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CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Facio (Costa Rica)	45
Speech by Mr. Frydenlund (Norway)	49
Speech by Mr. Escovar Salom (Venezuela)	52
Speech by Mr. Kosaka (Japan)	56
Speech by Mr. Nguza Karl-I-Bond (Zaire)	61
Speech by Mr. Wills (Guyana)	68

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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Montiel Argüello
(Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to recall that the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, on 24 September, decided that "out of consideration for the other speakers and in order to preserve the dignity of the general debate, delegations should refrain from expressing their congratulations in the General Assembly Hall after a speech has been delivered." I should like, therefore, to ask representatives to be kind enough to apply this decision and to express their congratulations in an appropriate place outside the hall.

2. Mr. FACIO (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The election of Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe to preside over this session of the General Assembly has been a source of satisfaction to the delegation of Costa Rica. The outstanding work which he carried out as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has already established him as one of the most skilful diplomats of our Organization. I am sure that Mr. Amerasinghe will guide the debates of this thirty-first session of the General Assembly with the same skill and impartiality.

3. I should like at the same time to express my congratulations to Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the outstanding manner in which he presided over the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

4. As in past years, the introduction to the report submitted to this session by our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, [A/31/1/Add.1] will serve as a most important guide for our deliberations. I should like once again to pay a tribute to Secretary-General Waldheim and to express my admiration for the courage, intelligence and honesty with which he has analysed the problems of the

world—courage, intelligence and honesty which are in keeping with the admirable manner in which he has carried out his lofty functions. For that reason, Costa Rica wishes his re-election.

5. My delegation adheres sincerely and without political calculations to the principle of universality of the United Nations. We are convinced that it is fitting that any independent State which undertakes to comply with the Charter of the United Nations should be a Member of this Organization. Our delegation does not believe that the admission of new States should depend upon the sympathy or the antipathy that is felt for the ideology of its Government, or that an affirmative vote to admit it should depend upon the solution of bilateral problems between a State seeking admission and one or several Member States.

6. For that reason, Costa Rica regrets that the recommendation for admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam should have been vetoed in the Security Council. This new State, which has emerged from the fusion of the two States that were for a time those of North Viet-Nam and South Viet-Nam, which for so many years suffered the scourge of a cruel civil war, should not meet with any obstacles to enter an Organization such as ours which has as its first purpose the maintenance of peace and, its corollary, co-operation with the nations which need to recover from the afflictions of war.

7. For similar reasons, Costa Rica regrets that the Security Council has not recommended the admission requested by the Republic of Korea (South Korea).

8. I wish to extend the warmest welcome to this Assembly to the representatives of the youngest Member, the Republic of Seychelles. This new State was privileged to attain its full independence and sovereignty in peaceful conditions. Although small in area, the Republic of Seychelles has always been a focal point for various civilizations and a land of multiracial harmony. For those reasons, we believe that the Republic of Seychelles, upon becoming the one hundred and forty-fifth Member of the Organization, will inject vigour and flexibility into our Organization.

9. The United Nations entrusted the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea with the most important legislative task that it has undertaken. To create a harmonious juridical body to govern two thirds of the globe's surface is no easy task. The extensive and complicated nature of the subject, as well as the important interests at play, made the venture difficult.

10. The fifth session of the Conference saw 33 weeks of negotiation and effective work devoted to the formulation of the new law of the sea. But that great effort did not

produce complete agreement on such difficult questions as the legal status of the exclusive economic zone, the jurisdiction of the coastal State with regard to scientific research in the seas adjacent to its coasts and, above all, with regard to the system to be adopted for the exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, which are the common heritage of mankind.

11. Costa Rica trusts that when the negotiations are officially resumed in May 1977 delegations will be prepared to reach positive results. To that end they must give up positions that have been described as intransigent and extreme. It must be borne in mind that compromise is the basis for international progress. Those who adhere to their own theses forget that what seems to one country the greatest justice can seem to another the greatest injustice. Relative satisfaction of the theses of each nation—and hence relative unsatisfaction—is the only way that can lead to progress in negotiations in which each party is a sovereign State.

12. Unfortunately I must repeat this year the concern expressed in the past six years by Costa Rica at the lack of solutions to the problem of the arms race: each day nuclear proliferation becomes more evident; each day there is an increase in the number of tests of nuclear weapons; each day more progress is made in the manufacture of instruments of mass destruction. That is why our Secretary-General states the following in the introduction to his annual report for 1976:

“I make no apology for restating here the eloquent fact that, while the world spends approximately \$300 billion a year on armaments, the net flow of official development assistance amounts to some \$15 billion a year. Resources devoted to the arms race since the end of the Second World War have exceeded \$6,000 billion, which is roughly equivalent to the 1976 gross national product of the entire world.” [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. V.]

13. Our concern about the arms race led us to give warm support to the proposal of the delegation of Sweden for the establishment of an *ad hoc* committee on the review of the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament.¹ The General Assembly at its thirtieth session welcomed the Swedish proposal and established the Committee [resolution 3484 B (XXX)]. My delegation has participated with all due interest in the work of that Committee. We hope that, with the support of all the members, it will be able to attain before it is too late the objective of general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This international control, which some States fear, is an indispensable guarantee for the progress of disarmament negotiations.

14. The delegation of Costa Rica has noted with satisfaction the withdrawal of two proposals on the question of Korea,² which were decidedly incompatible. We should like to state that we supported that withdrawal because we believe that it will facilitate the renewal of a peaceful dialogue between the parties.

15. I have repeatedly set forth my country's position, which has been constantly in favour of the peaceful reunification of the former Korean nation, today divided into two antagonistic States, and I have maintained that the best path to that goal of peaceful reunification is direct negotiations between the parties.

16. The history of the United Nations in the promotion of human rights suffices in itself to justify the very existence of our Organization. The San Francisco Charter solemnly and categorically laid down the protection of the basic freedoms of the human being as one of the supreme purposes of the Member States. It therefore gave a legal status to the revolutionary concept that has converted the individual, the human being in each and every country without distinction as to race, religion, sex or political beliefs, into the main subject of international relations.

17. The upheavals that have led to the violation of human rights in various parts of the world have been coming increasingly before the United Nations. No one can expect that our Organization will remain deaf for ever to this clamour. Thus we have seen the way opened to the concept that the purely moral, normative value of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights within the United Nations should develop until the goal is attained of binding Members to the principle of the mandatory observance of a broad range of basic human rights.

18. That was the very *raison d'être* of the approval by our Assembly of the International Covenants on Human Rights. Those Covenants and the Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex] entered into effect this year thanks to the ratification by one fourth of the membership of the United Nations. Among those countries that have ratified is of course the country that I have the honour of representing.

19. It can be stated that, at least in that part of the world which includes the States that have ratified those Covenants, there is already machinery protecting human rights that has the force of law. That is a significant attainment; it is perhaps the most solid achievement of this Organization since the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted some 27 years ago.

20. However, the sphere of application of the Covenants is limited to a part rather than comprising all of the countries represented in this Organization. Many States have not ratified these Covenants, and we hope that they will do so soon as an earnest of their willingness to improve their internal situation in regard to fundamental freedoms.

21. With an annoying and even dangerous frequency, which exceeds the bounds of normalcy, many States are acting in flagrant violation of the human rights that they themselves have proclaimed. This causes indignation and discouragement; it is a flagrant sign of hypocrisy. The very Governments which angrily rise up as champions of fundamental freedoms to speak against real or alleged violations by other régimes sometimes violate human rights in their own countries. Hence, we must urge that the machinery of effective international trusteeship be put into operation.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, First Committee, 2075th meeting.*

² Documents A/31/192 and Add.1-3 and A/31/194 and Add.1.

22. For that reason, Costa Rica has maintained in the United Nations that we should not fall victim to political games or be taken in by the hypocrisy of false defenders of human rights and that we must create an adequate organization which, in an institutional form, will deal with the violation of such rights in any part of the world. That function will have to be carried out by the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, whose appointment we have been requesting in the United Nations for almost 15 years.

23. The absence of adequate jurisdiction in this respect has led us to mistrust certain initiatives that have gained the approval of various majorities of this Assembly for the investigation of denunciations of violations of human rights in certain countries of the world. This reservation of ours should not be interpreted as an exoneration of those countries against which charges have been levelled. Our reservation is due to the fact that we think there is a lack of sincerity in those who have made denunciations, among which are to be found many Governments guilty in this respect, and to the selective nature of the investigations. There have been established special commissions with the single task of investigating violations of human rights in a given country whose Government has an ideology opposed to that of those making the denunciations. But obviously an investigating committee is not authorized to carry out the same task in the accusing countries or to investigate other countries with whose Governments they sympathize, despite the obvious and flagrant fact that their peoples do not have the basic attributes of freedom. We are thus violating the necessary objectivity with which the Organization should deal with the problem of the violation of human rights, and therefore there may be a distortion of this noble cause of which, I repeat, our Organization may well be proud.

24. We must recognize that in today's world torture, degrading treatment and cruel punishment, which have been outlawed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, constitute a system of relations practiced by no less than 60 countries Members of this Organization, according to the research that has been conscientiously carried out by Amnesty International.

25. We have become reconciled and accustomed to fear as a result of the torture and repression of our fellowmen of which not a few Member States are proud. It is claimed that these are appropriate instruments to maintain the established order, whatever may be the nature of such an order. They are used by the colonizer to prevent the colonized from rising up to acquire their proper rights. They are used by Governments which proclaim themselves revolutionary in order to avoid the replacement of their systems by other ideologies. They are used by conservative Governments to avoid the undermining of the *status quo*. And thus human rights are flouted in their very essence, and very often in the way most affecting the individual, in the psychological realm of fear and despair.

26. Official and State torture as an instrument for extracting information and cowing opposition cannot continue to be accepted among civilized nations. Institutional violence must be brought to an end. It is a form of terrorism covered with the mantle of governmental power.

As long as a State must use fear, physical violence or psychological torture to maintain the established order, the United Nations will not have erased the ignominy of what today we call "the civilization of the concentration camps".

27. We must accept as a norm of conduct that to admit one single case of repression or institutionalized torture, whatever its so-called justification, is to accept a gross disregard of human dignity, and to abdicate our own rational nature.

28. Like a lethal epidemic terrorism continues to spread throughout the world, claiming innocent victims in all latitudes.

29. Hardly a week ago, terrorism stretched to the very capital of the United States and cut off the life of a great Chilean exile, Orlando Letelier. The friendship which for many years bound me to the former Chilean Minister is not the only thing which leads me to mention his case. Rather, it is the bomb which put an end to his courageous life, the most recent example of terrorist bestiality. It is that bestiality which impels me to condemn terrorism wherever it occurs and whatever may be its motivation. This mixture of fanaticism and cold passion, this temptation to be for a moment more powerful than the most powerful, makes terrorism, as an eminent Venezuelan author has said, the most dangerous of drugs; it is a drug that, instead of creating artificial paradises, creates true hells on earth.

30. The Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in 1972 asked our Assembly to study the problem of international terrorism and to propose a formula to combat it.³ But the blind passion of a few prevailed over sensible proposals, and a mechanical majority submitted amendments to the item, with the intention of introducing, before the debate began, the idea that a system of terror could be regarded as a plausible political instrument. Costa Rica energetically rejected the attempts to justify the unjustifiable. I maintained then that we have a responsibility to do something effective against international terrorism, but instead we became emmeshed in an almost academic debate about its definition and causes. My words, like those of many others not blinded by passion, were lost in a vacuum and by means of procedural manoeuvres all practical action by our Organization against international terrorism was rendered impossible.

31. But hardly two months ago in the Security Council there was a shudder in the face of the powerful "j'accuse" against these acts expressed by the Ambassador of Israel, Chaim Herzog, a "j'accuse" which recalled the clamour of the Jews in Auschwitz, Dachau or Bergen-Belsen.

32. The occasion which provoked that outburst is well known to us all. It was the glorious rescue of the Israeli citizens that were kept as hostages under criminal conditions and the unspeakable accusations which were levelled against Israel for having, by a brilliant exploit, encroached upon the sovereignty of a State whose Government had warmly received the hijackers and had illegally retained the innocent victims.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 92, documents A/8791 and Add.1.

33. The "j'accuse" of this new Emile Zola of Israel compels us not to forget the Jewish tragedy and the brutality of terrorism. The historic birth of this Assembly resulted from the bloodshed, grief and tragedy suffered by 6 million Jews murdered by the Nazis, as well as the 40 million other human beings who perished during the Second World War. Very many of them gave up their lives in the belief that they were thus helping to preserve the dignity of the human person, regardless of origin, race or religion.

34. In Hitler's day this Assembly did not exist. Many could hide behind ignorance of the acts to excuse their silence, but religious, political, racial or economic arguments could not excuse their participation in the genocide which culminated in places such as Treblinka and Dachau.

35. But today it is not possible to justify inaction and silence in the face of murderous terrorism. The action at Entebbe has shown us a new path.

36. As Ambassador Herzog, exclaimed before the Security Council:

"... I stand here as an accuser on behalf of free and decent people in this world.

"I stand here as an accuser against the forces of evil which have unleashed a wave of piracy and terrorism which threatens the very foundations of human society.

"I stand here as an accuser of all those ... which in their inherent cowardice and abject craven attitude see blameless wayfarers ... a legitimate target ...".⁴

37. Before history and my own conscience I want to make it quite clear that the respect for international law which has traditionally prevailed in my country, Costa Rica, has made us vigorously reject the pretension that force can create law, or that intimidation or indiscriminate violence are suitable instruments of international policy. Today, once again, I refuse to accept that there is any validity to resorting to terrorism, either as a form of protest or to attain justice. On behalf of my country, which prides itself in being one of the most tolerant, I vehemently reject terrorism and its cruel persecution of millions of human victims.

38. My delegation has always insisted that we investigate the causes of terrorism in order to seek remedies to them, but we refuse to permit the more than 30 years of humanitarian work of this Assembly to be frustrated by procedural machinations, disputes about terminology or by the outrageous condoning of crimes against humanity when they are directed against certain countries. The protection of future victims and the punishment of terrorist offenders cannot await the solution of philological disquisitions.

39. That is one of the reasons why our Organization is today in the dock of the accused. Mankind will have to judge it according to its behaviour on this occasion. Will this Organization be absolved if it fails to react against

terrorism? Can this Assembly go to the extreme of condemning the Israeli action in Entebbe and at the same time refrain from taking measures against air hijackers?

40. I shall not dwell on the legal considerations applicable to the case, as they have already been fully and brilliantly expounded. I wish only to repeat that Israel had the duty, and therefore the right, to defend its citizens, as long as it acted within reasonable limits. And in the Entebbe action, such limits were respected: there was proportionality between the threat of murder of the hostages and the reaction to prevent it, as prescribed by the universally accepted juridical rules of self-defence.

