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*President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. DONALDSON (Trinidad and Tobago): It gives me great pleasure and satisfaction to extend to you, Sir, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago and on my own behalf, congratulations and best wishes on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. My delegation pledges to you its full co-operation and is assured that the deliberations of the Assembly could not have been placed in more experienced and capable hands.

2. I should like at this point to express my appreciation and that of my delegation to Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka for the skill and tact which he, in his capacity as President, brought to bear on the conduct of affairs of the thirty-first session.

3. One of the guiding principles of the United Nations has been its essential universality. It has been the view of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago that the acceptance of that principle is a *sine qua non* of international peace and security. It is a principle which contributes to the maintenance of the balance between sovereignty and national interest, on the one hand, and international order and responsibility, on the other. The growth of this Organization is ample evidence, if that were needed, of the fact that there need not be conflict between the desire of States for freedom of action and the necessity for order and predictability in world affairs. It is in the context of that conviction that the Government of Trinidad and Tobago warmly welcomes the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti to membership in the United Nations.

4. Our esteemed Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization [A/32/1], has made reference to global problems facing the international community—among them the arms race, the proliferation of nuclear

weapons, population pressures, shortages and the inequitable distribution of food, chronic poverty, the control of marine resources, the question of energy, unemployment, commodity prices and instability in the world financial markets. My delegation supports the Secretary-General's view regarding the need for early action on those and other problems which face the international community.

5. Trinidad and Tobago notes the initiative of the Secretary-General in respect of his call for the establishment of a United Nations energy institute [*ibid.*, sect. VII]. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago agrees that energy is one of the critical factors in the establishment of any new international economic order. My delegation interprets that call as one which it hopes will lead to the economic transformation of the economies of the developing countries—one that will change the position of third-world countries from that of perpetual dependence to self-reliance and partnership. For a small developing country like Trinidad and Tobago those are fundamental objectives.

6. Within the last decade we have witnessed a heightened awareness on the part of the international community of the urgent need to create a more just and equitable system of international economic relations. The economic crisis of 1973 has served to highlight the element of interdependence in relations between States. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the fourth session of UNCTAD and the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation—misnamed the North-South dialogue—were all responses of the international community to that awareness. Unfortunately, those conferences have failed to live up to the reasonable expectations of mankind, particularly those of us in the developing world. They have produced little in the way of concrete action. What we are left with now are mere promises for the future.

7. This unhappy situation cannot be allowed to persist. My delegation is, however, not entirely pessimistic. We look forward to positive results from the negotiations that lie ahead. Positive results can, in our view, be best achieved if all nations accept the need for a fundamental restructuring in existing economic relationships.

8. The negotiations on the Integrated Programme for Commodities<sup>1</sup> and on a common fund are crucial for us. Trinidad and Tobago, like so many other developing countries, produces a number of primary products upon which the health of its economy depends, particularly in respect of employment and foreign exchange earnings. The

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

prices of those commodities continue to be subject to violent fluctuations in the world market with consequent disastrous effects on our economies. It is this common experience which prompts the countries of the developing world to seek an Integrated Programme for Commodities. If such a Programme is to have any impact, it must be supported by adequate and effective financing mechanisms which would facilitate the downstream processing of raw materials in developing countries. To deny developing countries all the necessary facilities and assistance in this process is to perpetuate the traditional colonial pattern of economic relations. We can no longer acquiesce in a system whereby developing countries are restricted to primary production, with all secondary and tertiary activities reserved for metropolitan centres. In short, no longer can we in the Caribbean be expected merely to produce unrefined brown sugar for export. To put it in another way, not only must developing countries produce bauxite and iron ore; they must also manufacture aluminium and finished steel products.

9. The multilateral trade negotiations within GATT and the negotiations within UNCTAD represent continuing efforts by the world community to come to grips with the chronic economic crises which have their most adverse effects in the developing countries. My delegation had hoped that the multilateral trade negotiations would have resulted in the granting of meaningful concessions in favour of the exports of the developing countries, on a non-reciprocal basis, as prescribed in the Tokyo Declaration.<sup>2</sup> In the negotiations under way within UNCTAD on the Integrated Programme for Commodities, although there seems to be agreement in principle on the need for action of the type envisaged in the Integrated Programme, the actual negotiations on individual products and on the common fund have as yet failed to produce agreed programmes of action that would significantly improve prices and market conditions for commodities of export interest to developing countries. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 have spoken eloquently on this point [see A/32/244] and have expressed their deep concern with the renewed trend towards protectionism in the developed countries because of its negative impact on the export earnings of developing countries and their terms of trade, employment policies and development efforts.

10. Serious problems exist in respect of debt and the availability of adequate operating credit. At present, the volume of credit available through IMF is not adequate and it is offered on terms which do not necessarily assist development objectives. The modifications to the articles and procedures of IMF agreed to in Jamaica in 1976<sup>3</sup> have therefore failed so far to recognize the qualitative change in the balance-of-payments problems of developing countries. Those modifications failed further to address themselves to the restrictive conditionality criteria for access to the resources of IMF. The problems involved in ensuring the adequacy of credit, both short-term and long-term, are enormous. All this points to the urgent need to re-examine

the structure, functioning and orientation of the existing institutional framework.

11. I come now to the question of science and technology as it relates to development. We have followed closely the discussions and negotiations on the code of conduct for transnational corporations, the code of conduct for the transfer of technology and the preparatory work for the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. These discussions and negotiations are not merely academic for us. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is convinced that science and technology lie at the very heart of the development syndrome and at the heart of much of the progress in economic performance and social conditions in the third world. We in Trinidad and Tobago have given full recognition to the important role that science and technology can and should play in economic and social development. The application of science and technology to development will lead to the creation of employment opportunities, the improvement and deepening of the manufacturing sector, the modernization of agriculture, the maintenance of a healthy balance of payments, the improvement in the quality of life, and the preservation of the human environment.

12. We in the third world can effectively benefit from the development in science and technology only through the meaningful transfer of existing and future technology and its adaptation to local needs. We see this transfer of technology as including also the establishment of advanced research facilities and training institutions within the developing countries themselves. We require at this time, also, access to finance, to expertise and machinery and, above all, to markets for our finished products.

13. Conscious of the need to maximize the benefits to be derived from its hydrocarbon resources, Trinidad and Tobago has embarked on a long-term development programme which places paramount emphasis on energy-based industries such as iron and steel, aluminium and fertilizers.

14. It is the intention of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago radically to transform the economy and to diversify the structure and content of production. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago expects that these efforts aimed at its industrial development and informed by a spirit of self-reliance will receive the support and co-operation of the developed countries. It is our reasonable hope that these efforts will not be deliberately thwarted.

15. Trinidad and Tobago sees tremendous advantages to be obtained by developing countries from the application of science and technology to the development process. It is for this reason that we look forward with some optimism to the 1979 United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. That Conference is seen by us as a major watershed in international relations, for it will provide the real test for partnership and co-operation between nations.

16. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is committed to co-operation with all States, developed as well as developing, and to the pursuance of new forms and methods for such co-operation. It has over the years played a responsible role in the affairs of the Caribbean and has

<sup>2</sup> Declaration of 14 September 1973 approved by the Ministerial Meeting of the Contracting Parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade held in Tokyo.

<sup>3</sup> Meeting of the Interim Committee of the Board of Governors of the International Monetary Fund on the International Monetary System, held at Kingston, Jamaica, from 7 to 8 January 1976.

indicated its willingness to contribute to the economic stability and development of the region. We have undertaken new initiatives in the field of economic and financial co-operation and we have kept the Secretary-General of the United Nations informed of our efforts. It is our hope that States with interests in the development of the region will respond positively to those initiatives.

