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AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda (*continued*)*

**SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE
(A/32/250/Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 1 (a) of its report [A/32/250/Add.1] the General Committee recommends that an additional item entitled "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war" be included in the agenda of the current session, and, in paragraph 1 (b), recommends that the item should be allocated to the First Committee. May I consider that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

The item was included in the agenda as item 127 and was allocated to the First Committee (decision 32/402 B).

2. The PRESIDENT: We turn now to paragraph 2 of the General Committee's report. In it the General Committee recommends that an additional item entitled "Question of the composition of the relevant organs of the United Nations" be included in the agenda and allocated to the Special Political Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

The item was included in the agenda as item 128 and was allocated to the Special Political Committee (decision 32/402 B).

3. The PRESIDENT: The Chairmen of the Main Committees concerned will be informed promptly of the action just taken by the Assembly

* Resumed from the 5th meeting.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General Debate (*continued*)

4. Mr. MOLINA-ORANTES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, the delegation of Guatemala is pleased to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly and we are certain that your outstanding qualities and diplomatic skills, your experience and thorough knowledge of international problems, as well as your devotion to the ideals of the United Nations, will be decisive factors for the orderly proceedings of our debates and for maintaining the delicate balance of conciliation in the resolutions that will be adopted at this thirty-second session.

5. The delegation of Guatemala is also pleased to express its appreciation to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe for the excellent work that he did in guiding the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

6. My delegation extends to the delegations of the two new Members of our Organization, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti, its cordial welcome to this world body and offers them its co-operation in all undertakings that will contribute to the achievement of the purposes that we share in this universal forum.

7. It is a great satisfaction for the delegation of Guatemala to express appreciation for the work done by the Secretary-General of the Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom I had the honour to receive in my country a few months ago, and to congratulate him on his tireless efforts on behalf of the maintenance of world peace and the strengthening of the mission which has been entrusted to the United Nations. Therefore, on behalf of the delegation which I head, I reaffirm our complete support for his endeavours and initiatives.

8. I shall now refer to some of the items which my delegation considers to be far-reaching and which will be considered at this session.

9. It has become evident in this Assembly that in our debates we attach priority interest to the item of international protection of human rights, which since the signing of the Charter at San Francisco has constituted one of the fundamental purposes of the United Nations.

10. That concern is natural and understandable at a time when, in spite of incredible advances in science and technology, mankind is being harassed by a growing and ruthless wave of violence and by changing forms of civil and international struggle in which the human being is practically defenceless.

11. The fact that we are here as representatives of the human race is reason enough for this forum to express the unanimous aspiration that the life, integrity and dignity of man should not suffer the abuses of governments or the blind and cruel attacks of terrorism. As representatives of governments, our unanimous aspiration must be translated into action designed to strengthen and develop the legal instruments and institutions required in order to prevent and repress violations of human rights and to guarantee the effective exercise of those rights.

12. The security of the individual must be safeguarded against the excesses of State power. We must ensure the essential conditions of well-being for a dignified and useful life. We must also protect man against the brutal acts of terrorism, which are a threat to the personal integrity and freedom of innocent persons—whether citizens or government officials and diplomatic representatives—who are the victims of indirect action intended to achieve a political objective. Violence and lack of respect for human rights are the result of an interaction of abnormal social forces of which the consequences as well as the deep roots must be combatted.

13. The action of the international community must be strongly directed toward preventing and eradicating violence from wherever it comes and whatever its ostensible motivation. Just as individuals must be protected from the excesses of governments, they also must be guaranteed security against the crimes of terrorism. These are two different manifestations of the same disease which afflicts mankind, namely, violence.

14. The Government of Guatemala actively participated in the action undertaken by the United Nations which led to the proclamation of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which was signed in Paris in 1948, as well as in the International Covenants which supplement it.

15. Those cardinal principles were incorporated in the Constitution of Guatemala, in its broad protection of individual guarantees and social rights, and are part of our internal legal system.

16. My Government also signed the American Convention on Human Rights, known as the Pact of San José,¹ which we helped to frame and which establishes effective agencies for the protection of the observance of those rights at the regional level. That Convention has been submitted for the approval and prompt ratification of our domestic institutions.

17. The Government of Guatemala has at all times considered that the most effective way of ensuring the protection of human rights is through international conventions, both world-wide and regional. Unilateral actions or pressures, however worthy their motives, can always be considered as forms of intervention which are prohibited in relations among States.

18. For more than 25 years, the Government of Guatemala has been in favour of establishing an office of

United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, with responsibility for ensuring that the necessary procedures are followed in order to secure and guarantee respect for those rights.

19. It is the conviction of my Government that the Commissioner, because of his technical competence, would be the proper person to fill the existing gap which some private associations, whose conclusions are frequently formulated through generalizations or unproven accusations, are seeking to fill more through enthusiasm than equanimity.

20. In conclusion, I wish to state that the delegation of Guatemala will sponsor a proposal to establish the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights.

21. With respect to international co-operation, which is one of the most relevant activities of the United Nations, the delegation of Guatemala wishes to express its concern, because the goals and targets set for the United Nations Second Development Decade have in practice not been fully implemented, that is to say, it has not been possible to consolidate a generous policy of co-operation as the only way to achieve universal stability.

22. International co-operation becomes more essential every day and coexistence in a community of peoples seeking to strengthen peace in the mere absence of conflict is very difficult, because the desired security can be jeopardized as long as two thirds of the peoples of the world still live in conditions of dire insufficiency. The elimination of the scourges which cause such insufficiency must be achieved on a world-wide scale and as a genuine crusade demanding intensive and accelerated common action.

23. The United Nations can have no programme more noble or more promising than the promotion of development, since we live in a world which is for ever in movement, with intercommunication made possible by the impressive advance of technology and science, and it is therefore impossible to remain indifferent to the backwardness of innumerable nations, which also leads to situations which are a danger to all. Development beyond and above frontiers and ideologies is a goal that must be achieved as early as possible in order to bring about a more balanced and harmonious world, in which conditions of well-being are within everyone's reach.

24. The delegation of Guatemala considers it fitting to refer to the failure of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities, held this year, because we, as a developing country, had set great hopes on those efforts. The Conference was one of those landmarks in international relations which sometimes do not arouse the attention they deserve, even though this was the first conference convened by the United Nations specifically to negotiate a new instrument which could become a vital part of the new international economic order.

25. The common fund is no great novelty in terms of structural change since it is intended only to assist in the establishment and better operation of international agree-

¹ *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica"*, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

ments on commodities. What is novel is the plan to add to these arrangements international financing to support and promote agreements on trade.

26. It is regrettable that the Conference was unable to take any specific decision on this very important item, not even on questions of principle. Yet we must not waver in our hope that negotiations on the common fund will continue, because for the developing countries this fund is still a key element in the urgently needed reform of the world economy.

27. My delegation looks forward with optimism to the holding of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries to be held in the spring of next year, since it will constitute a useful forum for the developing countries to share their knowledge and experience.

28. Now the industrial nations must realize the urgent need for them to increase substantially their contributions to development and to achieve structural changes in the international system. This is the true meaning of the interdependence of nations and one of the cardinal points of world peace.

29. In the context of international co-operation for development, the delegation of Guatemala considers it appropriate to express its support for the establishment of the International Fund for Agricultural Development, which represents an important effort of the international community to increase food production throughout the world. The Fund is a scheme in which both industrial countries and the developing countries would participate with specific and far-reaching objectives that would lead to a general improvement in rural activity throughout the world.

30. My delegation considers that, in order to attain development targets, basic conditions must be created that would promote development at all levels, including conditions designed to establish a balance in international trade. To this end the developed countries must apply, improve and expand the system of generalized non-reciprocal and non-discriminatory tariff preferences for the developing countries.

31. It is the unavoidable duty of every State to co-operate to achieve stability in the export prices of the developing countries in relation to import prices, so as to ensure just and equitable terms of trade so that prices will be remunerative for the producer and acceptable to the consumer, with a view to a balanced expansion of the world economy.

32. We must make it clear that international co-operation for development is a shared objective and the common duty of all States, which must all co-operate with the efforts of the developing countries to accelerate their economic and social well-being, with strict respect for the legal equality of States and without conditions that undermine their sovereignty.

33. The Guatemalan delegation recognizes that the Members of the United Nations are co-operating effectively by

intensifying the economic and social development of developing countries in many ways. One of its most important instruments is UNDP, and my Government considers its resources should be increased, particularly by the industrial countries, so that UNDP can execute indispensable projects in the poorer nations.

34. As regards the United Nations Conferences on the Law of the Sea, the Government of Guatemala regrets that the negotiations held so far have been so slow, making it impossible to overcome the obstacles that prevent the signing of an international instrument reflecting the established aims.

35. The delegations of Guatemala expresses its most sincere hope that at the forthcoming sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea Governments will do their utmost to arrive at an international treaty that will finally achieve the global regulation of a subject so vital to the future of mankind.

36. The Government of Guatemala has been striving to establish the mechanisms necessary to accelerate the process of integral development for our people in an atmosphere of peace and with total respect for human rights, within the context of freedom and the complete exercise of democracy.

37. My Government is aware that raising the standard of living of the people of Guatemala depends mainly on our own efforts, but we also recognize that international co-operation is most important within a world development strategy.

38. Since the earthquake which afflicted my country on 4 February 1976 my Government has made a major effort to accelerate the process of national reconstruction without setting aside the execution of projects developed within an organic development plan, acting in conformity with the motto proclaimed by the President of Guatemala, General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud, as the goal of his administration: "To rebuild without ceasing to produce".

39. The international community has been assisting my Government in its arduous task of reconstruction in the devastated areas, and we take the opportunity to reiterate our gratitude in this world forum for that generous co-operation.

40. We reiterate our support for United Nations principles, particularly those which are vital for the harmonious existence of nations, such as sovereignty, territorial integrity, non-intervention, compliance in good faith with international obligations, the promotion of international social justice and international co-operation for development.

41. Throughout its history my country has kept alive its faith in the pacific settlement of disputes among nations. We have proved this in our bilateral relations, and we have defended this principle at the international level.

42. Guatemala, which has actively participated in the United Nations since its foundation, will continue to play its part to the full so that the world Organization may

attain the objectives and purposes it has set itself since its inception, and will continue to maintain respect for the principles which led to its establishment.

43. Nevertheless, my Government is concerned because among some of the Members of this world Organization, which is made up of peace-loving States, there still exist, 32 years after its foundation, acute situations of conflict which maintain virulent hotbeds of tension in various regions of the planet and threaten the stability of peace in a world that is increasingly interdependent as regards both good and bad fortune.

44. We must nevertheless recognize the success of the United Nations in avoiding the possible conflagrations which have loomed ominously over international peaceful coexistence. We should not be discouraged because that success has not included some cases which, regrettably, are still critical, and we must keep our faith that, with goodwill and a shared spirit of sacrifice, just and satisfactory solutions will be arrived at.

45. The delegation of Guatemala expresses its pleasure and reiterates its solidarity with the people of Panama because of the agreements recently signed with the United States of America on the interoceanic Canal which meet the desire of that sister nation to obtain more favourable status over the important means of communication which is part of its national territory. We congratulate both contracting parties for the understanding and conciliatory manner in which, by means of dialogue, they have succeeded in resolving a question that was debated at length and was of world interest, and is particularly of continental interest.

46. The example of the Panama Canal reaffirms our conviction that, with good faith and a spirit of mutual sacrifice among the parties to a dispute, conciliatory formulas can be found which will guarantee relations of peace and, accordingly, relations of friendship and co-operation among peoples. We express the hope that the agreements signed will be approved by the respective constitutional mechanisms of both nations.

47. By means of fruitful negotiations we have practically eliminated the acute problem of the Panama Canal. But on the American continent there still subsist the colonial enclaves of Belize in Guatemala and of the Islas Malvinas in the Argentine Republic which, like the case of Gibraltar in Spain, are painful vestiges of British usurpations in territories extracted from sovereign States at times of boundless imperial expansion.

48. When Guatemala entered the United Nations more than three decades ago, our Government had pending a solution at the international level of its claim over the Guatemalan territory of Belize. In the world Organization we placed our hope for a just and equitable arrangement.

49. For more than a century in vain we have made this claim to the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland over that territory occupied by that great Power, and my Government expressed its clear and definite reservation on this on entering the Organization.

50. On many opportunities throughout those 32 years which have elapsed, the Government of my country stated

before this forum the historical background and the basis of the just claims of the people of Guatemala over a territory which legitimately belongs to it and of which we were deprived by force.

