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*Address by Mr. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri,
President of the Sudan*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency Mr. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and current Chairman of the OAU, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. NIMEIRI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to express our immense pleasure in seeing you elected to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly and to assure you of our great confidence in your ability to guide the deliberations of this important session to a successful conclusion.

3. As this session follows on that presided over with wisdom and able leadership by Mr. Mojsos, we are confident that your efforts, in continuation of his, will be such as to guide its deliberations to the desired success and accomplishments.

4. The loyalty and perseverance which the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, has adequately displayed in shouldering the great responsibilities entrusted to him lead us to believe that all the prerequisites for success have thus been provided to guarantee what this Assembly looks forward to accomplishing.

5. We gather here in this great city of New York, which has witnessed great efforts for the realization of the expectations of the human race in a world where justice would prevail, a world where relations among peoples would be founded on freedom and human dignity and would be based on co-operation inspired by the sincere and genuine desire to serve the common interest. If efforts from within this hall and from outside its walls are directed

today towards achieving and maintaining international peace and security through the establishment of equitable international relations and the guarantee of the right of all States to progress and to develop without interference in their affairs or infringement upon their sovereignty, and through the containment of disputes, then the history of this Organization in living up to its responsibilities will provide an eloquent witness to a continuing international need for the prosperity and well-being of the United Nations.

6. In this respect, I wish to congratulate the delegation of the State of Solomon Islands for having secured its membership in this Organization, thus contributing to the achievement of one of the most important objectives of this Organization, that of the universality of the United Nations.

7. My country had the honour, last July, of acting as host to the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July. African leaders met in a brotherly gathering that was characterized by an intense awareness of the historical responsibility laid upon its shoulders and an unblurred vision of the problems and anxieties of the African continent. Their deliberations on those issues became an embodiment of African wisdom inspired by a heritage deeply rooted in history and a manifestation of the ability of Africa to overcome the obstacles that hinder its path. The Khartoum summit meeting was a sincere and persistent effort on the part of those leaders, an effort in which the wills of their peoples converged and formed solid and unwavering convictions based on the solid foundation of the principles of the Charter of their organization.

8. I am indeed honoured and proud to have been entrusted with the presidency of the OAU for the current year. Hence, if I were to address myself briefly to the African positions and stands, it would be only in such a way as to reveal the extent to which the OAU has progressed in its endeavours to attain the desired degree of effectiveness in handling the various African and international issues included in the agenda of this session.

9. As the principles of the OAU were drawn from the same lofty and noble ideals as the United Nations Charter, its establishment, as envisioned by the pioneer-leaders of Africa 15 years ago, came to represent a major tributary of the international Organization that aims at augmenting and upholding the same ideals and principles. The summit meeting in Khartoum commemorated a decade and a half in the life of our organization. This, indeed, is a young and tender age counted in years, but chronicled in afflictions and crises our organization reached a very early maturity and acquired tremendous seasoning. Its creation coincided

with that stretch in the stride of Africa's history that witnessed the awakening of the continent and the realization by its peoples of their right to freedom and independence. Hence it chartered for itself the most difficult course where precious blood was spilled and effort and sweat were spent in pursuit of the realization of its peoples' aspiration in dignity and pride. The last 15 years were a difficult and painstaking march as, notwithstanding the heavy burden left behind by colonialism in Africa, they also coincided historically with the ailments that our world suffers from today. The organization could not afford to extricate itself from these dilemmas or afford to play the role of the spectator when it opted to become an integral part of this sphere by way of action and reaction. Hence the various afflictions and crises that befell the continent served only to strengthen its solidarity and unity.

10. The decisions emanating from the Khartoum summit meeting came to emphasize our strong will to protect the organization and uphold its lofty principles and as a renewal of the pledge we made to our peoples to mobilize our resources and intensify our struggle. They emphasize also our commitment to solidarity, unity, respect for sovereignty and to the maintenance of good neighbourliness and brotherly links through the exploration of all avenues of co-operation between our peoples to speed up the process of social and economic development.

11. The Khartoum meeting signifies a commitment on our part to preserve our sovereignty, which we forcefully retrieved, and to close the door against foreign intervention, emphasizing a declaration of unwavering determination to repel any danger threatening our countries, our peoples and our continent. It signifies also an affirmation of our solidarity with Arab peoples in their struggle and in the establishment of an African Arab front to confront the political and economic challenges which face these two peoples.

12. The Khartoum summit meeting has culminated in directing African efforts towards the resolution of African problems in a manner reflecting the recognition by Africa of its responsibility towards the international community. Hence, being entrusted with the task of conveying to this gathering the decisions of that summit meeting, I find it appropriate to dwell on them in some length in order to be able to properly convey the mood of the meeting and its understanding of the international responsibility it shoulders.

13. What we are persistently seeking to establish through our bilateral, regional and international relations is a new era of hope and accomplishment. Hence our attention and efforts have been directed towards anticipating events rather than passively awaiting them, initiating steps, saving our strength and advocating our line of thinking by rallying support to it.