17. Such a positive response will assist States in the region and will go some small way towards arresting what seems to be a trend towards greater polarization of nations. As recently as 24 September 1977, the first anniversary of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, the Prime Minister, the Honourable Eric Williams, in the course of his inaugural address to the first Islamic Conference of South America and the Caribbean which was held in Trinidad and Tobago, remarked on this trend:

"... Humanity now finds itself facing another world crisis. It is the crisis of a polarization between the affluent developed societies and the under-developed societies on the verge of famine; the one literate, with a virtual monopoly of industrial development and high energy consumption; the other illiterate, begging that 25 per cent of the world's industrial development be reserved for it, with low energy consumption; the one discriminating against, the other discriminated against ...".

18. I have tried to give expression to our aspirations in respect of the economic development process. I have sought to indicate some of the main policy objectives of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago as it attempts to make its leap forward. I have underlined the need for self-reliance, co-operation and partnership in that development process. We realize, however, that development can take place only in an ordered and peaceful world. We see grave threats to this peace and order in the situation in southern Africa. In Zimbabwe, Ian Smith refuses in rude and obstinate fashion to accept majority rule as the basis for constitutional government in that territory. In Namibia, South Africa refuses to cease its illegal occupation—and in South Africa itself the system of *apartheid* continues to be practised with all the repressive vigour that that racist régime can command. In the Middle East and Cyprus the situation continues to smoulder.

19. The concern of Trinidad and Tobago with these developments has found expression in our continued condemnation of *apartheid*, our support for the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to achieve majority rule and independence, and for the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination.

20. Trinidad and Tobago has affirmed its support for the principles of the non-use of force in international relations, of the non-acquisition of territory by force, of respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States, and of the right of all States to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries. In this respect, my delegation supports the efforts under way to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, but holds the view that the situation cannot be resolved without the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

21. Trinidad and Tobago, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), has always supported the right of all people still under colonial rule to self-determination, and here my delegation wishes to express once more its solidarity with the people of Belize, whose legitimate right to freedom, independence and territorial integrity have too long been frustrated. Those Members of the United Nations family that have the facilities should provide credible guarantees to the people of Belize for the enjoyment of that right.

22. The Secretary-General of the United Nations in reviewing the work of the Organization over the past year, was optimistic about the ability of the United Nations to help to create the kind of environment in which international peace and security can be maintained, and in which economic and social development can keep pace with rising expectations. We are happy to share his optimism. We recognize, however, that the serious problems which face the Organization must be resolved if it is to continue to maintain its contribution to world order.

23. Trinidad and Tobago will continue to give its full support to the United Nations in the pursuit of its laudable objectives. We perceive those objectives to include the establishment of a world order which is just and equitable and the creation of peaceful and stable conditions in which mankind can achieve its economic, social and cultural well-being. We are of the firm conviction that those objectives can be achieved only if Member nations accept the basic imperatives of self-reliance, partnership and co-operation.

24. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, on behalf of the Hungarian delegation may I warmly congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly during its thirty-second session. I am particularly happy to see our present session presided over by an outstanding representative of a neighbourly and friendly country—Yugoslavia.

25. I take this opportunity to extend, on behalf of my Government and of the entire Hungarian people, heartfelt congratulations to the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on having finally assumed its rightful and legitimate place in the United Nations. As I wish the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam every success in its activity, may I also voice my firm conviction that the active participation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the work of our world Organization will be a significant contribution to enhancing the effectiveness and authority of the United Nations.

26. I should also like to welcome the delegation of the Republic of Djibouti and to wish that newly independent State every success in its activity within the world Organization.

27. In November of this year one of the greatest events in human history will be commemorated throughout the world. It was 60 years ago that the Great October Socialist Revolution emerged victorious and ushered in the era of fundamental changes in the life of peoples, changes that marked a radical turnabout setting in motion the inexorable process of moulding the shape of a new world. With this

great anniversary drawing near, I extend, on behalf of my Government, warmest greetings to the delegation of the Soviet Union and hope that the Soviet people will score further brilliant successes in building communism and fighting for stronger peace and security. The people of my country, which was among the first to respond to the message of the Great October, has remained and will remain true to the ideals of the revolution and lives in indissoluble bonds of friendship with the peoples of the Soviet Union.

28. The international activities of the Hungarian People's Republic continue to serve the quest for a lasting peace and a more stable security. We are glad to know that a similar policy is being pursued by the friendly socialist countries, as well as by countries of a socialist orientation and other progressive governments. Such endeavours can take a great deal of the credit for the advancement of peaceful coexistence and of détente.

29. The prevalence of détente has done much to expand co-operation among countries with different social systems, to bring the process of decolonization into its final phase, to consign to oblivion dictatorial régimes that were once believed to be perpetual, and to help certain acute hotbeds of crisis reach settlement. The climate of détente helps make progress also in the difficult issues of disarmament and other questions.

30. This is perhaps just what the opponents of détente find too much—something that they cannot, of course, openly admit and therefore choose to blur. Yet it is not difficult to discern the true endeavours of the opponents of détente, who are again attempting to drag out the hackneyed and abortive concept of the policy of force and want to obtain military supremacy in an attempt to squeeze political concessions from the socialist and other progressive countries. Prompted by this motive, they seek to introduce into international relations such so-called new elements which actually serve to hold back the process of détente. In pursuit of their goals they openly interfere in the internal affairs of others, primarily the socialist countries.

31. All of these phenomena cause legitimate concern and anxiety to those who have a sincere interest in extending détente and international co-operation. My Government takes satisfaction from the fact that, in addition to a wide range of States, hundreds of millions of working people—workers, peasants and intellectuals—are adopting an increasingly forceful stand against efforts that pose a threat to détente. This, too, is an important contributory factor to the optimism with which the Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is looking to the future, in spite of the unsatisfactory aspects of the prevailing situation.

32. The aforementioned attempts by the opponents of détente cannot be viewed with indifference by the United Nations. We regard as highly topical, and warmly welcome, the fact that at the initiative of the delegation of the Soviet Union, the General Assembly included in the agenda of its thirty-second session the item "Deepening and consolidation of international détente and prevention of the danger of nuclear war" [item 127].

33. Each and every country has a share of the responsibility to bear in the strengthening of peace and security

and in the extension of détente. It is indisputable, however, that in these efforts a special responsibility is incumbent on the great Powers. We are all aware of the outstanding role played by the improved relations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America in setting into motion the process of détente. The pattern of widening co-operation, which began to emerge between those two large countries in the early 1970s, contributed substantially to the settlement of some complicated international problems. And now the opponents of détente are sniping at the results and the future of détente, principally by scheming to impair Soviet-American relations.

34. The expansion of bilateral relations between the other socialist and capitalist countries is similarly of great importance in the efforts to strengthen peace and security. My Government's awareness of this is indicated by the high-level meetings and successful talks it has arranged with other countries. Of particular relevance in this regard are the highly productive visits by János Kádár, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party and member of the Presidential Council of the People's Republic, to Austria, Italy and the Federal Republic of Germany. We shall adhere to this policy in the future as well.

35. Recent years have seen particularly great strides towards peace and security in Europe. My Government devotes especial attention to strengthening peace and expanding co-operation in Europe, and it has taken a whole series of practical steps to give full effect to the principles and recommendations contained in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. We consider the Belgrade meetings, which opened just a few days ago, an important stage in this process. At that Conference my Government is seeking to ensure appropriate conditions that will enable the representatives of the participating States to review, in a constructive spirit, the results achieved in the implementation of the Final Act, and to take account of the experience hitherto gained and of the tasks that lie ahead.