41. The fact that the rescue action undertaken by Israel gave rise to a wave of support and enthusiasm in all countries of the world, enemies as well as friends of the Jewish State, reveals the existence of a desire to repudiate terrorism in any part of the world. Free men and women have said: "We have had enough indiscriminate hijackings and murders." This is the response to a deep conviction of every civilized man that terrorism is bad for everyone, in every case and on all occasions, whoever may be the perpetrator or the victim.

42. Neither this Assembly nor its members will have any excuse if we fail to heed the new appeal made to us in his report this year by Secretary-General Waldheim that effective action against international terrorism be taken during this session [see A/31/1/Add.1, sect. VI].

43. The issue which should occupy this Assembly is not what happened in Entebbe but our own future in the eyes of history. We must demonstrate to the world that the scourge of terrorism can be halted. It is up to the nations of the whole world² irrespective of the political differences existing between them, to unite against the common enemy which is terrorist barbarism—to unite as they did against Hitler and his "supermen"; to unite against the terrorist monster which recognizes no authority, respects no borders, which tramples sovereignty and which makes a mockery of basic, elementary human decency with its crude bestiality.

44. I urge this Assembly to declare war on international terrorism, to outlaw it and eradicate it once and for all, wherever it may break out.

45. As I still have great faith in the United Nations, I do not think it necessary to convene countries that love peace and justice outside the context of this Organization in a crusade against terrorism. The fight must be waged here, within the United Nations itself, and with the consensus of all nations which, in becoming part of the United Nations, subscribed to the noble principles of the San Francisco Charter.

46. Israel may feel proud of having set a precedent in the fight against international terrorism—a precedent applicable against aerial hijackers in any part of the world, irrespective of the victims or the perpetrators.

47. There is no room in the future history of this Assembly for opportunist, equivocal attitudes, which are amoral because considerations of convenience or cowardice

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1939th meeting.*

are unjustifiable; nor can there be any without prejudicing the dignity of its Members, whether from north or south, east or west. We have had enough words, and more than enough hesitations. What is necessary is action—glorious deeds such as the Entebbe action which would be the most powerful antidote to the poison of air piracy and international terrorism.

48. The news reaching us from Southern Rhodesia has logically evoked a note of cautious optimism at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The speech of Prime Minister Ian Smith on 24 September has opened the way to the peaceful capitulation of the most racist and aberrant of the minority Governments. If in Rhodesia we manage to achieve an orderly and rapid transition to majority Government, the United Nations will have marked up not only a clear victory against racial discrimination, but also a triumph of diplomatic negotiation as an effective substitute for violence.

49. We can acknowledge with satisfaction that during the 11 years of existence of the illegal Southern Rhodesia régime the United Nations has not failed for a single instant to exert all of its moral and legal influence in order to put an end to a State which has tried to declare itself independent for the single purpose of maintaining the domination of the white minority over the black majority.

50. If that régime is brought to an end rapidly by peaceful means, our Organization will have taken a great step forward in the fight for international justice, which will have a decisive influence on the establishment of majority Governments in the whole of Africa.

51. Costa Rica wishes, through me, to congratulate Secretary of State Kissinger, Foreign Minister Crosland and all of the African leaders who have co-operated in paving the way for the success of the peace efforts, which had seemed to be an impossible mission.

52. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): It is with great pleasure that I join previous speakers in congratulating Ambassador Amerasinghe most warmly on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly. The exceptional qualities of leadership and experience which he brings to his high office are well known to the international community. My Government is particularly grateful for the dedication, the experience and the tireless efforts which he has so amply displayed in his leadership of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. His election to the presidency of the General Assembly augurs well for the future work of this session, and is a tribute to the country which he has so ably represented in this hall. He can be assured of our fullest co-operation in his challenging task.

53. Five years have elapsed since Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim was elected as the chief administrative officer of our Organization. I should like once more to express to the Secretary-General our deep-felt gratitude and appreciation for his ceaseless energy and dedication to the cause of peace and the promotion of international co-operation. His outstanding leadership qualities have enhanced the prestige of the United Nations and been a great asset to this Organization.

54. The agenda of this session of the General Assembly contains many and important issues, such as disarmament, the situation in the Middle East, the conflicts of southern Africa and the whole complex of problems related to the search for a new international economic order—to mention just a few.

55. We can approach these items from various angles, all relevant. One approach can be based on considerations of power politics: how will the way in which we attack or resolve a problem reflect or affect existing power relationships in the world?

56. Another approach is to deal with these problems in a more functional perspective, reflecting on how the process towards internationalization and interdependence are confronting us with an ever-increasing number of problems common to all countries, and which can be resolved only through concerted action.

57. There is a third approach, however; one based on considerations of and concern for the peoples of the world, the situation of the human beings of whom these peoples consist. Nation States as well as international co-operation exist for the sake of the individual, and not the other way around. The rights of each individual, as they have been spelt out in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, should therefore be the very basis of the work of the United Nations.

58. Thus the international responsibility and international challenge confronting us are, firstly, to work to secure for each human being those basic political and civil rights which are today being violated in so many countries. Secondly, to safeguard individuals and groups of people against suppression and racial discrimination, practised most flagrantly today in southern Africa. And thirdly, to protect each individual human being against hunger and want in a world where the gap between a rich minority and an impoverished majority is becoming increasingly wider.

59. This will be my approach. My basis when I deal with some of the main items on our agenda is the responsibility that we all have for each other and for the peoples of this world.

60. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has reminded us once more that the protection of human rights and fundamental freedoms is a primary goal of the United Nations.

61. This year we have moved a little closer towards that goal with the entering into force of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. The parties to the Covenants are now under more specific and binding obligations to observe human rights. Our objective must be universal acceptance of the Covenants.

62. However, more than formal acceptance is needed. As Mr. Gaston Thorn stated when he presided over the opening meeting of the current session:

“As long as practical measures have not been taken in each of our States to respect, and to ensure respect, for

the rights of each individual, our words, void of sense, will remain lies and hypocrisy". [1st meeting, para. 6.]

63. It is a regrettable fact that, in spite of solemn pledges, human rights are flagrantly being disregarded in many parts of the world, even in countries where the material and general social conditions should present no obstacle to their observance. Numerous reports from unbiased and reliable sources provide evidence of torture and other inhuman practices. This is intolerable. The international community has a collective responsibility to deal seriously with these matters.

64. All implementation of legal norms require action. Each Government must seek actively to fulfil its obligations. The United Nations, for its part, must establish the organs and the procedures necessary to encourage Governments to act. My country therefore welcomes the establishment of the Human Rights Committee under the Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. We continue to support the work of the Commission on Human Rights, which is a central organ in the United Nations work for human rights and should focus its efforts on preventing and correcting violations of human rights, irrespective of where they occur. We also believe that the proposed office of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights could render valuable services in this respect. As an "ombudsman" for human rights, he might be able to survey the status of human rights all over the world, assist individuals and provide guidance to Governments in fulfilling their obligations.

65. Acts of terrorism affecting innocent victims are also, regardless of their motivation, an intolerable form of violation of human rights. We have so far failed to establish effective procedures to deal with these problems. We must recognize that there is a need for the international community to take defensive measures against international terrorism before it will prove possible to solve the underlying causes. The problem of international terrorism is complex and manifold. We may therefore find it more productive to seek partial solutions aimed at protecting innocent victims. In this connexion, the Norwegian Government supports the idea put forward by the Federal Republic of Germany to seek an agreement outlawing the taking of hostages.

66. One of the areas in the world in which human rights have long been systematically violated and ignored is southern Africa. The *apartheid* policy of South Africa, the white minority régime in Rhodesia and South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia are all remnants of an outdated political and economic order.

67. For years the prevailing situation has been an affront to the United Nations and to the international community, and time is now rapidly running out for peaceful solutions. Developments in southern Africa have entered a decisive phase. We all fear that developments in this area will end in tragedy and in a blood-bath.

68. The Nordic Foreign Ministers, meeting recently, adopted a programme of action with a view to stepping up their support for the liberation movements of southern Africa, and with parallel efforts to further isolate the white

minority régimes of the area. This continues to be the policy of the Norwegian Government. In our view, world opinion, formulated in the main through resolutions of the United Nations, has been a decisive factor in shaping the developments now under way in southern Africa.

69. A new element in the present situation is the important last-minute American initiative—efforts which we are following with expectations and anxiety. It has given us a glimpse of hope that a bloody war can, in spite of all odds, be prevented and that a peaceful solution can be found. The white minority régime seems to have recognized for the first time that there exists no alternative to black majority rule. This recognition comes late, as we are confronting a very difficult and complex situation indeed. The proposals now put forward might require more patience and a greater readiness to compromise than may be left at this late hour. We still have, however, to embrace the hope that the efforts which we are now witnessing can prevent an all-out war with its tragic consequences and its dangerous implications for the world as a whole. In our view, the big Powers share a special responsibility. A solution of the outstanding problems in southern Africa requires their support and active participation. Their co-operation is, according to the United Nations Charter, a prerequisite for action by the Security Council. In the present situation it is of vital importance that the problems of southern Africa are not made part of the east-west conflict. The big Powers have a joint responsibility not to give these conflicts further international repercussions and to see to it that they do not develop into an increasingly serious threat to world peace.

70. Human rights are more than legal instruments. Today we must apply an extended concept of human rights. This comprises basic security—the absence of social violence, in the form of war or civil strife; or the surrender of the social structure to disorder and chaos. Human rights also comprise satisfaction of the basic material needs of the ordinary person—freedom from hunger and want. In this sense, the safeguarding of human rights on a global level depends on our ability to solve the problems which arise as part of the new international economic order.

71. My Government is deeply concerned with the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries. We refuse to accept this trend as irreversible. We are determined to make our contribution, within the limitations placed on a small country, towards bridging that gap.

72. We regard our commitment towards the new international economic order as a logical extension of the internal policy, pursued by successive Norwegian Governments at home, aiming at the implementation of an egalitarian concept of society. This was the basic underlying theme of a report on our over-all economic relations with the developing countries submitted by my Government to Parliament last year and adopted by an almost unanimous Parliament early this year. The report is based on a realization of the fact that a call for a new and more equitable international economic order has to be combined with calls for new national economic orders on both sides of the great economic divide.

73. The Norwegian Government looked forward to the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade

and Development [UNCTAD] as an important milestone in the implementation process to follow the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly. We saw the fourth session of UNCTAD as a test case for the ability and readiness of the international community to respond in practical terms to policy guidelines hammered out in difficult but successful negotiations in this Assembly during the last two years.

74. All the expectations of my Government were not fulfilled in Nairobi. Yet I think we can conclude that the fourth session meant a significant step forward. When the nations of the world agree unanimously on the need for an over-all approach, including an integrated programme for commodities, and also agree on a concrete plan of implementation, this represents by itself substantial progress. The consensus of Nairobi is now committing us all. Challenging possibilities are contained in the resolution on that subject adopted during the fourth session.⁵ If we succeed in implementing the main principles of an integrated programme for commodities as intended, in which a common fund remains a main element, a more orderly functioning of a key sector in international economic relations will be secured. An integrated programme for commodities will represent an important step on the way towards a better regulation of the international economy. It will entail a more stable situation in the field of raw materials. This will be of benefit to all of us but above all to producers of raw materials among the developing countries. The Norwegian Government will work actively for the following up of the resolutions adopted at the fourth session of UNCTAD. If our countries do not succeed, this will represent a grave defeat for all of us who are looking forward to seeing a better controlled and regulated world economy emerge.

75. Politics is mainly a question of setting priorities. Good politics is to get one's priorities right. Here a world which is annually spending \$300 billion on armaments, while the net flow of official development assistance amounts to only some \$15 billion, has still a long way to go. Even the most superficial look at the world of ours must make it clear to any reflective human being that the priority of the hour should be the needs of the poor. It may give us some satisfaction that at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly the needs of the developing countries have been the main focus. The same is true of the many *ad hoc* conferences of the United Nations on such problems as population, food, human settlements and employment. That goes for the fourth session of UNCTAD as well. This is an indication of a world community—and a United Nations system—on the way towards getting its priorities right. But here again the crucial requirement is that of implementation. It is our joint responsibility to prevent future generations from passing the following judgement on the efforts of our generation: that never in human history have so many negotiated over so much with such meagre results. Thus I will make this appeal to the industrialized countries, of which Norway is one: let us through concerted action come to the effective assistance of the developing countries by meeting their legitimate aspirations for a more equitable world order.

⁵ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A.

76. It goes without saying that, in order to come to grips with problems like mass poverty in the world, the crises of population growth and mounting unemployment, such far-reaching and basic reforms are needed that nothing short of a new international economic order can be the ensuing result. However, having stated this, I should also like to state that it is urgently necessary that we give consideration to the structural and institutional aspects of this new international economic order.

77. I do not in any way want to distract attention from the problems of substance; but, even if it were to prove possible to mobilize the necessary political will to meet many of the aspirations of the developing countries, we should soon be faced with organizational and institutional shortcomings. The world community of today is far from having developed the necessary institutional framework. For that reason we welcomed the decision by the seventh special session to establish an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.

78. We fully realize that the Committee is facing a difficult task. We would only be fooling ourselves if we were to close our eyes to the fact that vested interests also have developed inside the United Nations system. Thus my Government is not discouraged by the slow progress made so far in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Restructuring; but evidently more political backing is called for to prevent this important work from ending in frustration. The Committee has a very broad mandate and has itself identified certain priority areas. Perhaps even this programme is too ambitious if we want to see concrete results within the foreseeable future. My Government would like the Committee to single out the Economic and Social Council as the priority area. An Economic and Social Council restructured along lines on which I understand there is already a high degree of agreement inside the Committee would be in a position to discharge its duties under the Charter much more effectively and would itself be able to play a main role in a wider restructuring of the system. Thus concrete action in this field should not have to be delayed till agreement has been reached in all the fields covered by the broad mandate of the Committee.

79. I have dealt with the problems of restructuring the economic and social sectors of the United Nations at such a length for two main reasons: first, because I am convinced of the necessity of substantially expanding and improving our means and instruments of international co-operation and, secondly, because my Government wants to see the United Nations system playing a central role in the process leading to the development of a new international economic order. The United Nations system should not only be prepared to adjust to change but should itself be an instrument of change.

80. There is a need for a rationalization of the work of existing international organizations. There is also a need for such changes in existing institutions and organizations as would make them more capable of coping with the distributive aspects and in this way better reflect basic changes which have taken place in the composition of the world community over recent years. However, there is also a need for new institutions and organizations, and this leads

me to the final matter on which I should like to comment, namely, the Conference on the Law of the Sea.

