in which we were so earnestly and zealously engaged, while we continue to perform the difficult task of providing aid to the thousands of victims and survivors who are now in shelters and who are urgently calling for transfer to adequate, permanent housing. Many of them still urgently need medical treatment in order to survive the catastrophe, which has given rise to hunger, poverty and other cruel sufferings.

7. In the calamitous situation through which the Dominican Republic is now passing, because of the devastation and damage caused by the hurricanes which passed through Dominican territory in the months of August and September, causing so much damage to the inhabitants of the country and to private property, we must recognize that this world Organization, its specialized agencies and the regional system, as well as many countries in the region of the Americas and other parts of the world have come to the assistance of our country. That permits us to say that we are not alone in the formidable ordeal which the Dominican nation is experiencing. We should also like to mention, in particular, UNDP, the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator [UNDRO], the World Food Programme and others which took such prompt and efficient action during the very first moments of the emergency.

8. This experience, arising from the destructive force of nature, prompts us to recall that the United Nations has not only done what it is authorized to do in accordance with the constitutional principles by which it is governed, but has even gone beyond its sphere of competence on many occasions, in order to mitigate the effects of critical situations through humanitarian pro-

<sup>1</sup> See document E/CEPAL/G.1098/Rev.1.

grammes, including assistance in the crises which from time to time afflict the territories of the States concerned.

9. Nevertheless, these events have given the Government of my country an idea which could bring a certain tranquillity and confidence to the islands such as our own, which are at a natural disadvantage, being right in the path of tropical hurricanes and being their first victims. This devastating danger threatens the economic structure of those countries, inevitably, each year, during the period of dangerous weather.

10. The plight of the Antilles archipelago has led us, as we come to this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, to inform the Secretary-General of the proposal of the President of the Dominican Republic, Don Antonio Guzmán, whereby, its characteristic spirit of affording protection and assistance to peoples, particularly to its Member States, in its programme for peace, the world Organization should decide to create a permanent specific fund, which would make it possible to render assistance to the islands in the Caribbean in the tragic circumstances which unfortunately seem to recur every year without fail.

11. The Dominican Republic's spirit of international co-operation—which prides itself on having been one of the founding Members of this Organization and of the American regional system—was highlighted recently in the peace-making efforts which it undertook, together with the Republic of Guatemala and the United States of America, in order to find a solution to the conflict in the Republic of Nicaragua, which was on the point of spreading to other countries. This mission of mediation, carried out on a basis of equality and mutual respect which are essential elements of the law of non-intervention that is constitutionally guaranteed by this Organization as well as by the inter-American legal system, exhausted our utmost efforts in that very difficult task which was throughout inflamed by the emotions aroused by a policy with heavily dynastic overtones.

12. The negotiations to find a constitutional formula which could put an end to the fratricidal war were blocked and, finally, peace had to be imposed by force of arms. Nevertheless, the Dominican Republic does feel satisfaction at having taken the part of a mediator in that conflict in the search for a less distressing solution for the sister Republic of Nicaragua.

13. Moreover, we must recognize that the establishment of Nicaragua's Junta of National Reconstruction has rescued democracy in that territory and we trust that it will be maintained in a lasting fashion. The problem of Nicaragua is one of freedom, the cause for which countries fight that have adjured slavery and condemned it as an anachronistic phenomenon which has no place in present-day civilization.

14. In the same spirit of international co-operation, the Dominican Government supports the world energy plan proposed by Mexico [*11th meeting, paras. 66-68*] for all the countries of the world, without discrimination, whether or not they produce oil. The objective of that plan would be to provide for a progressive transition, in an orderly and just fashion, from the present historical process towards a new one which would pro-

vide many more realistic prospects for the progress of mankind.

15. By speaking of these things, the Dominican Government is performing the duty it has to pursue effective international co-operation, in the conviction that, despite the inherent competence of the Organization of American States [OAS], there is a constitutional link between our two organizations, the justification for which is the preservation of peace and the prevention of war as a method of solving disputes and conflicts among States.

16. The world Organization, whose creation as a consequence of the Second World War is one of the greatest historic events of the century, has not been able to escape criticism, some of it malicious, which branded it as incapable, in spite of the means it possesses, of preventing armed conflicts which have broken out and continue to break out in various parts of the world. Those who make that judgement tend to overlook how difficult it is to maintain peace in a world which has not yet been able to free itself from the material and moral wounds inflicted on man and his ancient race by the two world wars.

17. Nations reflect man's imperfection, and therein lies the root of the evil which will last until the last judgement, but which we might perhaps avoid if, instead of accumulating nuclear weapons, multiple-warhead weapons and guided missiles, man is able to redeem himself in the centuries to come from the negative repercussions of his origins. We may rest secure, however, in the fact that our Organization will be able to fulfil thoroughly, within a framework of indisputable realism, all the requirements for it to achieve its fundamental objectives.

18. The not entirely satisfactory events which have occurred since the signing of the Charter 34 years ago have been events which could be described as isolated, directly ascribable to the imperfection of men and nations. We must admit, however, that these accidental and sporadic aberrations have been caused, in large measure, by the very States which founded the Organization. These States are responsible for the controversies and disputes, misunderstandings, lack of international co-operation and, above all, the lack of trust which prevails throughout the greater part of the world.

19. If this state of affairs is acceptable, what is no less acceptable is the fact that it is important to draw up an inventory of these imperfections of the historic process of the world Organization which will demonstrate to us that one of the reasons for its existence is to prevent war and preserve peace. And this is something which has obviously been done, although international tensions, the cold war and geo-politics have succeeded in causing certain erosions in the advantages of peaceful coexistence for the benefit of all peoples who are fighting in the spirit of conviction—or convention—for the predominance of peace, and although in certain periods détente has succeeded in bringing about an easing of the anxiety generated by the arms race.

20. Over the past year we have felt that the degree of progress achieved has yielded great relief for situations still awaiting solution which have been dragging on for several years. Many cases of this kind could be cited as examples where in actual fact isolated, armed conflicts

have not been able to degenerate into a war of aggression which has extended to such a vast scale as did the First and Second World Wars.

21. I think we would not be mistaken if we were to say, with a feeling of justice, how much more precarious the peace enjoyed by the world would have been if our Organization had not existed. It does have defects, some of them congenital, such as the right of veto, which was essential to the very foundation of the Organization, so much so that it was said at San Francisco that if there had been no right of veto, there would have been no Charter.

22. In recent years we must feel glad at the fact that several conflicts have not broadened into true war situations and that a careful, evolutionary diplomacy has succeeded in freezing these critical situations. Just to mention two examples, let us recall the case of the Middle East and that of Central America, which is so recent in our memories.

23. Nor can we refrain from alluding also to the spirit of Camp David as well as the great and active sense of diplomatic patience displayed by the United Kingdom in its peace-making efforts in the anomalous situations in Africa now on their way towards solutions conducive to political equilibrium at the African summit.

24. On the other hand, in considering the progress made in finalizing the implementation of the Treaty of Peace between Egypt and Israel signed on 26 March 1979, we cannot disregard the aspirations of the Palestinians or fail to respect the solidarity of the Arab nations, which have made such great contributions to the history of civilization. Efforts must continue to be made, however, to find appropriate and honourable formulas for the restoration of peace within secure and permanent frontiers in this area of controversy.

25. A fact of the utmost importance which will go down as a new chapter in the history of the Americas has just been written in Panama City when, pursuant to the agreement between the United States of America and Panama to finalize the status of that interoceanic canal which separates the two Americas, one of the fundamental parts of the agreement has been complied with, leading in time to the total exercise of Panamanian sovereignty over this maritime route.

26. This solution is indeed an example of how much can be achieved within the framework of justice and goodwill among States when far-sighted men, united by the most lofty ideals, come to an agreement in their decisions face to face with the challenge of history.

27. In the midst of the tidal waves and storms of international politics, we must also concede that this world Organization has made progress in many areas where international tensions and the cold war have kept today's disturbed world in a state of expectancy. I am referring to the growing progress that is being achieved in the various areas of human rights.

28. The wisdom and good judgement of the Commission on Human Rights, as part of the machinery of the United Nations, should not be overlooked. This assertion would be incomplete if special reference were not made to an event of the utmost importance, affecting as

it does human rights in the region of the Americas and coinciding with violent explosions in certain areas where an entire freedom-loving people was plunged into a blood-bath before it succeeded in winning back its freedom. This was indeed the case with Nicaragua, as has also happened in other countries where it has still not been possible to control this evil, which seems to be on the decline at times but at others seems to be causing a new crisis.

29. With these references, we must recognize that the creation of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, which has its seat in the non-militaristic capital of Costa Rica, completes the evolutionary process of human rights, which had already been initiated by the appropriate commission within the framework of the OAS. And although it is true that it has brought to human rights an institution like that of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights, it is none the less true that the accelerated changes in the political outlook of the Americas require that a new injection of vigorous blood be given in order to adjust to the imperatives of our time in this part of the world.

30. We are sure that many Member States will agree that this is an imperative necessity if they do not wish to see this regional organization languish in semi-statism and decadence.

31. The Court of the regional system is an innovation and an admirable experiment which should lead to beneficial experiences which will perhaps one day make it possible for there to exist in the world Organization an organ of justice of the same kind but of wider scope.

32. As far as the Dominican Republic is concerned, we are in a position to assert here that we have made important progress in this area, as a projection of the integrated programmes of the Dominican Government for the development of the country. These programmes, now more than ever, require international conditions not likely to have an adverse effect on the efforts, which the Head of the Dominican State proposes to redouble, with vigour and energy, in all the country's area of activity.

33. Furthermore, the Dominican Republic wishes to reaffirm its support for the fundamental principles of international economic relations as expressed in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. Here, as is the case with all the Latin American countries and particularly those which produce commodities and raw materials, we would exhort the developing countries to conduct their economic relations in such a way as to take into account the interests of other countries, particularly in order to avoid any action detrimental to the interests of the developing countries.

34. There exists an initiative which without doubt could be taken through dialogue within a framework of equality and mutual respect and adapted to the delicate conditions of the particular case, one that could serve to attenuate the risk to international security engendered by flash-points of crisis. I refer to the establishment of a new international economic order in such a way as to provide the present era of civilization with what it clamours for.