36. The Hungarian People's Republic places particular importance on contributing, within its modest means, to the halting of the arms race and to the elaboration of additional disarmament measures. Our representatives are guided by this same desire at international forums, particularly here at the General Assembly and in the Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, as well as at various bilateral and multilateral talks. We are convinced that political détente should be followed up by positive measures in the military field, without which détente can hardly be expected to last.

37. My Government is concerned by the attempts of some circles in the developed capitalist countries to whip up the arms race once more. The incessant rise in the arms expenditures of the members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the plans for the production of new types of weapons have an adverse effect on current negotiations pertaining to certain disarmament problems, and on the international climate in general.

38. We, for our part, attach particular importance to the Soviet-American Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, as they

have far-reaching implications for the future of the process of détente.

39. One cannot be satisfied with the present state of the Vienna negotiations on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Those talks have been going on for over four years now, without making any substantive progress.

40. We are convinced that an agreement on both the limitation of strategic arms and the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe can be reached only if the parties involved adhere to the principle that none of them shall consider its security prejudiced by any disarmament measure, and only if the Western negotiating partners give up their attempts to obtain unilateral military advantages.

41. The general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests remains an immediate task of the highest importance for the control of nuclear armaments. An encouraging and positive response was received in the affirmation, in the statement of the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. A. A. Gromyko [8th meeting], of the Soviet Union's readiness, in arrangement with the United States and the United Kingdom, to suspend underground nuclear-weapon tests for a certain period of time even before the other nuclear Powers accede to the future treaty.

42. We hope, and indeed expect, however, that such accessions will be forthcoming before long.

43. It would serve to reduce the risk of nuclear war if the participants in the Helsinki Conference accepted the proposal, put forward by the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty at its Bucharest meeting last year, that the States parties to the Final Act of Helsinki should assume, under an international treaty, an obligation to refrain from being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other.<sup>4</sup> We deplore NATO's refusal of that proposal, for it indeed merits serious study.

44. We think that we are making a contribution to the final elaboration and conclusion of a comprehensive international agreement on the prohibition of chemical weapons and on the destruction of their existing stockpiles as we are also willing to conclude, as a first step, an agreement banning only the most dangerous means of chemical warfare.

45. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic considers it as a matter of extreme urgency that a treaty be concluded on the prohibition of the development and manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and that an international agreement be signed under which all States of the world would undertake not to use force in international relations. The relevant drafts of the Soviet Union provide an appropriate basis for starting concrete negotiations. There are countries that, clearly for motives contrary to these goals, wish to avoid concluding such treaties.

46. We look forward with expectation to the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We feel that, because of its impact on world public opinion, that forum will be able to bring a favourable influence to bear on the States that at present keep aloof from disarmament efforts for various reasons. The common cause would not be advanced if efforts seeking any rash modification of the working procedures at present employed in the search for solutions to certain disarmament problems were to gain currency at that session. We further expect the special session to agree on definite measures designed to promote the early convening and successful outcome of a World Disarmament Conference. From the point of view of peace and security we place particularly great emphasis on having the hotbeds of tension eliminated by political means and on blocking the way to the emergence of new critical situations.

47. One of the longest-standing hotbeds of tension is the Middle East, where the prolonged crisis is a heavy burden on international relations. More than 10 years after the Israeli aggression of 1967, the illegal occupation by Israel of Arab territories and the denial of the rights of the Palestinian Arab people persist to this day in defiance of numerous resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. What is more, by establishing a growing number of settlements and by extending the application of Israeli laws to occupied territories, the Government of Israel gives evidence that it is striving for the final annexation of the Arab territories.

48. My Government still holds that the Geneva Peace Conference, if attended by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, is an appropriate forum for a comprehensive settlement of the crisis. What is needed is to have agreements elaborated whereby Israel withdraws its troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967; whereby the national rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including the right to establish their own State, are recognized and enforced; and whereby the security of all peoples and States in the region is guaranteed.

49. In order to achieve this agreement, it is necessary for the Arab and the socialist countries to carry out more effective co-operation and for the spokesmen for the dead-end "step-by-step" policy to learn at last to live with the hard facts.

50. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is deeply concerned over the armed conflict in the Horn of Africa, which is detrimental to the peoples of that region and provides encouragement to the efforts of imperialism and to the reactionary forces collaborating with it. It serves to divert attention from the Middle East and from the burning situation in the southern part of Africa; it is dealing a telling blow at African unity, and it may create a dangerous precedent. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic condemns any armed attack on other countries and any manipulation of the liberation movements. We feel that the solution lies in a negotiated settlement of contentious issues.

51. With the disappearance of the "protective belt" around the racist régimes in southern Africa, there has emerged a qualitatively new situation in that part of the

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1976*, document S/12255, annex II.

continent. The formation of a majority government in Zimbabwe and the attainment of independence in Namibia are immediate and feasible tasks, while the question of the oppressive régime of the Republic of South Africa is also ripe for solution. Great possibilities are, nevertheless, fraught with great dangers, since imperialism wishes to force sham solutions upon the interested parties in order to save its own economic and strategic positions.

52. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, which has from the outset been in favour of eliminating the colonial system, wishes the forces fighting against colonialism and imperialism to be more united than ever in pursuing their cause and to draw up ever more viable programmes for social progress. We are convinced of the ultimate success of their struggle. My Government is against *apartheid*, too, and it was in that spirit that our representatives took part in the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos.

53. The Hungarian People's Republic has not altered its stance on the question of Cyprus. We must seek a settlement that will guarantee the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, with due regard to the interests and equality of the two communities. We believe that the holding of an international conference, convened under United Nations auspices, would serve a useful purpose in helping us towards a settlement of the question of Cyprus.

54. The reduction of tensions and the strengthening of general security on the Asian continent would be greatly enhanced by a settlement of the situation in the Korean peninsula. My Government continues to lend staunch support to the just endeavours of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to attain the peaceful reunification of that country.

55. The Hungarian Government attaches great importance to the wide implementation of human rights. As is shown by historical experience, it is the socialist system of society that is best equipped to ensure in practice that people live a life of human dignity and enjoy the fullest measure of human rights.

56. What we find is that some circles employ what is, to say the least, a special approach to human rights. They are absolutely silent on such fundamental human rights as, for instance, the right to work and the right to medical care; they keep quiet about racial discrimination and equal rights for, among others, women; and they are chary of speaking about such paramount human rights as the right to peace, security and life. It goes without saying that their non-enforcement deprives political rights of any substance and makes their enjoyment illusory, and it reveals the political aims sought by the extensive campaigns launched about human rights issues.

57. The States Members of the United Nations will comply with their obligations concerning human rights if they make joint efforts to put an end to gross and mass violations of human rights, if they abolish the remnants of the colonial system and eliminate racial discrimination, if they assist in restoring human rights in Chile, South Korea, South Africa, and the Israeli-occupied Arab territories.

58. My Government regards the United Nations institutional system concerned with human rights as being sufficient and adequate to promote the effective respect for and observance of such rights throughout the world.

59. The efforts to develop the economic relations of States and to place international economic relations on a democratic and just basis have come to play an increasingly important role in international life. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic devotes special attention to this set of problems. We know that a truly broad-based range of external economic relations can be built only in conditions of lasting peace and stable security, and that the serious problems faced in the field of international economic relations can only be resolved in a prevailing climate of détente. On the other hand, however, we firmly believe that the advancement of détente and the strengthening of peace and security cannot be separated from the settlement of economic problems. It is our conviction that placing international economic relations on a new basis is a problem of universal scope and that the efforts to achieve this should include finding equitable solutions for the economic problems of developing countries.

60. My Government will continue to devote great attention to the economic problems of developing countries and will, within the limits of our possibilities, make further efforts to promote their economic development. In no way can we disregard, however, the historical and present-day responsibility that is incumbent on certain developed capitalist countries for the economic backwardness of developing countries. Attempts to blame both the developed capitalist and the socialist countries on this score without making any distinction between them are unjust and lack scientific foundation.