81. The fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was concluded two weeks ago. My country regrets that greater progress was not made at that session. We note, however, that during the past year the Conference in fact achieved a large measure of agreement in highly important fields. Virtual consensus appears to exist on such major issues as a 12-mile limit for the territorial sea, the sovereign rights of coastal States to the resources of an economic zone of 200 miles, freedom of navigation and rules for the prevention of marine pollution.

82. The widest disparity of views concerns the international sea-bed area and the common heritage of mankind. Those problems are new, important and complicated. But it is imperative to avoid an uncontrolled race for exploitation contrary to the spirit of the declaration of principles adopted by the General Assembly in 1970.⁶ An effective international authority is indispensable if the concept of the common heritage is to become a reality. There is a close connexion between sea-bed mineral mining and general economic issues. The regulation of production and marketing is related to the new international economic order. We must therefore regard the Conference on the Law of the Sea in a broader perspective than before. This will be an important—perhaps the most important—element in the next, decisive session of the Conference. My country will approach that issue with an open mind. We must all be prepared to avoid dogmatism and insistence on prior positions.

83. The views of my Government on that Conference are well known, and so is the high priority which it has been accorded. We thus fully subscribe to the assessment made by the President of the Assembly in his acceptance speech last Tuesday [*1st meeting*] when he stated that this co-operative endeavour is without parallel in history. We, too, feel that a universally acceptable agreement assuring all countries, rich and poor alike, an equitable share would be an outstanding contribution to the just and stable economic and political order which the United Nations is striving to create.

84. It is the recognition of this fact which has guided Norway's participation during the sessions already concluded; and, based on that recognition, my Government will lend its full support to efforts aimed at leading the Conference to a successful conclusion.

85. Mr. ESCOVAR SALOM (Venezuela) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am pleased to greet and to congratulate Mr. Amezasinghe on his election and to wish him every success in the deliberations over which he will preside. I should also like to call to mind the excellent presidency of Mr. Gaston Thorn, who very remarkably guided the work of the last session of the General Assembly.

86. A new country—the Republic of Seychelles—has joined the United Nations. With it, the number of States

Members of the Organization has risen to 145, which is not a mere numerical fact but also reveals essential qualitative changes in the world political order. The sum of countries which make up the United Nations in the post-colonial era implies adjustments, reviews and corrections, not only as regards the structure and functioning of the Organization, but also as regards the basic direction of some of its fundamental activities.

87. Decolonization is one of the most important achievements of the United Nations; it likewise shows how the context of political and legal relations created by the United Nations has a sound effect on international relations and is an unquestionable advance of culture and civilization.

88. I should like to say to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, that I have read and studied his annual report on the work of the Organization [*A/31/1 and Add.1*] with keen interest. This report reveals not only his personal concern and the loftiness of his purpose, but, furthermore, points of view which are essential to the future destiny of the Organization.

89. The year that has elapsed since the last session of the General Assembly has been a period of hope and of frustration. Both the seventh special session in 1975 and the regular session of the General Assembly which followed it have required that attention be paid to matters which are indispensable to the stability of the international system and to the future of the world.

90. Some of the difficulties which arose during the last year have put to the test the intentions of States and Governments. There is impatience and expectation with regard to the decisions which must be taken, as well as with regard to the application of those already adopted. One of them is international détente. There are sceptical and pessimistic attitudes throughout the world which see détente as a remote possibility that is difficult to attain. Efforts for peace and purposes which inspire détente cannot be weakened or abandoned. In the face of every difficulty which arises hope and will must be held high so as not to alter the essential tendency which inspires this policy of détente. However, this must not be designed solely for the benefit of relations between the Powers or super-Powers; it must also spread its effects to all countries. Détente cannot be reserved exclusively for prevailing relations of power and force; it must benefit poor countries and favour the new developing nations which have no reason to suffer the heritage of any conflict but can and must exercise fully their right to join a peaceful world based on the use of reason and serious thinking.

91. It should be pointed out that East-West relations, which oversimplified world politics for years, have changed the points of reference which prevailed after the Second World War. The country which I represent here is one of those which realize and believe that international relations must be placed above ideological positions in order to give impetus and concrete movement to purposes and projects for co-operation and specific understandings.

92. East-West relations must develop further in years to come. This will be the best proof of psychological

⁶ Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction (resolution 2749 (XXV)).

disarmament, which is just as important as military disarmament, and is intended to maintain among peoples and nations a positive and growing flow of links and exchanges.

93. North-South relations require priority attention. There has been a widening of the areas of understanding between the industrial and non-industrial countries; nevertheless it is still not possible to say that concrete results have been achieved. It will be basic and fundamental for the dialogue between the industrial and non-industrial countries to be held, not only in good faith by the participants, but with a willingness to find positive formulas which will gradually solve short-term, medium-term and long-term problems.

94. Some areas have been singled out for the negotiation of consensus and this, of course, is a process which must be carried out with a view to applying and implementing the formulas arrived at. The North-South dialogue must find tangible form in the adoption of a programme which will represent a real and positive advance in international economic co-operation. The second phase of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which is action-oriented, could be an important step in this direction. It must be proved that the political will is there, beyond doubt, to set a new direction for international economic relations. This is a question of moving forward and promoting a change in course, and not of maintaining the previous status, which has proved to be insufficient and incapable of overcoming present injustices and imbalances.

95. Human rights are undergoing one of the most severe and impressive crises in history. There is a growing trend to ignore, to fail to respect or to neglect the philosophy and practice of human rights. As the representative of a democratic country, which has assimilated the basic values of culture and civilization, I should like to express the concern of the Government and of my country to contribute, within the United Nations, to formulating practical means to define, defend and guarantee the full exercise of human rights in all parts of the world.

96. One of the most important tests this Organization will have to face in the years to come is in defence of human rights. We must reject the idea that human rights can be entrusted exclusively to the circumstantial, temporary and momentary political interests of a Government or nation. The global meaning which human relations are acquiring, the increasingly more universal perspective in which we, the men of this generation, move, requires that human rights be world-wide in scope and their defence fully supported by international institutions. To make a more effective adjustment between the scope of national and international jurisdiction is a task which commits the United Nations to preferential attention. Reconciling international and national jurisdiction implies risks and requires permanent as well as effective institutional procedures.

97. Nor can we continue to accept that the defence of human rights only applies in the event of a given political interest. No matter what the régime, the ideological inspiration or the social tendency of a Government, it would not be possible to point out something as a violation in one country when it is accepted in another. In this case, it becomes necessary to invoke the basic principle of good faith in international relations. At the Conference on

Co-operation and Security in Europe, held at Helsinki, the need for good faith in international relations was specially stressed. Without it no significant step forward can be taken on the major issues of today.

98. Another fundamental subject which must be borne in mind at this time is the fight against corruption. The world order must provide rules of conduct accepted by all States so as to prevent a rise in international corruption. Corruption is eroding international relations, with negative effects on both morality and economic affairs. It happens in the large industrial countries as well as in small nations, with both internal and external effects, and a serious effort must be made to fight it at both levels.

99. In the final analysis it was an ethical inspiration which brought the United Nations into being. Corruption is fed by anti-ethical forces, which are more of a threat to culture and civilization than the firing capability of many weapons of aggression.

100. It must be possible to arrive at effective measures to fight corruption in a short time. But what matters now is to start, to set points of departure and to agree on action by consultations among States and initiatives taken within the United Nations directed towards this end.

101. The post-colonial era is characterized by the emergence of new political and geopolitical factors with, in turn, many important effects and consequences. It may be that some of the disarray the United Nations is now experiencing is due to the fact that the Organization tailored its programmes to a different set of realities. In the last 30 years the international political order has become broadened, relations have expanded, and the world political space has grown larger.

102. The United Nations must have an immediate response to the growth of world political space. That is the question. The period we are living in could be interpreted as a moment of transition between the old order and the new.

103. We live in a time when every nation must know exactly what it is after, what it can and what it cannot do. A shrewd sense of realities and of limitations is essential to provide an atmosphere of constructive moderation for United Nations activities and for the dynamism of international relations.

104. The present international economic order not infrequently lacks an over-all view of various subjects. Oversimplification of some criteria precludes a study of facts and situations within their natural contexts. No progress can be made within the world economic balance unless the respective contexts are used with wisdom and in proportion. This over-all view is the framework within which a productive confrontation of ideas intended to seek results and offer solutions can be developed.

105. The United Nations setting is the natural and historic environment in which dialogue and consultations among peoples and Governments should take place.

106. Separating short-term from long-term solutions, and possibilities within reach from distant prospects, is part of a

methodology of means directed towards a rational and pragmatic context. This action, with the impetus of systematic efforts, should lead along a secure and firm road to attainable goals.

107. Some matters upset the international environment. The question of Panama, the Middle East conflict and the problems of southern Africa are facts which must be approached with growing boldness and decisiveness. Namibia, Southern Rhodesia and the policy of *apartheid* of the Government of South Africa require compliance with relevant United Nations resolutions. In all these conflicts, it is the hope of my country that, with greater boldness and decisiveness, it will be possible to arrive at early solutions, just formulations and balanced responses.

108. As a Latin American I cannot fail to mention the commemoration of the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the Amphictyonic Congress of Panama, which met on the initiative of Simón Bolívar in 1826. This Congress was an historic event which for the first time collectively defined the political strategy of the Latin American continent. It not only sought a hemispheric context for Latin American relations and international strategy but also aspired to much more. It was an inspiration intended, among other things, to strengthen the then nascent ideas of freedom and democratic principles. Political values of the utmost importance were expressed at the Panama Congress. Simón Bolívar sought a new balance in the international context of the epoch and aspired to dealing with many problems in their entirety and jointly.

109. Today there are new nations, as there were in 1826. Then, with a universal vision, we were readying ourselves to enter history. The same is happening today. New factors represented by the third-world nations are claiming their share of and presence in the world political space. This is why the Panama Congress is an important lesson.

110. At present there is some defeatism and frustration in the process of the negotiations for disarmament. One cannot be unaware that it is a singularly delicate, complex and difficult subject. But there can be no doubt that this problem is vital and cannot be abandoned. We, the developing nations, stand to lose a great deal because of the increasingly definite tendency to augment world weapons. It is not only the great Powers which could be affected by the arms race. The battlefield in our days is not on the soil of the developed countries. The nature and scope of conflicts have changed substantially. This is why disarmament is not a conventional subject which can be dealt with separately, a subject of interest to some countries and not to others. Not only is it the corner-stone of world order but the question of security is an integral one affecting the entire planet. It would be impossible to conceive of conflicts or confrontations which are not linked to areas elsewhere. World stability is also an integral concept. Disrupting factors can exercise influence and have effects on the most remote sites from the place of origin. We must learn the lesson early: limited conflicts become less and less limited; they inevitably tend to become confrontations at different latitudes.

111. Arms expenditures must be looked at carefully. There tends to be a growing disproportion between the

means of a country and its outlays for weapons. In this respect all I need to do is to recall the dramatic figures quoted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations in the introduction to his annual report on the work of the Organization. He said:

“... while the world spends approximately \$300 billion a year on armaments, the net flow of official development assistance amounts to some \$15 billion a year. Resources devoted to the arms race since the end of the Second World War have exceeded \$6,000 billion, which is roughly equivalent to the 1976 gross national product of the entire world.” [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. V.]

112. My country's Government is concerned at the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The existing treaties have not been fully subscribed to and it is disturbing to note that the provision of nuclear installations for peaceful purposes can be converted to the use of nuclear energy for war purposes. It is unacceptable that such situations should be beyond the reach of international control; they must not spread the risks which now tend to proliferate.

113. Defeatism and, to a lesser degree, the scepticism which may now be felt in world public opinion regarding United Nations action, are caused in part by the growing violence which is developing. Growing violence at the domestic level of States can be fought only with international measures. Crime has become organized on so vast a scale that it is inconceivable to think that exclusively national provisions, which end at the domestic level, can be enough. International measures will of necessity have to be adopted against organized crime. A singular form of this violence is the kidnapping of, and threats against, persons. The Presidents of Venezuela and Colombia emphasized at a meeting held at the end of last year the importance that United Nations action would have in this respect. The subject has been discussed for some time in the Organization. But now the time has come not to postpone further a programme of concrete realizations which will enable joint action to be taken that will paralyse or demolish the rise of violence. Private action by Governments, co-ordination and intercommunication among States could go a long way in this direction. However, beyond all that, what is required is an international conviction that violence does not deserve respect, regardless of its sponsorship or its inspiration—a conviction that no way of death represents life; that it is untrue that freedom is won by death; it is won with life. World insecurity must not increase and there is no country, whatever its political or social system, which is free from this risk.

114. It is only the international community which can combat violence. It is time, therefore, to know and to be convinced that the global nature of certain problems means that it is only the international community which can deal with them. And that is why my country and Government condemn any form of violence, whoever inspires it and from whatever source it comes.

115. Violence can be fought if all States begin by adopting the necessary internal measures. In that respect, it is inadmissible for peoples to be denied the legitimate right to self-determination and independence, as well as the enjoyment of fundamental rights and freedoms. A threat or act

of violence which endangers innocent human lives, or causes the loss of human life, jeopardizes fundamental freedoms and is an offence to the dignity of every nation. Physical injury, assassination, torture, the taking of hostages: all these are acts incompatible with the legitimacy of the international order.

116. Perhaps the world has been too indifferent to the means of the international community. We must start with the conviction that the United Nations constitutes a viable organization that is impossible without the faith in the prospects and means of the international community which the United Nations represents.

117. The effectiveness of the United Nations depends, not on practical deeds alone, but also on confidence in man's possibilities. There will be measures which can be implemented within a short time; others will take more time. But here, as in other matters, what is important is to begin. The question of violence is not a theological or a metaphysical problem. It is a complex question, built up by diverse inducements and sheltered in distinct and heterogeneous justifications assuming actions which, however, can be met with other actions. Violence cannot be curbed unless there is co-ordination among States.

118. The attitude and the firmness of the United Nations in the coming years will decide its destiny. The arithmetical growth of this Organization is of extraordinary significance. As I said earlier, it is not merely a question of an increase in the numerical volume of the Organization's Members and components. It is something more than that. It is a qualitative transformation of the world order. The political space of the world has grown. That is an extraordinary historical circumstance which should be taken advantage of, in a positive sense, to build and not to destroy, to make life on our planet fuller and more complete, to make its resources more usable.

119. Outer-space technology is making ancient flights of fancy or legendary illusions likely to become real. In practical terms interplanetary flights are opening prospects whose consequences cannot be assessed at the moment. However, there is no doubt that, whatever may be the characteristics of outer space, it offers alternatives of various kinds which will mean unifying concepts, principles and rules of conduct on a planetary scale.

120. That fact gives the measure of the worth, the importance of the United Nations, because this planet must in the future conduct itself as one unit, conscious of its position in space but as yet unable to perceive the choices which this situation may offer.