35. There is also a well-tested and extremely effective

method for contributing to the solution of the problem of security. It is enshrined in the Charter of this Organization, and its application has produced positive results. This is the principle relating to the self-determination of peoples. This is precisely the essence of the item relating to the "Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples" [item 18].

36. Over the years events have shown that the policy that has satisfied such aspirations of countries which have come to the end of an evolutionary process has proved to be correct and has justified their aspirations to become free and independent. The Dominican Republic, like all free countries of the Americas, has had to go through that process. Hence the situation prevailing in the region of the Americas today. In the circumstances, the Dominican people have lived and suffered through this experience and, whatever the vicissitudes to which we have been subjected by our destiny, absolutely all the sons of our land are also sons of liberty.

37. No matter how strewn with pitfalls is the life of free peoples, this is the road of peace and concord among men and nations. In this conviction we must recognize, in line with the thinking of the martyr of Cuban independence, José Martí, the truth of the statement: "Our wine may be bitter but it is our wine".

38. Therefore let us welcome with open arms that small island in the Caribbean, Saint Lucia, as we see it entering the United Nations as a Member. In spite of its small size its spirit is broadened by its acceptance of the obligation imposed on it to proscribe war and to maintain peace in the world, and its dedication to the principles governing us all.

39. This idea of peace should be inculcated as a mystic teaching every day among men and nations, so that perhaps in the course of time it will cease to be a Utopian idea and man can then say that he has achieved the impossible. Therefore the Dominican Republic joins in the most recent initiative of Costa Rica for the creation, within the United Nations system, of a University for Peace.<sup>2</sup>

40. Finally, permit me to invoke on this solemn occasion that provision of the Charter which calls on all States Members of the Organization—and this is the corner-stone of our policy for avoiding the scourge of war and is perhaps the synthesis of all the objectives justifying the very existence of the United Nations—"to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

41. Mr. da LUZ (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*)<sup>3</sup>: About four years ago we came to the General Assembly for the first time, after a long struggle for national liberation which made it possible for the people of Cape Verde to enjoy their inalienable right to stand on their own feet, to think for themselves and in freedom and peace to build their society in accordance with the profound aspirations for justice and progress of all the peoples represented here who constitute the very essence of the United Nations.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, para. 119.

<sup>3</sup> Mr. da Luz spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

42. Imbued with the ideals enshrined in our Charter, the Republic of Cape Verde, on its accession to sovereignty, joined that growing circle of sovereign countries on the basis of wholesome respect for the principles today guiding the international community, aware of its responsibilities as a Member State and truly understanding its role in the concert of nations, and it has always supported and shown confidence in the United Nations. Our Organization is today responsive to the legitimate aspirations of the countries of the third world and open to the demanding winds of contemporary history and less vulnerable than formerly to selfish moves, because we are more realistic and more democratic in our approach to problems. The increasingly important role these countries are playing in our Organization strengthens our convictions and encourages us in our hope that we have taken a significant step towards the establishment of a more democratic order in international relations.

43. We take this opportunity to welcome the Republic of Saint Lucia, which has just joined our Organization, an act confirming us in our view.

44. Four years have passed since we joined this distinguished gathering as an independent country, and since that time we have had an opportunity to test the political maturity of this Assembly and assess the important possibilities for action open to the Organization. The effectiveness of the Organization is constantly being tested by the changing political opinions of Member States, and we must strengthen that effectiveness, as is required by members of the international community increasingly aware of their duties and obligations. This effectiveness will determine whether the major needs of our peoples, the demands of nations that have been plundered and States that have no recourse when faced with the many dangerous problems affecting the international community in the sphere of national development, will be met.

45. The international situation since the thirty-third session of the General Assembly has continued to evolve in a way that we can with difficulty refer to as being positive, especially when one bears in mind the following facts: the worsening of the world economic crisis, marked by inflation which stands in the way of the efforts of the international community and particularly the developing countries to bring about progress; the energy crisis, which has had a disastrous effect on our economies; the persistence of trouble spots which, if allowed to continue, might very well endanger international peace; the outbreak of conflicts with new features that threaten long-standing geo-political balances; and, finally, efforts, which have so far been unsuccessful, to reconcile the views of the industrialized countries with those of the developing countries in major negotiations which should lead to a new international economic order that is more just and equitable.

46. Confronted as we are with this disturbing tangle of circumstances, which it behoves us to approach as objectively as we can, you must try, Mr. President, to apprehend the complex factors behind the interests of States in our day and conduct our debates in such a way as to buttress the efforts of every one in the endeavour to bring about just and lasting solutions which are satisfactory to the people we represent. Here you have our complete support, Mr. President. As a renowned diplomat, familiar with the intricacies of international

politics and an indefatigable fighter for just causes, profoundly involved in our struggles for the ideals of the United Nations, you deserve our consideration and respect. When we were fighting for our liberation, the PAIGC<sup>4</sup> needed the support of all its friends in this Organization, and our party always found a supporter in you. You were a brother in arms, deeply committed to our national liberation movement, and you fully identified yourself with our aims of justice and progress.

47. We would like to express our appreciation and our feeling of the profound solidarity between our country and the United Republic of Tanzania, which has, in the interests of our people, built a nation in dignity and courage under the enlightened and wise leadership of their respected leader, Julius Nyerere. The United Republic of Tanzania is a fraternal country for which we in Cape Verde have great admiration, and we are proud of the bonds which have united us since before our independence.

48. We should also like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, who, thanks to his political experience and competence, was able to conduct our last session in a successful manner. It was a difficult session in many respects.

49. We should also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who continues calmly, responsibly and intelligently to watch over the fortunes of our Organization. During these troubled and eventful times, his wisdom and loftiness of vision have helped him to understand our international problems, and he will surely once again contribute to our debates and help implement solutions to the various difficult problems which are of concern to us. We should like also to express our support to him for his laudable efforts to implement the decisions of our Assembly and ensure respect for the principles contained in the United Nations Charter, and to add that we are constantly at his disposal to give him our support in his many difficult tasks.

50. Last year, our Prime Minister, Pedro Rodrigues Verona Pires, stressed here the importance of our geographical position "at the crossroads of peoples and continents"<sup>5</sup>—a position which means that Cape Verde is destined to make a contribution to the coming together of the people of the world.

51. It may not be in vain to reaffirm here our determination to contribute to the defence of peace and good-neighbourliness among nations. This means, from our point of view, unswerving respect for the fundamental principles of non-alignment, and in particular the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, the peaceful settlement of disputes and the creation of conditions for fruitful and just co-operation among States.

52. We are well aware that these principles and essential rules for peaceful coexistence among nations in our day cannot assume their full significance until there is

reciprocity that applies to all and until they benefit all the dominated peoples of the world.

53. In taking up the situation in Africa, we should like to mention the name of one man, a great freedom fighter and chief of State, Agostinho Neto, to whom this General Assembly paid a just tribute at the opening of this session. A convinced militant and indefatigable fighter for the causes of peoples, Agostinho Neto devoted his entire life to the Angolan nation, and participated selflessly and courageously as one of Africa's finest sons in the modern adventure of that continent's search for its true identity. His passing is an inestimable loss to Africa, to the third world and to all peoples who love peace and justice. He was undeniably one of their greatest leaders and bravest defenders.

54. In the southern part of our continent we note with regret and growing concern the many manoeuvres which are being carried out and which have been carried out since our last session by the minority racist régimes with a view to dispossessing the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia of their inalienable right to independence, peace, justice and progress. These manoeuvres, which are of every kind, are aimed at perpetuating a system of domination and exploitation which has been repudiated by the international community and to maintain systems of alliances which will promote that domination.

55. The so-called "internal settlement" solution, which consists of placing in power—either through a "government" or through a "Constituent Assembly"—non-representative elements that are totally committed to the interests of the ruling racist minority, has shown itself to be unacceptable.

56. The recent Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity in Monrovia in July provided a stinging denial of these attempts to fool the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia by formulating precise recommendations with regard to the possible recognition of any puppet régime [see A/34/552].

57. It is to be hoped that the London talks may be able to produce results enabling the people of Zimbabwe to move towards real independence unhampered by the plans and schemes of the neo-colonialists and racists. We would reiterate our confidence in the people of Zimbabwe who, under the guidance of their liberation movement, the Patriotic Front, will prevent any recurrence of these manoeuvres which are aimed at stifling their fundamental aspirations.

58. In Namibia, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] continues to be the sole representative of the Namibian people and deserves the full support of the African countries and of the United Nations. It seems to us essential to affirm once again that the only way to bring about a just solution which corresponds to the real aspirations of the peoples of the area would be to consolidate what has been won in terms of the liberation struggle and to strengthen the liberation movement.

59. The United Nations, whose resolutions have year after year been flouted and ignored by the racist régimes, might very well outlive its usefulness pre-

<sup>4</sup> Partido Africano da Independencia da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 23rd meeting, para. 222.

turely if this Assembly allowed the present attempts at neo-colonial solutions to take root. It must contribute effectively to overthrowing any illegal and illegitimate power that can never bring about the fulfilment of deep-seated aspirations of the peoples of the region.

60. Enhanced vigilance by the international community is necessary with regard to the development of the situation in these two Territories. The true nature of the racist régimes must be understood, for they are responsible for barbaric murderous acts of aggression against the front-line countries, particularly against Angola, Mozambique and Zambia.

61. The objective of these acts of aggression, which have been perpetrated in arrant defiance of international law, is to destabilize those countries and to create a situation which would force the withdrawal of support for the national liberation movements.

62. In South Africa, which remains the rear guard and active support of the racist régimes of Zimbabwe and Namibia, there still exists an intolerable situation which has been condemned time and time again by the General Assembly. It is a situation where systematic violation of the most elementary human rights has become the system of Government. This bastion of *apartheid* is pursuing the policy of bantustanization, which has so often been condemned by this Assembly, and is also stepping up its acts of terrorism against the independent countries of Africa.

63. We are profoundly convinced that in the present situation only international action undertaken in unconditional solidarity with the liberation movements of the peoples of southern Africa will make it possible to put an end to a situation which weighs heavily on the conscience of mankind and which might very well lead to explosions of violence, the consequences of which are quite unpredictable.