61. External economic relations play an immense role in my country's economic development. One of the main sources of our economic achievements lies in economic co-operation with the other socialist countries within and outside the framework of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance; but the dynamic growth of our economic co-operation with the developed capitalist countries and with numerous countries of the developing world is likewise growing in importance. The growth of trade flows with the developed capitalist countries has been slowed down by discriminatory measures which are not being removed as quickly as could be desired. Certain groups in the West even come out openly against expanded economic co-operation between socialist and capitalist countries, trying to present the development of economic ties as if it served only the interests of socialist countries and demanding political concessions from them in exchange for increased economic co-operation. My Government resolutely rejects such attempts and reaffirms its position in favour of establishing equal and mutually advantageous economic relations free from discrimination. We hope that those efforts, contrary as they are to the spirit of détente and to present-day realities, will be isolated and that East-West economic co-operation will receive a fresh impetus.

62. While the results achieved by the United Nations in pursuing its purposes and principles as enshrined in the Charter are not negligible, the Hungarian delegation agrees with those who urge the world Organization to be more

action-oriented in its contribution to the attainment of those goals, that is, primarily, to the safeguarding of peace, the strengthening of international security, the development of international relations and the advancement of peoples. The Charter offers a number of opportunities for increasing the effectiveness of the United Nations that have not yet been duly used. It is our common duty to use them to advantage in accordance with the spirit and letter of the Charter. The Hungarian People's Republic still favours the adoption of measures likely to strengthen the role of the United Nations without amending the Charter.

63. May I conclude by assuring you that the Hungarian delegation will do its utmost to ensure that this session of the General Assembly will make an effective contribution to resolving the important questions on our agenda.

64. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): General debates at the sessions of the General Assembly always reflect both the positive processes in the world which are the result of concerted actions by States and contradictions and contrasts resulting from the international situation.

65. The current session of the General Assembly is no exception. What is characteristic, however, is that despite contradictions in current developments, their comprehensive analysis indicates—and this is confirmed by the content of the ongoing debate—that elements of international détente do prevail in major areas of world politics.

66. Of course, there are still several problems in the world, big and small, whose solution requires the joint efforts of States and peoples. There are also hotbeds of war which must be eliminated. But at the same time international co-operation conducive to the strengthening of the process of détente continues to develop in some major sectors.

67. The arms race continues, threatening to take on a new dimension, even though the explosive power of the lethal nuclear weapons in the world is already equivalent to many millions of bombs of the type dropped on Hiroshima. Yet at the same time the treaties and agreements that have been concluded and are now in force prove that it is possible not only to limit the arms race and bring it under control, thereby insuring international security, but also to play a certain restraining role, in many cases preventing the escalation of conflict situations.

68. The contradictions and contrasts of current developments result from the impact of various forces on world politics. The Soviet Union, the socialist community and the non-aligned movement advocate the reduction and subsequent complete removal of the danger of another war. Their objective is to eliminate existing hotbeds of war, to put an end to the arms race and to do away with the vestiges of colonialism and discrimination. It is important, too, that some influential quarters in the West, including those vested with government authority, also advocate elimination of the threat of war as a means of settling disputes between States. Differences in world outlook do not impede their joint actions with socialist countries, and that must certainly be welcomed.

69. The strengthening of the foundations of peace could proceed even more confidently but for the opposition of

imperialist and reactionary forces in the West which do not wish to reconcile themselves to the failure of their attempts to dictate their will to the peoples or to intimidate those who desire social changes. The Peking leaders have actually long since joined hands with these arch-reactionary forces of imperialism and are running in the same harness. They are opposed to the policy of peace, détente and disarmament, and they have assumed the shameful role of preaching the inevitability of another war. These gentlemen are not loath to use even the United Nations rostrum for their purposes, as was illustrated by the recent statement made at the 13th meeting by the head of the Chinese delegation. We strongly reject the filthy insinuations and slander of the speaker from Peking.

70. No one will be able to shake our commitment to the peace-loving policy. The Land of Soviets, which this year celebrates the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, has for 60 years been loyal to a policy of peace. That policy, which expresses the political will of all Soviet peoples and is in the interests of the peoples of the entire world, has been steadily developed and enriched from the issuing of the Decree of Peace to the adoption of the Programme of Peace by the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth Congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its current implementation. Socialism needs peace and creates and defends it, and therein lies its greatest humaneness. That is its greatest benefit. "The strengthening of peace is one of the most important guarantees of man's greatest right—the right to life", said the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. L. I. Brezhnev, whose name is justly linked with successes achieved in the field of détente. A great deal has indeed been done in this field, and is duly appreciated by many statesmen and politicians and by world public opinion. As we all know, this has also been noted on more than one occasion in the United Nations.

71. Of great importance to the cause of peace and international security is the joint declaration by the Soviet Union and France on international détente signed on 22 June last, a document specifically and fully dedicated to this most important international process. The viability of the policy of détente has also been confirmed by the successful preparations for the Belgrade meeting of representatives of the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference, which has just begun in the capital of Yugoslavia. However, the current situation in the world as a whole and in certain parts of it does not give grounds for belief that international détente is growing spontaneously without running into obstacles.

72. Here we should like to draw attention to the fact that the opponents of détente in the West have recently engaged in everything from misinformation to slander and intimidation to "prove" that there allegedly exists a Soviet "military threat" and that the socialist countries "violate human rights" and the like, while under cover of this campaign new steps are being taken in the arms race, the solution of pressing international problems is being foiled and the policy of international détente is being undermined.

73. All this confirms that it is necessary for States to make further joint efforts, backed by the authority of the United

Nations, to overcome the resistance to détente, to consolidate its principles and persistently to weave them into the fabric of international life. This need is fully and completely met by the proposal of the Soviet Union on the deepening and consolidation of international détente and the prevention of the danger of nuclear war, submitted by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. A. A. Gromyko, for consideration by the current session of the General Assembly [see A/32/242].

74. The adoption of the Draft Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente [*ibid.*, annex I] and the draft resolution on the prevention of the danger of nuclear war [*ibid.*, annex II] would, we are confident, be conducive to overcoming the barriers that have been put up or are being put up by those who oppose détente. Without a doubt that would strengthen the favourable climate in international relations, help to build an atmosphere of trust and develop all-round co-operation between countries and peoples, and have a positive effect on the activities of the United Nations. The adoption of the draft declaration would reaffirm the will and determination of States Members of the United Nations to promote further international détente and would politically isolate those forces which seek to revive the spirit of the “cold war” and animosity in international affairs. The immediate implementation of steps leading to prevention of the danger of nuclear war—and this is highlighted in the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union—is becoming particularly important for the strengthening of peace.

75. The adoption of the Soviet proposals could help achieve a break-through in limiting the arms race and in disarmament. As we all know, the problems of curbing the arms race and achieving disarmament have always been a central concern of the peoples and Governments of most countries, many international agencies and organizations, and, above all, the United Nations. And that is no accident, for the strengthening of peace and international security depends in many ways on the solution of these problems.

76. At the current stage of international relations we can no longer speak of disarmament in general terms. The language in which we discuss this subject must be the language of constructive and businesslike proposals leading to practical action.

77. The specific proposals of the Soviet Union intended to put a speedy end to the arms race and achieve disarmament are well known. They were announced to the whole world as the most important task of Soviet foreign policy from the rostrum of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the report of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev. Those proposals were set forth in great detail and substantiated in the memorandum of the Soviet Union on questions of the cessation of the arms race and on disarmament submitted to the General Assembly at its last session.<sup>5</sup> The latest Soviet proposal submitted at this session demonstrates once again the desire of the Soviet State to break the deadlock in the solution of acute disarmament problems and to provide fresh momentum to this process.