51. Belize is not an isolated case. It is one of the vestiges of British occupation of Central American lands during the last century when the prospect of building an interoceanic Canal over that territory led the Imperial Power to annex major parts of the territories of the States of Honduras, Nicaragua and Costa Rica, which were later returned to their rightful owners through the pressure of international circumstances.

52. At that same time, in 1859, the British occupation of Belize, exceeding the agreed-upon frontiers, extended southward over lands which until then had been under Guatemala's effective sovereignty and occupation. It is from these new occupations and setting of new frontiers that there arose the territorial dispute to which the two Governments are still parties today.

53. As years went by, the population of the Territory of Belize grew, with people coming from different places, and they have swelled the ranks of the resident Guatemalan families. My Government recognizes that the interests and legitimate aspirations of that local population which has developed in Belize must be respected and taken duly into account in any settlement of the dispute which is agreed to between Guatemala and the United Kingdom.

54. Within this political context and in accordance with the fundamental purposes of the United Nations, my Government has been negotiating with the United Kingdom. These negotiations have become more intensive in recent years with a view to finding a conciliatory formula which will at the same time satisfy Guatemala's vital interests and rights and those of the population of Belize which is now under the colonial responsibility of the British Government.

55. In the negotiations which have been held between both Governments very significant advances have been attained, and although some divergencies subsist between the parties, we trust that in the near future negotiations will lead to a just, honourable and satisfactory settlement for all.

56. The recent example of the agreement between the United States of America and Panama regarding the Panama Canal, a problem which seemed to be extremely difficult to solve, reaffirms our conviction that there is no dispute between States, however involved, which cannot be settled by peaceful means.

57. This leads us to the optimistic hope that the three problems—those of Belize, the Islas Malvinas and Gibraltar—will soon be solved by means of dialogue and recognition of the validity of those claims.

58. In so far as Guatemala is concerned, my Government wishes to place on record before this august Assembly that we are most willing to continue the negotiating process with the United Kingdom for the purpose of reaching an early settlement to the protracted controversy over Belize.

We trust that it is in this same spirit of understanding and equity that the other side will negotiate so as to prevent situations of tension which might arise when a nation finds that its hopes for justice for its legitimate claims are dashed. We also hope that this negotiating process, now being conducted in a friendly climate will not be disturbed by undue pressures from countries alien to the dispute which, far from contributing to the solution of the problem, may render it more acute and complex.

59. With the example of the Panama Canal, we would like to think that the international community is living in an era auspicious for negotiating solutions; and it is on this that we base our hope that, by means of dialogue and understanding, tensions may be alleviated and a solution found for the serious problems of the Middle East, leading to a peace based on the coexistence and brotherhood of man, as well as the reconciliation of the interests of all the peoples of the region.

60. The problem of the reunification of Korea still awaits solution. It too must be settled by peaceful means. My delegation therefore considers that it would be desirable for both South Korea and North Korea to resume the dialogue, at present suspended, so as to achieve a lasting peace on the Korean peninsula and, if possible, arrive at a non-aggression pact. Moreover, and as a temporary measure both Koreas, North and South, might be admitted to the United Nations in accordance with the principle of universality enshrined in the very Charter of our Organization.

61. The delegation of Guatemala has spoken on repeated occasions in this Assembly, and we do so now, to condemn the practices of *apartheid* and other discriminatory policies which keep southern Africa in a perpetually explosive situation. We trust, furthermore, that the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia may be resolved by the peaceful means available under international law, so as to guarantee the human rights of the broad masses of the populations which are now held in thralldom in those territories.

62. Those comments on some of the problems that are before the United Nations for consideration and in respect of which intense activity has been undertaken to find the best solutions prove the constant support of my country for the principles and purposes set out in the fundamental Charter which we signed in San Francisco, California, in 1945. What is more, they are proof of our desire for its correct application without political interpretations that may distort it and that may entail serious threats for international peace and security and for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States Members. We most sincerely hope that the purposes of the Organization at this thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly will be fully met.

Address by Datuk Hussein Onn, Prime Minister of Malaysia

63. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Malaysia. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Datuk Hussein Onn and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

64. Datuk HUSSEIN Onn (Malaysia): May I, first of all, congratulate Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, on his elec-

tion as President of this session of the United Nations General Assembly. Malaysia has the highest regard for Yugoslavia, especially for being a founder-member of the non-aligned movement, of which Malaysia is a member, and also for its efforts over the years in promoting world peace and goodwill. Your election, Mr. President, is therefore a reflection of our respect and honour for your great country. Your experience and skill will no doubt be of great value to the deliberations of this General Assembly, and my country will give its fullest co-operation to you.

65. To Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka I express my thanks for the admirable manner in which he carried out his duties and responsibilities as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

66. Mr. Kurt Waldheim has served the United Nations extremely well. He has been untiring in his efforts to achieve the purposes and objectives of this great world Organization. We are very glad that he has agreed to serve again, and we wish him success in all his endeavours.

67. The United Nations is richer by the addition of two new Members. Malaysia welcomes the admission of the Republic of Djibouti into the Organization and looks forward to working with it inside and outside the United Nations.

68. Malaysia also welcomes the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam into this great family of nations. Our two countries are close neighbours, and Malaysia is confident that the friendly relations that have already been established between the two countries will be further strengthened. We hope that there will be further and closer contacts and co-operation between our two countries.

69. Over the years the United Nations has had a number of successes with regard to its decolonization policy. There are, however, still a number of areas in the world where this policy has yet to be implemented. Malaysia will continue to support this policy.

70. However, in some other fields the United Nations is far from being effective; its resolutions and appeals have contemptuously been disregarded. Israel is an example. There will never be any peace and stability in the Middle East until Israel withdraws from all the lands it has taken from Arab countries and until it agrees to the establishment of a homeland for the Palestinians. Malaysia fully supports the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East immediately to resolve the problems in the Middle East. As the Palestinians are also affected, the Palestine Liberation Organization, which we recognize as their representative, should also attend the Conference.

71. Southern Africa is another example. The majority of the countries Members of the United Nations will never tolerate or keep quiet about colonial oppression, racism and *apartheid*. What is now happening in that part of the world is so contemptible that it is only a matter of time before it will erupt into a violent explosion that may envelop a large part of the continent of Africa. Immediate actions and solutions are needed before it is too late.

72. In my part of the world, that is South-East Asia, some countries in the region, including Malaysia, are learning to

work together for our mutual benefit. We believe in regional co-operation, especially in the economic, industrial, social and cultural fields. In the process we have achieved a measure of peace and stability.

73. We are thus able to concentrate all our efforts and energy on the growth of our economy and the development of our countries. The Association of South-East Asian Nations has been a great worthy experiment in regional co-operation in my part of the world. It has been found to be workable and viable. It is far from being perfect, of course. But we are determined and patient enough to ensure its survival, continuity and progress.

74. Malaysia strongly believes that there can be no growth in the economy and very little development in a country without peace and stability. Super-Power rivalry has also infested my part of the world. This rivalry will only bring destruction and misery to the small countries. To avoid that, Malaysia has proposed the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia, which would be free from interference in any form or manner by outside Powers. Malaysia needs the support of all countries in the United Nations, especially the big Powers, in turning this concept into a reality.

75. Almost all the developing countries are producers of primary commodities. These commodities are essential to the industrialized countries. The developing countries, on the other hand, are dependent on the industrialized countries for the supply of machinery, equipment and manufactured goods. Thus, these two groups of countries are dependent on each other for their livelihood and well-being. Unfortunately, the trend has always been that the developing countries are paid less for their produce, while the industrialized countries always charge more for their goods.

76. This state of affairs cannot go on forever. Obviously a new international economic order must replace the current one, which is so patently inequitable and unjust. Much time and thought have been given to these issues. The Integrated Programme for Commodities of UNCTAD² deserves to be supported and should be supported. This session of the General Assembly should ensure that the programme be implemented with the utmost urgency. While it is right and proper that the United Nations should be very concerned with the question of war and peace, it should equally be very concerned with the question of the world economy, which can also bring about conflict and chaos in the world.

77. I am greatly encouraged by the agreement in the recently concluded Conference on International Economic Co-operation to establish a common fund which should be a major source of finance for the integrated programme for commodities. Malaysia agrees with the view that the common fund should principally be for financing international buffer stocks of commodities to achieve greater stability in commodity prices at levels which are remunerative to producers and fair to consumers. In this way developing countries, such as Malaysia, can plan and

develop their export commodities with the confidence that the livelihood of their peoples will be safeguarded.

78. I hope that, following the agreement at the Conference on International Economic Co-Operation to broaden the scope of co-operation between the developed and the developing countries, there will be a more positive outlook and a greater sense of urgency on the part of the developed countries to ensure a successful outcome of the second round of negotiations under UNCTAD on the common fund.

79. The urgency of establishing the new international economic order needs no stressing. All indications are that the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, now in its seventh year, has failed to achieve even its basic objectives. It is also clear that the present international economic system is no longer relevant, and has not been able to cope with or to offer effective solutions to the problems concerning trade, commodities, industrialization, transfer of technology, transfer of resources, food and agriculture, and the reform of the international monetary system.

80. Furthermore, discussions and negotiations that have been going on with the developed countries in the last two and a half decades have only resulted in greater disparity between the developed and developing countries, and the worsening of the position of the latter.

81. For the developed countries this is a real test of their leadership, vision and sincerity. We have spoken a great deal about interdependence and political will. Now is the time for these countries to come forward with clear, unambiguous, firm and meaningful commitments to the realization and early establishment of the new international economic order. I would, therefore, urge this Assembly to identify its short-term and long-term objectives with respect to the new international economic order.

82. In the short term, it is necessary for the United Nations to take the initiatives that would provide the machinery for better international co-operation and co-ordination of national economic policies, so as to introduce a stronger basis for sustained economic growth and financial stability on a global scale. But the world has gone through a major recession, from which it has not yet fully recovered. There are still some of the after-effects of this recession within the international economic system. This is inhibiting a more rapid economic recovery and the achievement of sustained economic growth that is so vitally necessary for the economic well-being and security of the whole world.

83. The United Nations should therefore strengthen its existing machinery and devise new systems that could create a better economic environment which would also discourage the recent trend towards protectionism that is growing, especially among the major industrial countries. Any acceleration of this protectionist trend could bring about a severe setback to world economic recovery and, indeed, cause major and even lasting disruptions to the economic well-being and prospects of developing countries in particular.

² 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, resolution 93 (IV).

84. In the longer term the United Nations must be able to gear itself and adopt more innovative measures to restructure the international economic system. There is a growing realization that we need to make better use of the United Nations system as a forum for negotiations towards the gradual achievement of the new international economic order. The many international conferences that have been held, and more recently the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, have all been disappointing, and at best have shown only limited results. The time has come, therefore, to return more resolutely to the United Nations to seek world solutions to our global problems.

85. I would suggest, therefore, that this Assembly urge all its organizations, institutions and conferences to identify the most pressing economic issues of the day, and to set definite time targets to achieve as much agreement as possible.

86. Unless we undertake the initiatives to take substantive and concrete action within definite time targets we will run into the danger of having consultations and dialogues in a vacuum, with much to be said but with little done. I do not think that posterity will judge us kindly if we fail to alleviate the problems we are facing owing to the lack of political will and responsibility. This is indeed the time to be bold and decisive, and I hope that we will be able to live up to what is expected of us for the benefit of us all.

87. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Malaysia, Datuk Hussein Onn, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

88. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Comrade President, I have already had the honour of congratulating you upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and to wish you every possible success from the bottom of our hearts. We have also had the honour of congratulating the two new Members, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti, upon their admission to membership in the United Nations.

89. I shall begin my statement today, therefore, by simply setting forth the policy of our Government on the most important international problems.

90. In assessing the world situation, the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic proceeds from the premise that the steady change in the correlation of forces in the international arena in favour of peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples, is the prevailing tendency in the world today. This irreversible historical process was started by the Great October Socialist Revolution, whose sixtieth anniversary is being celebrated this year by all of progressive mankind.

91. The emergence of the first socialist State, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, engendered a new type of relations based upon the principles of equality, respect for

the independence and sovereignty of all countries, big and small, and of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems.

92. The victory over fascism and militarism with the decisive contribution of the Soviet Union and the formation and consolidation of the world socialist community have enhanced further the possibility of ensuring universal peace and developing equitable international co-operation. It is therefore no accident that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are participating actively in the work of the United Nations, which has set itself the task of maintaining peace and international co-operation.

93. Positive developments in the restructuring of the entire system of international relations on the basis of just and democratic principles have been the result, above all, of the joint efforts of the socialist countries supported by all peace-loving and progressive forces of the world. The successful realization of the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems has made détente the prevailing trend in contemporary international life.

94. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that the principal task of both the world community and the United Nations is to consolidate that trend so as to make it a durable and irreversible process and to extend it to all parts of the world. This task has now become of particular urgency in the face of the attempts undertaken by imperialist and other reactionary forces to frustrate international détente and to return the world to the time of the "cold war", to whip up war hysteria. Such actions are expressed primarily in the escalation of the arms race in the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, in the United States of America in the first place, under the false pretext of the so-called "Soviet threat", as well as in the production of new types of weapons of mass destruction such as neutron bombs and Cruise missiles. Proponents of the military-industrial complex are trying to buttress those actions by various concepts such as the concept of "peace through strength", which is meant in fact to justify the unrestrained arms race. These dangerous concepts, which remind one of the military doctrines of the time of the cold war, must give way to ideas conducive to the strengthening of mutual confidence among States.

95. The countries of the socialist community have put forward constructive initiatives aimed at deepening and extending the process of détente by enhancing it through concrete measures in the field of disarmament and the development of international economic, scientific, technical and cultural co-operation on the basis of equal rights and mutual benefit.

96. This consistent course pursued by the socialist countries is explicitly confirmed by the new initiative of the Soviet Union, which focuses the attention of the world public and the United Nations on the vital problems of deepening further the process of international détente and saving humanity from the threat of a thermonuclear war. The proposal to consider the item "deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war", submitted to this session by A. A. Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet

Union [A/32/242], is in full conformity with the demand of the peoples of the world that effective measures be taken to stop the arms race and to bring about genuine disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament.

97. With regard to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and nuclear disarmament, the twin task of strengthening the régime of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests has assumed particular urgency. These measures would make it possible to put an end to the qualitative improvement of those weapons of mass destruction, to prevent the emergence of new types of such weapons. My delegation places its hopes on the negotiations for a complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, which have begun this year between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom, and holds the view that constructive steps in this direction would have a far-reaching positive impact. In this connexion, we should like to emphasize the great importance of the new and constructive step taken by the Soviet Union, namely, its willingness to suspend, in agreement with the United States and the United Kingdom, underground nuclear-weapon tests for a certain period of time, even before other nuclear Powers accede to the proposed treaty. This constitutes further proof of the Soviet Union's sincere desire to contribute in every way possible to the cause of nuclear disarmament.

98. Such collateral measures as the strengthening of the IAEA safeguards with respect to transfer of nuclear materials and technology, the creation of zones genuinely free of nuclear weapons, and the complete demilitarization of the sea-bed and the ocean floor are also of great importance for the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and, consequently for the lessening of the risk of nuclear war.

99. The conclusion of an agreement on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons would exert a favourable influence on all disarmament negotiations being held in different forums and would contribute substantially to the cessation of the nuclear arms race and to bringing about nuclear disarmament. The identical statements made by the Soviet Union and the United States regarding their willingness to continue to observe their commitments under the 1972 interim agreement,³ as well as the reports on certain progress recently achieved in bringing closer together the positions of the two Powers, have encouraged us to believe that in the near future agreements may be reached in this vital area.

100. The Mongolian People's Republic holds the view that the concrete agreements achieved in the negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe would represent a tangible measure in easing the situation in the region of the confrontation of the largest military forces.

101. In the light of measures taken by NATO countries in building up armaments, the need to achieve an agreement on these questions on the basis of the principle

³ Interim Agreement on certain measures with respect to the limitation of strategic offensive arms, and protocol thereto, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972. See document A/C.1/1026.

of ensuring equal security for all parties has become of even greater urgency.

102. My delegation wishes to express the hope that the spirit of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which plays an important role in strengthening détente in Europe, will have a positive impact on the progress of negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in that region which saw the beginning of two devastating world wars.

103. The Mongolian People's Republic was one of the sponsors of the working papers entitled "Basic provisions of the declaration on disarmament"⁴ and "Basic provisions of the programme of action on disarmament"⁵ submitted by the socialist countries to the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament. In these documents, which epitomize the main ideas of the Soviet memorandum on questions of ending the arms race and disarmament,⁶ in addition to the measures of nuclear disarmament, paramount importance is attached to the problems of the prohibition of chemical weapons and of the development and production of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction. My delegation considers it necessary that certain results be achieved in the negotiations on these problems well before the special session of the General Assembly, which is to be held in May-June 1978.

104. The Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques [*resolution 31/72, annex*], signed last summer, is an important supplement to the measures already taken towards curbing the arms race. It is now essential to ensure its universality. In the opinion of my delegation this convention, being a first step in the efforts to prohibit the emergence of new means of mass destruction, could provide a stimulus to further negotiations in this field.

105. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic is of the opinion that the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations would be of great significance for the enhancement of the effectiveness of agreements already concluded on curbing the arms race and for creating a favourable atmosphere for making further progress in the disarmament talks.

106. The proposal made by the Soviet Union regarding the conclusion of such an instrument⁷ is designed to institutionalize in international relations the principle of the non-use of force, which has already been confirmed in many bilateral and multilateral treaties and also in the Final Act adopted by the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

107. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic submits that this session of the General Assembly should indicate concrete measures leading to the elaboration of such a world treaty.

⁴ Document A/AC.187/81.

⁵ Document A/AC.187/82.

⁶ See document A/31/232.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 124, document A/31/243.

108. The proposal of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty that all participants in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe should undertake not to be the first to use nuclear weapons against each other will undoubtedly strengthen the atmosphere of confidence among States.

109. The need for strengthening the results achieved in curbing the arms race and producing further measures aimed at achieving the objectives of general and complete disarmament requires the active participation of all States, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear. The proposal for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference, *inter alia*, takes account of such a requirement. The progress of the work of the Preparatory Committee for the Special Session of the General Assembly Devoted to Disarmament gives us, in our opinion, grounds for saying that such world forums will be capable of generating momentum for the struggle of the world community for disarmament and of outlining practical ways of achieving progress towards this end.

110. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic attaches paramount importance to strengthening peace and security in Asia. For the last three decades this vast continent, where more than one half of the world's population lives, has continuously experienced wars and armed conflicts, provoked by neo-colonialist forces, and there still exist hotbeds of tension, fraught with danger to world peace.

111. The ensuring of lasting peace and security in Asia has assumed particular urgency in the light of the fact that virtually all the States of the region, with few exceptions, are developing countries faced with a great number of urgent problems of socio-economic development.

112. It is therefore natural that the peoples of Asia should be interested in ensuring durable peace throughout Asia.

113. It goes without saying that the principles of peaceful coexistence among States with different social systems, as well as principles stipulated in the United Nations Charter and in the Declaration of the Asian-African Conference, held at Bandung in 1955,⁸ should serve as a basis for ensuring peace and security in Asia.

114. The Mongolian People's Republic is of the view that, under circumstances of the steady consolidation of the forces of peace, national independence and social progress of peoples, and the further deepening of international détente, it is quite feasible to ensure peace in Asia through the collective efforts of all States of the continent.

115. In setting forth the position of the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic on ways of creating an Asia-wide system of peace and security, Comrade Yumjagiyn Tsendenbal, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, said:

“The elimination of existing hotbeds of tension, the political settlement of outstanding international disputes,

⁸ See *Asian-African Conference, April 18-24, 1955* (New Delhi, Government of India Press, 1955), pp. 36-38.

the permanent renunciation of the use or threat of force in international relations and the development of mutually beneficial co-operation among the States of the continent serve as a basis for ensuring peace and security in Asia.”

116. It is essential, in the first place, to eliminate hotbeds of tension and military conflicts if the foundations of lasting peace in Asia and throughout the world are to be built.

117. The further aggravation of the explosive situation in the Middle East by the aggressive and annexationist actions of the ruling circles of Israel is causing increasingly widespread concern. It is imperative speedily to achieve a lasting and just settlement of that crisis on the basis of the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, and to secure the inalienable right of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination, including their right to establish their own State, and to guarantee the independent existence of all States of the region.

118. In the light of prevailing circumstances, the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East represents the only means capable of paving the way for a comprehensive solution to the problem.

119. We consider that the representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization, recognized by the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine, should be given an opportunity to participate in that Conference from the very beginning on an equal footing with others.

120. The Mongolian People's Republic, which has consistently supported the struggle of the Arab peoples against the Israeli aggressors, is convinced that the Arab countries will further consolidate their unity of action and that their just cause will ultimately be crowned with success.

121. The presence of foreign troops in the south of Korea and the provocative actions of the South Korean régime, which impede the peaceful reunification of the country, are continuing seriously to complicate the situation in the Far East.

122. The initiatives of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with regard to a peaceful and democratic solution of the Korean problem without any outside interference command broad international support.

123. This can be said with respect to the proposal made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on the convening of a political consultative meeting of the North and the South to be attended by representatives of political parties, public organizations and broad strata of people from both sides of the country.

124. The withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea, dissolution of the so-called “United Nations Command”, and replacement of the Armistice Agreement with a peace agreement, as provided for in the relevant resolution of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*], are pre-conditions for a peaceful settlement of the Korean problem.

125. We are convinced that the struggle of the Korean people for the creation of a unified, independent, democratic State will be crowned with victory and that this hotbed of tension in the Far East, fraught with potential danger to international peace, will be eliminated.

126. It is a matter of profound regret that the situation in Cyprus has so far shown no notable progress. The Mongolian People's Republic favours the solution of the Cyprus problem on the basis of complete respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus. It is essential to put an end to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus so that its ethnic communities can themselves solve the problem of the future of their country. We deem it useful that the United Nations and its Secretary General should further promote in every way the success of the intercommunal talks, in conformity with Security Council and General Assembly resolutions.

127. There can be no doubt that one of the most important tasks today is the elimination of the remaining strongholds of colonialism and the eradication of racism and *apartheid*.

128. It is a well-known fact that the racist régimes of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, with extensive support from their Western patrons, are not only persisting in carrying out an inhuman racist policy towards the indigenous peoples, but are consistently committing acts of aggression against neighbouring States, thus creating a threat to peace and security on the African continent. This situation has been further aggravated by the attempts of the South African racists to acquire nuclear weapons. Such a situation in southern Africa calls for the international community to exert further efforts for the speedy and full implementation of all United Nations resolutions for the complete elimination of colonialism and racism—primarily, the implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

129. It is imperative for the United Nations and world public opinion to increase their all-round assistance to the fighting peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, and further urge certain Western Powers to desist from all collaboration with the racist régimes. The Mongolian People's Republic stands for the full and unconditional transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe, the immediate granting of independence to Namibia and the cessation of the policy of racism and *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa.

130. It is high time to take effective measures against the racist régimes, as provided for in the United Nations Charter and in Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, as well as in the decisions of a number of representative international forums held under the aegis of the United Nations.

131. As to the so-called peaceful settlement of the problem of southern Africa, the policy of supporting the Salisbury and Pretoria régimes pursued by the authors of those plans should not be overlooked. I should like to emphasize further that in southern Africa we are dealing primarily with a national liberation movement of peoples,

and no harm should be done to that movement under any pretext whatsoever.

132. It is evident that the joint action of the peoples of southern Africa and their close alliance with all progressive forces in the world constitute an important factor which will expedite the triumph of their just cause.

133. The Mongolian People's Republic supports the struggle of the developing countries for the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis. What is at issue here is the restructuring of the international economic relations which emerged in conditions of capitalist domination and were based on the exploitation of colonial and dependent countries.

134. The socialist countries are successfully developing relations based on the principles of equality and equal rights, reciprocal benefits and mutual assistance. We submit that essentially the creation of a new international economic order means the reorganization of world-wide economic relations on precisely the same principles.

135. It is natural, therefore, that the developing countries, which are aiming at establishing a new international economic order, should enjoy the support of the socialist countries.

136. The absence of any tangible progress in solving this problem indicates that the major obstacle to the radical restructuring of international economic relations lies in the persistent refusal of the industrially developed capitalist States to meet the just demands of the developing countries. This was demonstrated particularly in the results of the Paris Conference on so-called "international economic co-operation" as well as in the deliberations of the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly.⁹

137. In their attempts to poison the international atmosphere and sow the seeds of distrust and enmity among nations the champions of the "cold war" have recently launched a slanderous campaign against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries on the pretext of the so-called "protection" of human rights.

138. However, attempts to deny the achievements of the socialist countries in guaranteeing human rights and freedoms are doomed to total failure because they are refuted by the very facts of life.