64. The present situation in Western Sahara is a source of lively concern for all African countries and for the peoples of the world who share a love of peace and justice. In fact, in the face of intransigence, which tends to perpetuate aggression and consolidate the systematic violation of the elementary human rights of the people of Western Sahara, those people, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO,<sup>6</sup> are waging a fierce struggle for the aims and ideals which the international community has elevated to the rank of principle and embodied in international law.

65. During its Assembly in Monrovia in July, the OAU, acting responsibly and with a keen awareness of realities, was able to open the way and indicate the principles and objectives of a just settlement of the problem, reaffirming the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.

66. It is a matter of concern and regret that the Government of Morocco, defying the efforts and decisions of the OAU has contributed, by its obstinate attitude, to the deterioration of the dangerous climate of tension that carries the greatest threat for peace and stability in the area.

67. We sincerely hope that the parties will see the light, and make it possible to co-operate in implementing the recommendations of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara and bring about a just solution to the problem of the people of Western Sahara, that heroic people which under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO has already suffered too much. In this way, we shall prevent the extension of a conflict which would inevitably assume more threatening proportions thus causing severe moral, material and human harm to all the opposing countries in that area.

68. In the same way, we cannot accept the colonial situation imposed on the people of East Timor which, under the leadership of FRETILIN,<sup>7</sup> continues to fight for the total implementation of their aspirations to freedom and independence.

69. In the Middle East there prevails a situation of aggression and profound injustice against a people who have been expelled from their lands, hunted down and robbed, and against the Arab nation as a whole that has seen its Holy Places defiled and its territorial integrity destroyed.

70. This situation continues to outrage the general feeling of the international community, which has been expressed so often and so unequivocally in this General Assembly and in other institutions of our Organization.

71. We continue to be convinced that peace in the Middle East must be comprehensive, and independence and security for all the peoples of the area must be guaranteed within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

72. It is up to this General Assembly once again to demand the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the Palestinian and Arab territories it has occupied, and to demand the recovery by the Palestinian people of all their inalienable national rights, including the right to an independent Palestinian State. The Assembly must also consider what effective steps can be taken to induce Israel to respect decisions of the Assembly and to renounce its policy of aggression, expansion and plunder.

73. I should like once again to express our unswerving support for the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], the sole legitimate representative of the heroic people of Palestine, and our conviction that a final settlement of the problem of the Middle East cannot be brought about without the active participation of the PLO, on a footing of equality with all the parties directly involved in the conflict.

74. The General Assembly must do its utmost to safeguard the territorial integrity of Lebanon and restore peace and stability to that Member country. Otherwise it is to be feared that the situation will become more serious and assume incalculable proportions.

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

75. In Cyprus, it is high time that the talks between the two communities should, without outside intervention

<sup>6</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

<sup>7</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

and as soon as possible, decide on specific action to take to meet the profound aspirations for peace and justice of the Cypriot people, and to achieve unity and territorial integrity in the country, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

76. While the international community as a whole realizes the need to put an end to the arms race and to follow a course leading towards real disarmament as laid down by the tenth special session of the General Assembly, it must be recognized that up to now that community has not used to the full all the means it has to control the present dangerous and costly process, to strengthen security among States and to give to détente a universal and stable meaning, on all five continents.

77. In this context, the recent signing of the Treaty between the Soviet Union and the United States on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons reached at the conclusion of the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT], is a source of satisfaction and should encourage the parties to pursue and extend their scope.

78. The continuance of a system where peace is only the result of an abiding fear of mutual destruction cannot create an atmosphere favourable to the attainment of the conditions necessary for reaching the objectives of general and complete disarmament.

79. In this important process in which the international community is engaged in putting an end to the arms race and limiting weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons with a view to general and complete disarmament, the United Nations has a central role to play, one of growing importance in the achievement of its major objectives.

80. We hope that both the Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament will carry out the missions assigned to them and create the conditions necessary for fruitful negotiations yielding tangible results, notably in the field of negotiations concerning nuclear weapons.

81. The Republic of Cape Verde ascribes great importance to the relationship between disarmament and development, and hopes that the various bodies of our Organization will be able to propose practical ways and means of devoting a large part of the resources released from the arms race to the satisfaction of the fundamental social and economic needs of the developing countries and, in particular, of the least developed among them.

82. The establishment of a lasting policy of international security should make it possible for countries to devote their efforts to development and to enjoy that well-being that is the unanimous desire of the international community, a desire that should be put into effect, not so much in terms of resolutions, conventions and declarations, as in tangible facts, in international relations and in concrete actions taken within the framework of disarmament.

83. Our country is now occupied with many different tasks: the struggle for national reconstruction, the struggle against drought, the struggle against the re-

maintaining after-effects of colonialism; and a struggle to develop our greatest resource, the Cape Verde citizen.

84. In present circumstances austerity continues to be the chief guideline of our economic and financial activities. It will bring about stability and discipline in all sectors.

85. In a country of limited resources, recently emerged from a cruelly neglectful colonial domination and a prey to natural disasters, such as drought, it is difficult to believe in miracles. It is only natural that we should use man as the starting-point of our efforts and of all our hopes. The harsh realities of Cape Verde make it necessary for us to mobilize all our efforts to deal methodically with determination and without unnecessary haste, with these long-standing problems, using strategies and tactics based on scientific principles with a view to the best possible use of the human material and resources which our country has succeeded in harnessing.

86. By specific acts we reaffirm the principle which we affirmed when we became independent: that we are a State of law, a land of peace, tolerance and work.

87. If little by little, like many other countries before us, we are creating conditions that will make it possible for us to overcome our various difficulties, still enormous in a country which has to import almost all its capital and consumer goods and which has up to now been subject to chronic drought, it is because the people of our country participate in our development efforts, supported by international solidarity. While, by overcoming many obstacles, the people of Cape Verde are learning to have not only hope, but also confidence in themselves, faith in the future, and the certainty that their own ability is enough to build a prosperous nation, the profoundly deleterious hazards of the international economic situation and their disastrous effects on the socio-economic problems of disadvantaged countries like our own are of great concern to our Government.

88. The standards of international co-operation, which are unfair in many respects, create situations that are intolerable for developing countries, and distort dialogue which, though based primarily on the responsibility to avoid futile confrontations, may nevertheless, unless due care is taken, become an end in itself and fail to deal with the pressing needs of the developing countries.

89. This is to say that our concerns are based on the serious daily difficulties facing our people, who realize that the economic crisis prevailing in the world acquires a particularly serious and even tragic dimension for the third world.

90. Widespread inflation, aggravated by unbridled speculation in certain areas which dominate the world economic machinery, constitutes one of the major challenges of our time, that our Organization should tackle. It is intolerable that the vast majority of the inhabitants of our world—who are at the same time the poorest—are forced to bear the brunt of the effects of a crisis for which they were not responsible.

91. The laudable efforts of many Governments of the developing countries to offer their peoples the minimal

living standards to which they are entitled are doomed to failure.

92. In these circumstances international solidarity, given tangible form in certain development programmes, is only a placebo and nothing more than a meagre compensation for the trying circumstances in which our people must live.

93. The new development decade which our Organization is preparing runs the risk of not achieving its objectives if we do not go beyond the stage of mere declarations of intention and if we continue to be unable to implement our own decisions.

94. In the course of many international conferences during the past decade, these problems of underdevelopment have been clearly identified. In a word, what we need to do is to establish more just and humane relations between countries, and to do away with the structures of domination, which are a holdover from the days when the majority of mankind had no right to speak and which hampered the development efforts of the peoples of the third world.

95. Above and beyond this distressing vision of today's world, dominated by inconstancy and lack of understanding, we must add that the world economic crisis has apparently brought with it a disturbing return to protectionism, which might well destroy all the efforts at industrialization in the third world.

96. Certain measures have been adopted in this context which suggest that an unrealistic view is being taken of the economic problems and which are unacceptable to the international community either out of simple justice or out of the long-term interests of the world's peoples, especially those of the developed countries.

97. Even more than access to markets, access to technology and the conquest of science seems to us to be a just demand by the developing countries. In this area the industrialized countries, and particularly the specialized agencies of the United Nations, should spare no effort to implement the decisions adopted at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.<sup>8</sup>

98. While the international community's condemnation of the unjust relations that exist among the Members of the United Nations should not conceal the responsibility that each of our States has to promote the well-being of our peoples and social justice, it is equally true that it is also our duty, as inhabitants of this world, to reject firmly the unlawful profits and situations of domination and exploitation which are constant sources of tension and which constitute a serious threat to the humanistic ideals of our Organization.

99. It is a matter of urgency to proceed to the effective establishment of a new world economic order, the general direction and practical machinery of which have already been defined. It is only the political will of the Member States on which its success depends that is missing.

<sup>8</sup> See Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development (Vienna, 20 to 31 August 1979) (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21).

100. The present session must deal with many questions of vital importance for the whole international community, and all our efforts will be required to consolidate peace, promote détente, realize the objectives of justice and create conditions for progress.

101. Our Organization is an ideal forum for resolving many of the evils of this world, which is going through a crucial period in the torment of which the changes essential to achieving equilibrium among nations and the survival of mankind as a whole are taking shape.

102. The people of Cape Verde have increasing confidence in our Organization and the various bodies which represent it in our country. Our Government is determined to make our modest contribution to the prestige and consolidation of our Organization and to make it an effective instrument for implementing the decisions of the General Assembly.

103. Finally, we wish to express the hope of the people of Cape Verde that the work of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly will be successful and that courageous and practical action will be taken to ensure that development shall not remain a remote myth, but shall become a living reality for our peoples—an irreversible process, based on political will and cemented by solidarity and the enlightened self-interest of the entire international community.

104. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR I wish to convey our sincere congratulations to the people, the Government and the Socialist Unity Party of the German Democratic Republic, and to that country's delegation to this session of the Assembly on the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of their State. The celebration of this important anniversary and the ceremonial meeting in Berlin have been clear manifestations of the peace-loving aspirations of the countries of the socialist commonwealth and a striking demonstration of the advantages of the socialist social system.

105. The international situation in which the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly is meeting and working is, in principle favourable to the cause of peace and progress, but it is marked at the same time by considerable complications. There is a good deal that is positive in it which coincides with the aspirations of the peoples, but we cannot fail to see also that contrary phenomena are still powerful. The world has not yet rid itself of the propaganda and threat of war, or of social injustice and hegemonistic ambitions. The picture of the international situation is made up of the real policies of States and if, in analysing it, one identifies the most important and fundamental elements, the essence of the problem lies in whether any given State makes as the corner-stone of its foreign policy the task of strengthening international peace and security, or whether it prefers to aim for other goals which may not only fall short of the interests of peace, but may actually oppose them.