14. It was on this understanding that the African countries based their meetings with the countries of non-aligned movement and with those countries that shared with them the task of laying the foundation of African-Arab co-operation. It is with this same understanding that we join hands with the world community represented by you here today, our responsibility and obligations towards which we fully recognize.

15. After 'Africa's voice, with all clarity and determination, had echoed strongly within the continent and the whole world announcing its firm intention to uphold the principles and unity of the non-aligned movement and pledging to spare no effort to maintain and increase its effectiveness, African delegations moved towards Belgrade to continue their international effort under the banner of their organization and guided by its decisions and by the understanding I have alluded to earlier. The African voice was an expression of the continent's adherence to the principles of non-alignment as the only framework within which the African struggle to liberate territories under foreign domination and to preserve national independence could be effectively mobilized. It was also an expression of the strong African conviction that the creation of a new international order, first and foremost, entails strict adherence to the main principle of non-alignment that calls for independence in relations with power blocs, the non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

16. African delegations effectively participated in the deliberations of the Belgrade meeting¹ with the strong conviction that strengthening the non-alignment movement augments the efforts of their organization. This participation was also an expression of their full cognizance of the role entrusted to African peoples in maintaining unity and solidarity among non-aligned States. With this positive and constructive attitude of sympathy and understanding, the meeting in Belgrade looked into the problems and anxieties of the African continent. It was only natural that the non-aligned countries, which share common aspirations and destinies with the African countries, should consider those problems and anxieties within the same context and from the same viewpoint as Africa. Their decisions coincided with the African decisions emanating from the capital of my country and Africa's voice was echoed in Belgrade in a spectacular unison.

17. Accordingly, the decisions taken at Belgrade [see A/33/206] came to lend unlimited international weight and support to the African views expressed at the Khartoum summit meeting. Therefore, if I were to convey to this Assembly Africa's viewpoints on the issues of today, it would only be to emphasize the fact that those views, having met unlimited international support, are no longer regional stances inasmuch as they are established on a basis of solid international understanding.

18. What is now going on in South Africa in the way of consistent violation of basic human rights is a disgrace to humanity and an affront to the moral codes of the world community that deserves complete eradication. The inhuman practices of the racist régime in Pretoria, which are the most repulsive practices ever witnessed in human history, represent only one of the columns supporting that régime's structural entity. The resources of our African people in that part of our continent are not only readily available to an alien minority and inaccessible to the indigenous population, but also offer an inexhaustible source on which the racist régime draws in strengthening its economic influence and the repressive machinery it directs against the African population. It draws on these African

¹ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978.

resources to increase its military capabilities in order to carry out brutal military campaigns against front-line States and, indeed, against all independent African States.

19. The Fascist régime of South Africa is obsessed with the false idea that it can, by its consistent aggression against these African States, obstruct their development programmes and thus dissuade them from living up to their responsibilities in supporting the struggle of their heroic brothers in South Africa. The Pretoria régime, which founded its racist entity on false racist concepts, conveniently forgets, in a typical manifestation of callous disregard and arrogance, that African States—no matter what the sacrifices and price they have to pay—will remain faithful to the struggle being waged in that part of the continent, a struggle which is supported by the peoples of Africa and, indeed, by the peoples of the whole world. The strong winds of liberty that have demolished colonial fortresses in the wake of the momentous African awakening will keep on blowing in forceful gusts towards southern Africa, and are certain to eradicate that abhorred, cancerous régime.

20. While Africa remembers with appreciation and gratitude the stand taken by the world community represented here in the United Nations when it condemned racial discrimination as a crime against humanity and a danger to international peace and security, it would like to remind this Assembly of the numerous resolutions and decisions that have emanated from this Organization recognizing the legitimacy of the struggle against racial discrimination, including armed struggle. It would also like to reiterate what it has emphatically stated in the past, namely that no option remains open other than resorting to a tight siege against, and direct armed confrontation with, that racist régime. There is no need to review options or to select alternatives if we recognize Security Council resolution 418 (1977) and proceed to the strict implementation of its provisions by imposing a complete arms embargo upon South Africa and severing all forms of military and economic co-operation with it.

21. It is only fitting on this occasion to salute the front-line States of Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia for the great sacrifices they are making in shouldering the responsibility of joint struggle against the racist régime for the complete emancipation of the continent. It is in accordance with the various decisions of the international community, represented by this Assembly, that these countries should be afforded moral and material support to strengthen their defensive capabilities and to enable them to offer secure bases for the liberation struggle being waged in southern Africa.

22. It is indeed saddening to witness today the collusion of some Powers with this degenerate régime, which is thus strengthening its military and economic capabilities, while at the same time those same Powers boast that their charters and constitutions cater to and embody the basic principles of human rights. How compatible are those charters and constitutions with this conduct which not only infuses blood into, and offers a lifeline to, the racist régime but also enables it to have access to nuclear technology and nuclear weapons of destruction in order to safeguard its interests at any price? How harmonious with their charters

and constitutions are their practices which enable South Africa to continue its repressive measures and systematic genocide aimed at the perpetuation of its abhorred settler-colonialism in southern Africa?