139. The new socialist world, born 60 years ago, has eliminated for the first time in the history of mankind the exploitation of man by man and has fully ensured all democratic rights and freedoms. By developing and improving socialist democracy the socialist countries are creating all the necessary conditions for the harmonious development of every individual and for the equal participation of their citizens in the political, economic and spiritual life of society.

140. Many of the fundamental United Nations documents on human rights have been produced with the active

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

participation of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

141. By contrast, the country that is whipping up this noisy and hypocritical campaign has not so far ratified basic documents in this field.

142. The policies and practices of colonialism, racism, violence and aggression result, as experience has shown, in the most flagrant mass violations of human rights. The real cause of violations of human rights is to be found in this.

143. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic resolutely condemns the criminal acts of the Chilean junta and demands that an end be put to the bloody repression and persecution of Chilean patriots and democrats.

144. In the conditions of the continuing process of détente the United Nations has an important role to play in co-ordinating the efforts of its Member States for the further consolidation of peace, security and international co-operation.

145. In this connexion I should like to stress here that the Government of the Mongolian People's Republic highly appreciates the efforts of our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, designed to enhance the efficiency of the United Nations in solving the urgent problems facing the international community.

146. My delegation is convinced that strict observance by Member States of the Charter of the United Nations, which objectively reflects the reality of our time, is the most cogent and appropriate way of further improving the efficiency of the Organization.

147. My delegation therefore opposes any attempt to revise the basic provisions of the Charter, which have stood the test of time and have vital importance for the existence of the United Nations as an instrument of peace and international co-operation.

148. In conclusion, I should like to assure you, comrade President, and the distinguished representatives of Member States, that the Mongolian People's Republic is resolved and will continue to do its utmost to promote the realization of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, to deepen international détente and to strengthen peace and international security.

149. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker in the general debate is the special envoy of the President of the Republic of the Philippines, Her Excellency Mrs. Imelda Romualdez Marcos. It is an honour and a pleasure for me to invite her to address the General Assembly.

150. Mrs. MARCOS (Philippines): Mr. President, allow me first of all to extend to you the felicitations of my delegation on your highly-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Your distinguished career as a diplomat in the service of your country, in advancing the principle of non-alignment and in developing constructive co-operation in the United Nations is the surest guarantee that the General Assembly will have the benefit of wise and effective leadership.

151. Permit me also to express our profound appreciation of the services of your predecessor, Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who steered this Assembly wisely and well under trying circumstances.

152. And to Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim we pay our sincere tribute for his numerous initiatives in the cause of peace.

153. We warmly welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti to our midst and extend to them the assurance of our friendly co-operation. The Philippines became one of the sponsors of the resolution on the admission of Viet Nam as a sincere expression of our belief that the heroic people of Viet Nam has much to contribute to the peace and stability of South-East Asia and the world.

154. The world today is marked by confusion and contradiction. There are reasons for hope amid portents of disaster. There have been dialogue and confrontation, challenge and conciliation.

155. Plans for peace and the settlement of old conflicts are being patiently worked out in Namibia and Zimbabwe, while wars and threats of war overshadow other parts of Africa and Western and Eastern Asia.

156. In the Middle East, the Philippines is following with guarded optimism the progress of the effort to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East for the resumption of negotiations on the protracted conflict. A new spirit of conciliation and accommodation seems to move all parties to the dispute. We hope that enduring peace can finally be restored to this anguished region.

157. In another field, the industrialized countries are trying to maintain the momentum of their economic recovery, while the developing countries stagger and sink to their knees under a burden of debt now amounting to about \$200 billion.

158. And in yet another sector, a European conference next month will review the progress in the implementation of the Helsinki accords. Today we seek to ask: is respect for human rights growing or withering away? Are détente and world security threatened by the development of more powerful and more accurate weapons of destruction? In sum, is our common condition getting better or is it getting worse?

159. The answers must be tentative and conjectural. They are likely to be contradictory and confusing, as, indeed, they have always been. But our attention may be profitably engaged in a recent development that promises to give this session a new and positive significance. This, we hope, is the changing attitude of nations towards one another.

160. In the past, as we well know, the General Assembly has been driven by partisan passion, the early ideological conflict between the East and the West, the rise to undoubted influence in this Assembly of a massive number of small nations, and more recently, the demand for a new international economic order, pitting as it were, North against South. All have fostered a spirit of intransigence and

intolerance which hindered the common search for generally acceptable solutions to world problems.

161. There was, perhaps, a certain shortness of vision in mustering the so-called automatic majorities, as well as in the disdainful dismissal by the great Powers of the decisions made by those majorities. There was a marked attitude which implied that what the leaders and spokesmen of Asia, Africa and Latin America demanded was of little account, since the fate of the world would hinge, in the last analysis, on the security of the Western democracies and those cultural values that they had nurtured through many centuries.

162. It is fair to point out that there has now been a hopeful change in that attitude. It has not yet become general, but one may hope that it will spread. There is no doubt that there are those who will look askance at the moral basis of the foreign policy proclaimed by the new administration in the United States of America. I, for one, welcome it because it reinforces my advocacy two years ago, in this very chamber, of an international code of ethics which might restrain ambition and greed.¹⁰

163. Of more immediate importance, however, is the unprecedented interest, understanding and sympathy which now apparently pervade American foreign policy under the leadership of President Carter with regard to the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. It is not unwarranted to sense in this policy a lively desire to devote closer attention to the problems of the developing countries.

164. We need no longer emphasize that developing countries do matter, that the Asian, African and Latin American nations and peoples can neither be ignored nor dismissed as of no account, or their problems swept under the carpet.

165. The willingness to be involved on the part of the Western democracies was apparent in their meaningful high-level participation in the recent United Nations meetings on *apartheid* and racial discrimination, and even more positively, in the initiatives taken to achieve independence for Namibia and propose a settlement in Zimbabwe—which should fully and fairly satisfy the demands of the majority for emancipation and equality.

166. This multilateral effort of consultation and negotiation with all the existing forces inside and outside the country, and with concerned countries on its borders, on as near a basis of equality as possible, is a real and historic break from the past. We no longer have here an imperial condescension imposing the quick miracle of a unilateral decision. We find instead a sincere search for partnership in the common quest for peace and equality—indeed, for peace through equality.

167. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries have consistently shown their support for the elimination of all forms of discrimination, oppression and exploitation. For its part, the People's Republic of China has always identified itself as one of the developing countries. By the same token, I trust the developing countries will welcome

such a change of attitude in the Western democracies, and its consequent reinforcement of a movement in which they have played an active part. This development is surely a contribution to world peace.

168. Unfortunately there is another aspect to this interest in the developing countries, and that is why I say these are confusing and contradictory times.

169. To begin with, we know how nations of the developing world are severely hampered in improving their conditions and in attaining even a modicum of development by existing arrangements in the international economy. It is not even possible to forecast the most modest improvement of the situation unless fundamental adjustments are made in the international economic order. These urgently and desperately needed adjustments will never be achieved if the industrialized countries maintain rigidly defensive positions. The results of the Paris meetings were disappointing, even depressing, for the developing countries.

170. Similarly, a successful conclusion of the current negotiations on the law of the sea is of vital importance as we move towards the civilization of the future, which will be based on the cultures shaped by the oceans and the seas. For, as global land resources diminish in relation to expanding population, mankind must turn to the seas for life. Ultimately, the survival of mankind will depend on a rational and peaceful use of the sea, and the sea-bed and its resources. But the Conference on the Law of the Sea has yet to agree on rules that would ensure that the vast oceans and seas of the world do not breed conflict and strife but instead serve to link and unify nations and peoples.

171. Yet the inescapable truth is that we, the developing countries, must work out our own salvation. What the industrialized countries do or fail to do may help or hinder, but in the end the solution to our problems lies mainly in our hands.

172. The Philippine experience during this decade is, I believe, a demonstration of one people's determination to be self-reliant, to develop as it will, to make friends as it sees fit and to participate in such endeavours of national reconstruction as will specifically promote national and global interests.

173. As a developing country—in population seventeenth in the world, with a population of 44 million inhabitants—the Philippines has striven and is still striving to give our people, under the leadership of President Marcos, a social structure and a politico-economic system that will guarantee them the basic human rights: the right to life, to self-fulfilment, to self-determination and to equality, and to emancipation from the feudal and oligarchic oppressions of the past.

174. The civil administration and constitutional Government of President Marcos can proudly stand on its record of political stability, economic development, law enforcement, social progress and respect for human rights.

175. In our international relations we have assiduously fostered relations of friendship and co-operation with our neighbours in the Association of South East Asian Nations.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2359th meeting.

In an unprecedented gesture of regional solidarity, in the face even of some domestic criticism, our Government has openly taken steps to withdraw its claim over Sabah.

176. In various parts of the world today other regional communities express the desire of neighbouring or kindred nations to co-operate for peace and progress. These communities, particularly those specifically concerned with economic and social goals, are important touchstones in the development of a world society.

177. Negotiations at the level of regional associations must help to promote conciliation between North and South and thus create momentum for authentic internationalism.

178. What goes on at the regional geographic level occurs also in many sectors of international activity. Specialized agencies of the United Nations are performing essential tasks quietly but effectively. Specific concerns such as the environment, the children of the world, desertification and food and famine have brought nations together in common programmes of action, even though their national interests do not always coincide in other areas of endeavour.

179. Significantly, these meetings and conferences have gathered in many widely scattered places—in Stockholm, Nairobi, Bucharest, Belgrade, Helsinki, Paris, Caracas and Mexico City. In Manila, we were happy to play host to the joint meeting of IMF and the World Bank, the 1977 sessions of the World Food Council and the UNICEF Executive Board and, before that, to the Group of 77. Does this not suggest that perhaps peoples and Governments will find it easier to attain mutual understanding and agreement when their representatives acquire familiarity with the way in which other people live, with the conditions in which other Governments function?

180. The issue of human rights, for instance, has recently been endowed with special importance. Yet this issue is incredibly complicated by the infinite varieties of time, geography, history, culture and other circumstances and by differing hierarchies of values among nations. It is only through actual knowledge and experience of these factors that an enlightened understanding can be reached.

181. Surely that is why the rules of procedure of the General Assembly provide that the General Assembly can be convened anywhere in the world. So far, it has met only in Europe and in the United States. Would it not be possible—would it not be helpful, even—if it met on occasion somewhere in the third world?

182. If memory does not betray us, the Security Council met in Panama City some time ago, and it is not mere conjecture that this meeting within sight of the physical issue in controversy may have eventually led to the successful conclusion of the negotiations on the Canal.

183. Who knows what subtle influence might be exercised on our deliberations if the General Assembly were to consider the question of nuclear proliferation in Hiroshima? Or the Palestinian problem in Gaza? Or the problem of famine and food resources in the Sahel? Or the issue of *apartheid* in Soweto?

184. My country does not have such tragic memories or such agonizing issues. But it is a country of the third world, which is a microcosm, an archetype, of its problems—the fair and efficient distribution of land and other resources among an expanding population, the choice between immediate industrialization and the assurance of an adequate food supply, the inadequate employment and consequent disillusionment and discontent of its youth, the balance between authority and indiscipline, individual rights and social obligations.

185. It is a country where the General Assembly may see for itself what is meant by the third world. Perhaps we may get the feel of its problems at first hand while enjoying the most modern facilities and comforts which the work of the General Assembly and its Secretariat requires for maximum efficiency.

186. And so I shall conclude with a modest but none the less sincere and earnest proposal to invite the General Assembly through you, Mr. President, to hold its thirty-third session in Manila, of which I am privileged to be the humble Governor. You shall be most welcome—and more than welcome—I assure you.

187. For us it will be a matter of national pride. But it will be more than that. It will be, I trust, an opportunity for the General Assembly to move, for once, and perhaps many times again, from the towers and palaces of the great Powers to the frontiers of that other world, the third world, which, after all, most of us represent and with whose problems we are most exercised.

188. For, ultimately, we are concerned with knowing one another, understanding one another's problems and becoming involved in their solution. We can do so most successfully in one another's homes.

189. Mr. President, on behalf, therefore, of President Marcos and the Filipino people, may I invite you all to our home, Manila.

190. Mr. MONTES (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, let me first congratulate you most warmly on behalf of the Government of Argentina on your unanimous election to the presidency of this General Assembly. This lofty distinction is a deserved recognition of your human and professional qualities and of your profound knowledge of the problems debated in this Organization. We are certain that under your serene guidance our work will be crowned with success. We wish to assure you now of the full co-operation of the delegation of Argentina.