78. In conditions where nuclear weapons pose the greatest danger to mankind it is absolutely justified that the United Nations should concentrate its attention primarily on the problem of the complete prohibition of nuclear weapons and their destruction. A preliminary and essential step in this direction should be the prohibition of all nuclear weapons tests; this would impede the further improvement of weapons of mass destruction, make the atmosphere on earth healthier both literally and figuratively and substantially facilitate the achievement of an agreement banning nuclear weapons. The Soviet draft treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests [resolution 3478 (XXX), annex] could become a basis for working out an appropriate international agreement. The search for agreement on the question of control has now been made much easier. At the current session of the General Assembly an important statement was made regarding the Soviet Union's readiness for the treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests to be signed initially by the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States and the United Kingdom. Thus, one more step has been taken towards completing the preparation of the treaty and towards its entry into force. Members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and participants in the sessions of the General Assembly have, on more than one occasion, expressed themselves in favour of such a step. It is proposed that, having signed the treaty, the three nuclear Powers should refrain from carrying out underground tests of nuclear weapons during a certain period of time. Meanwhile, the remaining nuclear Powers should, in actual deeds and not just in words, prove the sincerity of their intention to start moving towards the prohibition of nuclear weapons. It is evident that nuclear weapons tests will be completely prohibited only when all the nuclear Powers become parties to the treaty. It goes without saying that the implementation of the Soviet Union's proposals will constitute one more barrier to the further proliferation of nuclear weapons and push back somewhat the threat of nuclear catastrophe hanging over mankind. We call on all States Members of the United Nations, and above all, all the nuclear Powers, to begin to implement the Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapons tests.

79. Further, while noting with satisfaction that a certain degree of progress has been achieved in the Soviet-American talks and in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament on banning chemical weapons, we express the hope that the elaboration of the draft of the relevant document will be accelerated.

80. In the light of recent events the proposal of the Soviet Union, endorsed by the General Assembly, to ban the development and production of new types of weapons of mass destruction and new systems of such weapons<sup>6</sup> has become even more urgent than ever before. The reports on the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction, including the neutron bomb, make that Soviet initiative extremely important. They confirm that the danger of the emergence of new types of weapons of mass destruction, far from being hypothetical, as some try to

<sup>5</sup> See document A/31/232.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 126, document A/10448, para. 4.

argue, is, on the contrary, a real danger, whereas contrived objections to this proposal create in fact an atmosphere propitious for research into new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and for their development. The United Nations and the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should speed up the preparation of the relevant agreement on this question so as to block this new channel of the arms race at its very source.

81. As is well known, a special session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament will be convened in May and June of next year. We believe it should make a significant contribution to the search for approaches to solving the problem of containing the arms race and of disarmament, and determine the main areas of activity of States in this matter. It is our belief that that session can and must become an important milestone on the road leading to the convening of a World Disarmament Conference.

82. We believe that despite the sheer complexity of disarmament problems man's intelligence will find a way to solve them.

83. There are several items on the agenda of the General Assembly whose solution would help to strengthen international security in accordance with the Declaration adopted by the United Nations in 1970 [see resolution 2734 (XXV)]. We express the conviction that the current session will proceed with the preparation of a treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. This will be of invaluable importance for the strengthening of international security.

84. A settlement of the protracted conflict in the Middle East, where the situation remains explosive as a result of the expansionist acts of Israel, has long been overdue. What is needed here is a speedy convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, which cannot be replaced by any "working groups" or by any similar separate steps. Of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization—the recognized representative of the Arab people of Palestine—must naturally take part in all phases of the negotiations at the Geneva Conference.

85. We strongly support the just stand taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the matter of the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea and demand that the resolution of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on the withdrawal of all foreign troops from South Korea [resolution 3390 (XXX)] be implemented. Fresh efforts are also needed to resolve the problem of Cyprus where tensions still persist.

86. And, clearly enough, the interests of the further strengthening of international security call for the elimination of the vestiges of colonialism in all their manifestations.

87. Colonialism is putting up stiff resistance, trying to weaken the ranks of those who are fighting against colonialist oppression and to sow discord and enmity among them. What is urgently required here is unity of action of all anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist forces for the speedy and complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism.

88. And here the statement made by the Soviet Union at this session to the effect that the complete elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* is urgent is particularly important. That is the logical continuation of the initiative of the Soviet Union which led to the adoption in 1960 of the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

89. Now that colonialism has been crushed, though not totally eliminated, its vestiges, while poisoning the international atmosphere, constitute a dangerous source of tensions and conflicts. This is evidenced by the situation in southern Africa. The moves by the racist and colonialist régimes of the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, which have elevated to the status of national policy flagrant mass violations of human rights and liberties, such as terror, violence and repression, against the indigenous African population of the Republic of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia, and which systematically carry out acts of aggression against independent African States, have brought about a situation in that part of the world which poses a direct threat to peace and international security. All these developments have become possible thanks to the support and actual encouragement of the colonialist and racist régimes in southern Africa by certain Western Powers which camouflage their policy by "initiatives" allegedly aimed at a peaceful solution of the problems existing in that area. In doing so, they are acting according to a very strange logic indeed. They started by arming the South African racists and continue to do so at present; yet now they are calling on the liberation movements to lay down their arms. Their aim is clear: to gain time in order to make the racist régimes look more benign, to preserve the domination of monopolies and to extinguish the flame of the liberation struggle of the peoples, which are laying siege to the criminal bastions of racism and colonialism on the African continent. Notwithstanding all this, objective conditions now exist for a real solution to the problem of southern Africa.

90. Problems of economic development occupy an important place in the agenda of the current session.

91. Despite some positive changes in a number of areas, the economies of most developing countries remain in dire straits. Within the world capitalist economic system, their exploitation is being intensified while existing trade barriers remain and new ones are being created within that system. Transnational corporations continue to export an increasingly greater share of their profits while trampling upon the right of developing countries to be masters of their natural resources; the latter are made to carry on their shoulders the burden of recessionary trends in the so-called market economies. What is more, illusions are being spread among the developing countries to the effect that they can strike a bargain with those who exploit them and that in order to overcome their backwardness, they have to follow the laws of a society based on exploitation.

92. The system of international economic relations dating back to the colonial period has come into direct conflict with the vital interests of the overwhelming majority of countries and with the over-all international situation. The restructuring of those relations on a democratic basis and the elimination of discrimination, *diktat* and inequality are among the major demands of the modern day.

93. There is no doubt that the process of resolving the most pressing social and economic problems of the developing countries and the less developed areas as a whole and meeting their social and cultural needs will gain in momentum as peaceful coexistence and international détente become the rule of international communication and acquire a general and irreversible character.

94. The question of respect for human rights occupies an important place in our debate. The problem of ensuring human rights is the problem of creating conditions required for the free development of all peoples in an atmosphere of peace and the comprehensive, harmonious development of every individual. The achievement of this momentous task, inspired by the noble ideas of humanism, had of course nothing to do with political intrigues and sterile propagandistic rhetoric.

95. The anti-Soviet campaign unleashed in certain Western countries under the pretext of "protecting human rights" is in fact aimed at interfering in the internal affairs of our State and is aimed against the rights won by the Soviet peoples in their revolutionary struggle and consolidated in a society of advanced socialism. Paradoxically though, it would appear that this campaign is being waged by the apologists of a society where human rights are constantly being trampled upon—every day, every hour.

96. Sixty years ago unemployment, social and national oppression, inequality, poverty, want and illiteracy were the lot of all peoples of tsarist Russia, including the Ukrainian people.