106. As everyone knows the States of the socialist community have made the corner-stone of their foreign policy the prevention of a new world war, the creation of conditions for national liberation and social progress in the world in an atmosphere of international peace and security. The Lenin policy of peace, co-operation and



friendship among peoples, which they have pursued unswervingly, reflects the essence of the socialist system and its genuinely democratic character. It is dictated by the interests of the broad masses of the workers and is in keeping with the aspirations of all the peoples of the world.

107. In putting into effect the programme of peace which was proclaimed at the Twenty-fourth Congress of our Leninist Party and developed at its Twenty-fifth Congress, the Soviet State, together with other countries of the socialist community, has achieved major foreign policy successes which have had a most profound and fruitful effect on the whole of contemporary international life. As was stressed by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, the Soviet nation is doing everything in its power:

“ . . . to develop co-operation with the forces of peace, freedom and progress, to thwart the schemes of aggressive circles and to defend and deepen international détente” [*Pravda*, 3 March 1979].

108. The foreign policies of the USSR and other States of the socialist community are imbued with a sincere concern for strengthening trust and co-operation among States with differing social systems. These policies are linked with the positive changes which have occurred in international life and which together constitute international détente. We are firmly convinced that success in the liberation struggles of the peoples of the world, the struggle against social injustice, reaction and anything which prevents the peoples of the world from marching forward on the road of progress can only strengthen détente.

109. The Byelorussian people, like all the peoples of the Soviet State, with its many millions of inhabitants, is consistent in its support of the idea that the process of détente should become irreversible and that its benefits should be enjoyed by the peoples of the whole world. Together with all the States of the socialist community we shall continue firmly and purposefully to fight for this goal.

110. A truly historic landmark in the development of détente and a considerable achievement in the struggle to curb the arms race and strengthen international peace and security was the signing of the Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Weapons. In order to consolidate this achievement it is necessary that the Treaty be ratified without any artificial delays. The SALT Treaty, which provides for restraining the growth of the strategic potentials of the two great Powers, opens up the possibility of more radical steps aimed at real disarmament and the reduction of the danger of a new war.

111. Of great importance to the cause of peace are the positive changes which have occurred in recent years in Europe, as reflected in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. But political détente must develop further in the form of military détente. This end would be served by the conclusion by the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference of a treaty renouncing the first use of nuclear or conventional weapons against one another,

as well as by the convening, at the political level, of a conference on strengthening confidence among States, lessening the threat of military confrontation, and reducing the concentration of armed forces and armaments in Europe.

112. As far as the States of the socialist community are concerned, they have shown goodwill and readiness, constantly and in concrete terms, to build a lasting edifice of peace together with other peoples and to do everything in their power to promote the development of international co-operation. This is demonstrated by the striking and meaningful statement made at this session [7th meeting] by Comrade Andrei A. Gromyko, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, as well as by the statements of the heads of delegations of other fraternal socialist countries. The same goal is sought by the decisions of the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, held at Moscow on 23 November 1978,<sup>9</sup> and of the Committee of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty [see A/34/275-S/13344], which met on 14 and 15 May 1979 in Budapest. We must also point out the very constructive initiatives and proposals of the socialist countries put forward at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe; these open up real prospects for the achievement of an agreement based on strict observance of the principle of the undiminished security of any of the parties to the agreement.

113. At the current session of the United Nations General Assembly, the Soviet Union has proposed for consideration by the Assembly, a very topical and important item: “Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations” [A/34/243]. The amount of grief and suffering which the policy of hegemonism has brought to mankind in the past is well known. We have seen the colonial empires, wars of aggression aimed at the conquest of the territory of other States, and numerous attempts at domination and the subjugation of one State or people to another. Such a policy has always intensified international tension, has destabilized the international situation and has been a source of armed conflicts. But it is particularly dangerous today, given the availability and growth of the means of mass annihilation and destruction. Therefore, we must resolutely condemn the policy of hegemonism in all its forms and, on the basis of the principle of the sovereign equality of States and of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, declare, on behalf of the peoples of the United Nations, that never, under any circumstances, or for any reason whatever, shall any State or groups of States be allowed to make a bid for hegemony in international affairs or to seek a position of domination either in the world as a whole or in any of its regions.

114. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR calls upon all States Members of the United Nations actively to support the draft resolution proposed by the Soviet Union in document A/34/243 on the inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939.

115. We, the Soviet people, sincerely rejoice that more and more peoples around the globe have thrown off the yoke of colonialism and oppression and are building a new life. They all have a profound interest in multiplying the fruits of their creative labours in conditions of peace and progress. We welcome the consolidation of the authority of these States in the world arena and their active struggle for the triumph of the ideals of peace and freedom, a struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, imperialism and reaction. They are conducting this struggle, *inter alia*, in the United Nations and other international organizations, and in the non-aligned movement, whose Sixth Conference recently came to a successful close in Havana and made a weighty contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security, to the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and to the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the liberated countries.

116. But among all these positive factors, it is impossible not to see something different: the most reactionary forces of imperialism, the manufacturers of armaments, the militarists, champions of the "cold war" and their hirelings and yes men are not slackening their criminal efforts against détente and disarmament and against the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world. They demand more and more billions in expenditures for military purposes and for the creation of ever more destructive and barbarous weapons and they are striving to deploy these weapons on the territory of other States. The States members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the 30 years of its existence, have increased their military expenditure tenfold and are continuing to intensify the arms race. Reactionary circles are making attempts to put an end by force to the liberation struggle of the peoples and to interfere in the internal affairs of other States. Aggression has been committed against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, provocations continue against the countries of South-East Asia and territorial claims are being made against other States. Israel's aggressive actions continue in the Middle East and the Western monopolistic circles continue to attempt to preserve, by various manoeuvres, the racist régimes in southern Africa. All of this constitutes a serious danger of war.

117. In this situation there is no more important task than to unite the efforts of all forces of peace, freedom and progress with a view to curbing the aggressors resolutely, curtailing the arms race, expanding and deepening international détente, supplementing political détente with military détente and ensuring the right of all peoples to free and independent development.

118. It is necessary to seek new effective solutions, including those within the framework of the United Nations, to stop the arms race, first of all the nuclear arms race, and to reverse it. In this connexion, the proposal of the Soviet Union on the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of stockpiles of them until they have been completely liquidated<sup>10</sup> is of special importance. The socialist countries recently submitted in the Committee on Disarmament a proposal on the start of negotiations with regard to this problem,<sup>11</sup> and the United Nations General Assembly should pronounce itself in favour of making this work more active.

119. The Byelorussian SSR is in favour of the conclusion, on the basis of the draft of the Soviet Union,<sup>12</sup> of an international convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons against those States which have renounced the production and acquisition of nuclear weapons and do not have them on their territory, and is also in favour of reaching an agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on the territory of States where there are no such weapons at present. The proposal of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic entitled "Adoption of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament" [A/34/141] is very timely and topical.

120. We should note with satisfaction the progress made in the work of the Committee on Disarmament, in which the USSR and the United States have submitted a joint agreed proposal<sup>13</sup> on the basic elements of a treaty on the prohibition of the development, production, stockpiling and use of radiological weapons. And all the necessary prerequisites exist for the successful completion of the negotiations between the USSR, the United States and the United Kingdom on the treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests. The Soviet-American negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons are going on. However, there are difficulties standing in the way of progress in these negotiations, and these are difficulties of an artificial character. It goes without saying that it is not the erection of artificial obstacles in these negotiations but the attainment of mutually acceptable agreements on these questions that would constitute a substantial contribution to the limitation of the arms race.

121. The need to work out and to conclude as soon as possible a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations continues to be exceedingly important.

122. The ensuring of lasting peace and the security of peoples presupposes the need to eliminate existing hotbeds of tension. While confirming our well-known position on the question of Cyprus and on the need for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the territory of South Korea, we should like to draw attention to the problem of the Middle East. The situation in that region has recently become more complicated and more dangerous as a result of the conclusion under the aegis of the United States of a separate Israeli-Egyptian treaty. Any attempts to present this treaty as a kind of "first step" in the cause of a settlement in the Middle East should not mislead anyone. It is not a "settlement" but an imposed collusion aimed at barring the Arab people of Palestine from exercising their legitimate national rights and at consolidating the Israeli occupation of a part of the Arab lands, encouraging the aggressor and instigating Israel to new aggressive actions against the Arab peoples. Recent events in the Middle East indisputably confirm such a conclusion.

123. The only way to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is through a comprehensive settlement with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO, a settlement which would make it possible for the lands conquered from the Arab countries in 1967 to be returned to them, for the Arab people of Palestine to exercise their right to self-

<sup>10</sup> Document A/S-10/AC.1/4, annex.

<sup>11</sup> See document CD/4.

<sup>12</sup> See document CD/23.

<sup>13</sup> See documents CD/31 and CD/32.

determination and the creation of their own independent State, and for all the peoples and countries of this region to enjoy their guaranteed right to a secure existence and development.

124. The Byelorussian SSR wishes to express its solidarity with all peoples which have become the victims of imperialist pressures. We categorically condemn expansionism in the policy of China and confirm our full support for the peoples of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea in their just struggle for the protection of their freedom and independence. The recent aggression of China against Viet Nam and its threats to take up arms again to teach Viet Nam "a second lesson"—all this constitutes a threat to peace and security in Asia and throughout the world.

125. Our time is one of profound social transformations in many countries of the world. In Asia, Africa and Latin America the peoples seek to be the masters of their own destinies; and when tyrannical and pro-imperialist régimes fall, as happened recently in Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Iran and Nicaragua, this is a victory for both the peoples who suffered from the oppression of such régimes and, ultimately, the cause of peace and progress of all mankind.

126. The United Nations must take into account the realities of today. We fully support the legitimate right of the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea to represent in the United Nations and in other international organizations the Kampuchean people, who rid themselves of the clique of barbarians that had exterminated 3 million Kampuchians to please alien interests. We shall continue an active struggle in this matter, and we are confident that they will find a just solution.