191. You are a prominent citizen of a country with which Argentina maintains the most cordial ties of friendship and understanding. On the basis of mutual respect for our national identities, in the course of the years we have cemented positive relations at both the bilateral and multilateral levels. In the latter, I am most happy to mention the constructive role which Yugoslavia plays in the movement of non-aligned countries, in its striving for genuinely balanced positions consistent with the tenets which led to its creation.

Mr. N'Dong (Gabon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

192. I would also avail myself of this opportunity to place on record our gratitude to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka for his productive and wise actions in guiding the intense labours of the last session.

193. We continue to believe that the goal of universality must be achieved. Consistent with that unalterable principle, we greet and welcome today in this hall the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which now join our Organization; and to Papua-New Guinea and Angola, who became Members last year, we extend our best wishes for prosperity.

194. As we infer from the contents of the annual report of the Secretary-General on the work of the United Nations [A/32/1], the events registered since the last general debate do not allow for an unduly sanguine assessment of the world situation. International peace and security, the maintenance of which is still the primary responsibility of the United Nations, have again been threatened by a renewal of tensions in some of the political processes which are of concern to all of us.

195. Within the world picture, which is not very encouraging, I should like to emphasize here, because of the contrast it represents, an event that is positive from every point of view, an event that is an important milestone in inter-American relations. I am referring to the conclusion of the Panama Canal Treaties that was signed on 7 September 1977 in the presence of the majority of the Heads of State or Government of the countries of the Americas. Argentina, whose first priority in its foreign policy is directed toward Latin America, within which it is firmly integrated, was represented at that solemn ceremony by its President so as to highlight in the most eloquent manner possible its enthusiasm, support for and satisfaction with the happy outcome of this ancient injustice.

196. Panama and the United States have tangibly shown, with clear perception of reality, that a conflict can be solved peacefully and adequately through negotiations, provided the necessary political determination and goodwill exist between the parties. Dialogue and co-operation prevailing over confrontation have thus removed an obstacle which hindered continental friendship.

197. My country has had to endure the curtailment of its territorial integrity for almost a century and a half, and it sincerely hopes that the United Kingdom will follow the example set by the United States. We are convinced that, with the same political will, we can also arrive at a satisfactory solution to the dispute regarding sovereignty over the Islas Malvinas, thus putting an end to one of the last vestiges of colonialism in America.

198. In compliance with resolution 31/49, adopted by the General Assembly in 1976, which ratifies prior pronouncements and clearly sets forth the position of the United Nations on this dispute, we have again gone to a negotiating table with the United Kingdom. We have done so in good faith and with the firm intention of advancing along this course, but without losing sight of the legitimate rights which support our claim. During November we shall have another meeting and shall report on its results in due course. We wish to reiterate once again our hope that the

United Kingdom will realize the opportunities and perspectives that a just solution to the problem would unlock.

199. Argentina, through me, wishes to place on record its gratitude to this General Assembly for its full understanding of the problem, as evidenced in successive resolutions, and for the solidarity we have received in the voting of the overwhelming majority of its Member States. On this occasion, I particularly wish to mention the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was responsible for drafting the principles applicable to decolonization and seeing to it that they were in keeping with the particular characteristics of each case.

200. The first talks among Brazil, Paraguay and the Argentine Republic to harmonize the interests and rights of the three countries with regard to the utilization of the resources of the Upper Paraná may constitute an important chapter for understanding among States which share the same natural resource, further demonstrating that dialogue and co-operation are the appropriate means in relations in Latin America.

201. The Argentine Republic has traditionally defended the utilization of shared natural resources on a rational basis and with lasting understandings, allowing for conciliation of the objectives and needs of all the countries concerned.

202. The international community has already taken significant steps for the elaboration of suitable guidelines regarding the utilization of these resources embodying principles to cement harmonious coexistence among nations. It is therefore the responsibility of our Governments to base that co-operation upon practical and reasonable norms, including also in that process all the useful experience gained up to the present time.

203. Among the critical areas which require most attention in this General Assembly there is no denying that the Middle East question must be in the forefront. This is so because, as we have repeatedly pointed out in this forum, in that region there is a series of dangerous circumstances which, if not promptly faced up to, can transform the scaffolding of a precarious truce—one which was not easily obtained—into another armed confrontation of unforeseeable consequences. Indeed it is disquieting to note that, despite the efforts made to smooth out the obstacles on the way to peace, intransigent attitudes persist which do not meet the aspirations of the international community nor the specific recommendations of the United Nations.

204. My Government believes that the most tangible contribution that the parties involved in the conflict can make at this time, if they seriously desire a just and lasting peace, is to put an end to or refrain from carrying out any act which could directly or indirectly mean an impediment to negotiations.

205. Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) constitute a viable point of departure for reaching that goal. The balanced set of reciprocal rights and duties they contain can be supplemented with all the other

elements which flow from the prevailing situation in the Middle East.

206. But however adequate those texts might be, they will remain a mere dead letter—in this case too—in the absence of the determination to proceed with flexibility and a constructive spirit so as to make it easier to bring about the beginning of an understanding. Those who adhere to rigid positions, trying to overlook the facts around them, and who aspire to the consolidation of transitory territorial conquests by means of measures that have been condemned even by their allies are conspiring against their own interests by postponing and making more difficult an integral solution to the crisis.

207. The Argentine Republic, now as always, sincerely wishes a swift solution of the Middle East problem. This wish is not of recent date nor is it founded on fluctuating strategic factors, or on speculations on economic facts which have become important lately. Likewise, it goes beyond the natural obligation we have as a Member of the United Nations to promote ways and means for a peaceful solution. This wish is prompted by intimate and fundamental reasons bearing on the substantial human contributions of Arab and Jewish origin which have been integrated with the large flows of immigration of our people. They have a major share in the formation of our national being.

208. Because of this and because we can show an experience with a wealth of positive aspects, sustained by the harmonious social togetherness of Argentines of different creeds and races, we would be able to offer our goodwill to solve this agonizing conflict. The friendly relations which we maintain equally with the Arab States and with Israel enable us to grasp the avid desire for peace and progress felt by both.

209. The Argentine Government considers that now, before it is too late, the Geneva Peace Conference should be convened so that negotiations might be started there which would lead to definite peace. We urge the Arabs and the Israelis, with all due respect for their respective positions, to rise above circumstantial objections so as to make that meeting possible and, together, take the first steps towards co-operation in the Middle East.

210. In southern Africa the situation is not encouraging either. Rhodesia, Namibia and the consequences of the practice of *apartheid* have brought that important region to a critical point where any delay might prevent suitable arrangements within the framework of the Charter.

211. In this matter, as in others, United Nations action has anticipated events and their consequences. We said a year ago that our Organization not only was sensitive to changes but had in many cases also carried them resolutely forward and legitimized their existence.¹¹ The example we mentioned then was decolonization, because it was in this field that our Organization created a body of doctrine which gave an impetus to the accession to independence of a goodly number of dependent territories which are now sovereign nations. But this is no less true in the problem we

are analysing. The United Nations has in many instances charted the course for meeting the legitimate aspirations of peoples who still await their independence.

212. With the African continent we share an ocean which is the only outlet for our economic potential. It is therefore an objective of our foreign policy to keep it free of any conflict. It goes without saying, then, that we can never remain indifferent to what happens in Africa. It was in this spirit that Argentina participated fully at the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Nigeria in August. We are very pleased with the propitious climate that prevailed in its deliberations, and which made possible the adoption of a final Declaration¹² by consensus.

213. The imperative need to halt and reverse the direction of the arms race reflects the express demand of all the peoples of the world. The great Powers, which have the monopoly and responsibility of destructive power, must undertake the unavoidable task of discharging their responsibilities towards the international community. To try to shift that responsibility to medium-sized or small States, whose basic security and defence needs must be clearly accepted, would only have the effect of feeding the suspicion that the world's attention is being distracted with side issues in order to avert the adoption of measures in the priority field of nuclear disarmament.

214. The eighth special session of the General Assembly will provide both a forum and an opportunity that are unique, thus allowing the will of Governments to be unequivocally expressed in peremptory terms. For the first time the United Nations, so broadly representative of the world situation with its 149 Members, will hold a session with the sole objective of examining in depth and debating all items related to disarmament. It will face the difficult but stimulating challenge of establishing new guidelines and priorities for future negotiations.

215. Argentina received the great distinction of presiding over the preparatory work for that special session. We accepted that post with full awareness of all the efforts involved in carrying out that mandate. Now we should like to confirm our most resolute determination to continue to co-operate with the countries present here so that the special session is given in advance the best guarantees and possibilities for success.

216. The Argentine Government is deeply concerned about two major questions, respecting which, it is painful to note, certain methods have failed to bring about understanding; on the contrary, there are even various forms of confrontation or disagreement.

217. These two items are human rights and economic co-operation. They are set forth in the Charter of our Organization because the world community was conscious of the fact that, to sustain them, the United Nations could be content with playing a preventive role, but must also encourage States to co-operate in developing both principles, so as to ensure respect for human rights and satisfaction of man's most basic needs.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 18th meeting, para. 136.

¹² Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*. For the text, see *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

218. For the first of these items, human rights, there is one approach which is not in accord with reality, as it prefers to dwell on imprecise denunciations of violations while ignoring the phenomenon which is more typically an affront to human rights and, at the same time, is invariably the source of their violations: terrorism.

219. Although there are isolated voices that warn us and alert us about this scourge, others choose to make little of it because of political affinities or from naïveté. The favourite argument is to describe terrorist acts as mere political or common crimes.

220. In fact, these are illegal acts which can in no case be defined as common crimes, because of the political motives involved, and do not fit within the traditional limits of political crimes because of their brutality. This is a freak crime, a crime against humanity, a crime of terrorism which, while it shares some of the features of political and common crimes, goes far beyond the boundaries of those crimes.

221. News reports inform us almost daily about new crimes, hijackings and assaults committed by terrorists. My predecessor, who addressed the Assembly from this rostrum a year ago, was the victim of a criminal attack which brought him to the brink of death. There is no end to the list, and in almost every case we would find that terrorism is the common element in those tragic events of our times.

222. Within this context, I shall, by your leave, quote what the Secretary-General said in a message addressed to the United Nations Correspondents Association on 15 September, because it reflects with striking acumen a view which my country fully shares on this subject:

“There is another phenomenon of our times which is now assuming sinister proportions . . . I refer to the increase of criminal terrorism.

“Some of the most pernicious examples of this form of violence appear to have their origins not in acute poverty or in physical or spiritual deprivation, but rather in . . . sections of human society where a mixture of affluence, permissiveness and self-disgust has generated a ruthless and destructive arrogance

“There is widespread controversy over the roots of this social and political disease. . . . Whatever its origins, I believe that this problem is grave enough and has sufficient potential international implications to be discussed most seriously among the Members of the United Nations.”

That is an accurate description of the facts.

223. Even today, when terrorist subversion is definitely receding, Argentina bears the scars of its evil actions. There still remain isolated extremist groups ready to spread terror and some of them, fleeing from justice, surface in the major capitals of Europe, where police organizations uncover their clandestine hide-outs and their attempts to obtain additional funds by criminal means.

224. Terrorism is not of one kind for a given nation or region of the world. Terrorism is the expression of a vast

conspiracy which selects a country as an experimental field, to isolate it from the rest of the international community and to destroy its social and economic structure by means of its usual tactics of intimidation. Terrorist groups, using as their shield an alleged campaign for the defence of human rights, resort to deliberate accusations so as to make those countries appear to be violating those rights. It is a bitter irony that this arbitrary campaign has been given more attention in some international sectors than the repeated manifestations of terrorist violence.

225. The concept of human rights violations is the object in our days of a distortion which places it beyond the bounds of realism. Let us recall that according to the internationally accepted definition, violations of human rights occur when there is a persistent and systematic pattern, following a deliberate policy.

226. When we laid the structure for the international system, the violation of a human right could be foreseen only as an act committed by one wielding political power, that is, as an act of a Government to the detriment of those governed; whereas today new realities and new pressure factors are in operation, embodied mainly in the international subversive groups, which warrant our speaking of a modern form of human rights violation and compel us to recognize that none of the instruments provided for in the international system cover this new type of violation.

227. Failure to understand this changed set of circumstances has meant a partial facing of the problem and, accordingly, that its approach is still exclusively centred on government acts while overlooking the fact that the sole source of this violence comes from terrorist cells which, by their destructive actions, bring into question not only the effectiveness of individual guarantees but the very survival of man.

228. It is for that reason that the peoples, through their Governments, must be able to exercise the legitimate right of self-defence when confronted with the aggression of terrorism, without pressures aimed at limiting their sovereignty.