121. Everything implies the improvement of the United Nations. Yet this is not a rhetorical question. To consider it in whimsical and superficial terms would not solve any problems; rather, it would aggravate all of them. Changes in the structure of the Organization, without any knowledge of where they would lead, would be more hazardous. The Organization must acquire the face of an adult, showing the level of maturity of the international order.

122. That leads me to another problem of paramount importance: the credibility of the United Nations. It is in

an atmosphere of uplifting thought and lofty serenity that complaints ought to be aired, just as opposite points of view ought to be set forth in a climate of constructive and edifying moderation, however firm and vigorous the positions taken might be.

123. We would not get very far if the resolutions adopted were left unimplemented, to become part of a lengthy compendium of frustrations which, far from clearing the horizon, would disturb and darken it. United Nations resolutions which are not complied with will destroy the Organization's credibility, its seriousness and its future.

124. The international order is inseparable from an ethical system of conduct. And it will be necessary to insist on this time and time again because we would otherwise forget that life among nations, like life among men, is nourished by one's values. Practical action is also sustained by values. It is only in so far as, and to the extent that, the United Nations acts in accord with the basic values of human conduct that its strength and respectability will increase.

125. Lately the discussion of and quest for peaceful ways of coexistence have brought about a sounder inter-relationship between the West and the East. The ideological dispute, without having lost its original basic importance, has allowed for a more rational exchange of goods, services and technology, which can bring about an atmosphere propitious to a more sound understanding in international relations. The legitimacy of East-West relations is perhaps no longer in doubt in any intellectually and politically responsible sector. This seems to be the final cancellation of the simplistic slogans prevailing at the time of the cold war, which reduced the world to a futile and permanent confrontation between models much inclined to abstraction and ambiguity. The cold war was identified with elementary motivations and *a priori* judgements, all of which narrowed prospects and fields of vision and reduced opportunities for reciprocal understanding.

126. The new East-West relationship, now expressed in terms of détente, with sights set more concretely on peace, offers greater opportunities, not only for the legitimacy of the international order, but also for the width of the political space of the world.

127. The stability of the world order, once East-West relations are rationalized, must be completed by having the third world join in.

128. The historical significance of the generic name "third world" assumes the coming together of countries, societies and nations which are distant and distinct, willing to agree, despite their essential diversity, in seeking a political and historical level which will bring them into the active context of international relations. The world order cannot be governed by a club of countries with economic, military or political power that excludes all others; rather, it must be governed by a total and universal consensus expressed through the United Nations.

129. It is a mistake to think that the historical prospects of the third world end solely with the attainment of goals to correct economic injustices. There is no doubt that the revision of the international economic order is an initial

target in the rectification of the prevailing arrangements. But it would be a grievous error to reduce the question of world balance to simple economic terms. It is not only a matter of the value of natural resources and raw materials. At times there apparently predominates a tendency to consider that the only claim of the developing countries is better prices for their products. That is a basic issue, no doubt, but it is not the only one. There are other still broader issues the implications of which are no less fundamental, and they concern political participation.

130. As regards economic development, the tendency to attribute value only to primary commodities might lead one to think that the countries of the third world have no right to industrialization and nor should they think of it. According to this line of thinking, the developing countries would at best be the suppliers of the products which industrial societies need to set in motion the world economic machinery. In fact, the value attributed to natural resources is a factor which has its complement in the economic processes inherent in harmonious and integral development, to which all countries are entitled. Simplification of this concept would bring harmful consequences which must be rejected in advance.

131. As regards the international economic order, there is a question with dramatic implications, How many benefit from the present international economic order? The international economic order has so far been based on the exploitation of the poor nations. The transnational corporations have not offered a valid response to the problems of the developing countries. Seeking a more rational balance in what they can contribute with know-how and technology is an essential task for the immediate future. Prior to that we shall have to know the direction economic activity is to take. Will it be exploitation or development? In terms of exploitation, there can be no international dialogue. It is not proof of great skill for prosperity and profits to be based on exploitation. In developmental terms, a dialogue is possible, but not without a previous definition of what development is, what it is looking for, what it consists in and who it is to benefit.

132. The power of poor nations has increased, and their arguments have acquired value not only because they are just but also because they are strong. The experience of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries has proved the negotiating power of nations producing natural resources. Negotiating power, by nature and by definition, is a peaceful, conciliatory means, one of co-operation.

133. We, the developing countries, know little about one another. The deficit in world information seriously hampers us, not only because the industrial societies are frequently unaware of our motivations and intentions, but also because the members of the large traditional family which today forms the area of solidarity called the third world lack the means to inform one another and to exchange messages of mutual understanding which would enable them to overcome differences in language, culture or historical background and to place ourselves at a high level of mutual, constant and dynamic communication. Misinformation, regardless of its causes, is harmful to all nations whether developed or undeveloped. World understanding is, *inter alia*, information.

134. All this enhances the role and the importance of the United Nations. The distribution of world political power and the management of world wealth are a joint responsibility of all nations. We must hold very strongly to our faith but we must also remain very rational in any opportunities for understanding we may obtain through the United Nations.

135. Venezuela attaches great importance to the United Nations. As proof of this and of our faith in peace and international understanding, President Carlos Andrés Pérez will shortly visit the United Nations. Venezuela is nourished by the values which gave birth to the United Nations. With his visit and his presence in this forum, the President of Venezuela expresses our position as a democratic country with a constructive international policy.

136. The United Nations faces, among others, a fundamental challenge: the use of the resources of the mind. This means that we have not yet fully exploited in the world that natural force which is ~~not~~ always renewable—to wit, the capacity of human beings to be rational.

137. Mr. KOSAKA (Japan):⁷ On behalf of the Japanese delegation I wish to offer sincere congratulations to Ambassador Amerasinghe on his election to the presidency of this thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. We have all had an ample demonstration of his vision in the search for a new order of the sea, in his capacity as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. I am confident that the far-sightedness he displayed in leading that important debate will inspire this session of the General Assembly to seek affirmative results.

138. I should also like to express our sense of indebtedness and appreciation to Mr. Gaston Thorn, a world statesman, for his wisdom in leading the eventful thirtieth session of the General Assembly to its successful conclusion.

139. May I, in addition, pay my sincere respects to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who has been indefatigable in his pursuit of conciliation and peace and has provided thoughtful and creative leadership in the promotion of international economic, social and cultural co-operation, thus helping this Organization to cope with problems arising from the diversified international environment.

Mr. Jiménez (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

140. On the occasion of the admission of the Republic of Seychelles to the United Nations at this session, I should like to extend to its delegation a warm welcome. My country enjoys friendly relations with the Republic of Seychelles, and I am certain that the role of that Republic in this Organization will be constructive and beneficial to us all.

141. Since the establishment of this Organization, profound changes have taken place in the world. The earlier

⁷ Mr. Kosaka spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

and very severe tensions of the East-West cold war have been reduced, as a result of the dialogues between the United States and the Soviet Union, as well as between the United States and China. The Western European nations and Japan are now playing more effective roles in world economic and political affairs. The number of newly emerged nations has risen sharply, and world politics has undergone great changes as international relations have become vastly more diversified.

142. Despite these positive developments, the question of Korea remains unresolved. So do the complex situations in the Middle East, Cyprus and southern Africa. However, in Asia progress is being made in the reconstruction and rehabilitation of Indo-China, whose peoples have suffered greatly from prolonged warfare. There is also visible progress in strengthening the unity and autonomy of the member States of the Association of South-East Asian Nations. And, within the Indian subcontinent, the nations of that region are adapting to new political realities, and are together reaching for a new and longed-for stability.

143. World-wide relations in the economic and social fields are becoming more interdependent, although there are vast differences in our political systems, historical backgrounds, and stages of economic development. No country can solve by itself economic and trade problems, or the problems of natural resources, energy, food, the environment, habitat, human rights, the status of women, and scientific and cultural co-operation.

144. If the Member States wish to overcome such complex and difficult problems and to share equally in peace and prosperity, all the Member States, industrialized or developing, irrespective of their size as nations, should try to achieve coexistence and co-prosperity on a global scale, in accordance with the provisions and spirit of the Charter of the United Nations. It is essential that all Member States act in a spirit of mutual respect for each other's positions, co-operate in mutual concessions, avoid confrontation, promote harmony and co-operation, and collaborate with each other in a responsible manner.

145. Only thus can the United Nations function properly as the sole and supreme citadel for peace in the world today. There were days when powerful countries employed their power to conquer, invade or plunder other countries, tried to overturn other Governments, and interfered in the internal affairs of other countries. As a result, some disastrous precedents were drawn in history. I am sure that there is no single country that does not wish for peace in the world. In order to attain it, we should see to it that illegal use of power is not condoned. Japan pledges never to do so. Our determination is manifested in the Constitution of Japan, promulgated in 1946, which provides for the renunciation forever of war as a means of settling international disputes, and expresses the ideal of "the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth". Japan's pacifism reflects the same ideas expressed in the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations; it is, in fact, the spirit of the Charter.

146. Fukuzawa Yukichi, a pioneer of democracy in the Meiji era of Japan, once said: "No person is created above another, nor below another." His words are known widely

among the people of Japan. I believe this saying can also be applied to States. In other words, "No country is created above another, nor below another." No State should reign over another. Relations between nations should not be based on domination and subordination.

147. It is the firm conviction of my Government that peace, which is the supreme ideal of this Organization, can be achieved if each of our 145 Member States rejects the use of force in its conflicts with others and makes its own achievements available for the benefit of others. I should like to reaffirm Japan's dedication to a diplomacy of peace, for we sincerely desire peace in the world, and will oppose any attempt to hamper the attainment of peace.

148. From this point of view, it is only realistic to observe that special responsibilities devolve upon the big Powers, especially those nations which enjoy special status under the Charter for the maintenance of peace and stability in the world. The success of the United Nations requires the initiative and full co-operation of all Member States, but the great Powers have great responsibilities in particular areas of this Organization's work—for example, in the fields of disarmament, self-restraint in the export of armaments, the institutionalization of peace-keeping activities, and administrative and financial support to the United Nations system. I hope that the big Powers are aware of their responsibilities in these fields, and will accordingly make more positive and more constructive contributions to the work of the United Nations, thereby reinforcing the *raison d'être* of this Organization.

149. Japan, ever since its admission to this Organization, has loyally observed the objectives and the spirit of the Charter, which calls for international co-operation for the purposes of maintaining peace and security in the world and of promoting social progress and raising standards of living in a broader atmosphere of freedom, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war which . . . brought untold sorrow". My country has actively participated in, and renders positive co-operation to, the work of the United Nations.

150. Japan lives up to these ideals by rejecting for itself the path of military power. Trusting in the justice and faith of the peoples of the world, Japan has decided to rely solely on peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes, and to avoid firmly any recourse to military means. Japan prescribes only minimum needs of self-defence, and seeks to contribute to world peace and prosperity through its diplomacy of peace—which manifests a very strong determination on the part of its people.

151. In keeping with its diplomacy of peace, Japan ratified in June of this year the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. The Treaty accords a special status to the "nuclear-weapon States", allowing them to possess nuclear weapons, while all other States, including potential nuclear-weapon States, are prohibited from possessing such weapons. It is the firm conviction of my Government that this inequality should be neither consolidated nor perpetuated. It should be rectified, not through the proliferation of nuclear weapons, which could lead to the annihilation of mankind, but rather through the abolition by the nuclear-

weapon States of all nuclear weapons. Despite a controversial and heated discussion on the pros and cons of ratification, my Government took the important decision to ratify the Treaty in the earnest hope that the nuclear-weapon States would take positive steps towards the elimination of such weapons, and in the belief that our ratification would contribute further to the peace and stability of the world.

152. Japan, as the only victim actually to suffer atomic explosions, feels that it is most important to activate international co-operation concerning the promotion of nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

153. Failure on the part of the nuclear-weapon States, which have a special responsibility in disarmament, to achieve meaningful disarmament—particularly the reduction of nuclear armaments and a comprehensive nuclear test ban—will inevitably lead to the erosion of the Non-Proliferation Treaty. Moreover, the proliferation of nuclear explosive capability may well take place under the guise of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. My Government is seriously concerned with the potential danger inherent in the fact that such nuclear enrichment and reprocessing facilities as would have an important bearing upon the manufacturing of weapons material could be acquired and constructed without respect to their actual need for peaceful uses and without effective international safeguards. There is a pressing need for both restraint by the parties concerned and international co-operation to ensure the peaceful uses of nuclear energy.

154. As a party to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, my Government is firmly determined to contribute positively to international co-operation envisaging nuclear disarmament and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

155. In spite of the present balance of nuclear power, the creation of an international atmosphere where peace and stability can be maintained should be encouraged. To this end, it is essential to make progress in conventional-weapon disarmament as well as nuclear disarmament. In some areas of the world we are witnessing a significant build-up of arms through the rapid importation of conventional weapons. Although possibly justified in some respects by actual needs, such a trend, causing deep concern, will only further intensify existing conflicts or risk provoking new disputes.

156. My Government forbids the export of weapons to areas in conflict. I feel that the time has come to seek feasible ways to formulate international agreements on the transfer of weapons, to avoid encouraging international conflicts. In the meantime, I should like to urge all countries concerned to take reciprocally prompt measures of self-restraint and to give serious consideration to all the implications of this matter.

157. The United Nations, despite many trials since its founding, continues to be the only universal system with precise responsibilities to maintain international peace and security and to promote international co-operation in economic, social and humanitarian affairs.

158. Yet, the Organization can contribute constructively to the solution of world-wide problems only if the Organization's decisions are formulated on the basis of "dialogue" and "conciliation".

159. The United Nations offers Member States a universal forum in which to hold talks, and the General Assembly is the most proper place for the exchange of views among all nations on issues of common concern. Without both "dialogue" and "conciliation", based on mutual respect and animated by a conciliatory spirit, the resolutions adopted cannot be implemented, the prestige of the Organization is damaged and its reason for existence undermined.

160. The "North-South problem", or the problem of development, is an important area where "dialogue" and "conciliation" are essential. The challenge of development is of the utmost importance, requiring a serious consideration at present as well as uninterrupted efforts over the long run in order to reach an abiding solution.

161. My Government appreciates that the spirit of "dialogue" and "conciliation" took a step forward in the course of the seventh special session of the General Assembly and of the fourth session of UNCTAD. In dealing with various issues, such as the integrated programme for commodities and the expansion and improvement of official development assistance, my Government is determined to work vigorously and realistically towards practical solutions, not only in various United Nations forums, including UNCTAD, but also at the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations and the Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

162. We also note with concern the growing gaps in the levels of development of the developing countries themselves. We must free ourselves from the traditional approach of treating the development problem as that of the industrialized countries *versus* the developing countries; instead we must adopt a comprehensive strategy founded on a more realistic and organic assessment of the issues.