127. The just struggle which the peoples of Africa, supported by the progressive forces of the world, are waging for the full and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* has entered a final phase. The formation of a free Africa is taking place in conditions of acute confrontation between the forces of national liberation and progress and the forces of imperialism and reaction, which seek to impede this irreversible process and even to launch a counter-attack. This is evidenced by the situation which has evolved in southern Africa, where the racists, supported by imperialist circles, are undertaking desperate efforts to break the will to victory of the patriots of Zimbabwe and Namibia and thus to maintain that region as a preserve of racism and oppression, as well as a bridge-head menacing independent Africa.

128. The Byelorussian SSR has consistently supported the immediate exercise of the inalienable rights of the peoples of southern Africa to self-determination and independence; the transfer of all power to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and their authentic representatives, the Patriotic Front and SWAPO; and the eradication of the shameful system of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa. We resolutely condemn the manoeuvres of the neo-colonialists in southern Africa and the aggressive actions of the racists against the forces of national liberation and against neighbouring independent countries; and we support the demands for the application to the racist régimes of effective and comprehensive international sanctions in accordance

with the United Nations Charter. We condemn the intrigues of the forces of imperialism and reaction, which aim at sowing discord and conflict among the peoples of independent Africa and hampering the exercise of the will of those peoples to build their relations on the basis of mutual respect for independence, territorial integrity and historically formed borders.

129. The solution of the problem of reducing the danger of war and bringing about disarmament—the most global problem of our times—is a prerequisite for the solution of problems facing mankind, including the problem of development. This would create the material guarantees for a peaceful future for all the peoples of the world and would make it possible to divert funds released by the reduction in military budgets to the needs of economic development and to social and cultural progress.

130. The struggle by the developing countries to strengthen their national independence from imperialism, to ensure their economic independence and to let the peoples of the world enjoy the real results of their national independence acquires an ever broader scope and deeper character. The key to overcoming the age-old backwardness of these countries lies in radical social and economic reforms which would release a tremendous amount of collective energy from their peoples. This truth is confirmed by the fact that a growing number of the developing countries are choosing the progressive path to development and are carrying out fundamental social and economic reforms and are achieving tangible results in their development.

131. As far as equitable international economic co-operation is concerned, an important role should be played by a further restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. The fundamental principles of such a restructuring are provided for in such important decisions of the General Assembly as the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI)* and *3202 (S-VI)*].

132. However, although quite some time has elapsed since the adoption of these decisions, their provisions remain unfulfilled, due to the policies of monopolistic circles in the capitalist countries, which continue to pursue a neo-colonialist course, perpetuating and intensifying their exploitation of the developing countries and maintaining their privileges in international economic relations. The so-called assistance by the West to the developing countries still constitutes but a fragment of the profits, interests and dividends earned by the capitalist monopolies through the exploitation of the developing countries and dependent peoples.

133. The Byelorussian SSR unswervingly supports the normalization of commercial and economic relations, the removal of all forms and manifestations of exploitation, discrimination and *diktat* and the establishment of genuinely equitable and mutually beneficial relations among States with strict observance of the principle of non-interference in one another's internal affairs.

134. The activities of the States members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance [*CMEA*] are a

model for such co-operation. In three decades of co-operation, the CMEA member States, through the heroic and relentless toil of their peoples and in spite of the losses and destruction of the Second World War, have increased the volume of their industrial production by 17 times and have approximately tripled their gross agricultural production. Only one tenth of the world population live in the CMEA countries, but they smelt nearly every third ton of steel produced in the world, produce two out of every five tons of mineral fertilizer, manufacture more than one quarter of metal-working equipment and build approximately as many apartments as the "Common Market" countries and the United States together. Through assistance by the CMEA member States, about 4,000 projects have been or are being built in the developing countries: iron and steel plants with a total output of 30 million tons of steel a year; electric power stations with a total output of 16 million kilowatts; about 1 million graduate engineers, technicians and other specialists have been trained. The foreign trade turnover of the CMEA countries with the developing countries increased more than 40 times from 1950 to 1977.

135. This year, 1979, is the International Year of the Child. This is widely celebrated in our Republic where, as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the construction of a developed socialist society, the rising generation is being given the best that people can have and the children are surrounded by constant care; in our society every person can rest assured about the future of his children.

136. We support activities within the framework of the International Year of the Child in the defence of the children of the whole world from suffering and sorrow, racial discrimination and exploitation, misery and war. The right of children of all peoples to a happy and joyous childhood must be guaranteed.

137. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR attaches great importance to the development of international co-operation in encouraging respect for human rights. This co-operation should be brought about primarily through the participation by all States in existing international conventions and covenants in the human rights field and in their implementation. These are the International Covenants on Human Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex], the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX), annex], the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide [resolution 260 A (III), annex], the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid [resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex] and others.

138. This co-operation should also be brought about through the resolute struggle by the international community, including the United Nations, against the flagrant and massive violations of human rights which are occurring today in southern Africa, in the Arab territories occupied by Israel, in Chile and in all other places where the imperialists and their henchmen are violating basic human rights.

*Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

139. Co-operation in encouraging respect for human

rights should not be used as an opportunity for interference in the internal affairs of other States or for the incitement of hostility and hatred towards other peoples. Co-operation in this field cannot be facilitated by proposals to change the structure and powers of the bodies in the human rights field formed within the framework of the United Nations or by attempts to create any supranational bodies.

140. The Byelorussian SSR favours strengthening the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security and in the development of international co-operation in various fields by means of the strictest observance of its Charter, and we cannot support proposals for the revision of this Charter, wherever they come from and under whatever pretext they are made.

141. The peoples of the world want secure and irreversible peace, a peace open to broad international co-operation in the name of progress. "For peace", as was stressed by Comrade L.I. Brezhnev, "is life and progress, the prospect of a happy future—children's joyful laughter and smiles—a kind and generous sun over our blue planet" [*Pravda*, 17 August 1979].

142. To justify these hopes of peoples, to promote the deepening of détente, to search for ways and means of solving the problems of halting the arms race and bringing about disarmament, to contribute to the settlement of urgent international problems, to develop international co-operation—herein, we are deeply convinced, lies the high duty of the United Nations, and the current session of the General Assembly is in duty bound to make its weighty contribution to this noble cause.

143. Mr. CONTEH (Sierra Leone): Permit me, on behalf of the Sierra Leone delegation, to extend to you, Mr. President, our warmest fraternal felicitations on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Sierra Leone is indeed happy to see you conducting the deliberations of this body during this session. Your long and active involvement with the United Nations, your devotion and dynamic contribution to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and to the non-aligned movement, all qualify you for the high office to which you have been elected. My delegation is therefore convinced that an African of your calibre and experience will undoubtedly conduct the deliberations of this Assembly to the satisfaction of every State represented here. We have no doubt on that score and, to that end, I pledge the co-operation of my delegation. We also find it reassuring that you come from a country, the United Republic of Tanzania, that has over the years been in the vanguard of the liberation struggle for the vindication of the rights of man, particularly in southern Africa.

144. I should also like to thank your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for having performed his task so admirably during the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. We place on record my Government's appreciation of his contributions.

145. Before I proceed any further, please allow me, Sir, to pay a tribute at this juncture to a comrade in arms

in the liberation struggle. I refer to the demise of President Agostinho Neto, the late President of the People's Republic of Angola. In his death, the cause of the rights of man has suffered a loss, for he was indeed a valiant fighter who found no sacrifice too great for the cause of the liberation of man. May his soul rest in peace.

146. When it was founded 34 years ago, the United Nations had many laudable objectives, including the need to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, to inculcate in nations the practice of tolerance and living together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to utilize international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples. Since then, it has remained an indispensable forum for the rationalization and harmonization of divergent political, economic, social and cultural views, in the pursuit of those objectives.

147. We are assembled here once again for another three months to reassess the progress and achievement which mankind has made in the pursuit of those objectives, which are today as valid as when they were first postulated some 34 years ago, for they represent in truth the eternal verities of our world.

148. Sierra Leone, like most other States Members of this Organization, shares an abiding faith in its existence and in the pursuit of the objectives to which I have just referred. Our annual session affords us the opportunity of reflecting on those principles and objectives and on the continued usefulness of the Organization. In that regard, we note that the Organization has not always been as effective as most of us would have wished in facing up to certain crucial issues. But despite its short-comings, the existence of our Organization has, over the years, transformed the relations of Member States from confrontation to co-operation. That is as it should be, for it is the *raison d'être* of the United Nations to provide a common platform for the international community in its collective search for solutions to common global problems.

149. The potential for mankind to achieve its finest hour in international economic co-operation and development has never been greater. Ironically, the prospects of its realizing that potential are, for the moment, bleak, gloomy and uncertain. The potential is at its greatest because mankind has today at its disposal unparalleled human, financial, managerial, institutional and technological resources to transform the face of our one earth into something brilliant, prosperous and efficient. Indeed, mankind has the capacity to ensure an equitable and widespread application of the benefits of modern science and technology for a crucial and effective improvement in the quality of life throughout the globe. However, our aspirations and even our most reasonable expectations have been thwarted and frustrated by men who are hesitant or afraid to share their know-how, to transfer their skills and to inject financial resources into those countries which are in greatest need. This hesitation may well be the product of a pusillanimous and less-than-magnanimous spirit and it manifests itself today all too glaringly in the new restrictive protectionism, inflation and monetary instability, contraction in foreign trade, recession in domestic growth and the painful pangs experienced by countries like mine in financing meaningful develop-

ment along the paths and within the time-frame we had anticipated.

150. The problems confronting the international community call for urgent and imaginative solutions and not for distracting and enervating debates on procedure and methodology. The negotiations of the United Nations are replete with examples of these wranglings: the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy for the third United Nations development decade and even most, if not all, of the working groups of UNCTAD abound with examples of long-drawn-out procedural cavilling. In an Organization which accommodates as many ideologies, cultural attitudes, religious persuasions and political differences as there are States Members, it is understandable that there must be divergent ideas about the best ways of effecting our programmes. However, it is our view that the wranglings have been stretched to the point of fatuity and sterility.

151. As we make ready to face the seemingly daunting challenges of a new decade, we must record our extreme disappointment at the dissipation of the resources available to man and the lack of application of those resources towards productive and human ends. And the decade of the 1970s will long be remembered as the era in which the global economy sank into a severe depression and the spectre of economic and social dislocation became a near-reality for almost every State.