229. As a positive response to the Secretary-General's appeal, the Argentine Government is determined to cooperate fully in any initiative which takes into account the real situation and counters the existence of terrorism with an effective action of solidarity. We appeal to the rest of the international community to proceed likewise and to lend a helping hand to the countries affected so as to make it possible to return to the genuine and full enjoyment of individual guarantees and freedoms.

230. We said that the second item in regard to which our Organization seems to encounter barriers that are difficult to scale is the one bearing on international economic co-operation. Irrefutable proof of this is to be found in the meagre results obtained at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which, during the last 18 months focused negotiations on the international economic area. The Conference did not attain its objectives nor did it live up to the expectations placed in it by its participants, who sought to bring about the structural changes needed for the present context of international economic relations.

231. These relations are characterized by profound imbalances. Inflation, the crisis in the balance-of-payments, the spectacular rise in external indebtedness, massive unemployment in the industrialized countries, the slow-down in the economic growth-rate everywhere, monetary disarray, all these are but the symptoms of causes which have been at work throughout the last decades.

232. There are numerous areas through which a policy of international co-operation can be directed. A particularly appropriate field in which this can be implemented is that connected with the integration of developing countries which have the following distinctive features shared by all of them: too little and the wrong kind of geographical integration within their countries and between them and other neighbouring territories under a different political sovereignty; too little and the wrong kind of involvement of broad social groups in the training required to assimilate and recreate the knowledge generated by scientific progress; and too little and the wrong kind of integration of spearhead technology into their economic structures.

233. All of this weakens subregional or regional integration processes, mutilates their growth potential and makes it difficult to adjust their economies to the rhythm and needs of world economic evolution.

234. In the past the predominant concerns of our Organization were linked to problems among the highly industrialized countries, or between them and the developing ones. Present circumstances have made it necessary to negotiate on a third front by exploring the ways and means of effecting the integration of and between developing countries, the impact of this development on the industrialized Powers and their participation in the attainment of these objectives.

235. This new development in international economic co-operation, which is based on the interaction of individual and collective efforts by the developing countries among themselves, has been endorsed by our Organization and constitutes one of the most dynamic fields in the process of change aimed at bringing about the reordering of the international economic order in which the members of the international community are engaged.

236. The initiative of Argentina in the field of horizontal technical co-operation is well known. We come to this Assembly with new concerns about finding, in co-operation with all, the kinds of mechanisms and institutional machinery which will give fresh impetus to the integration of the developing world.

237. As a consequence of this, there is an urgent need for the developing countries to determine among themselves, by regions or subregions, areas of economic preferences which, together with physical integration and a programme for the integration of human resources, will make it possible for these countries to join the mainstream of world economy.

238. Many key problems of food, population and politics, would change substantially in kind and magnitude if the developing countries could rely on suitable plans and the essential financial means to undertake a policy of massive

integration of their human resources which would be capable of building high-efficiency productive structures.

239. The highly industrialized countries and the creditor countries must realize that here is an opportunity of the very first order to channel surplus resources to the developing countries. This must be acknowledged to be a realistic policy since it is designed to ensure their own future prosperity through the growth of other nations.

240. Setting up restrictive rules to technological pluralism would constitute an irritating injustice by the most powerful and affluent countries, going against those who are struggling in difficult circumstances to rise above the formidable obstacles to their development.

241. We wish to emphasize that the search by the developing countries for appropriate, unorthodox integration formulas must of necessity be considered by the international community with all the seriousness it deserves, and these formulas must needs be accepted on a par with the classical ones, as exceptions to the universal principle of the most-favoured-nation clause.

242. We believe that a wide-ranging and open dialogue between multinational integration groups and GATT might not only yield reciprocal benefits but also abundantly enrich the norms of that international organization.

243. We also wish that in the countries which generate and supply spearhead technology the political will might emerge to enable access to that technology by the developing countries, by means of clear, fair and egalitarian international rules.

244. Financial support is also needed for integration in order to attain the objectives set. The magnitude of existing financial surpluses leads us to hope that it will be possible to establish a flow of funds to finance the form of co-operation advocated.

245. We believe it to be important, therefore, for the international community to undertake a study of existing mechanisms and institutions, so that they may smoothly link these new funds with projects for integration. These institutions are already rendering signal service, but the magnitude of the resources needed for integration will require specialized treatment, of a different conception.

246. The Argentine Government feels authorized to request wide support from the international community for the concept it advocates because it is prepared to assume the new responsibilities, which would be its share among those which it accepts in the context of international economic co-operation, and in particular as regards the relatively least developed countries. Furthermore, it does so backed by the results of its own efforts which enabled it to surmount, in a little more than a year, the gravest and most difficult economic stage in its history. It is clearly aware of the problems which remain to be solved, but it is confident of final success because it is assisted by the understanding and sacrifice of the Argentinian people.

247. This irrevocable attitude bears witness once again to the high value we attach to the universality of the United

Nations as an Organization open to the contributions of all but, likewise, where exclusions are inconceivable. Accordingly, we cannot fail to register our apprehension—a feeling shared by Latin America—at a trend which in fact makes for the progressive alienation of countries of intermediate growth from important mechanisms of international co-operation. This approach, which seems to penalize the fruits of the efforts if not the sacrifices of our people, cannot but count on our most categorical rebuff.

248. We believe that position to be shared by the developing countries as a whole. It is not by chance that the bases of a more fruitful and systematic technical and economic co-operation among them are being set up. That, *inter alia*, will promote a constructive and meaningful integration.

249. The Government I represent is proud that Argentina was chosen as host to the first United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, to be held in Buenos Aires in March and April 1978. As at the beginning of this year, for what was also the first United Nations Water Conference, my Government offers its liberal hospitality to all the participants at that new gathering and is pleased to welcome representatives most cordially and assure them of its closest co-operation towards success.

250. Mr. PATTERSON (Jamaica): On behalf of my delegation, I should like to express our warmest congratulations to Mr. Mojsov on his election to the Presidency of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. It is a fitting recognition of his outstanding qualities of leadership and enlightened grasp of international issues. It is a tribute to his country's distinguished record in world affairs as a founding member of the non-aligned movement. We feel confident that under his capable guidance this General Assembly will inspire a new momentum for international co-operation towards peace and economic justice for all peoples.

251. I also wish to pay a tribute to his predecessor and express our sincere appreciation to Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka for his outstanding performance in presiding over the deliberations of the last session.

252. To Secretary-General Waldheim I express gratitude for his untiring efforts in the cause of peace and the solution of the critical issues which face us all.

253. I should like also to welcome the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam as Members of the United Nations. The admission of Djibouti marks another important milestone in the process of decolonization.

254. As regards the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, we have watched with awe and admiration the unceasing struggle of these people for three decades against imperialism in the fight for independence. And, that war having been won, we witnessed yet another struggle—this one for membership in the United Nations. Viet Nam's history of struggle for independence and the fight to take its rightful place among the community of free nations stand as a shining example of determination to all oppressed peoples.

255. We are sure that members of the international community will render to both these countries assistance for their development and reconstruction consonant with the fullest respect for their sovereignty.

256. The year 1977 was ushered in with expressions of optimism by some leading statesmen that substantial progress would be made towards the solution of areas of international tension and conflict, both political and economic.

257. The current political international situation is a source of grave concern to us all. New areas of strife and tension have surfaced which present a critical challenge to the preservation of international peace and security. In addition, the continued existence of major international economic problems, particularly those affecting the developing countries, and the lack of significant progress towards the establishment of the new international economic order, are rapidly dispelling any sense of optimism. Urgent solutions must be applied if the United Nations is to fulfil its responsibilities as an effective instrument for preserving peace.

258. The situation in southern Africa has become more critical. The people of Zimbabwe are no closer to freedom and independence and, as time drags on, the only losers are the indigenous people of Zimbabwe themselves. The problem must be settled within the guidelines set out in the various United Nations declarations and resolutions, and especially the Maputo Declaration,¹³ adopted earlier this year.

259. We must continue to demand of the illegal Smith régime the immediate and unconditional accession to power by the majority of the people of the Territory. On this, there can be no compromise, and any attempt to bring about any other solution is bound in advance to fail. We view with interest current initiatives to resolve the situation. The Government and people of Jamaica will always support attempts to bring about a negotiated settlement, but the armed struggle will continue, and it will receive our unqualified support until the legitimate aspirations of the indigenous people are met.

260. In Namibia we find the Pretoria régime still engaged against world opinion and, in defiance of the injunctions of the United Nations, in the illegal occupation of territory which is the direct responsibility of this body. As such, this constitutes a clear and most direct challenge to the authority of the United Nations. That régime has flouted the authority of the United Nations, has shown repeatedly that it does not intend to withdraw its presence and influence from the Territory, has established nuclear-test installations in the desert region of Namibia and has carried out preparations to test a nuclear device for military and aggressive purposes. Now what do we find? Negotiations are at present being conducted by certain Governments with the Pretoria régime in an effort to plead with, beg and beseech that Government to give up that which it illegally occupies.

¹³ Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

261. My delegation stands firmly behind the Maputo Declaration. It is up to the people of Namibia to determine their own future. Free elections must be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations. Prior to such elections, conditions for a negotiated settlement must be created in accordance with all the relevant resolutions and decisions of the United Nations, particularly as they relate to the removal of South African military presence from the Territory, the participation of the South West Africa People's Organization in the elections, and acceptance of the fact that Namibia will proceed to independence as one political entity, with its territorial integrity preserved. Any negotiated settlement must include these basic conditions to command Jamaica's support and endorsement.

262. The situation in South Africa itself is now at a critical stage: massacres of innocent blacks and the murder of individual black leaders continue to be the order of the day as the white racist minority increases its acts of repression to delay the inevitable holocaust. And while leaders and opinion-makers in some of the major Powers exhort the oppressed blacks to seek change by peaceful means, Vorster has shown his manifest contempt for such exhortations, as well as for the overtures that have been made to him by some of the major Powers, by recently announcing bogus proposals for constitutional change which make no provision for transferring power to the majority of the peoples of South Africa.

263. Action to support the African struggle for freedom is now a matter of urgency. Of particular concern is the continuing collaboration of some major Powers with the Pretoria régime in the military and economic fields. We can no longer be content with hollow assurances of opposition to *apartheid* while these countries profit from their military and economic deals and thereby enable the reinforcement of this criminal policy of *apartheid*. In this regard, the most disturbing development is the acquisition by the Pretoria régime of the capability to manufacture nuclear weapons.

264. The World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* held in Lagos, Nigeria, in August of this year once again demonstrated international abhorrence of the system of *apartheid*. But the call of the Lagos Conference is for action to support the struggle of the African people to secure their legitimate rights and for action to sever all contacts with South Africa.

265. In this latter regard, we hope that this Assembly will take concrete action towards the finalization of an international convention against *apartheid* in sports, as called for in the resolution which was adopted by the Assembly last year [resolution 31/6 F].

266. The hopes and expectations of the international community at the beginning of 1977 that the year would show meaningful progress towards a peaceful settlement of the problem of the Middle East have been seriously prejudiced by recent developments in the occupied Arab territories. The recognition by the Government of Israel of settlements by its nationals in the occupied territories is tantamount to annexation, and reinforces the view held by many States that Israel's basic policy in the Middle East is one of territorial expansion. The acquisition of territory by force is totally unacceptable to my Government. Jamaica

continues to regard the implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as the basic ingredient for a settlement in the Middle East. We regard the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people as an indispensable prerequisite for the successful resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

267. We are encouraged by recent evidence of a more even-handed policy towards the Middle East problem by one of the major Powers—a policy which includes recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. More than ever, it is essential that all parties to the conflict show restraint in their actions and give mutual recognition to one another, including the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and the existence of an Israeli State, lest the momentum towards the resumption of the Peace Conference be lost and the world find itself plunged once more into a deepening international crisis.

268. The situation in Cyprus is another long-standing problem, as that small independent and non-aligned country remains dismembered through occupation by foreign military forces. The United Nations must therefore renew its efforts to promote a solution which is in the interests of the people of Cyprus through an early resumption of meaningful talks between the two communities and the withdrawal of the foreign troops.

269. Perhaps the most positive achievement over the past year is the successful outcome of negotiations on new Panama Canal treaties which satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Government and people of Panama. The settlement of this long-standing issue augurs well for the future of relations in our hemisphere, and we sincerely hope that this new spirit of understanding and co-operation will lead to the solution of the other outstanding issues in other parts of the world as well.

270. In particular, within the hemisphere we look forward to a prompt solution to the Belize issue. For far too long the people of Belize have been prevented from achieving their legitimate rights. Talks held earlier this year have not provided any meaningful results for the achievement of the independence and security of Belize. At the same time there is fearful evidence that certain countries have been supplying arms for use against Belize. Moreover, the events which followed the movement of troops against Belize earlier this year leave no doubt that the situation is a growing threat to international peace.