163. With such understanding, and paying increased consideration to the least developed among the developing countries, my Government intends to expand its multi-phased co-operation in many fields, such as trade and aid, in support of self-help efforts for economic and social development.

164. Multilaterally, Japan has extended co-operation to the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Asian Development Bank, and others; it has contributed substantial amounts to a number of United Nations funds, including the United Nations Development Programme; and has pledged a major contribution to the International Fund for Agricultural Development on its establishment. It is strongly urged that the efforts of the developing countries to help themselves receive full co-operation from those developing countries which are in a position to offer it, such as the oil-producing countries, as well as from the socialist countries, each in its own way.

165. One of the areas where international co-operation is needed is the problem of establishing a new legal order of the sea. It is essential that, at the Third United Nations

Conference on the Law of the Sea, we seek a broad consensus on the very complex and diversified problems of the sea, in a spirit of "dialogue" and "conciliation" among nations with conflicting interests, so that we can formulate an international legal order which will endure for a long time to come. Japan is determined to contribute to the earliest possible formulation of a new treaty which would reflect the harmonized interest of the international community as a whole. I should like to appeal to the Governments participating in the Conference to make further intensified efforts towards an early conclusion of the treaty.

166. When we think of the problems of the economic and social advancement of developing countries, we must recognize how important it is for each developing country to enhance its human resources for constructive engagement in national development. I feel this deeply from the experience of my own country. Japan intends to expand and strengthen various kinds of co-operation for raising technical and educational standards as a means of contributing positively to the enhancement of human resources in developing countries.

167. Japan took an initiative towards establishing the United Nations University and has welcomed the headquarters of the University at Tokyo. Fortunately, this vital investment in the future welfare of all mankind was launched with the support of many Governments. My own Government has pledged \$100 million to the University over a five-year period, in expectation that similar contributions will be made by other countries. Actually, my Government has already contributed \$40 million, and I strongly urge other Member States that have not yet done so to make their contributions, in recognition of the significance of the United Nations University.

168. My Government is most anxious that peace and stability be maintained in the Korean peninsula, especially because of our geographical proximity and close historical and cultural relations. In our view, the prompt resumption of dialogue between the South and the North of Korea is essential for the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula and for peaceful reunification on the basis of the freely expressed will of the Korean people.

169. We also urge that "talks" be held among the parties directly concerned, to take up problems such as the dissolution of the United Nations Command and arrangements relating to the Armistice Agreement. Out of firm conviction, my Government has endeavoured consistently to create an international atmosphere where "confrontation" is avoided and "dialogue" is encouraged. Therefore my Government welcomes the fact that a fruitless confrontation is to be avoided at this session. It is the earnest hope of my Government that, without losing this momentum, dialogue between the South and the North of Korea, and talks among the parties directly concerned, will be started as promptly as possible.

170. Japan holds to the position that, if it is the wish of both the South and the North of Korea, we shall welcome the admission of both to the United Nations in the interval before peaceful reunification is achieved.

171. My Government is gravely concerned that recent developments in the Middle East, particularly the deterioration of the situation in Lebanon, may further delay a solution to the complex problem of the Middle East. It is my Government's hope that a peaceful solution will be reached through prompt and complete implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967), in accordance with Security Council resolution 338 (1973), as well as through the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. This entails adherence to the following three principles: first, the acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible, and therefore Israeli armed forces should be withdrawn from all the territories occupied in the 1967 war; secondly, the integrity and security of the territories of all countries in the area, and the need for guarantees to that end, should be respected; thirdly, the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations should be recognized and respected in bringing about a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

172. We earnestly hope that this conflict will be settled promptly so that the peoples of the region can enjoy a just and lasting peace. We believe that talks could quickly get under way among Israel, the Arab States, the Palestine Liberation Organization and other parties concerned, on the basis of the Charter of the United Nations and the relevant resolutions of this Organization.

173. With regard to the problem of the Palestinian refugees, my Government will continue its financial contribution to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, in co-operation with other countries. I wish also to urge the Socialist countries, which have not contributed in the past, to begin now to support this humanitarian programme.

174. The United Nations has for many years played a valuable role in southern Africa, but it is most regrettable that the problems of Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and *apartheid* have so far not yielded to satisfactory solutions. During the course of this year, the Security Council has held a number of meetings to deliberate on southern African problems, and a number of talks have been launched among countries concerned, seeking a peaceful resolution of these problems. My Government applauds all these initiatives but deplores the fact that armed clashes are now taking place in Southern Rhodesia, that blood is being shed in South Africa and that the decisions of the United Nations on Namibia have yet to be carried out.

175. These conditions cannot endure. In this connexion, I should like to express my appreciation for the active efforts being jointly made by the Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, of the United States and leaders of the countries concerned for a solution of the southern African problems. I sincerely hope that these efforts will bring about fruitful results. Japan will continue to participate in the search for prompt and peaceful solutions to southern African problems, holding persistently to our rejection of any form of racial discrimination.

176. Among the most valuable examples of this Organization's role as an impartial third party in seeking its prime

objective of the maintenance of peace and security are "its peace-keeping operations". The United Nations Emergency Force and the United Nations Disengagement Observer Force in the Middle East, as well as the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, have made indispensable contributions to the maintenance of peace in those areas. Since those peace-keeping operations are the most effective means available to this Organization for preventing the recurrence and escalation of armed conflicts, there should be no disputing the value of strengthening this peace-keeping capacity for the future. Therefore, my delegation hopes that the work of the Special Committee on Peace-keeping Operations will make it possible for such operations to be carried out in the future in a more effective, smooth and assured manner. My Government will further co-operate in the strengthening of this Organization's activities in that area.

177. In the hope that the United Nations will continue to play a constructive role in solving various international problems, I should now like to refer, from the viewpoint of strengthening the role of the United Nations, to the questions of institutional structure and the financing of the United Nations system. My delegation appreciates the work already initiated on the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations system. I think that through that work we should aim at strengthening the functions of the United Nations, making greater efforts for the rationalization of United Nations activities and the simplification of its structure, as well as for increasing the efficiency of its work. In this regard, we should like the work of restructuring to include a thorough examination of such problems as the duplication of activities among various organizations of the United Nations and the specialized agencies and the organic and over-all co-ordination of the functions of those organizations.

178. First, may I urge that we attempt to make more efficient use of the already existing organizations and that, when the setting up of a new organization is inevitable, the principle of "scrap and build" should be applied.

179. As to the personnel of the United Nations, I believe we should rectify the situation in which important posts are occupied by the nationals of a limited number of countries. With this in mind, although we should try as much as possible to maintain present staff levels, it is time that special consideration should be given to equitable geographical distribution of personnel, and in particular to the recruitment of personnel from such countries as are now unduly underrepresented.

180. In response to the pressing needs of our times, the United Nations has expanded its activities. As a result, its budget has expanded considerably. The Organization's regular budget has tripled in the past decade, and the annual rate of increase in the last five years has been about 15 per cent. This rate of expansion does not, however, necessarily coincide with the fiscal position of Member States—and that is a matter of concern to us. For many nations, the responsibility of supporting the steadily increasing United Nations budget has become a considerable burden. In Japan's case, as a result of both budget increases and our increased assessment, our contribution is now eight times what it was 10 years ago.

181. In view of those facts, I wish to express our conviction that the United Nations must make every effort to hold its budget as low as possible through the rationalization of structure and more efficient use of limited resources. It is necessary that both the Secretariat and Member States clearly recognize the actual state of United Nations finances and work together to avoid situations where funds are depleted because of preoccupation with current cash demands without due regard for the availability of funds.

182. The Government of Japan has made a special contribution of \$10 million to the United Nations because of our concern that the Organization's deficit could hamper effective and smooth operations. We hoped that this contribution would serve as a first step towards a solution, but we have been deeply disappointed that few countries have followed our initiative and that no solution to the financial problem is yet in sight. I urgently appeal to the membership of this Organization not to refuse payment or delay payment of assessed contributions on political grounds. If the United Nations is to deal effectively with the problems we bring before it, its organizational and financial base must be firmly established.

183. Since this is the time—recurring every three years—when the General Assembly must review the scale of assessments, I believe that we should re-examine the formulae for determining the scale of assessments, taking into account not only the capacity to pay, which is based on national income and other indices, but also such factors as the special status accorded to certain States by the Charter of the United Nations.

184. Finally, I should like to stress the importance of strengthening the effectiveness of the United Nations through improvements which can be made within the framework of the Charter, as well as through a review of the Charter. It hardly seems necessary to point out that no organization can function well without effort and determination to work together for common aims on the part of members who constitute and operate it. Criticisms directed at the United Nations these days deal not only with defects in the structure and the Charter of the Organization but also with the lack of the will on the part of the Member States to observe the Charter. Therefore, Member States should reaffirm their intent earnestly to observe the Charter and should demonstrate that intention through their actions.

185. Undeniably, there are a number of discrepancies between the structure and functions of the United Nations contemplated when the Charter was drafted more than 30 years ago and the role the Organization is expected to play in the vastly changed international political and economic environment of today. It is indisputable, in fact, that certain provisions of the Charter have become not only obsolete but meaningless.

186. With regard to the review of the Charter, I should like to recall that my Government has taken a position favouring the review of such items as the strengthening of "peace-keeping operations", the strengthening of the on-the-spot fact-finding function, the composition of the Security Council, the strengthening of the co-ordination

function of the Economic and Social Council and other bodies in the fields of economic and social development, the reconsideration of the Trusteeship System and the elimination of the "enemy State" provisions.

187. In any event, I trust that constructive recommendations and clearer perceptions of the United Nations Charter and functions will flow from the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, and the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.

188. In conclusion, it is imperative for all Member States to join in strengthening and reinforcing the United Nations, which is the world-wide Organization bearing the ideals and hopes of mankind, and to co-operate more effectively for the attainment of peace and prosperity in the world. On the occasion of the twentieth anniversary of our admission to the United Nations, I should like to reaffirm the determination of the people and the Government of Japan to spare no effort in the pursuit of those goals.

189. Mr. NGUZA Karl-I-Bond (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to present to the President, on the occasion of his outstanding election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, my delegation's heartiest and most sincere congratulations and my own. His lofty qualities as a seasoned diplomat, his experience and familiarity with the work and practices of our Organization are sufficient for him to deserve those functions. I need not recall the tact with which he conducted the work of the Committee on the sea-bed and subsequently the work of the sessions of the Conference on the Law of the Sea. It is thanks to his efforts and talents in particular that that session proceeded normally, without the clashes some had feared. When it is known that he is also responsible for presiding over the Co-ordinating Bureau of the movement of non-aligned countries, then it becomes evident how great is his personal merit as well as that of his country, which only a month ago was the capital of non-alignment when it successfully acted as host to its fifth summit.⁸ Those are responsible tasks and we are fully aware of their scope and intricacy, but we have no doubt that he will be able to carry them out efficiently and competently. In these decisive moments our Organization is in dire need of persons of his experience and competence in order to work out its destiny.

190. I should like to add my voice to that of previous speakers at this rostrum in expressing my great satisfaction, as well as that of my delegation with respect to the former President, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, a country with which Zaire, my country, maintains excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. The distinguished and dignified manner in which he conducted the debates of the last session of the General Assembly confirm the judiciousness of the choice which our Assembly made of him.

191. It is my honour to present to this Assembly the revolutionary greetings of the founding President of the

People's Revolutionary Movement, the President of the Republic of Zaire, and of his people, as well as all the wishes they express for the success of this session.

192. I must also pay a well-deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, our friend Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the sustained efforts which he has constantly deployed in the defence of the great humanitarian principles which have made the Charter of our Organization the ideal platform for international co-operation, justice and world peace. In the opinion of my delegation, Mr. Kurt Waldheim has provided us with confirmation of his outstanding moral and intellectual qualities—qualities which have opened the door for him to a highly promising second term. We must pay a tribute to his self-denial, his dedication, his discretion and the sharp sensitivity with which he has always tackled the problems that are rending our world.

193. Before continuing this statement, I should like, on behalf of the founding President of the People's Revolutionary Movement, the President of the Republic of Zaire, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, to pay a heart-felt tribute to the memory of the late great helmsman of the gallant Chinese people, that great statesman of our century, Mao Tsetung. Chairman Mao Tsetung is dead, but, as was so well expressed by the Chinese people, his work will remain in the memory of mankind as an example of courage, fearlessness and abnegation in the conduct of the public affairs of our States.

194. The Republic of Zaire, which has had occasion to appreciate the beneficial action of our Organization, remains firmly attached to the fundamental principles of its Charter and reaffirms its support for the ideals of justice, peace and concord which it considers to be the fundamental elements of its domestic and foreign policy. The Republic of Zaire places special emphasis upon a policy of good neighbourliness, of concord and co-operation with all States which prize peace and justice.

195. We are convinced that all the countries which are gathered and represented here in this hall will give their assistance and support to the President, which he so urgently needs in order to fulfil his task. The Republic of Zaire assures him that it stands always ready to work within the framework of the ideals of the United Nations.

196. In connexion with this help and assistance which must be given the President, if it is true that people play the most important part in the functioning of institutions, it still remains that the structural and institutional framework itself must be adequate. Now, there is no doubt that the documents which at present govern our Organization are inadequate, since a majority of countries are calling for a revision of the Charter in order to adapt it to the present world situation and the true state of affairs.

197. Zaire, for its part, calls for this revision and has been doing so since 1971. This has been once again solemnly confirmed by the most authoritative voice, that of citizen Mobutu Sese Seko, our President.

198. Among the most criticized sections is, in particular, that which concerns the membership of the Security

⁸ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

Council in the distribution of the permanent members by continent.

199. It is not inappropriate to recall also the way in which the veto is used in the Security Council. That organ, whose primary purpose was to safeguard peace, appears more and more today as a forum for the settlement of scores. The principle of the veto and its excessive use should therefore be considered afresh in the interest of the Organization as a whole, since this would then enable it better to serve its vocation of universality.

200. The very spirit of the United Nations has remained dependent upon the concept which prevailed at the end of the Second World War, in other words, that of a club of victors, resolved to take as much advantage as possible of their victory in order to punish the vanquished by making them pay for their crimes. Finally, the spirit of revenge and domination still tends to prevail over preoccupations with peaceful co-operation in equality and with equity.

201. Lastly, within the Organization itself we see the need for a rationalization of a certain number of mechanisms, of committees and of subsidiary bodies in such a way as to simplify the over-all machinery.

202. The revision of the Charter must not appear as a loss of privileges but, rather, as the pursuit of greater harmony and greater justice and equity. Moreover, an organization having a universal character such as ours can find no foundation in the nest of privileges or of whiffs of domination, exploitation and opposition.