152. Indeed, as the decade of the 1970s comes to a close, there is evidently hardly any room for comfort for any of us here. The current decade witnessed the addition of a new dimension to the now almost familiar, if uncomfortable, global polarity of East-West confrontation, namely the North-South dialogue, a process that has so far very little to record by way of achievement, but on whose successful conclusion may well depend the peace of our one world.

153. UNCTAD continues to be a focal-point for crucial discussions on international socio-economic co-operation and development matters. My Government wishes to place on record its appreciation for the work done by the UNCTAD Secretariat. This body continues to be a vehicle for espousing the third world's views on trade and development issues in their most useful and refreshing light. It was no accident, therefore, that the debate at the last session of UNCTAD in Manila was significantly focused on the need for fundamental structural changes within the international economic community and for a redefinition of the relationship between the various units in the structural chess-board of modern international economic relations.

154. My Government believes that there is every virtue in pursuing the broader objectives which the international community has come to accept in the mid-1970s as not only expressive of global interdependence but necessary for the continued survival and viability of the world as a whole. Of course, every State Member of the United Nations has been buffeted, in one way or another, by the billows of the recession as they smite the world economy; but the group of States that has been most vulnerable are the developing countries, and for them the problem in reality is not recession but slow and tortuous strangulation, as their socio-economic de-

velopment programmes are brought to a grinding halt for lack of resources and they painfully founder and may soon go under.

155. It is therefore my delegation's view that there should be a global approach to the transfer of real resources in all their related forms, for this is a necessary concomitant for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. Such resources should be provided on a continuous, predictable and increasingly assured basis.

156. The role of multilateral development institutions, whether regional or global, in the development process, particularly of the developing countries, is of crucial importance today. Consequently, it is desirable that access to the funds of these institutions be consistent with the objectives and priorities compatible with over-all sustained growth. It is therefore important that there be a determined resolution to increase the funds available to multilateral development institutions, to enable them to embark on their activities. Commensurate with this, there is a need for improvement in the aid practices of these institutions, particularly with regard to local cost programme-financing, which has inevitably reduced their net effect.

157. Furthermore, most developing countries today have to contend with large deficits in their balance of payments, mostly induced by external factors which it is far beyond their competence to control, in addition to a shortage of long-term capital inflow to support investment and development. The international monetary system is proving ineffective in dealing with these problems primarily because it was not designed with these countries in mind. The prevailing system prescribes restrictive adjustment measures, having very little relevance, if any, to the socio-political circumstances and the problems of long-term restructuring in developing countries.

158. Moreover, the heavy burden which this approach has placed on the developing countries has dampened their development efforts and in some cases aborted them. A system is therefore needed whereby the IMF will play a more responsive and effective role in financing intermediation relative to the special circumstances of the developing countries. This proves all the more the necessity for a world conference wherein monetary problems, not only of the developed countries but also of the developing countries, could be seriously addressed, a conference which would lead to the creation of a new international monetary order responsive to, and in tune with, the circumstances of our time.

159. A burden that has proved the common lot of nearly all countries here today is the energy crisis. Long-term prospects for sustained economic growth become unpredictable and uncertain because we cannot reasonably confirm the continued availability of energy, which is increasingly being priced out of reach. Traditional economics did not isolate or ascribe to energy the significance which it has now come to assume as a factor of production in the last quarter of the twentieth century. The inclusion in our agenda of a separate item on new and renewable sources of energy [item 71] underscores the crucial importance which the international community must attach to this problem.

160. For developing countries, the energy crisis is

more than just an energy crisis; it is a crisis for survival, particularly for non-oil-producing Members of this fraternity of States. It is time, therefore, that the international community paid attention to the plight of the oil-importing developing countries. In this connexion, therefore, the forthcoming United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy should address itself to the provision of this all-important and indispensable factor on terms which will accelerate development in the least-developed countries and ensure the continued lubrication of the industrial sinews of the world on a more assured basis.

161. In the meantime, the international community should take immediate ameliorative steps to help the non-oil-producing countries whose economies, and the very fabric of whose societies, are faced with imminent stagnation and break-down as a result of the energy crisis.

162. It is true that a New International Economic Order cannot be effected overnight, and this is not what we are asking for. What we do ask for is a reform of the system to permit greater participation and sharing of the benefits of world prosperity. Indeed, world peace not only means the end of world conflict, but also relates to justice in the relations between States and between members of the same States.

163. In the light of the foregoing, as we stand on the threshold of the 1980s, the necessity to achieve the goals and objectives of the New International Economic Order has never been more compelling, and as we prepare the international development strategy for the 1980s we trust that this Organization will be able to incorporate into that strategy the necessary goals and objectives which will ensure that we do not miss the opportunity to resolve our problems in a manner more congruent with the needs of our time and the future.

164. Even in the last quarter of the twentieth century, nation-States are still emerging as members of the international community. This itself is a reflection of the aspiration with which we were imbued some 34 years ago in San Francisco to enable the peoples of the world to live in larger freedom. This hope was concretized, in 1960, in the now-seminal resolution 1514 (XV) on the right of self-determination of peoples. Regrettably, however, this hope is yet to be universally realized.

165. It is, therefore, a matter of satisfaction and it is with some pride that Sierra Leone, as a member of the Special Committee on decolonization, welcomes Saint Lucia's emergence as a free, independent and sovereign State to take its rightful place in this council of nations. We congratulate it and feel confident that it will live up to the principles and objectives of this Organization.

166. However, the hope for larger freedom for the peoples of the world is still to be fully realized, for there are areas of our one world, particularly in southern Africa, still under colonial and racist domination epitomizing the denigration of man in its cruellest form. Southern Africa, where racism is enthroned as an official policy, compounded by a complex criss-cross of economic and other interests, remains today the supreme challenge to the yearning of oppressed peoples to achieve the right of self-determination and to flourish in that larger freedom predicated in San Francisco some 34 years ago, without regard to creed or colour.

167. The South African *apartheid* régime continues to perpetuate its odious policies despite the untiring efforts by this world body to condemn its inhuman activities and make it abjure its ways, which are not only inconsistent with the principles of human rights but contrary to the essence of man. There, in South Africa, man is still subjugated, denied his basic rights, exploited and discriminated against because of the colour of his skin. Every so often we hear of wrongful arrests and imprisonment, brutality and torture by the police, the victims only distinguishable by the colour of their skins.

168. Suppression and maltreatment continue unabated in deliberate defiance of the will of this Organization and world opinion. The collaborators of *apartheid* who publicly condemn it but surreptitiously encourage it by business and other links should hold themselves responsible for this and at the bar of public opinion are as guilty as the régime itself.

169. Permit me to draw the Assembly's attention to the current visit of a South African rugby team to the United Kingdom. The Commonwealth Heads of Government, at their Gleneagles meeting in 1977, arrived at a formula on sporting links with South Africa, which was reproduced in the Commonwealth statement on *apartheid* in sport and attached to the final communiqué issued in London in 1977, and here I quote it:

"Heads of Government specially welcome the belief, unanimously expressed at their meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa, while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of *Apartheid*."<sup>14</sup>

170. It is, therefore, a matter of extreme regret and pain that Her Britannic Majesty's Government, and particularly its Secretary of State for the Home Department, did not see the inadvisability of letting that team into the United Kingdom. The fact that it has been allowed to take place may well undermine confidence and cause a breach in the dike against *apartheid*. If we allow this to happen, we are giving succour and comfort to the practitioners of that odious policy, and that is not what we want or are seeking.

171. The question of Namibia has remained one of the gravest challenges to the authority of the United Nations. First by outright defiance and now by one subterfuge after another, South Africa has set its will against the international community in the latter's attempt to find a solution to the plight of that unfortunate Territory, to ensure its transition to independent statehood.

172. In addition to its despicable policies within South Africa itself, the *apartheid* régime has set itself up as a predator on neighbouring African countries and has, over the period, been carrying out a series of aggressive air raids and military attacks against Angola and it has lent similar support to the régime in Rhodesia in its attacks against neighbouring Zambia and Mozambique,

a situation that is manifestly a threat to international peace and security. South Africa, in truth, is today the problem child of the international community.

173. In the latest move in a series of intrigues to frustrate the aspirations of SWAPO and exclude that organization from any further political activity in Namibia, the South African *apartheid* Government has instituted a puppet National Assembly with so-called legislative powers in preparation for the conferment of a sham independent status. I would reiterate Sierra Leone's continued support for Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) and our recognition of SWAPO as the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people and we condemn any and every attempt by the South African racist régime to subvert the United Nations formula for self-determination and independence for Namibia.

174. Zimbabwe has, today, presented the international community with a test to prove peaceful negotiations as a viable alternative to war, as a means of achieving self-determination and independence. The recent Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting in Lusaka adopted a formula [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] which, with the backing and full support of the United Kingdom Government, which still bears legal responsibility for that Territory, holds out a prospect for accommodation and reconciliation to the inhabitants of that troubled Territory.

175. That is a process with which the Government of Sierra Leone fully identifies, but at the end of the day the current exercises in London must give birth to a Government that is both representative and reflective of the wishes of the majority of the people of that Territory and Zimbabwe should have genuine independence. At this juncture, all that the international community could wish is that sanity and goodwill prevail at Lancaster House in London, and this, we believe, is not too much to ask at this stage. We all watch with animation the transition of Rhodesia into a free, sovereign and genuinely independent Zimbabwe.

176. The Middle East is yet another area of our turbulent world yearning for peace, whether it be in the trials, the tribulations and the severe and desperate plight of the people of southern Lebanon or in the Palestinians' desire to achieve a State of their own.

177. Some 30-odd years ago, the walls of this Organization were reverberating with passionate and clamorous calls for the creation of a State for a people that had, in the annals of man's inhumanity to man, suffered some of the most cruel and brutal manifestations of that inhumanity, epitomized in its being scattered all over the world in the Diaspora and in the unspeakable horrors of the gas chambers of the Nazi holocaust.