271. In the circumstances my Government wishes to re-emphasize that the United Nations must act now to provide appropriate international safeguards for the independence of Belize, with preservation of its territorial integrity. If the United Nations cannot help to ensure the right to independence of a small, defenceless country by providing such safeguards, then it will have fallen far short of fulfilling its responsibilities to the international community.

272. The relaxation of tension in the world and the promotion of international peace and security are directly related to substantive progress in disarmament. We continue to witness the escalation of the arms race, which has

already reached alarming proportions. New and sophisticated weapons of mass destruction are being developed to add to already heavily-stocked arsenals. As the proliferation of nuclear weapons continues tensions increase and the danger of a nuclear holocaust becomes more frightening. No progress has been made over the past year on the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and other issues of high priority in the field of disarmament.

273. We urge the major Powers to commit themselves to more active endeavours towards the goal of general and complete disarmament. One step in this direction would be the reduction of military budgets and the use of funds thus saved for international assistance to developing countries. In this context I wish to emphasize that the arms race is inconsistent with the pressing social and economic needs of the developing world. It is deplorable that annual expenditures of over \$300 billion are being wastefully utilized on tools of destruction.

274. But we should not abandon hope. The special session on disarmament scheduled for 1978 presents an opportunity for new approaches to this question. My Government looks forward to an intensive session which should provide a new impetus for progress towards general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

275. The question of human rights is fundamental to all of our concerns and underlies all our efforts to resolve the most pressing issues now before the General Assembly, whether they be political or economic, or are labelled humanitarian issues. For essentially it is the basic ideals and goals of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights which guide our considerations as we search for justice and peace throughout the world.

276. Let us never forget that current discussions of human rights, both inside and outside the United Nations, take place at a time of mounting crisis in southern Africa emanating from the most massive violations of human rights known to our world today.

277. These discussions of human rights raise questions of great sensitivity. This is to a great extent because varying perceptions of human rights exist, with differing emphasis being given to one aspect of human rights as against another. To some nations the civil and political rights of the individual, such as the right of free elections, freedom of expression, freedom of association, are paramount; to some nations the rights of all to food, to shelter, to health, to work, are the most urgent and basic of all human rights. States Members of this Organization strive towards a totality of human satisfaction. In developing countries the struggle to achieve that totality becomes one of the most demanding aspects of national endeavours.

278. Developing countries represent that vast section of the world whose previous history of colonization, foreign occupation and control has implied the massive deprivation of the human rights of the majority of our people—our civil, political, social, cultural and economic rights. This has been the experience of my own country.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.

279. The enormous challenge which confronts us is how now to advance all of these rights for the enjoyment of all citizens without sacrificing one right to the other. Jamaica does not shrink from the magnitude of this task. The socialist revolution in which we are engaged is firmly grounded in a democratic respect for the rule of law and the protection of individual human rights and freedom. We shall continue to promote these, not only within our own boundaries but regionally and internationally as well.

280. We record with pleasure that the policies of my Government in the area of legal reform and institution-building will enable large segments of our population, such as women, youth and, particularly, children of unwed parents, to occupy the just and equal position in our society of which they have for centuries been deprived. Our commitment to eradicate poverty commands the highest priority, requiring the mobilization of all our resources, human and natural. Only in this way can we begin to discharge our responsibility to the masses of our people as they exert their rightful claim to enjoy human dignity. But the pressure on national resources of fulfilling that responsibility is one of the most crucial challenges which faces the majority of our Member States.

281. Unfortunately, developing countries which take a really serious view of their obligation to divert resources to meet the needs of their underprivileged find little sympathy or understanding among developed countries and certain international institutions. If we devote domestic resources primarily to meeting these needs and have to seek temporary foreign-exchange assistance from the international monetary agencies, those agencies ignore or discount the social objectives and apply rigid and anachronistic yardsticks to the credit application; stigmatize our Governments as having frittered away our resources and provide limited amounts of credit only on condition that the vital social programmes are cut back. All this is done in the name of sound financial practice.

282. As we approach the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights it is timely to begin to recall the wide span of human needs identified in that Declaration and the complex nature of the task involved in satisfying those needs, even at the most minimal level. The most complex unresolved aspect of that task to date is the linkage which exists between civil and economic rights.

283. The need for a searching and comprehensive analysis of human rights and the implications of their interdependence and indivisibility are issues which my Government hopes will receive full consideration by this Assembly.

284. Jamaica hopes that we can in the coming weeks address our minds to the capacity of the United Nations to advance human rights on all fronts, guided by the growing recognition that the present urgent search for international economic justice is a process which carries most profound implications for the realization of the full spectrum of human rights for the majority of the world's people.

285. As long as two thirds of mankind continue to exist at a subsistence level, there will be a continuation of crises and tensions throughout the world.

286. The concept of the new international economic order arose from the need to synchronize or integrate international political and economic relations into a single conceptual framework for global development from which benefits would accrue to all countries and all peoples.

287. Since the sixth special session, little progress has been made towards the establishment of the new order. The very acceptance of the concept has been slow as the industrialized market economy countries have clung stubbornly to the past. With a few notable exceptions, leaders and opinion-makers of those countries are doing their peoples a grave disservice by failing to educate them to the need for change in relations between the rich and poor nations. We, the developing countries, will not continue to live in squalor through exploitation by the operations of an outmoded system of economic relations.

288. The United Nations is the only forum where global problems can be tackled comprehensively with the hope of finding solutions in the interests of the entire international community. In the economic sphere, the results of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation clearly show the futility of dealing with these problems on the basis of the participation of a few countries outside the global framework of the United Nations. Yet we must be concerned at the capacity of the United Nations system to deal effectively with the restructuring of the global economic system.

289. It is not enough merely to reaffirm that the negotiations on the new international economic order must take place within the United Nations system. We must also take action to ensure that this system is adequately structured to carry out the negotiations and to monitor the implementation of decisions taken and agreements reached.

290. There are three areas which call particularly for new approaches by the United Nations. The first concerns the transfer of resources from developed to developing countries.

291. The two-year period since 1975 should have seen the complete implementation of the decision by the seventh special session of the General Assembly that the flow of concessional financial resources to developing countries should be made "predictable, continuous and increasingly assured" [*resolution 3362 (S-VII), sect. II, para. 1*]. It has been taken up instead with arguments over the definition of official development aid, repetitious explanations of the failure of one or another donor country to maintain the promised level of its voluntary aid, and with attempts to estimate by what decade in the future past targets of voluntary charity will have been reached.

292. It is time now to look at this subject of the transfer of resources in its widest aspects; to keep watch upon the movement of resources on non-concessional as well as concessional terms; to take into account the massive annual growth in the inward flow of resources from the poor to the rich. It is time now also to abandon the annual appeals to halt the downward trend in the volume of charity, to take up once more the various proposals which have been advanced for making the transfer of resources automatic and to negotiate firm commitments in respect of those transfers.

293. Unless my Government can be convinced that existing machinery in the United Nations system can and will immediately be utilized for this new approach to the transfer of resources, we propose to work towards the early introduction of firm proposals for the establishment of a commission on the transfer of resources, in which representatives from developed and developing countries will sit down at a table across from each other and negotiate in earnest about the transfer of resources.

294. The next area which, in the view of my Government, requires a new kind of involvement on the part of the United Nations is that of international monetary reform. For too long now the world monetary system has remained essentially under the control of a few major countries. Detailed technical studies have been made and recommendations for reform of the Bretton Woods system have been put forward; but implementation is being delayed by countries which have the power to place narrow national or group interests above the interests of the world community—with disastrous consequences for the economies of the developing countries. Even those proposals do not fully meet our needs. Moreover, the established principles and practices of IMF in the management of world liquidity will not satisfy the demands of a changing world order.

295. My Government is convinced that the monetary reform eventually carried out will be adequate neither in scope nor in pace if the process of reform remains in the exclusive domain of the present governing bodies of IMF. Some external machinery with sufficient authority to stimulate reform is urgently required.

296. My Government therefore proposes that the General Assembly should decide to establish an *ad hoc* commission on international monetary reform which would be charged with the function of calling for reports on the measures under consideration in IMF, assessing the progress being made with their implementation and of promoting and guiding the whole process of international monetary reform.

297. The third area in which the United Nations needs to make a new approach concerns energy. Several factors point to the urgency of making effective international arrangements to deal with this critical area.

298. These factors include the need for effective conservation of oil and natural gas; the need to intensify the search for new energy resources; the necessity to ensure that investment choices in the development of alternative energy supplies reflect rational strategies in the developing countries; the need to ensure adequate research into solar, wind and other renewable forms of energy and the need for financial and technical assistance for high-risk investment in energy exploration, in the development of known resources and for diversification programmes.

299. All this must be seen within the context of a precarious world energy supply. In addition, the very close relationship between the question of energy and development must be continually recognized.

300. The studies undertaken by the United Nations at the request of the General Assembly at its seventh special session cannot satisfy the urgency of this need.

301. With respect to financial assistance, international financial institutions, especially the World Bank, should be provided with adequate resources to meet, in particular, the needs of energy-deficient developing countries.

302. My Government therefore proposes that consultations should take place during this session of the General Assembly with a view to establishing one institution to provide for technical co-operation between developed and developing countries in energy exploration, energy diversification and the transfer of energy technology. The consultations will aim at discovering the form and precisely with what functions such a body could be invested.

303. The resumed negotiations on the common fund are scheduled to begin in a few weeks' time and it is imperative that early agreement be reached on the establishment of the fund within the framework of the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

304. Another forthcoming event of major significance is the ministerial meeting of the Trade and Development Board to review measures concerning the debt and related development and financial problems of the least developed, the developing island and the developing land-locked countries. In this connexion, the General Assembly has already charged the forthcoming Ministerial Meeting with the specific task of reaching agreement on concrete measures to provide an immediate solution to the debt problems of developing countries.

305. The progress at those two meetings will be closely watched by developing countries and will constitute the acid test of the "greater understanding" so widely emphasized by developed countries as well as their implicit commitment to negotiate seriously in the United Nations system, particularly on issues involving structural change pertaining to the new international economic order and its establishment. Comprehensive substantive proposals have long been submitted by the Group of 77 on these critical issues, and we look forward to constructive consideration by the developed countries on these important proposals.

306. Another area we regard as being of fundamental importance for the establishment of the new international economic order is the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. An international agreement on a convention for the equitable distribution of the resources of the sea-bed is long overdue, and I urge all participants to work seriously towards a successful conclusion of the Conference at its next session, in March 1978. Jamaica looks forward to accommodating the headquarters of the international sea-bed authority.

307. Jamaica has followed with deep interest the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System. It is with concern that we have observed the scope of the exercise being whittled down by developed countries in the course of the Committee's work, particularly with respect to enhancing the capability of the United Nations Secretariat to meet the demands involved in establishing the new order. Jamaica will therefore be keenly interested in the actions to be taken by the General Assembly at this session in the light of the anticipated report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee.

308. We stress the absolute necessity of developing rational structures and processes that can better serve the international community. They are essential and, if relevant and effective, they can greatly assist our work. The issues on our agenda—issues involving, for example, the arms race, the intractable nature of racist régimes, the Middle East and the reorganization of the world's economic system—which will command our attention during the coming weeks require far more of us than skills and talents in institutional engineering and diplomatic virtuosity.

309. Yesterday we Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States members of the Group of 77 reaffirmed our unmistakable determination to eradicate the ills that have for so long plagued mankind. We restated with one voice the principles that should guide the international community in this undertaking [see A/32/244].

310. Time ebbs away. Further delay invites disaster. The entire world community must act now. Failure imperils all mankind. Our mandate is to improve the lives of all the men and women who now occupy this planet and those who will be born on it. This is our mandate, as simple to state as it is at times difficult to implement.

311. Conscious of this, we renew our faith in the capacity of the United Nations to serve humanity. Simultaneously we will continue to challenge it and ourselves to fulfil its great and noble task.

312. Mr. ÁGÚSTSSON (Iceland): Every year, as custom has it, we review here major developments in international relations at the beginning of the session of the General Assembly. I want to do exactly that and present the Icelandic viewpoint on major international events in the past 12 months. In summary form, I will touch on conflicts, co-operation and continued work on improving the human condition.

313. But first of all let me say that it gives me great pleasure to join my colleagues in congratulating you, Sir, on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your active participation in the work of the Organization on behalf of your country is well known and will undoubtedly contribute to your success in dealing with the many problems now on the agenda.