203. Is this the reason why the work of the Committee responsible for bringing together all these suggestions relating to this reorganization of the Charter⁹ has bogged down? It is difficult to say. But we must hope that appropriate and adequate solutions will be found so that the United Nations might the better respond to its ideal.

204. If we cannot be too hasty in this task, neither can we accept lamentable delaying tactics whose origin is simple selfishness and the atavistic refusal to accept change.

205. These appear to us to be the prior conditions which form part of the encouragement and the support to be given to the President and the Secretary-General for the total success of their mission in this sphere. The goodwill of each cannot be questioned, but it would be insufficient without an adequate institutional and structural framework and without a change in mentality.

206. Accordingly, it is in this constant spirit of equity and self-denial, which is necessary for any dialogue, that I would wish to deal successively with the most important problems before our world community, the solution of which calls for our reflexion and our concerted action.

207. But first I should like to say that, in responding to the universalist vocation of our Organization, we are pleased to note that our family circle is constantly growing. It is in this spirit that we wish a cordial welcome to all

countries which have since the thirtieth session enriched the great United Nations family.

208. This particularly applies to the young Republic of Seychelles, with which my country is already maintaining fruitful relations of productive co-operation marked by understanding and solidarity.

209. To conclude on this subject, my delegation earnestly hopes that the countries which have knocked at the door of our Organization and which in spite of their endeavours have so far been unable to assume their places in this forum will join us in the very near future.

210. Having made these preliminary remarks, I should now like to deal with the problems relating to disarmament, international terrorism, Korea, the Middle East, the new international economic order, the Conference on the Law of the Sea and, lastly, the situation in southern Africa.

211. I believe I am expressing the general feeling when I say that the greatest concern of mankind at present is fear for its destiny. Will mankind survive, given the terrible means of destruction that it has accumulated and, if it meets this challenge, what will be its condition—that of a mankind free and liberated from the material fetters and the domination and exploitation of man by man or not? I believe that, in the final analysis, this is the equation to which all the problems with which we are going to deal are reduced.

212. Since the appearance upon our planet of the terrible means of destruction accumulated by the nuclear Powers, mankind has become fearful for its own survival, for the massive use of these terrible means of dealing death would result in the immediate or early demise of biological life on this planet.

213. Some optimists consider that it is necessary to continue to have faith in man who, they hope, will retain sufficient lucidity and commonsense not to bring about irreversibly his own destruction. I should like to associate myself with this view in thinking that hope is not the science of idiots, for, according to the paradox, the progressive accumulation of the forces of the apocalypse will deprive their holders of any desire to use them through fear of reprisals.

214. However, as they are drawn into the spiral of fear by the magic of deterrence, all the nations which have the means to do so are joining the folly of the frenetic arms race, because in view of the values and the interests involved, and considering quite rightly that one is best qualified to look after one's own defence, everyone tries to enter the club only to attempt immediately to prohibit entry to others.

215. It appears logical to us to believe that men would not continue to manufacture these weapons without the hope of using them; and the consequences that such a prospect causes to weigh upon mankind mean that disarmament must be the business of everyone and not the business of some.

216. The solution to the question appears quite simple, because the prohibition of nuclear weapons should be

⁹ Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization.

addressed to all the nations of the world. The term "non-proliferation" contains a certain discrimination by virtue of the fact that it confirms hierarchies and the existence of protecting Powers. In so doing, the danger is not eliminated; on the contrary, it is confirmed and sustained.

217. Yet, it is in this Utopian dream that the real survival of mankind resides. This dream is based upon the consideration of the requirements of universal solidarity. Indeed, the savings that could be achieved here could be applied to more useful projects for man, such as the struggle against poverty and disease.

218. If we depart from this view of things, then we have to subdue altogether the concept of disarmament, abandon our poor world to its lamentable destiny, admit our own powerlessness, and wait for the powder kegs of the various crises rending the nations of the world to explode.

219. One powder keg, according to what we hear, is the situation prevailing with regard to relations between the two Koreas. Yet, we wonder whether the Korean question, which is a fundamentally simple one, is not singularly complicated by the different presentations of it nourished by the propaganda of either of the parties involved. What exactly are the issues at stake?

220. The two parts of the divided people have allegedly together displayed their intention to be reunified and, consequently, have published in 1972 a communiqué to this effect.¹⁰

221. It seems that since then the process leading towards reunification is marking time, to the great dissatisfaction of all concerned, if one considers the increase in communiqués and counter-communicés, aide-mémoires and counter-aide-mémoires, putting the blame on the North or the South or vice versa.

222. Lastly, the version that is spread about attributes the present failure of negotiations to the presence of foreign troops which are in the South, either under the United Nations flag or as a result of bilateral agreements signed with the United States, in particular.

223. We are told, moreover, that the presence of these troops in the South is aggression against the North and that by virtue of this fact it is a miracle that war has not again broken out. And we are led to conclude that it is necessary to withdraw the foreign troops stationed in South Korea because of the danger they represent for the North. The picture thus painted obviously leaves shadow areas on which light has to be shed. In particular, one may well wonder who in the South or in the North really desires this reunification. One of the two, or both together? Otherwise, is reunification being urged by the United Nations or by certain of its Members?

224. Those are so many questions which, although naive in appearance, have not so far been replied to unequivocally. For, after all, North and South Koreans are all adults,

and it is inconceivable that, having officially and publicly assumed the undertaking to reunify, they feel once again a need to be pushed into it by resolutions.

225. It cannot be repeated too often that this problem of the reunification of the two Korean entities is a matter for the Korean themselves, who must settle it in complete independence and away from any foreign pressure one way or the other.

226. If the United Nations or some sincere friends have any advice to give or any considerations to voice on the subject, the two parties must be clearly heard, to the exclusion of any partisanship based on belonging to this or that trend or on personal sympathies.

227. Unfortunately, we are bound to note that draft resolutions and counter-draft resolutions on the Korean question are the results of the subjective elements to which I have just referred. There is a tendency to agree with the thesis of one's friends. Some support the departure of foreign troops because they see in them a reflection of the American demons. Others, regardless of the subtlety of their position, are opposed to that departure because they see looming on the horizon the shadow of the Soviet, or simply the Communist, ogre. In a word, the positions of all sides have as their main foundation not the primary consideration of the interests of the Korean peoples, but the triumph of trends and blocs.

228. For our part, we continue to maintain that the reunification of the two entities must be brought about peacefully by the Koreans themselves, under the conditions and the methods which the two parties concerned agree to freely. The United Nations, which is responsible for the command of the troops stationed in South Korea, obviously has the power to dissolve that command.

229. The risk of war, about which we hear so much, must certainly be among our concerns, and it would seem to be both wise and honest to assess the possible and real causes in order to find appropriate solutions. For if we really wish peace, we cannot reasonably claim that the 1950 war, which crystalized the present divisions, was the result of aggression by foreign troops stationed in the South. Hence, the solution of the Korean problem must first and foremost take into account the real will of the parties concerned, and not that of prompters who wish to lend their allegedly well-intentioned good offices.

230. The problem of the Middle East—I was going to say "the Palestinian problem"—which appears regularly on our agenda, arises in different terms, because in this case it is not an internal Palestinian question calling, in the first instance, for an agreement between Palestinians. On the contrary, we are faced with a question that is highly international in its essence and in its manifestations.

231. The position of the Republic of Zaire with respect to this tragedy has not altered since it was clearly set forth from this rostrum by the President of the Republic, citizen Mobutu Sese Seko.¹¹ It may be summed up, first, by the

¹⁰ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

¹¹ *Ibid., Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2140th meeting.*

fact that all the States of the region have a right to an existence within recognized and guaranteed borders. The problem of reliable borders depends upon an unquestionable paralogism, because no border can be a sure border except as a result of the will of those guaranteeing it.

232. Hence, the State of Israel must evacuate the territories that it is still occupying as a result of war. Otherwise, we would be giving legitimacy to a policy of the fist and the fait accompli, which is unacceptable in international relations.

233. On the other hand, we reaffirm the principle that the people of Palestine, which has suffered only too much, is entitled to a country. It is profoundly unjust that that people should continue to live in a diaspora like that which marked the Jewish people so deeply for centuries. There is no reason for us to refuse a country to the Palestinian people when we have given one to the Jewish people. Our good conscience must be more attentive to the tragedy of that people, so little loved despite appearances and statements. In that connexion, it is unquestionable that since the development of the Lebanese tragedy in particular—a tragedy that we all hope to see ended soon—our collective responsibility towards the Palestinian people has become more acute.

234. First of all, it is a matter of restoring a certain confidence within that people, because the more than cynical comments by most Palestinians show the extent to which their faith has been shaken.

235. Who is now their true friend, and in whom can they have trust, without expecting disappointment in the future? It is not sufficient, indeed, to proclaim one's friendship for the Palestinian people. That was the song of yesterday, and it was easy and without cost. But now the real practice and the hidden intentions must coincide with the declared intentions and, in any event, the mote in the eye of others must not make us overlook the beam in our own.

236. The despair which can result from the incomprehension displayed towards their problems and the feeling of being the outcasts of society or instruments of propaganda may be at the origin of some extreme acts that we sometimes have to deplore. These acts are, in that case, designed to catch our imagination and draw our attention to their tragedy. Thus, they find themselves in a sort of state of necessity, which excludes a choice of means.

237. With regard to the thorny problem of international terrorism, in July of this year the Security Council had to deal with a matter that highlighted two aspects of terrorism: the hijacking of aircraft with the taking of hostages, on the one hand, and the violation of the territorial sovereignty of a Member State by another Member of the United Nations, on the other.^{1 2}

238. During the debates, the majority of speakers who expressed a position condemned all forms of terrorism, whether on private or on State initiative. Indeed, the

Organization of African Unity adopted a resolution condemning acts of piracy, and in particular the hijacking of aircraft and the taking of hostages. These practices must be condemned, and it would be desirable that, in addition to adopting appropriate international legislation, States took measures to discourage this type of activity. *A fortiori* the international community must condemn and censure in the same manner State terrorism, regardless of the reasons that might cover up such acts. The concepts of self-defence and State needs, however valid they may be, must be considered with circumspection, especially when, in addition, they come from those who have weapons and are therefore all too inclined to use them against the weak.

239. It was therefore wrongly that the Security Council, paralysed by the machinery we denounced at the beginning of this statement, found it necessary to declare itself powerless by adjourning without pronouncing a condemnation even in principle. There is no need to be surprised that acts of piracy, either individual or on a State level, are encouraged thereby. As proof of that, and as an echo of the Israeli operation at Entebbe, two weeks later it was learned that South Africa had committed aggression against Zambia in a raid which resulted in more than 40 dead—and that raid was condemned by the Security Council. Nevertheless, as regards these acts of piracy it is not sufficient to consider and condemn the acts themselves, which, in the majority of cases, are merely the consequences of dramatic situations which we must solve before it happens.

240. After those few considerations, I now wish to examine what I consider to be the most urgent problems of the moment—namely, the establishment of a new international economic order, together with the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, on the one hand, and the situation in southern Africa, on the other.

241. It may be asserted that the establishment of a new world economic order is one of the great themes of the moment. It is sufficient to cite some of the international gatherings devoted to this crusade: the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly; the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi; the meetings concerned with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States; the North-South dialogue—and there are so many more.

242. Is this not evidence of the importance of the question? The peoples of the world expect to see established a new philosophy and new concepts in economic and trade relations between States, and these relations should be marked by greater justice, greater equity and greater humanity.

243. If we are to be pleased at the size and frequency of these meetings, should we not, on the other hand, show considerable reserve as to the results obtained so far? These are mountains which have laboured and brought forth mice.

244. Whereas the developing countries pose the problem in terms of justice, equity, equilibrium, solidarity and co-operation, one gets the feeling that the developed countries see in it a dangerous encroachment upon their privileges, and therefore they tackle the problems brought up with condescension and without any warmth.

^{1 2} See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1939th to 1943rd meetings.*

245. We have, however, been greatly edified by the highly humanitarian and balanced statements on this subject at this rostrum by Mr. Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg and the President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, even if we do not fully share his optimism on the results obtained.

246. The well-equipped countries must admit that our world, which is in a state of imbalance because it is based on privilege and the domination of some by others, is bound to be a world of division and hatred, a world charged with fear which excludes any possibility of genuine co-operation. We are not asking for pity but for justice, and our negotiating partners must accept the intolerable fact that their privileges are frequently based upon an accumulation of injustices which must disappear.

247. The most typical case is that concerning the primary products of the developing countries, whose export prices are set by the purchasers—in other words, by the well-equipped countries. The constantly fluctuating nature of these prices is very harmful to our economies, which sometimes have to compensate for sudden simple or multiple downward fluctuations, whereas at the same time prices of the capital goods imported from developed countries are constantly increasing. If you take into account the fact that the currencies in which the sales of our primary commodities are carried out have been strongly eroded by galloping inflation, you will realize all the better the tragedy of our countries.

248. During this year of 1976 the under-equipped countries have taken part in decisive gatherings of great moment for the current Second United Nations Development Decade. Among those gatherings, as everyone knows, are those of Nairobi, Colombo and Mexico, which have been important centres of concentration and cohesion in the struggle of the developing peoples to reclaim from the technically developed peoples their share of the fruits of their natural resources.

249. There is no need regularly to return to the themes that have been debated at those various gatherings. Collective development will have to be conducted without discrimination, and we believe that the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation will in turn offer hope, although so far nothing has given us cause to hope for genuine success.

250. The importance and diversity of the natural resources of the under-equipped countries should be the keystone of their solidarity in the course of the present year.

251. We must recognize that at the fourth session of UNCTAD the political will for genuine economic co-operation with the under-equipped countries which had been so sorely lacking took concrete form through the announcement of contributions to the common fund for commodities not only by the poorer countries but also by those of the equipped countries which have wished to echo the daring initiatives of the developing countries.

252. These initiatives had already come to light in the adoption of the Charter on Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], as well as at the sixth and

seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the General Conference in Lima,¹³ and in many other ways.

253. The co-operation between developing countries is in our opinion a *sine qua non* condition for highlighting once and for all the concept of self-reliance. In Mexico the first step was taken, and we hope that this pace will be continued in other "Mexicos".

254. In order to infuse into international economic and trade relations a spirit of justice and equity, in Nairobi we agreed in the course of the present year to proceed with negotiations relating to the establishment of an integrated programme with a common fund tied into it. We also decided to proceed with the negotiation of international agreements on a number of products.

255. The commitments of Nairobi having been confirmed at the sixty-first session of the Economic and Social Council, we venture to hope that all the under-equipped countries and the equipped countries will take part in these negotiations with a genuine desire to achieve success.