178. The conscience of the international community was moved, and the basic humanity residing in the breast of that community saw the justice of the case and responded in 1947 by the creation of a State for the people of that Diaspora. This resulted in the birth, in 1948, of what today we know as the State of Israel. It is, therefore, to us one of the saddest and most inexplicable paradoxes of the human condition that that State should itself today be seen wittingly or unwittingly to be the cause of yet another Diaspora, by setting its face granite-like against the creation of a State for a people

<sup>14</sup> See *Final Communiqué of the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in London, 8-15 June 1977*, London, Commonwealth Secretariat, 1977, p. 22.

that is enduring a fate not very dissimilar from its own. The State of Israel owes its existence, I dare say, to the response of the international community in putting right centuries of wrongs the Jewish people had had to suffer.

179. Let Israel, therefore, have the courage, the determination and, I implore it, the basic humanity to let the Palestinians have what was granted it some 30-odd years ago, namely, the right to self-determination, to a State of their own within which they would be able to mould and shape their own destinies.

180. Let Israel, therefore, not allow psychological fears born of insecurity and scarred memories nurtured on suspicion to stand between it and this humane and basic objective.

181. This is the challenge I believe the rest of mankind can throw out to the Israeli leadership to see if it has the courage, the magnanimity, the creative imagination and, indeed, the humanity to rise up to that challenge. It is time the challenge was taken up. Time, decidedly, is running out, for failure to meet that challenge is yet to record and endorse another bleak chapter in the annals of man's inhumanity to man. But this time round, the State of Israel, yesterday the victim, will today be the perpetrator. The friends and even those who are not friends of Israel would not wish this accolade to be granted to it.

182. The solution to the problem does not, in our view, lie in limited peace treaties, however well-intentioned, for there can be no vicarious parties. The Palestinians themselves must be involved in the search for a solution. A further requirement for a comprehensive and lasting solution to the Middle East problem is the withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab territories, with the right of all, including Israel and the Palestinians, to live within recognized and secure boundaries.

183. Peace-keeping is the vocation of the United Nations. This is inevitable, and it should be so, given the fact that we have as Members a collectivity of sovereign States with disparate and clashing interests. Over the years, the Organization has embarked, even in the midst of controversy, on this calling with commendation. We take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the men who have staffed the operational forces in the field over the years. For the success of a peace-keeping operation, the support and understanding of the parties themselves concerned in the dispute, the understanding and support of Member States themselves, and, indeed, of the general international community, are vital. For peace-keeping, as it has been said, is an invaluable addition to the armoury of peace at man's disposal, especially in circumstances where the very fabric of the international community is threatened with imminent collapse. We must therefore devise ways and means of making this process more systematic, reliable and immediately available as circumstances require, for it is, indeed, the veritable complement to peace-making; you cannot make peace if you cannot keep it.

184. One of the resources at man's disposal for the improvement of his circumstances is technology and, like the sorcerer's apprentice, man's evil genius has indulged itself in a near-fatal fascination with this modern magic wand in the accumulation, over the years, of awesome and destructive armament. The gravity of this position impelled this Organization to call last year for

the tenth special session of this Assembly, dedicated to disarmament, to see how this evil and destructive streak in man could be held in check. For the arms build-up was considered to be not only a threat to international peace and security, but also an unconscionable waste of the world's resources, which only impoverishes man both spiritually and materially, and does not contribute to his general welfare.

185. There was one common theme running through that special session on disarmament, namely the imperative necessity for the reduction of the arms build-up, leading to complete disarmament. It is therefore gratifying to my delegation to learn, a year after that special session, of the conclusion of the second SALT Treaty. This may be a small step in the process, but it is a step that holds out hope for mankind and deserves the support of the whole international community.

186. It is time it was realized that the survival of the world can be secured not by a balance of terror, but rather by the building up of mutual confidence—a fact that is becoming increasingly clearer every day, as manifested in the increasing and inevitable interdependence of our one world.

187. The universal respect for the observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms is central to international economic and social co-operation. For at the end of the day, it is the individual who is the centre of our preoccupation and exertions at the international level, and the well-being of the individual should be the measure of our efforts and of our concern. It is therefore proper that this Organization should concern itself with the promotion and advancement of human rights. It is consequently a cause for some gratification to my delegation to note that over the past year some progress has been made in this direction, both on the regional and international levels.

188. At the regional level, for example, the Organization of African Unity at the sixteenth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Monrovia from 6 to 20 July 1979, set up a committee of experts with a view to studying the possibility of setting up a committee on human rights for Africa. Also, at the conclusion of the last Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held in Lusaka from 1 to 7 August 1979, it was decided to study the possibility of setting up a Commonwealth Human Rights Commission [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 65]. These developments augur well for the cause of human rights. We look forward to the institution of these bodies.

189. At the international level, one derives some hope from the alacrity with which the international community responded to the plight of the Indo-Chinese refugees by attending the international conference in Geneva in July this year.<sup>15</sup> It is the belief of the Sierra Leone delegation that a strict observance of and adherence to human rights would not have given rise to this situation. The fate of the Indo-Chinese refugees, because of its attendant drama, displayed in its most cruel form the tribulations of refugees. And we have been told that in Africa alone there are 4 million refugees. Refugees, in our view, are the product of a disregard for

<sup>15</sup> Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.



human rights and the fundamental freedoms of the human person. It is therefore incumbent on each and every State represented here, as members of the international community, to act in such a way that the tide of refugees is stemmed and turned off, and that individuals may live safe and secure within their respective communities. Refugees, whatever the cause, are a standing indictment of the international community.

190. I cannot conclude my remarks without reference to the work and devotion of our distinguished Secretary-General and his staff, in keeping alive in our breasts the collective hope of humanity that man can have, and does deserve, a better future. The Secretariat of the United Nations has over the years, with its devotion and assiduity, tried to keep us together in our collective search for that better future. They deserve our gratitude, and they should not, in our view, be apotheosized in a shimmering glass tower 40 storeys high, and the United Nations itself is not so dangerous a place as some sceptics would have us believe.

191. Finally, as we begin the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, we still find ourselves compelled to contend with some of the serious economic, social and political problems of our time, problems which are themselves a reflection of the international community we have to live in. Time was when nation-States seemed capable of pursuing survival, even in isolation. Today we live in an era of interdependence. In fact, this is the purpose of our annual sessions when, from this podium, as representatives of our States, we come here to reflect aloud on our collective search for solutions to these problems.

192. As we conclude yet another decade and are about to start a new one, we believe that we have enough blueprints for a solution to these problems. What is now required of the international community is to summon the necessary political will to translate these blueprints into programmes of action. This is the challenge of the 1980s and it is our belief that it is only by a positive response to that challenge that man can survive into the next century in his eternal quest for freedom and self-being. We owe it to ourselves and to posterity. Let us continue.

193. Mr. THORN (Luxembourg) (*interpretation from French*): It is a very pleasant duty for me to offer you my heartiest congratulations, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Your accession to this high office is a source of joy to us, for we see in you the distinguished representative of a friendly African country, and your experience in the United Nations augurs well for this session of our Assembly.

194. We wish also to express our thanks to your predecessor, the outgoing President, Mr. Liévano, for the manner in which he conducted the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

195. I should like now to address our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. For the past 10 years I have enjoyed a constructive and friendly collaboration with him in various forums. My admiration for his talents as a skilled diplomat devoted to the noble causes of mankind is of long standing. There is hardly any need for me to restate the full confidence of the Government of Luxembourg and the total support of my country for

his continuing and tireless efforts in pursuit of the ideals of our Organization.

196. I should like also to congratulate our one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations, the State of Saint Lucia, which has fulfilled all the requirements of our Charter and has thereby confirmed the universality of our Organization. While addressing to this young country and its leaders our sincere congratulations, I should like to pledge to them our full co-operation in the attainment of the objectives and ideals of this Organization.

197. From this rostrum a year ago<sup>16</sup> I deemed it fitting to voice a certain optimism during a brief study of the world situation. This feeling of hope was based on the fact that our peoples had finally discovered the merits and advantages of dialogue, and had finally seemed to have repudiated the path of sterile confrontation.

198. But today, although a dialogue is continuing in many areas, we are bound to recognize that the international arena, where we are both actors and spectators, remains fraught with tension in the political, military and economic fields.

199. I do not wish today, however, to yield to pessimism, which ill becomes me and which would help no one. May I be allowed, however, briefly to dwell on certain problems which seem to be a potential threat to all of us and consequently deserve the vigilant attention of the General Assembly in the coming months, if it wishes to justify its existence.

200. Our anxiety over past and new tensions derives primarily from our view of a certain amount of stagnation, the absence of concrete results and a refusal to compromise in the negotiations on the major issues.

201. May I first touch on the many problems of southern Africa, an area long exposed to injustice and human suffering. The representative who preceded me spoke so eloquently on that part of the world, whose problems are due as much to the existence of a philosophy which goes against human nature as to armed conflicts, which claim new victims every day.

202. Everybody's acceptance of the decision of the Security Council which was to lead Namibia to independence filled us with a tremendous amount of hope; yet today we are bound to recognize the fact that those hopes did not yield conclusions we were entitled to expect. Of course, some progress was accomplished, thanks to the continuing efforts, especially of the five Western Powers, which were behind this promising initiative. The support of the African front-line countries—including yours, Mr. President—was a valuable element in the compromise. Nor should we forget the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and of his close associates. From this rostrum I should like to express my profound admiration to them for their truly Sisyphean efforts over the past year. Others would surely not have had the courage to overcome so many setbacks or so much frustration. Thanks primarily to their tenacity, we still have the hope today that there will be an equitable solution found for an independent Namibia.

<sup>16</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting, paras. 2-36.*

203. Now I wish to turn to another part of southern Africa which has been beset by so many conflicts, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia. First and foremost, I should like to pay a sincere tribute to the historic initiative taken by Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, and to her Foreign Minister, my colleague Lord Peter Carrington.

204. The Conference in London is now entering its fifth week. Every single one of the opposing parties will have been seated at the same table. That is a positive point, and we fervently hope that the additional time for thought which they all accorded themselves will bring everybody closer together and closer, also, I hope, to the common goal, which is independence and peace for that part of Africa. Let all those who are negotiating today be keenly aware of their responsibilities to their fellow citizens, who certainly have no other desire but finally to enjoy a life of peace without poverty, suffering and injustice.