314. Permit me also to express our great appreciation to your predecessor, Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, for the wise and efficient manner in which he dealt with the difficult tasks facing the Assembly. Again I want to express the gratitude of my country for his contribution to the efforts to bring to a successful conclusion the incredibly complicated work of the law of the sea Conference.

315. We now have two new Members of the United Nations: The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. I am very happy to welcome them into this community of nations, and I feel certain their co-operation and contributions to our Organization will be of great value.

316. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his staff have continued their tireless and determined efforts on

behalf of the United Nations to preserve peace and to carry out the many mandates given to them. Permit me to convey our gratitude and our respect to the Secretary-General and his staff and to assure him of our full support in the future as hitherto.

317. The year that has passed since we last met in this hall cannot be said to have been characterized by great achievements in the field of international relations. There have, however, been no great set-backs, so perhaps in that sense it may be said that developments have been on the positive side. The fighting that broke out recently in the area of the Horn of Africa must be mentioned as an exception, and it is of course always a great tragedy when disputes, whatever their cause, turn into bloody armed conflicts in which there is no regard for human lives or human suffering.

318. The problems facing the United Nations are many and immensely complex, and in some instances highly sensitive and dangerous, and their solution is a matter of survival for civilization in the world as we know it today.

319. The Charter of the United Nations gives us the platform on which to build our efforts to find solutions, and the Organization is the instrument we must use in those efforts. It is easy to place the blame on our Organization and to hold forth on theories of divergence in the development of our institutions, on the one hand, and the developments in international relations and the great advances in technology, on the other. I have said this before, but I will repeat it here: no organization is greater than the individual members that compose it. We have our Organization and we must use it to attain the ideals expressed in the Charter. There is undoubtedly some need for institutional changes for the sake of efficiency and for budgetary reasons, but we see no need for a revision of the Charter for the present.

320. We have a saying in Iceland that the bad oarsman blames the oar. When political expediency at home, conflicts of interest, or even bad faith prevent the placing of a problem before the United Nations, we too often hear voices blaming it on the short-comings of the United Nations system. But, I repeat, we have the instrument and we must use it as it was intended by the framers of the Charter: to preserve peace in the world.

321. When I stated before that some of the problems facing us are highly dangerous, I had in mind, first and foremost, the ever-increasing pace of the arms race, the danger of proliferation of nuclear weapons, the traffic in fissionable materials and the production of new weapons of mass destruction, be they nuclear, chemical or biological.

322. In but a few days the interim agreement reached at the first round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1972 will come to an end. This is a very serious development, which has fortunately been somewhat eased by the announcement by both parties that they will abide by the terms of the agreement while efforts continue to be made to reach a new agreement on the limitation of strategic nuclear arms.

323. It is in my opinion vital that these two Powers come to an agreement in this matter and that progress is made in other regional disarmament discussions so that they might become wider in scope and be extended to other areas.

324. Agreements in the sphere of disarmament between the two Powers is in my belief the basis for what has become known as détente and there is no acceptable alternative to the policy of détente in the world. All efforts at all levels should be made to further that policy. I therefore welcome the results of the preparatory work in Belgrade and the follow-up meeting to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which is to convene in a few days from now. I consider this an important step in the right direction.

325. With the total destructive power of nuclear armaments, increasing emphasis is being placed on the development of the so-called conventional weapons, and the traffic in them has been escalating very rapidly. The need for control is essential and should be established as soon as possible on a regional or an international scale, whichever would be more effective.

326. The proliferation of nuclear weapons must be prevented and all nations should be urged to sign and ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

327. By the same token, there should be close supervision of the traffic in fissionable materials intended for peaceful use to prevent their use for military purposes. Such supervision should be in the hands of the United Nations.

328. Furthermore, an agreement on a comprehensive treaty to ban all nuclear testing is a matter of great importance.

329. The Icelandic delegation will support all efforts to make the forthcoming special session a successful one as disarmament is an essential element in the establishment and maintenance of peace in the world.

330. The work of the United Nations in the sphere of human rights is of paramount interest and importance. Much has been gained, but much is still to be done. The plight of political prisoners has to be alleviated and torture in all its forms must be prevented. What is needed is close co-operation so that an effective international review of how human rights are respected or abused can be carried out. There should be instituted effective measures to protect the innocent against international terrorism in all its aspects.

331. In other words, the protection of the individual and his rights is, and continues to be, the main task of the United Nations. Although in legal terms our Organization is composed of sovereign States, its efforts should be concentrated on improving human conditions.

332. Where there is hunger, misery and social injustice, we cannot expect the advancement of human rights. Therefore, the more equitable distribution of the world's wealth through improved international economic relations is a question of basic rights.

333. Iceland supported the resolutions on the new international economic order and the economic rights and duties of States. The implementation of the provisions of these resolutions has been slow but some progress has been made. The North-South dialogue must continue in all appropriate forums. The resumed session of the thirty-first General Assembly could not come to an agreement on assessing the results of the Paris Conference, but it is to be hoped that this session will make major efforts in this important field and a consensus will emerge on the next steps to be taken to enhance a more just and equitable international economic order, and thus improve the situation of developing countries in the international community.

334. Any mention of human rights automatically brings us to the problem of *apartheid*. The situation in South Africa is becoming more and more serious. The Icelandic delegation will support all practical measures taken by the United Nations to stop the inhumane policy of discrimination carried out by the Government of South Africa and the brutal measures of suppression we constantly hear about from that country. I should like to state here that recently the foreign ministers of the Nordic countries established a working group to investigate what further economic measures may be instituted against South Africa.

335. We also want to express our support for the efforts now being made to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Namibia, and any action which might jeopardize these activities should be discouraged. We continue to work to attain our goal—the full independence of that country—in conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976).

336. It is the opinion of my delegation that all proposals which would lead to a peaceful, negotiated transition of power to the majority in Zimbabwe should be supported so that the social injustice practised by the minority on the majority is brought to an end as soon as possible.

337. The problem of Cyprus does not, unfortunately, appear to be close to a solution. The Secretary-General and his staff continue their valiant efforts to bring the two factions together, and it is to be hoped that neither party, by its action, widens the gap further, thus making the task of the Secretary-General more difficult than it is now. As I have said in this Assembly, any solution to this difficult problem must take into account the maintenance of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

338. The value of the United Nations peace-keeping forces is clearly demonstrated in this case as it is in other parts of the world.

339. The situation in the Middle East remains serious, although there is at the moment greater hope than before that it will be possible to reconvene the Geneva Conference. We must all be hopeful that this preliminary step towards negotiation of a lasting peace in this troubled area can be taken. I want to reiterate my belief that any solution should be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

340. It is worthwhile remembering that those resolutions state that acquisition of territory by force is unacceptable,

that Israel must cease its occupation of territories seized in 1967, and that the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all the States in the area and their right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries must be respected.

341. Here it should also be stated that any solution must recognize the Palestinians' right to a homeland, and the Palestinians for their part must recognize the right of Israel to exist. It is, furthermore, the opinion of the Icelandic delegation that the Palestinians should participate in the negotiations for a peaceful solution in a manner to be worked out in consultation with the parties concerned.

342. The sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was held in New York from 23 May to 15 July 1977. There is now before the Conference an informal composite negotiating text¹⁴ which was prepared by the President of the Conference and the Chairmen of the main committees on the basis of discussions at the session. It was decided that that text would be before the Conference at its next session beginning in Geneva on 27 March 1978 and expected to last for eight weeks. Furthermore, it is expected that inter-sessional meetings will be held in the intervening period.

343. The text which is now before the Conference reinforces the status of the economic zone. In accordance with articles 61 and 62, it is for the coastal State to determine the allowable catch in the zone as well as its own capacity to harvest it. Articles 69 and 70 provide certain rights for geographically disadvantaged States, but pursuant to article 71 those rights do not apply in the case of States whose population is overwhelmingly dependent on the fisheries within the zone. Furthermore, article 296 excludes from submission to third-party dispute settlement the decisions under articles 61 and 62—that is, as I have already mentioned, with respect to the allowable catch and the State's capacity. The new text is therefore very favourable for coastal States, which have worked together extensively at the Conference. The new text also has revised articles concerning pollution and scientific research, and they are not expected to create any great difficulties.

344. On the other hand, there remains major disagreement on problems with respect to the international sea-bed area, and the industrial countries do not consider that their interests are sufficiently accommodated. Those problems will be the subject of intensive work at the informal intersessional meetings. Because of the great differences of view the next session cannot be foreseen as the last before the signing of a convention; however, as we have already heard in this Assembly, opinions differ on this point.

345. My Government's view is that the concept of the exclusive economic zone now has a solid foundation in international law. It would of course be an advantage to have it incorporated in a formal convention on the law of the sea. For that purpose a further concentrated effort must be made to solve the remaining issues in the total package, notably in the field of the international sea-bed

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

area. However, nations cannot be expected to devote unlimited time and expenditure for that purpose.

346. As the Conference on the Law of the Sea has hitherto been characterized by the determination of all participants to find practical solutions in all the categories of the mandate it was given, I am convinced there is every reason to hope that agreement will be reached by consensus on the outstanding issues. It is a fact that legislation is the more effective the more closely it represents the sense of justice of those who have to live by it.

347. It is therefore our hope that a general convention on the law of the sea can be signed in the course of next year.

348. I have touched upon the need to respect the freedom and the human rights of every individual. I have expressed the hope that times of force and violence will soon become a thing of the past, and the conviction that mankind's future should rest upon continued international co-operation where all meet as equals and where even the smallest contribution could be decisive.

349. Continuing that line of thought, one could perhaps reflect on what yardstick should be used in measuring the greatness and influence of individuals and nations. Halldor Laxness, an Icelandic Nobel Prize winner, stated it in the following way in one of his books:

“Often I think the Almighty is like a snow-bunting abandoned in all weathers. Such a bird is about the weight of a postage stamp. Yet he does not blow away when he stands in the open in a tempest. Have you ever seen the skull of a snow-bunting? He wields his fragile head against the gale, with his beak to the ground, wings folded close to his sides and his tail pointing upwards, and the wind can get no hold on him and cleaves. Even in the fiercest squalls the bird does not budge. He is becalmed. Not a single feather stirs.

“Then the question is asked: How do you know that the bird is the Almighty and not the wind?”

“And the answer: Because the winter storm is the most powerful force in Iceland and the snow-bunting is the feeblest of all God's ideas.”

350. In my opinion, therefore, it is in many cases very unwise to exclude even those who at first glance seem to be rather feeble, because they may well possess the inner strength that the strongest power is not able to break.

351. My wish for the United Nations is now, as it has always been, that it will continue to be the citadel of human rights and independence for all people on this earth, whether they belong to big or small nations, whether they are powerful in the ordinary sense of the word or less

powerful, because the fiercest of snowstorms very often cleaves apart against even the feeblest of all God's ideas.

352. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Angola who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

353. Mr. DE FIGUEIREDO (Angola): Mr. President, my Foreign Minister will, in a week's time, present to you the warm greetings of the People's Republic of Angola.

354. In his address yesterday, the representative of the People's Republic of China stated: “Many African countries are worried lest what happened in Angola and Zaire yesterday may befall themselves tomorrow” [13th meeting, para. 104]. My delegation cannot allow this reference, this inference, that what took place in my country was “outright military invasion” [ibid.].

355. I should like to place it on record that the People's Republic of Angola is, and has been since independence, a sovereign State. True, there has been “brazen and unscrupulous subversion and interference” [ibid.], but the international community knows very well the precise source of this trouble: imperialism and its puppets in southern Africa, neo-colonialists, and the racist minority régime in Pretoria.

356. At the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo in 1976, the South African invasion of the People's Republic of Angola was strongly condemned, and the Political Declaration issued there expressed strong support for Angola and its sovereignty.¹⁵ Even the Security Council, for the first time in its history, spoke out, in its resolution 387 (1976), in condemnation of the South African racist régime's imperialist invasion of the People's Republic of Angola.

357. At our express request, some of our friends, indeed the friends of the third world and all liberation movements, have helped us. We hope, both for ourselves and for the good of the third world, that such co-operation is always available to aid liberation struggles, to help in the reconstruction of countries which have newly liberated themselves from the bonds of imperialism and colonialism, and to give support in the face of imperialist dangers.

358. My delegation is proud of our friends, and thanks them. And my delegation reaffirms the fact of our independence and sovereign statehood. The Angolan people have fought one of the longest wars of liberation anywhere and will not tolerate interference in our internal affairs by any State. We reject innuendos calculated to cast doubt on our sovereignty, and on those who fight imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

¹⁵ See document A/31/197, annex I, para. 39.