97. The Great October Socialist Revolution for the first time in history did away with exploitation, national inequality and enmity and placed all spheres of social activity at the service of man, establishing in practice the great principle that the free development of every individual is a pre-condition for the free development of all. This principle has been expressed in the new Soviet Constitution. The new Constitution of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic is now in preparation and will reflect the achievements of the Ukrainian people which will mark the sixtieth anniversary of Soviet power in the Ukraine in December of this year.

98. The enormous historical advantages of the socialist way of life, its outstanding features such as collectivism and comradeship, friendship among all nations and nationalities, sound morals and social optimism, stand out most vividly against the crisis in which the society advertised by Western ideologists finds itself. As stressed by a member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian SSR, Mr. Shcherbitsky:

"Our way of life is a model for new types of relations among people, nations and nationalities, based on lofty and noble principles. It is an example of everlasting international significance."

99. The people's quest for peace is irresistible and this is one of the sure factors that guarantee further deepening of international détente. The United Nations can play an

important role in this endeavour. And we hope that the current session of the United Nations General Assembly will make a worthy contribution to the solution of problems which are of paramount importance for the future of all mankind. This is what the peoples of the world expect from it. First and foremost, they demand that the arms race be ended and all its concomitant evils done away with. Let the resources of the world be channelled not to death but to the attainment of happiness, well-being and social progress for all peoples.

100. Mr. AKE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Those of us who have had the privilege and pleasure of knowing and working with you, Sir, for many years when you represented your country in the United Nations cannot but rejoice at your accession to the presidency of the General Assembly. It is therefore with great pleasure that I join those speakers who preceded me at this rostrum to convey to you my most sincere and cordial congratulations on the occasion of your election.

101. Your election is a well-deserved tribute paid not only to your outstanding qualities as a diplomat and statesman with wide and rich experience of international relations and a profound knowledge of the United Nations, designated quite naturally for this important function, but also to Yugoslavia, your country, and more particularly its distinguished Head of State, Marshal Tito, for their enormous contribution to the cause of peace and international security and peaceful coexistence among peoples of different origins and conditions. You may rest assured that, in the exercise of your functions, you can always rely on the full co-operation of the delegation of the Ivory Coast.

102. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to associate myself with the tributes paid to Mr. Amerasinghe, your predecessor, and tell him how greatly we appreciated the remarkable manner in which he presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

103. The dynamism, the courage, the acute sense of duty and untiring dedication shown by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, during his first term of office in the service of the international community fully justified the wise decision taken by the Assembly last year to re-elect him to his high office. The Ivory Coast, its Government and people welcome that decision and wish to assure him once again of their full support of his efforts in favour of international peace and security.

104. I should like finally to address my sincere congratulations, and to extend a warm welcome, to two new Members of our Organization: The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. We wish to let their representatives know that we are ready to co-operate with them within the framework of the United Nations and to maintain friendly relations with their two countries.

105. The independence and admission of the Republic of Djibouti to the United Nations marks the end of French colonization in Africa. This affords us an opportunity again to pay a sincere tribute to France on its decolonization endeavours, which have enabled almost 20 African States, today masters of their destiny, to make their modest contributions to building that peace to which the whole of

mankind aspires. But we would not be sincere if we did not say that that remarkable task would remain incomplete so long as France, together with the Republic of the Comoros, has not found a solution allowing for the peaceful reintegration of Mayotte Island into the Comorean group, thus enabling the Republic of the Comoros to recover its unity and territorial integrity. For our part, we place our confidence in France and the Comoros, two friendly countries to which we are bound by so many ties, and we are certain that they will settle this regrettable dispute by negotiation—something that would promote fruitful co-operation between their two countries and relieve their friends.

106. In addressing members of the Economic and Social Council in Abidjan on 30 June 1976, the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast reaffirmed:

“... the fundamental principles of the internal and external policies of the Ivory Coast are its faith in the destiny and nobility of man, its constant openness to men and to all things, its unshakable faith in the virtues of peace and dialogue, and its complete readiness to co-operate in friendship with all countries.”<sup>7</sup>

Peace remains the basis of that policy, and its aim the well-being of man in freedom and dignity, which presupposes that his fundamental needs are met and that he can live a decent life allowing for his full development in his natural environment. Those principles guide our daily action and govern our position.

107. It is in the light of those fundamental considerations that I shall endeavour to address myself to some of the burning problems on our agenda for the current session. These problems are not new, and neither are our positions, which are well known to all.

108. At this stage I must recognize that most of the speakers who have taken part in the debate have said that the international situation is very bleak and that the world is confronted with conflicts and difficulties of every kind. In the face of the desolating spectacle of a divided world prey to the fury of war and violence, to waste of so many resources for destructive purposes, to flagrant injustices and inequalities, to serious violations of human rights, and to increasingly intolerable racial discrimination, the Ivory Coast cannot but deplore the lack of courage and political will which has prevented us, and in particular the more powerful countries, from doing everything in our power to find a satisfactory solution to such problems and thus hastening the dawn of a world of peace, justice and progress.

109. It seems as if we are resigning ourselves to our fate, as if we have become incapable of forming or putting forward creative ideas. Incapable of solving existing conflicts that endanger peace and international security, we are doing everything to stoke up existing hotbeds of war, or start new ones, and to poison the situation at a time when laudable efforts are being made to reach pacific settlement of certain

situations or to break the impasse reached in others. These efforts give us grounds for hope and for viewing the future with some optimism, provided we do everything in our power to put an end to the infernal cycle of violence, while respecting human rights for all and taking advantage of the fruits of economic growth and the progress of science and technology.

110. The accession to independence of the Republic of Djibouti should not make us forget that the political situation in Africa is still of concern. White racist minorities continue to maintain their implacable domination over and subject to inhuman treatment millions of Africans in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, denying their right to freedom and dignity. Frontier disputes, at times leading to bloodshed, and conflicts that are fanned and maintained by certain arms merchants who take advantage of such situations to enrich themselves or to enlarge their areas of influence, pit Africans against each other.

111. Because more than any other continent it needs peace to catch up after its long delay on the road to progress, Africa, and the Ivory Coast in particular, hopes that every effort will be made to ensure the complete decolonization of the continent and the total elimination of racial discrimination in order to restore to the African his dignity and all of his rights.

112. In the face of the stubbornness of the white minorities in southern Africa and their attitude of defiance, it is said that the only solution is recourse to armed struggle. It certainly cannot be asserted that those who hold such views are wrong. For our part, although we understand their reasons, we still continue to advocate recourse to negotiation and dialogue to settle the problems of southern Africa. The initiatives taken in this respect can in no way represent an obstacle to the heroic struggle of the liberation movements; quite the contrary, they supplement them and seek to facilitate the search for a negotiated political solution, alleviate the sufferings of the oppressed peoples, and bring peace to Africa.

113. The Ivory Coast has not been slow in making its modest contribution to such initiatives. While upholding in its own way, but effectively and concretely, the struggle waged by the liberation movements, it has exhorted all those who have privileged relations with such régimes and are in a position to exert some influence over them to act to promote the quest for a negotiated solution of the problems in the region. In the course of its direct or indirect contacts, it has informed the South African and Rhodesian leaders of the necessity and urgency of peaceful change for the transfer of power, without prior conditions, to the black majority in Zimbabwe, rapid accession to independence for Namibia and the establishment of racial equality in South Africa.

114. We are happy to note that these efforts are yielding their fruits and that the prospect of speedy accession to independence by Namibia and Zimbabwe is emerging, despite the difficulties still to be overcome.

115. We are gratified in this connexion to find that, as regards Namibia, the five Western members of the Security Council have taken the initiative of contacting the South

<sup>7</sup> For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-first Session, 2206th meeting, para. 8.*

African authorities in order to find a way out of the Namibian deadlock and prevent South Africa from executing its plan concerning that Territory.