256. I take this opportunity to recall that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2 to 5 July 1976, decided to convene an extraordinary meeting of African Ministers of Foreign Affairs in order to deal with the important subject of development. That meeting will take place from 5 to 10 December 1976 at Kinshasa, the capital of the Republic of Zaire. We in Zaire sincerely believe that Africa, which has suffered so much from military interventions from abroad, is more in need of tractors and lorries for its development than of tanks and missiles.

257. It is with the same aim of establishing a new international economic order based on greater justice and equality that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was convened. In negotiations of this kind, where so many partners have so many, at times divergent, interests to defend, it is, of course, not possible to expect easy and quick successes; but we are at least entitled to expect some progress, even if slow, and not retrogression. Yet, as compared to the sessions held in Geneva and Caracas, the session just held in New York appears, in the view of certain observers, as a step backwards in the slow development which had started.

258. The Conference on the Law of the Sea comes in response to the preoccupation that the growth in the world population and its constantly increasing needs will cause a depletion of the available resources of our continents; but the sea-bed, which comprises three quarters of the surface of our world, seems to offer immense possibilities which would delay that depletion of our continental wealth. In these circumstances, the exploitation of the sea-bed emerges as the great chance of tomorrow of which mankind must take full advantage. But precautions must be taken to ensure that this common heritage does not fall into the hands of a minority of the strong to the great detriment of

¹³ Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization, held in Lima from 12 to 26 March 1975.

the others, because there would then be a repetition of the same injustices and the same mistakes as those which we are denouncing and combating now.

259. There are so many problems which arise within the framework of that Conference that I am sure we will not be criticized for dealing with the political aspects of the question, because therein, indeed, resides the substance of the problem. In any event, the new law of the sea cannot go on ignoring the land-locked, semi-land-locked or geographically disadvantaged States. Similarly, the future exploitation of the sea-bed must respect ecology, which has suffered so much from pollution.

260. Once these precautions are taken, here are some basic principles which, in the opinion of my delegation, should guide future negotiations.

261. It is necessary to establish, within the framework of this new law of the sea, an international organ, which would be called "Authority" or the "Commission". That international body must have a minimum of prerogatives, administrative as well as jurisdictional, in order to settle disputes between Members and verify any possible violations of accepted rules in the new law of the sea; because if the authority to be created does not have this minimum of prerogatives to maintain order and discipline, we will once again be faced with a vacuum which we are even now obliged to fill.

262. With regard to the actual exploitation, it is essential that it should not have either as its main goal or as a consequence to hold back, handicap or compete with the production of the same raw materials by countries in the process of becoming equipped. Exploitation must, on the contrary, be designed to deal with the shortages suffered by all, and must meet the following requirements.

263. First, in spite of the anarchy which prevails with regard to the determination of the breadth of the territorial sea, it should be possible to develop a trend towards avoiding excessive disparities.

264. Secondly, the exclusive economic zone of the continental shelf must necessarily be within the exclusive purview of the coastal States, without in any way affecting the navigational right or rights of access to the sea which we advocate for the land-locked and semi-land-locked countries.

265. Thirdly, we cannot subscribe to the principle of automatic free access to the wealth of the sea-bed, because then what we would see would be the establishment of the law of the jungle, where the stronger would mercilessly crush the weaker. Indeed, under cover of free competition, it would be a fool's bargain where the State-owned and private companies of the technically advanced countries would alone have all the rights.

266. Outside economically contiguous zones, the designation of exclusive zones on the high seas appears to us to be dangerous, because the techniques of detection by satellite or by any other means are in the hands of the developed countries, and it is to be feared in this case that the better

zones would be assigned solely to companies of those countries.

267. We should not confuse progress in negotiations with haste in coming to the conclusions which must emerge from the debates. As the goal is to permit the exploitation of the sea-bed, and the private or State-owned companies of the developed countries have adequate financial and technical means, only three solutions can be contemplated. They are as follows.

268. The first consists of the establishment of an enterprise to which all States members of the Conference would belong. The enterprise would thus be responsible for the exploitation of the sea-bed. This certainly is the best solution, in theoretical terms. It remains to be seen when that enterprise could see the light of the day, and especially what means would be at its disposal in order for it to carry out its mission. With that expressed reservation, there is no doubt that we would lean towards such a solution because it tends to guarantee the common interest.

269. The second solution would consist in leaving to private or State-owned companies automatic free access to the exploitation of the sea-bed, without any possibility of control, in view particularly of the security requirements connected with technical secrets and invention patents. Such a hypothetical solution appears to us to be unacceptable because the sea-bed would in fact be given up to exploitation by only a limited number of developed countries. Nor can we subscribe to the solution of allowing those firms to pay a percentage of their production to the authority or enterprise, because that would be a free-lance, non-institutional solution, and one tainted with condemnation.

270. There remains the third solution, proposed by our brothers from Nigeria. Roughly speaking, it involves the establishment of a firm or association in which those private and/or State-owned companies that possess the technology for the exploitation of the sea-bed would take part equally.

271. Actually, the last proposal is a variation of the first and, in addition, the obstacles to the establishment of such an association are similar to those in the case of the first proposal. If the enterprise has the necessary financial means, it could, while remaining in charge, engage the services of an operating company which would serve as a subcontractor. This, as a matter of fact, applies to the third solution. Indeed, it goes without saying that an enterprise or association as previously defined can resort to the use of subcontractors.

272. The difference might perhaps reside in the single fact that a firm would be more willing to be the subcontractor of something of which it is already a part. In any event, the two solutions are not mutually exclusive, and it is in this direction that, in the opinion of my delegation, an approach should be sought.

273. My analysis of this subject may have seemed lengthy, but it is an indication of the interest and importance that we attach to the establishment of a new world economic order based on justice and equity. A suitable solution of

this question is one of the tests that would show whether this order is a mirage or whether, on the contrary, it is in fact likely to lead to world solidarity.

274. I should now like to deal with the last important and urgent subject whose solution can no longer be postponed. I am speaking of the situation at present in southern Africa.

275. Perhaps our conscience is lulled by the horrors of war which have already marked our century, which is surely not privileged in this respect. Accordingly, it may be that our conscience is unable to be moved extremely by the fearsome tragedy that is now being enacted in southern Africa. Every day brings fresh sorrow, desolation and rancour. Perhaps Buchenwald and Auschwitz are already too far removed.

276. A minority of settlers without morality or law, in the name of the shameful principle of superiority based on skin pigmentation, are trampling underfoot the fundamental elements of a civilization from which they derive by pitilessly assassinating thousands of defenceless blacks whose sole crime is to aspire to the estate of manhood and to freedom.

277. These murders cannot make us forget that long before, and even after, Peter Abrahams, red already was the blood of these brave blacks which flowed so freely.

278. The tragedy of southern Africa did not begin yesterday. At each session of the General Assembly and of other political organs of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, the question has been raised under various circumstances, but always with the same intensity. Voluminous reports have always been devoted to this in the purest tradition of our Organization, provoking, unfortunately, indifference and amused smiles. As far as Africa is concerned, we can only be pleased with the fortunate process of liberation which has made possible over the last two years the accession to independence of former Portuguese colonies and other Territories. Nevertheless, the process of decolonization in Africa and throughout the world will not be complete so long as Zimbabwe and Namibia remain under colonial domination and *apartheid* continues to prevail in South Africa. Freedom and independence are indivisible and are part of the common heritage of mankind. As long as peoples are deprived of it, our freedom will always be in jeopardy. The liberation movement constitutes an irreversible historical trend which only anachronistic and corrupt mentalities may feign to ignore for a while.

279. So far as Zimbabwe is concerned the situation is very clear. Great Britain, the administering Power, still retains its responsibility for bringing this Territory to independence. The international community cannot accept the unlawful proclamation of independence of the settlers.

280. Within the framework of African unity, Zaire has morally and materially supported the struggle waged by the people of Zimbabwe against the colonialists. For its part, the Organization of African Unity has appealed to the universal conscience. But the adherents of the Pretoria régime have long remained insensitive and have scornfully

rejected all appeals addressed to them by the international community.

281. The time has, therefore, come to recall the words of the President of the Republic when he addressed this august Assembly on 4 October 1973. This is what he said: "A fruit falls only when it is ripe; but in the storms and the tempests of history the fruit falls, whether ripe or not".¹⁴

282. The process of liberation is irreversible. Nothing, neither violence nor deceit will stop it. On the contrary, the world is witnessing a radical transformation of the struggle in this part of the continent. The black people of South Africa are organizing themselves and even waging an increasingly incisive and decisive struggle.

283. The wheel of history is turning in southern Africa at a rate that is increasing every day. This universal historical truth has long been understood by the peoples in this part of Africa, and, moved by an inexorable confidence in the future, the crowds of Soweto, Alexandra and elsewhere have hurled their cry of refusal and defiance. They are braving the repression of the racists, and their revolt has spread like a train of gunpowder all the way to Johannesburg, attacking all the symbols of oppression.

284. Since the crumbling of the Portuguese empire in Africa which served as a rampart for those favouring segregation, nothing will be as it was and the various uprisings in South Africa these past few months have accelerated the tempo of history.

285. And now, suddenly the eyes of the unbelievers are opened and the myths cast aside.

286. No, southern Africa is not a paradise for the blacks. No, the conditions for blacks in southern Africa are no more enviable than in the rest of Africa, as malevolent propaganda would have us believe. No, the African countries and the other nations of the world which love peace and freedom are not exaggerating in describing the situation in southern Africa.

287. Definitely, the matter would have had more impact if the blacks of Africa had the magic weapon of petroleum or if they were able to raise the threat of an embargo on food products.

288. Before the calamity of southern Africa, we independent countries of Africa had always rejected the solution of dialogue with the racist régimes of southern Africa, believing, quite appropriately, that dialogue would have to be established in the field itself because nothing of any value can be done without the assistance of the populations concerned, and any solution imposed from without is necessarily doomed to failure.

289. In this sense the contemplated dialogue would have been a disappointment because the minority and racist régimes were going to grant outside what they refused to grant within to their own fellow citizens.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting, para. 109.

290. Lastly, and here is the decisive consideration, the racist authorities have so far given hardly any sign of goodwill. Of course, they may have to water down their positions from time to time but they immediately return to their former ones.

291. Before this dialogue of the deaf and before so much display of ill will we had no alternative but to resort to arms, endorsing a truth already taught by Chairman Mao Tsetung, namely, that victory comes out of the barrel of a gun.

292. Yet, it is not exactly in terms of victories, bitter ones, indeed, that the problem should be stated but in terms of justice and of the democratic majority. The armed struggle, inevitable as the history of liberation teaches us, is a last resort.

293. In the short run, violence does not serve the interests involved, and in the long run the minority régimes are doomed unequivocally because they will have lost everything and will have been swept aside by violence in their turn.

294. There is no doubt also that the majority of tomorrow will stand to benefit to the maximum from the infrastructure that is available to it.

295. The revolution in southern Africa is not an internal matter or a matter of only a few States, but is a matter for the world community as a whole, particularly the African community. It cannot be diverted under cover of demagoguery and political one-upmanship for the benefit of political personalities.

296. We are faced with a terrible test of strength whose final result, although it may be far off, is nevertheless in no doubt.

297. The ball is now in the court of Vorster and Smith. The black majority has shown much too much patience, and the decisive hour for an unequivocal choice has arrived. Pretoria and Salisbury can no longer lull us with promises and false statements. We are expecting positive and sincere acts which will bring the majority to the government of their countries, and the first stage is Namibia, to say nothing of Zimbabwe.

298. In this display of goodwill and self-denial, the West has an immense role to play, unless it wishes to be politically blind, even though it has so far neglected it.

299. However, it has not very much time to succeed, because in terms of the ties which bind it to the racist minorities—trade and economic ties, ties of blood and of strategy—the West can and must influence South Africa to change policy both as regards Namibia and within South Africa itself. The case of Zimbabwe is, of course, more flagrant.

300. The minority racist authorities are not as short-sighted as they seem. If so far they have been forced into the present course, it is precisely because of the support they could expect from their allies. If you speak the

language of strength, reason and firmness, Vorster and Smith will abandon their intransigence.

301. In these circumstances we have taken note of the mission of Mr. Henry Kissinger in that part of Africa. We think in Zaire that to oppose in principle and *a priori* a mission of this kind, as some have done, is demagoguery. It is on the basis of results that his mission must be appraised, as one judges a tree by its fruit. History does not like losers. If this mission is successful, the United States Secretary of State will have come out with greatly increased prestige. When public opinion has been inflamed to white heat, it cannot be put to sleep by soporifics; thus the prospect of losing face gives the mission of the United States Secretary of State an element of courage that ennobles it. In any case, no one outside of Africa has done better before him.

302. But, if there are real signs of goodwill, if South Africa resolutely embarks upon the course of independence for Namibia, if Ian Smith unswervingly starts the process leading to government by majority, if there is a real evolution in the situation, then we must have the honesty to recognize this change and to act in accordance with the new course of events—without, however, losing our vigilance, because they can continue to kill defenceless populations, but the final victory is unavoidable. Time is on our side. No régime of iniquity and usurpation has succeeded in maintaining itself indefinitely. Moreover, who cares about death if one is fighting for freedom and dignity and if tomorrow it opens the door to dignity and freedom?

303. I can do no better, in conclusion, than to quote the words of a popular song of Venezuela, and I shall quote this, however imperfectly, in the original language, Spanish: "They can kill the man but they cannot kill the way in which his soul rejoices while dreaming of freedom."*

304. Mr. WILLS (Guyana): We are fortunate at this time to have Mr. Amerasinghe as President, for his long experience can so significantly assist in guiding our deliberations during this momentous session of the General Assembly. It is fitting, too, that his country, Sri Lanka, which has been charged with the task of co-ordinating the affairs of the non-aligned movement, should provide an essential link to facilitate, here at the United Nations, the implementation of the mature decisions that were taken at Colombo. I entertain every hope that this Assembly will not prove to be below the level of events and that the results of our deliberations will reflect those tenets of justice for which we all strive.

305. It also gives me particular pleasure to welcome into our midst the new State, the Republic of Seychelles. We look forward to working with it in the years ahead in this Organization in advancing the objectives of peace, security and development.

306. This session of the United Nations General Assembly, I feel, will go down in history as one of significance and importance to the question of freedom in southern Africa. As this question so well illustrates, all the difficulties which confront us in the contemporary international system can be traced to one strategic dilemma which faced the

* Quoted in Spanish by the speaker.

victorious Powers at the conclusion of the Second World War. It was very clear after Potsdam that the gravest threat to peace was the defence perceptions of those who saw the world in terms of an ideological confrontation between so-called free and unfree societies. This legacy informed all the important changes in the world since 1945: the Chinese revolution, the Algerian revolution, the Cuban revolution, the Viet Nam revolution. Wherever a people strove to end the process of exploitation and to devise strategies of development that would increase their control over their natural resources and to realize fully their human dignity—wherever these existed, the issues were approached from the standpoint of the elimination or, alternatively, the expansion of socialism. Looking back on this period we may well wonder at the prodigious expenditure of life-energy over mere matters of terminology and nomenclature.