205. Turning to South Africa, I deeply regret that the rulers of that country have done nothing to change the unnatural policy of *apartheid*. It would appear that an exchange of ideas on the system is proceeding, as well as some tentative questioning regarding minor matters, but we are still very far indeed from the fundamental reform which alone can make South Africa a country respecting human rights and fundamental freedoms. How much more time, I would ask, will the leaders of that country need before they realize that the policy of *apartheid* is not only profoundly unrealistic, but also against the elementary rights of human beings? Once again, I would invite the international community to give its full support to those who by peaceful means are endeavouring to alter this sorry state of affairs.

206. Last autumn we were hopeful that the accords resulting from the Camp David negotiations would be the break-through that would make it possible for the whole of the Middle East region to regain peace. As far as direct relations between Israel and Egypt are concerned, the process started at Camp David seems to be proceeding rather satisfactorily.

207. Of course, the progress achieved in normalizing the situation between those two countries can only meet with our support, as does also any step, however small, towards peace. Egypt and Israel have thus proved—if there was any need for that—that the political determination of responsible statesmen is capable of overcoming all obstacles through negotiations.

208. On the other hand, it must be recognized that too many questions, too many aspects of questions involving other parties, remain unresolved. As long as there still exists a single serious problem in the Middle East, that part of the world will continue to be a source of tension.

209. The common view of the nine countries members of the European Community was set forth a few days ago from this rostrum by our Acting President-in-Office, my colleague, the Irish Foreign Minister, Mr. Michael O'Kennedy [8th meeting, paras. 1-53], and there is therefore no need for me to revert to this matter in detail. I want, however, to insist on something that is an absolute necessity, namely that there must be negotiations with all the parties concerned, without any exceptions. Whether the negotiations are global or sep-

arate at the outset is, after all, only a matter of procedure.

210. Separate discussions, both concurrent and successive, make it possible to discuss the difficulties in sequence, and therefore improve the chances of success. There must be as many approaches to the problem as there are facets of that problem. Therefore, it is fundamental that no interested party be denied a voice in the proceedings or be excluded out of hand. Clearly, as you may well imagine, that applies first and foremost to the Palestinians, who have the most legitimate right to participate in the process leading to peace. Also, they have every right to designate the representatives in whom they wish to place their trust. If they identify with the PLO and feel that they are well represented by that organization, it is hardly realistic to ignore their choice. After all, the choice of spokesman is the exclusive right of the party concerned and not of their opposite numbers.

211. Similarly, it is inadmissible to preach, as some have done, what still seems to be the destruction of the State of Israel. Israel has the right to exist in peace, without continually being the target of the hostility of any of its neighbours. To ignore these historical realities, reflected clearly in the many resolutions of our Organization, strikes me not only as unrealistic but also as a dangerous challenge to the credibility of our Organization.

212. Insisting on pre-conditions, and then demanding the exclusion of certain matters only serves to delay negotiations. I earnestly hope that the General Assembly will make good use of all the time it will devote to the examination of the Middle East conflict in order to bring about a solution by constructive and—I hope—peaceful debate.

213. Similar tensions resulting from similar transgressions of the United Nations Charter have existed for some months in South-East Asia. Our Organization has not been capable of reacting to the clear acts of aggression which, in addition to taking a heavy toll in human life and economic damage, have swollen unduly the wretched mass of what is called circumspectly but incorrectly "refugees". But, I ask you, where is their refuge? Who will respect their basic human rights? Who will give them asylum, which is the best that the more fortunate of them can hope for. Nothing can ever replace their home and especially their homeland, which is the land of their ancestors.

214. These people are not truly refugees. They are fugitives who are lost and subject to outrageous blackmail. What help is this finite world of fixed frontiers, even if they are guaranteed by the United Nations, if we must continually witness people fleeing for reasons of religious, ethnic or racial incompatibility? Shall we soon see the emergence of a new philosophy which says that some leaders have the right to demand at will the displacement of millions of human beings for reasons which are the very negation of our Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights? I would hope that each and every one of us will give some thought to the implications of such an eventuality.

215. Luxembourg is pleased that by its participation in the Geneva Meeting, it was able to act favourably on the admirable humanitarian initiative of the Secretary-

General. I assure him that we will continue to do whatever we can, within the limited means of a small country, to help to alleviate however little the fate of these human beings out of a pure sense of human responsibility.

216. Seeing so much misery and misfortune, we wonder whether we are dreaming when we read about the tremendous amount of money devoted by the various countries in the world to armaments. In spite of the broad consensus at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament and filled us with hope and optimism, and notwithstanding the second SALT Treaty which we hope will soon take effect between the two super-Powers, the amount spent on armaments throughout the world is constantly increasing.

217. Several years ago people were talking in terms of \$200 billion, but today the figure has gone up to \$400 billion. When will we be able to put an end to this collective folly, this unbridled race? A few days ago from this same rostrum, [17th meeting], His Holiness Pope John Paul II, addressing the General Assembly and contemplating the senseless accumulation of the means of destruction, exhorted the world to abandon the arms race if we wish to retain some credibility in the eyes of future generations.

218. In approaching world economic problems and after having drawn this rather dismal picture of certain political issues, I would have enjoyed indulging in a certain amount of cautious optimism. Unfortunately, harsh realities do not allow that.

219. I readily admit that the bad situation in the world economy has been with us for some time. At one point some people placed their belief in a modest recovery, but slower-than-expected growth and a too-high level of inflation, an increasingly heavy burden of unemployment and a highly confused monetary situation this year have ruined our hopes, at least our hopes for a slow but proximate recovery.

220. Who is to blame? Who is responsible? This, of course, is the question that inevitably arises. Immediately everyone points an accusing finger at someone else. However, I believe that it is in vain to try to seek one scapegoat. First of all, we would never reach agreement, and secondly, that would hardly help us to find the solution to our present problems. In addition, that attitude would be the negation of the interdependence of peoples—and that is true of people in both the industrialized and the developing countries. Therefore, I shall refrain from making any subdivisions, or using ideological labels.

221. Is the problem not rather one of an inaccurate assessment of the over-all situation of our countries and of relations between producer and consumer countries that are too irregular and intermittent? Let us deal with these deficiencies and let us all recognize that we are all dependent on each other.

222. My Government firmly believes in the interdependence of all the countries in the world and especially of all their economies. That is why we have tried resolutely to conclude the agreements on bilateral and multilateral co-operation within the framework of

the European Communities, which my friend and colleague from Ireland spoke about earlier.

223. Just as in the political field, goodwill alone will not be enough in the economic field. I take as an example the renewal of the Lomé Convention,<sup>17</sup> which establishes co-operation between the European Community and the countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific. Since the inception of that union, my country, aware of its limits at the bilateral level, was one of the most ardent defenders of that form of co-operation which at the time was called "association". We felt that this was an innovative means of initiating negotiations between sovereign States on an equal footing.

224. If the nine member States of the European Community by their concessions were not always successful in meeting all the hopes of the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, that was unfortunately due to harsh reality. Members may rest assured that the sacrifices made by the nine countries were substantial and probably even exceeded what was feasible in some cases.

225. It is true that the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy and even the fifth session of UNCTAD have been unable so far to produce results that will satisfy everyone. However, I am convinced that as the idea of interdependence gains ground, as it inevitably will, it will be possible for us to move closer to a genuine constructive dialogue among our countries which should lead to the harmonization of everyone's interests. However, all sides must show realism and confine themselves to serious, business-like proposals which stand a chance of success.

226. Let us all work towards this noble goal. Let us guarantee for each of our nations and for their citizens existence in dignity, freedom and peace, thanks to an equitable distribution of the wealth of the world. I express my hope here and now that the special session of the General Assembly devoted to development in 1980 will achieve decisive progress for the benefit of all.

227. A source of satisfaction for everyone is the notable progress that has been made in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea during the past year.

228. Under the dynamic leadership of my friend, President Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, that Conference has reached the point where it is now possible to entertain the hope that negotiations will be concluded in about a year. If that is achieved, I believe I may say that this will be a unique accomplishment in the annals of our Organization. The responsibilities that we are assuming today or in the near future will be very great. Certainly the idea is not to sign a convention of that scope unless each and every one of us implements it. It must be acceptable and capable of implementation. Human rights are not to be limited simply to political and civil freedoms.

229. His Holiness Pope John Paul II stressed that human rights are indivisible. For my part, I fully subscribe to that proposition. Because we are a small

<sup>17</sup> ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

country, freedom, independence and human rights, whether political or economic, are particularly dear to us. If we sometimes appear to some of you to overemphasize this point, rest assured that we are not trying to export our views to other countries with other systems, but merely share the sufferings of those whose indivisible rights are disregarded. And if that is our attitude, believe me that it is a sincere and honest one and is in no way the result of any ulterior political motives whatever.

230. To review the world situation in this distinguished Assembly from the standpoint of a small Member State like Luxembourg is, believe me, not always easy. Certainly it was no pleasure to sketch for the eleventh time this rather gloomy picture, as I have just done. Since we have placed all our faith in the United Nations and in the common sense of the peoples who make it up, we believe that it is always better to give an unadorned view of the problems, in the hope that we will all together find equitable solutions rather than resigning ourselves to a gradual worsening of those problems day by day.

231. The PRESIDENT: As our session gets more fully under way, I know that representatives have many conflicting demands on their time. Nevertheless, the General Assembly, in its plenary meetings, constitutes our senior parliamentary body, and I should like to appeal to all representatives once again to accord to its meetings the priority they deserve.

232. Unfortunately, we have experienced several de-

lays in opening meetings because of the lack of a quorum. This inconveniences the speakers throughout the day who are obliged to make their statements later than scheduled. I wish once again to appeal to all delegations to make a greater effort to be in their seats at the time the meeting is scheduled to open.

*Tribute to the memory of Shri Jayaprakash Narayan of India*

233. The PRESIDENT: Before the meeting is adjourned, I should like to take this opportunity to express to the Indian delegation and, through them, to the Government and people of India, our heartfelt condolences at the passing away yesterday of one of the most revered Indian leaders, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan. JP, as he was affectionately called by his people, was a towering figure on the Indian national scene. An early and active participant in the Indian independence movement under the great Indian leader Mahatma Gandhi, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan throughout his life dedicated his services to the cause of his people and, more particularly, to the poor and underprivileged. His was a powerful moral crusade against injustice in whatever form. He relentlessly pursued that objective, both when he was in politics and long after he left party politics. In his death, India has lost one of its highly respected and revered national leaders. Because of his remarkable stature as a leader of moral force, we are all the poorer for his passing away.

*The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.*