116. The Ivory Coast considers that the international community should not minimize the importance of such an initiative. We must therefore not only place our trust in them but encourage them to continue their negotiations with the South African authorities in order to facilitate the implementation of the provisions of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976, which defines the modalities for Namibia's accession to independence through free and democratic elections under United Nations supervision.

117. As regards Southern Rhodesia, the United Nations has just been officially seized of a series of proposals elaborated by the United Kingdom and the United States Governments in consultation with the parties concerned and aimed at restoring legality in that country and at the transfer of power to the African majority.<sup>8</sup> Although these proposals give rise to some reservations, we believe that they could serve as a reasonable basis for negotiations, enabling us to achieve our common objective: the accession of the African majority to power in Zimbabwe.

118. Problems that are both difficult and complex, in particular those relating to the respect for the law and maintenance of order during the transitional period, must be solved, just as the parties concerned should agree on practical modalities for free and democratic consultations enabling the people of Zimbabwe to decide its future, establish its own institutions and elect its own leaders.

119. We regard as positive the fact that the Security Council, following a request by the United Kingdom, should have requested the Secretary-General in its resolution 415 (1977) of 29 September 1977 to designate a special representative:

“... to enter into discussions, with the British Resident Commissioner designate and with all the parties, concerning the military and associated arrangements that are considered necessary to effect the transition to majority rule in southern Rhodesia ...”.

120. The role assigned to the special representative of the Secretary-General, who is called upon to work in close co-operation with the British Resident Commissioner, engages the United Nations in the process of political settlement of the Rhodesian question and leads it to assume responsibilities which in no way change those of the United Kingdom, which we continue to recognize as the Administering Power in Southern Rhodesia. We hope that these two persons will benefit from the co-operation and support of all the parties concerned and of Member States in order to find a solution to the difficult problems still to be resolved.

121. It is surprising that, while the African countries which are the first concerned give their agreement to the designation of the representative of the Secretary-General,

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

certain Powers should attempt to make us believe that Africa wishes to become the accomplice of a neo-colonialist plan to perpetuate colonialism on the African continent. Those Powers act as if the Africans were not sufficiently mature to know where their own interests lie.

122. We understand that those who have everything to gain from the perpetuation of the war in southern Africa because it favours their designs cannot easily accept the peaceful means of settlement of the problems in that region and elsewhere.

123. For 30 years the United Nations and the international community have been denouncing and condemning the heinous system of *apartheid* and attempting in vain, through many resolutions, to find a solution to that problem. To us, *apartheid* is less a question of decolonization than an interracial conflict in which the black man, economically and intellectually subjected, suffers the crushing white domination which is determined to plunder all his rights. That is why we regard *apartheid* as an insult to our dignity as blacks. This is enough to justify our aversion to that policy and our determination to do everything in our power to eliminate it.

124. As recalled recently in Libreville by President Houphouët-Boigny on the occasion of the fourteenth regular session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the Ivory Coast “has never failed on a single occasion to condemn unequivocally and unreservedly this inhuman policy and all forms of racial discrimination.” This firm condemnation of *apartheid* and its evils does not prevent us from hoping for its elimination through peaceful means.

125. In the contacts we have established with the South African authorities we have not failed to try to make them understand the dangers to Africa of maintaining this heinous policy which has been unanimously condemned by the international community. We have always endeavoured to convince them of the need to open a dialogue with the large black majority in order to achieve racial equality in South Africa.

126. We have no illusions that these contacts alone will lead to the changes we are requesting, but we are still convinced none the less that they do enable us to do away with mistrust, while promoting understanding and confidence, convincing the white South Africans of the uselessness of their arguments and the need to put an end to massacre and assassination, which we strongly condemn, while at the same time making it possible to bring about the changes likely to guarantee to all the African inhabitants of South Africa the same rights and obligations and the same opportunities for development. This is our conviction. We are inspired by a single concern, that of peace, which is indispensable to Africa if it is to do away with underdevelopment while restoring the dignity of all Africans.

127. This same desire for peace compels us to address a pressing and brotherly appeal to those African countries which have boundary conflicts and other differences to cease hostilities, end their quarrels and enable those bodies set up by the OAU to contribute to the settlement of the differences, in keeping with the OAU Charter. We invite

them to open negotiations under the aegis of the OAU in order to solve their disputes and restore the best possible relations of good neighbourliness.

128. Likewise, we avail ourselves of this opportunity to declare solemnly from this rostrum that if any African State believes that it has a dispute with the Ivory Coast we are ready to meet its representatives anywhere and at any time to seek out ways and means of settling that dispute, because we wish to maintain relations of friendship and trusting co-operation with all African countries without exception, and especially with our immediate neighbours.

129. The situation in the Middle East still gives rise to serious concern. Our attitude in respect of this problem has always been inspired by peace. Peace is indivisible. The peace we want for Africa we also wish for the Middle East. But that peace cannot be realized unless we resolutely tackle the very heart of the problem, that of enabling the Palestinian people to find, like all the other peoples on earth, a homeland in which they can live and develop.

130. We believe that the settlement of the Palestinian problem is the condition *sine qua non* for the establishment of just and durable peace in the Middle East. We rejoice at the sincere efforts deployed to reconvene the Geneva Peace Conference. We fear, however, that those efforts will prove vain if the representatives of the Palestinian people are not closely associated with the negotiation process and the search for peace and if the legitimate rights of that people and other peoples in the region are not recognized by all sides.

131. Any progress in this patient quest for peace presupposes that the protagonists in the drama in the Middle East accept the fact of Israel and of Palestine; that is to say, on the one hand, that the Arabs—including the Palestinians—recognize the existence of Israel as a sovereign and independent State and its right to live within recognized and secure boundaries and, on the other hand, that Israel, for its part, recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, in particular its right to a homeland in the land of that Palestine that they all claim.

132. For our part, we reaffirm unequivocally Israel's right to existence, just as we desire the creation of a Palestinian State distinct from Israel and Jordan, without our prejudging the future and the relations that those States may in all sovereignty decide to establish among themselves. The Ivory Coast continues to believe that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974 constitute a reasonable basis for the overall settlement of the Middle East question.

133. We consider that this last resolution, which reaffirmed the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, redresses the weaknesses and the gaps in the first two resolutions. Some of its provisions would therefore gain much were they to be taken up by the Security Council to complete its resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), since we are all agreed that the legitimate rights of the Palestinians should be taken into account, just as these two resolutions affirm the rights of all States in the region, including those of Israel.

134. It is necessary, therefore, for Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967 and refrain from any action likely to jeopardize the peace efforts. In this connexion we feel that the recent measures taken by the Israeli Government in its territories are not likely to facilitate the settlement of the Middle East problem. This is something we deplore. It is also necessary that an end be put to the state of belligerence prevailing in the region and that the Palestinians abandon their desires to destroy the State of Israel.

135. With reference to the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the negotiation process, we believe that it would be a political error to persist in denying that organization its rights. The participation of the Palestinians in one way or another appears to us to be of the highest importance in the present circumstances. We are happy to note that the great Powers, and in particular the United States of America through its most authorized voice, should have arrived at the same conclusion, namely, that there cannot be peace in the Middle East unless the Palestinians participate in the elaboration of the modalities that should lead to peace. Any peace concluded without them is, sooner or later, bound to fail. And, it is to no one's interest that it should do so.

136. That is why we are gratified at the present development of affairs and the efforts deployed these days by all the parties concerned to devise a formula which would make it possible to overcome procedural obstacles in order to convene the Geneva Conference, where Arabs and Israelis could open useful negotiations with a view to laying the basis for their harmonious coexistence in the region.