307. The Rhodesian rebel leader, Ian Smith, said in a broadcast on 24 September this year:

“Dr. Kissinger assured me that we shared a common aim and a common purpose, namely to keep Rhodesia in the free world and to keep it from Communist penetration”.

It is significant that Smith did not say that the United States and Rhodesia shared the common aim that the black majority should be free and that the will of the black majority should prevail. That, after all—black majority rule—should be the common aim. If this session of the United Nations General Assembly achieves anything—and I feel sure that it will achieve much—its most outstanding contribution to progress on this planet could be the universal acceptance that the fight for freedom and for material equality is waged at a level beyond the strategic imperatives of competing ideologies.

308. Individual freedom has this characteristic: its claims are universal. I say emphatically that neither the present position in Rhodesia nor the position envisaged by the Anglo-American proposals is consistent with any definition of freedom, with any definition of democracy, or with any definition of justice. Guyana wishes to make its position clear. We completely endorse the action taken by the five front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique, Zambia and the United Republic of Tanzania in reaffirming the sole conditions under which majority rule can be installed in Rhodesia through negotiation. Either Smith accepts these now or the war will be intensified until inevitable victory. It was perhaps asking too much that the Secretary of State of the United States of America should succeed where other Fearless Tigers had failed ignominiously. In the sense that we are told that the so-called Anglo-American proposals stem from a desire to prevent a racial war in southern Africa—in that sense, I do not impugn the motives of the architects of those proposals. What I question is their judgement.

309. The character, the attitude, the stubbornness and the short-sightedness of the rebel in Rhodesia have been well documented. Here is a man who has defied international opinion for more than a decade, has been buttressed by international monopoly capital and has vainly sought to suppress in Zimbabwe those very instincts that in 1776 led

to the birth of the United States of America. George Washington was not told on the eve of victory that he could have freedom in two years; Patrick Henry was not told that the alternative to immediate liberty was a temporary quasi-slavery. Yet here, 200 years later, a solution is offered to a problem of freedom that envisages transitional government with built-in minority power structures, with cessation of armed struggle, with the lifting of sanctions and—“the most unkindest cut of all”—economic aid as a sweetener and an incentive.

310. It is unreasonable to expect that Ian Smith will negotiate power away from himself except when faced with the final acceptable casualty. It is equally unreasonable to expect that armed fighters of the majority will lay down their arms before the acquisition of majority rule. Those are the lessons to December 1974 and those are the lessons of September 1976.

311. But Rhodesia, important though it is, is not at the heart of the problem of southern Africa. To discuss the freedom of the majority in Rhodesia it is necessary to speak to Vorster; to install freedom in Namibia it is necessary to confront Vorster; and it is Vorster who temporarily rides roughshod over the majority in South Africa itself. The core of the entire problem of southern Africa is *apartheid*—the economic, political, social and ethical justification for what passes for government in southern Africa.

312. It is hoped that no assurances were given to South Africa, expressly or implicitly, in support of the *apartheid* system, in order to facilitate the so-called negotiations with Ian Smith. Guyana remains resolutely opposed to *apartheid*, implacably opposed to the “bantustan” system, and firmly determined to ostracise those who have sporting and cultural links with South Africa so long as this modern-day version of slavery persists. So long as there is minority rule, whether in South Africa or in any other part of southern Africa, the people of Guyana will ally themselves with all opponents of that system and will support the liberation struggles of the oppressed majority.

313. It has been announced that the first of the “bantustans” will be given a kind of portmanteau independence on 26 October of this year. Needless to say, Guyana will not recognize any such puppet creation. We are aware that there are some who will seek to justify some kind of recognition on tactical grounds perhaps, or on military strategic grounds. At Colombo, 85 countries of the non-aligned movement denounced that manoeuvre for what it is—a transparent fraud. We feel confident that the rest of the international community will do likewise.

314. The continuing conflagrations in the Middle East have increased the value of the communication routes around the Cape of Good Hope. This fact, together with the mineral wealth of South Africa, has blinkered the vision of those who pay lip-service in their opposition to *apartheid*. How much longer can they indulge in such sophistry in the face of the intensive struggle in southern Africa and the brutal continuing slaughter perpetrated by a Fascist Government in the segregated areas in South Africa? Is it not ironic that the freedom of the majority in Zimbabwe should be considered in dialogue with him who brings to the negotiating table hands stained with the blood

from massacres in Sialola, massacres in Soweto and massacres in Capetown?

315. In Namibia, where the illegal occupation still continues and where the South Africans are smarting from the trouncing they received in Angola, a so-called constitutional conference has been held. My delegation denounces that conference as having no meaningful relationship to the future of Namibia. We support the South West Africa People's Organization as the legitimate representative of Namibia. We support the United Nations Council for Namibia and the continuing efforts of the United Nations to obtain majority rule and independence within a single unitary State. Guyana supports the armed struggle in Namibia as the only viable option left to the oppressed majority. The Caprivi Strip, bristling with modern armaments, remains a threat to international peace; it must be dismantled. So long as it exists, so long will it remain an instrument for the repression of the aspirations of the Namibian people, and so long will it remain a base of operations against the front-line independent African States.

316. In the Middle East the restoration of the rights of the Palestinian people remains the *sine qua non* of a just and lasting peace. Huddled in refugee camps, subjected to the crumbs of international compassion, the Palestinians still await the restoration and exercise of their inalienable national rights. My delegation expresses its profound concern over the situation prevailing in Lebanon and will continue to support all efforts aimed at terminating the fighting among brothers, at restoring peace and at safeguarding the unity, territorial integrity and independence of Lebanon.

317. We reiterate that peace in the Middle East must rest on the implementation of three principles: first, the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland; secondly, the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to exist within boundaries that are universally recognized; and, thirdly, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967.

318. Recently, the non-aligned movement held its Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government at Colombo, Sri Lanka, in the Indian Ocean. Aware of the threat to the security of the States in the area posed by the concentration of naval and aerial strength in the Indian Ocean and on the communications route between those two great expanses of water in the world—the Atlantic and the Pacific—the non-aligned movement repeated its call that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace [see A/31/197, annex IV, resolution 11]. My delegation reaffirms its conviction that the implementation of that declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace would contribute substantially to the relaxation of international tensions.

319. Speaking from this podium last year,¹⁵ I ventured the opinion that in Cyprus the question of peace was related to the achievement of a consensus between the two communities, obtained without duress and achieved without coercion. Today, nearly a year later, little if any

progress has been made in the intercommunal talks; colonization of the northern part of Cyprus has proceeded apace; and foreign armed forces, despite the unanimous call of the General Assembly, remain entrenched on the island. *Force majeure* predominates. The resolution that the Assembly adopted unanimously two years ago [resolution 3212 (XXIX)] continues to provide the only valid framework for a solution to this problem. Let us ensure that during the course of this Assembly appropriate action will be taken to implement the decisions that we have already discussed, formed and sought to have implemented.

320. The tragedy of Cyprus is the tragedy of the interference by other States in the affairs of a small State. Techniques of destabilization are being mobilized against Governments which seek to free their economies from the stranglehold of imperialist control—Governments which seek to create systems of development which would abolish hunger, disease and poverty, which would restructure their societies so as to provide their peoples with the quality of life for which they yearn. The immediate objectives of such campaigns of destabilization are clear and unmistakable: they range from the comparatively unobtrusive change of key personnel to bloody events which sometimes culminate in such tragedies as the assassination of political leaders.

321. The techniques used are also equally clear and equally unmistakable. The promotion of internal unrest with a view to the break-down of law and order; the fomenting of intraregional conflicts through client States; the financing and organization of hostile propaganda campaigns; the attacks on embassies and consulates; the manipulation of international markets; the restrictions on export capabilities; the frustration of bilateral and multi-lateral aid; the subversion of economic objectives by the machinations of transnational corporations—all this arsenal of destabilizing techniques is aimed in the first instance at ensuring the continuation of a relationship of dependency between developed and developing countries, and in the second instance at yoking the legitimate aspirations of the peoples in developing countries to the strategic conceptions of larger nations.

322. Most of the countries in the developing world were former colonies of Western Europe and the radicalization of their liberation struggle has therefore been in anti-West terms. This does not necessarily mean that those terms are pro-East. Similarly, most of those countries have adopted socialism as an internal strategy of development. This likewise does not indicate that they are anti-West or pro-East. At Colombo the golden thread running through all the resolutions and discussions was the determination of 85 countries not to sacrifice their sovereignty and independence on the altar of ideological nicety. We of the non-aligned movement have in effect chosen not to be for one side or the other. We have chosen to be ourselves. At Colombo, non-aligned countries denounced all forms of interference and emphasized the need for unremitting vigilance in this regard. Here in New York at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly I call on the Assembly to denounce these activities and I urge the international community to consider in earnest measures to safeguard the integrity and sovereignty of small States and to discourage all attempts to interfere with their right to pursue the paths they have freely chosen for themselves. This, after all, is

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2370th meeting.

one of the fundamental principles enshrined in the Charter, to which we all subscribe.

323. But the security of developing States is inextricably linked with their economic survival and their economic advancement. My delegation feels that there can be no meaningful economic advance without the implementation of the new international economic order as adopted at the sixth special session. The non-aligned movement and the Group of 77 have tirelessly sought to bring home to those in the developed world, who are ever resistant to change, that the economic progress of the developing countries is in the security interests of the developed countries. The billions on this planet who live in the developing countries and whose existence is subjected to the constraints of the few who manipulate to their advantage the present day economic system—those billions have pinned their hopes on the modest programmes put forward in Nairobi and elsewhere. Their determination is adamant, inexorable and relentless. The International Monetary Fund and the Bretton Woods monetary system must give way to alternative structures such as international development banks which are not geared to the revival and reconstruction of Europe or to preferential arrangements for the developed marketing economies, but rather to the just distribution of the gains of an equitable global system.

324. The crippling problem of debt and the servicing of debt have assumed a special urgency. Developing countries cannot afford to depart from their basic and fundamental demand made in Manila and Colombo earlier this year calling for measures of cancellation, rescheduling and the declaration of moratoria. We must eschew all attempts to deal with this problem by the divisive tactics of a case-by-case approach. We cannot afford to mortgage the future of unborn generations to the obligations of burdensome capital repayments and crushing debt servicing. The time has come for a debt moratorium.

325. On the important question of commodities, we reaffirm our unwavering commitment to the integrated programme. We therefore deplore the equivocation on the part of some developed countries in respect of the negotiations to be held on the establishment of a common fund for buffer stocks, which, after all, remains the cornerstone of a viable integrated programme. While we naturally hope for a change of attitude on the part of these countries during the forthcoming UNCTAD negotiations to permit the establishment of a fund supported by all countries, we are firmly committed nevertheless to proceeding with the establishment of a fund as advocated by the non-aligned countries should the forthcoming negotiations fail to yield satisfactory results.

326. The Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, although hailed by some as the ideal forum for producing definitive solutions to the crucial international economic issues has, after months of debate, produced only halting and insignificant progress. There are some who are prepared to sound the bugles of advance in the face of what is obviously a halt. My delegation therefore fully endorses the concern expressed by the non-aligned conference in Colombo over the slow progress made at the Conference. I wish to reiterate my well-known scepticism about the attempt to find solutions to the

critical international economic issues outside the framework of the United Nations system, such as the one being attempted now in Paris. Instead, my Government considers that the United Nations is the legitimate forum for the settlement of such issues.

327. There is a clear need for restructuring and technically improving the United Nations system. Basically the United Nations is a political organization and changes must reflect political realities. If the Security Council is to become more effective, if its authority is not to be diminished by the misuse of the veto in the service of narrow national interests, then restructuring is necessary. The early admission of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam would mark and advance the universality of the membership of the United Nations and would enable it to deal more effectively with the global issues that confront it.

328. Non-aligned countries have always insisted on the importance of the United Nations as an effective instrument for promoting international peace and security and for harmonizing the interests and objectives of its Member States. The work of its various organs constitutes a co-ordinated attempt to share the future for the better condition of mankind on this revolving planet of ours.

329. In the onward march of man there have been many obstacles, many hurdles. There have been many Vorsters; Smiths have abounded. We must not assign the attributes of victory to an ignominious surrender to false perceptions of defence.

330. Peoples against whom the doors of meaningful negotiation have been closed have no other recourse but to resort to arms. The bell is tolling in southern Africa. The last call to prevent the blood-bath has died away, buffeted by the winds of insincerity. Soon—perhaps very soon—majority rule will prevail throughout southern Africa. Those who have sought to temporize with and accommodate the forces of oppression and reaction must heed these basic truths. Those who have died in this struggle have hallowed the ground beyond any powers of oratory and rhetoric. Guyana reaffirms here at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly its untiring support for those who strive for justice in southern Africa, for those who strive for the removal of racism as an ethos of government, for those who strive for the reaffirmation of the authority and respect of the United Nations, and for those who would perceive the unfolding logic of events. History is not side-tracked by spectaculars. The internal dynamics of the progress of mankind are dictating the results in southern Africa. We are proud to identify with those dynamics.

331. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representatives of the United Kingdom and Uganda have asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply. The members of the Assembly will recall that, at its 4th meeting, the General Assembly decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

332. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): Mr. President, have no fear, 10 seconds should suffice for me.

333. I should like to comment briefly on the remarks about Gibraltar made by the Foreign Minister of Spain in

the course of his statement this morning at the 5th meeting. At this late hour, I do not wish to rehearse at length the well-known views of my Government. I simply repeat that the wishes of the inhabitants of Gibraltar are a paramount consideration for us, in conformity with our respect for the principle of self-determination. The policy that we have always sought to follow is to let the inhabitants judge for themselves where their true interests and their future should lie. But we share what I believe to be the view of the Foreign Minister of Spain, namely, that it is important for our two Governments to continue, as we have in the past, to seek the elements of an agreement which might be acceptable to all concerned.

334. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): As the whole world is aware, my country was the victim of an unprovoked aggression committed by Israel at a time when my country was trying

to save the very lives of the Israeli hostages at Entebbe. Many innocent lives—both of the hostages and of Ugandans—were lost and some property was destroyed as a result of that aggression.

335. The Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, in his statement this afternoon, made malicious and baseless allegations against my country when referring to the question of international terrorism. He tried to imply that my country was a party to the hijacking which ended in Entebbe.

336. While my delegation categorically rejects those allegations made by the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica, it reserves the right to reply fully to those allegations at an appropriate time.

The meeting rose at 7.15 p.m.