137. We are, of course, aware of the complexity of the tasks ahead. But we are also certain that if all the parties, overcoming rancour and hatred, mistrust and intransigence, were determined to negotiate in good faith all aspects of the situation in the Middle East, it is not unreasonable to believe that peace could be restored in that region in so far as the parties concerned themselves will have negotiated the conditions of that peace.

138. For its part, as President Houphouët-Boigny declared on 2 July last, in Libreville, the Ivory Coast will support any initiative, any effort and any negotiation enabling that region to devote itself at last, in peace, to the great realizations that its human wealth and economic potential enable it to envisage as soon as armed tension shall have given way to the reconciliation of peoples which a long history has condemned to live together.

139. Other hotbeds of tension continue to retain our attention. While we can congratulate ourselves at the fact that the United States and Panama should have arrived at an agreement enabling the Republic of Panama to recover in time its full sovereignty over the Panama Canal Zone, we cannot say the same of Cyprus where no progress has been registered in intercommunal negotiations, and where one part of the territory is still under foreign occupation. We urge the representatives of the two Cypriot communities to resume their negotiations under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to settle this question peacefully in order to safeguard the territorial integrity, political independence and non-alignment of the Republic

of Cyprus. We consider that the United Nations resolutions on the question should be effectively implemented by all the parties concerned.

140. Despite the adoption of partial measures and the conclusion of bilateral agreements, despite lofty declarations of intention and anguished appeals for disarmament, the nuclear and conventional arms race continues inexorably, is even being accelerated and intensified, and poses to mankind more terrifying threats than ever.

141. Military expenditures in the world have grown from \$270 billion in 1974 to some \$350 billion in 1976; 5 to 6 per cent of the world's production of goods and services is absorbed by these expenses. What madness, what squandering in the face of the misery, the disease, the poverty, the hunger and the ignorance of a large part of the world's population! And yet, as stated by President Houphouët-Boigny:

“Just a part of the sums devoted to these engines of war would suffice rapidly to return the whole of mankind everywhere on our planet to a state of dignity and give it back its *joie de vivre*.”

142. With this sad reality as the starting-point we associate ourselves with all who demand true, general and complete disarmament under appropriate international control, and await hopefully the special session of the General Assembly in 1978 to be devoted to that problem. We hope that the great nuclear Powers and all those who are about to become nuclear Powers or are engaging in the arms race, will assume firm and precise commitments to reverse the trend and to lead us progressively to true disarmament.

143. Following the serious economic crisis in 1973, the need for a new concept of international economic relations, founded on justice, equity and interdependence, has made itself felt. The Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations have laid the bases of those relations designed to ensure the economic and social progress of the third-world countries, to strengthen their political independence, to establish more harmonious relations among States and to guarantee the peaceful evolution of the world.

144. This structural reform of the world economy, desired and accepted by all, can only be achieved through bold decisions adopted by the international community in essential spheres such as international trade, the transfer of resources, industrialization, agricultural development and the use of science and technology. However, despite the constructive dialogue that has taken place in the United Nations and in other bodies, among different groups of countries, very meagre progress has been achieved in concrete terms with a view to establishing that new international order.

145. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation held in Paris at the happy initiative of the President of the French Republic did not achieve its objective, namely, the adoption of concrete proposals for

the establishment of the new international economic order and for the solution of the most pressing problems of the developing countries and the industrialized countries alike.

146. The agreements arrived at on the principle of the establishment of a common fund for the financing of buffer stocks of primary commodities, on the development of an economic and social infrastructure, particularly in Africa, and on a \$1 billion programme of special action for the benefit of the least privileged countries do not authorize us to boast that we have achieved any victory because what is most important remains to be done. And what is this that still remains to be done in the developing countries?

147. First of all, measures must be taken to make international trade more balanced and therefore more favourable to the least developed among the developing countries—for instance, by the organization of markets so as to put an end to the deterioration in their terms of trade while ensuring that the developing countries derive sufficient and regular earnings from all their exports.

148. Next, there is the increase of resources allocated to the financing economic and social development of the countries of the third world, either through the channel of direct financial aid or through the reform of the international monetary system and the establishment of a new financing mechanism. The consideration of the important and delicate question of the debt burden of the developing countries, in our view, should be carried out with care and realism—realism concerning the diversity of the situation of the countries concerned—so as to avoid apparently useful and effective proposals turning against their authors by creating situations which would block the development of countries that, for a long time to come, will still need the support of foreign capital.

149. In addition, there should be rational use of science and technology in the service of development in order to achieve a new distribution of world economic activities that would take account of the interests of all the peoples of the world and preclude any harmful social repercussions.

150. Lastly, we must determine the most favourable conditions for intensifying effective economic co-operation among the developing countries themselves in order to achieve the optimal utilization of their human and material potential. The Ivory Coast believes that this co-operation among ourselves, the developing countries, which can be achieved only through successive regional approaches, will be the best illustration of our readiness to take charge of our own economic development. For its part, my country is devoting itself sincerely, actively and enthusiastically to this task in close co-operation with our neighbouring countries within the framework of agreements based on effective solidarity.

151. All the international conferences held these past years on problems of world interest, such as those of the environment, population or food, have greatly contributed to a better understanding of existing relations among peoples in all spheres of human endeavour. Never has mankind given so much collective attention to the human predicament and to the means of improving it. It would be disastrous to interrupt the positive dialogue that has been

instituted between different groups of countries within the United Nations system and in other international forums.

152. We must therefore attempt, through negotiation, to find practical solutions that will fully take into account the well-understood interests of all States while bringing us closer to our objective, man's well-being.

153. But that goal cannot be fully ensured unless basic human rights are respected.

154. Particular stress has been placed of late on persistent violations of those rights committed, not only by the colonialist and racist régimes of southern Africa, but also by many Governments of States Members of this Organization. In some independent countries, torture, arbitrary trials, summary executions and deprivation of rights and freedom have become commonplace. The Ivory Coast does not wish to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, but it believes that the hypocritical attitude we adopt, too often out of complacency, encourages those violations. While we mobilize to defend the human rights violated in a particular country, we keep a guilty silence on the same violations in some other country, depending on whether or not the particular régime is to our liking.

155. We ought to have the courage to denounce all human rights violations wherever they occur and whoever are the perpetrators. That is the best way of ensuring respect for human rights everywhere and by all, because, as President Houphouët-Boigny, teaches us:

“Mankind's well-being is not achieved by persecuting people. We cannot, without shame, proclaim that we are pursuing a policy of social development, a policy of progress, when concentration camps, political persecutions, torture, executions and segregation are growing in number.”

We must, therefore, make our actions consistent with the conventions, charters and other solemn declarations to which we have freely adhered, and must ensure that our will to defend human rights does not once again remain a mere pious wish.

156. We have confined ourselves in this statement to some of the fundamental problems whose rapid solution is indispensable for world peace. This does not mean that other problems are not of interest; we are equally concerned with their solution. Indeed, we hope that they will be solved as soon as possible.

157. In this difficult world it is more important than ever for us to strengthen the role of the United Nations, the ideal forum for reaching agreement, where we can all combine our efforts to speed up the solution of the political, economic, social and cultural problems confronting mankind. We must increase the capacity of the United Nations to enable it to act effectively to attain the purposes and objectives set forth in its Charter.

158. To that end, we are in duty bound to reaffirm our unreserved adherence to its ideals and our commitment to work untiringly, individually or collectively, to achieve them; to conform our daily actions to its principles; to implement in good faith its resolutions and decisions; and to resort to the Organization whenever international peace and security are in danger.

159. That is the commitment to which we invite you all to subscribe to today. For its part, the Ivory Coast undertakes that commitment with redoubled faith in the triumph of the noble ideals of our Organization.

*The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.*