23. It was on the basis of these premises that the Khartoum summit meeting called for a strict oil embargo on the racist régime of Pretoria. It went further in expressing a strong demand for the establishment of highly effective standing machinery for the proper implementation of this embargo on the racist régime in southern Africa.

24. The present critical stage of the heroic Namibian people's struggle, under the banner of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], which steadfastly lived up to its commitment to struggle until that struggle was crowned by the Security Council's latest resolution on the subject—resolution 431 (1978)—was only a natural outcome of SWAPO's able leadership and political maturity. This stage is equally critical in the whole African struggle against the powers of evil and aggression in the southern part of Africa. The utmost vigilance is required in the face of the various plots being concocted by the Pretoria régime against that region.

25. The international community represented by the United Nations, which supported the Namibian people materially and morally throughout its struggle, is now called upon to continue to provide stable and sustained material aid to SWAPO to enable it effectively to counter those plots being hatched against it by the very Powers which harbour evil intentions against the welfare of our continent. While expressing gratitude for the past efforts of the United Nations by offering unlimited support to the United Nations Council for Namibia, Africa views with mounting appreciation the recent efforts of the Organization to give the needed momentum to the noble international endeavours directed towards the achievement of the complete emancipation of the Namibian people under the flag of SWAPO and towards preserving the territorial unity and integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay. It is particularly pertinent in this respect to refer to the report of the Secretary-General on the situation in Namibia,² prepared pursuant to Security Council resolution 431 (1978), and to point out that South Africa is again resorting to manoeuvres aimed at preventing the convening of the Security Council and its adoption of the recommendations contained in that report. The Assembly is hereby called upon to put an end to those manoeuvres and go ahead with the final steps towards the attainment of independence by the Namibian people.

26. In Zimbabwe the Patriotic Front is leading a heroic popular struggle to liberate the country from the yoke of the minority racist régime, which is staggering under the Front's heavy blows. Already so close to collapse and annihilation, this racist régime came out with the so-called Salisbury agreement of 3 March 1978,³ whereby it desperately tried to bestow a politically representative character on some opportunist elements which had been rejected and which represent no national entity or sector of the

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

³ See document A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63.

population. The Khartoum summit meeting rejected that Agreement, emphasizing that it amounts to no more than a treacherous and wicked attempt to strengthen and consolidate the military and political establishment of the racist régime. It also condemned it as a feverish attempt on the part of the Salisbury régime to consolidate its grip on the resources of the country and as a devious plot to suppress the heroic aspirations to freedom and to complete emancipation of the people of Zimbabwe. We reiterated in Khartoum the strong African conviction that a just solution to this problem is attainable only if it embodies and caters for the wishes of the majority of the people, represented by the Patriotic Front. A lasting solution of the problem must be to recognize the right of the people of Zimbabwe to self-determination and independence through the transfer of power from the minority to the people of Zimbabwe and their authentic representatives.

27. The legitimate struggle undertaken by the Patriotic Front as the sole legitimate liberation movement in Zimbabwe meets with full support and solidarity from the African peoples as a struggle that is certain to achieve its objectives of liberty and sovereignty.

28. So, if the Salisbury racist régime were to launch brutal aggression against the neighbouring African States, the least this international community could do would be fully to support the Zimbabwean people and the peoples of the front-line States by providing them with the necessary material assistance and strictly implementing the provisions of a total economic embargo on the racist régime in accordance with the contents and spirit of Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations.

29. It is a fact that colonialism, while retreating from our continent after having plundered its resources, has found it difficult to allow the African peoples to carry on with their processes of economic and social development, so vital after years of oppression and suffering. Since the awakening of Africa, colonialism has openly resorted to intervention in the internal affairs of the African States in order to safeguard its own interests.

30. Furthermore, Africa is being subjected to persistent interference by foreign Powers which are sowing the seeds of dissension and disunity among our peoples in an attempt to widen and increase internal differences, stem the tide of African solidarity and suppress the aspirations and hopes of the African peoples for unity and fraternity. For that reason, the OAU, realizing that this intervention constitutes a direct threat to the very survival of the African peoples and their systems, has continued to monitor with concern and dismay the deteriorating situation resulting from the increasing foreign intervention in the internal affairs of the continent.

31. The Khartoum summit meeting strongly condemned all policies of intervention in African affairs, whatever their source, since such policies would turn the continent into a battlefield, the effect of which would be the destruction of the socio-economic structures, leading ultimately to opening wide the door for the return of the colonialists.

32. The meeting also reiterated the established African conviction that African security and peace are contingent

on the strict observance of the principles of self-determination, independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of States, the rights of all peoples to protect their national borders, the settlement of disputes through peaceful means, and the illegality of the annexation of lands by the use of force.

33. The OAU Assembly at Khartoum took full cognizance of the established fact that the solution of African problems is the responsibility of the Africans themselves. African determination and wisdom have seen the continent through many a difficult time before. It was in this spirit of revolutionary determination that the Khartoum Assembly adopted a resolution on the establishment of a common African contingent for the purpose of protecting the independence of member States and their sovereignty over their respective territories, and ensuring the total liberation of the African continent from the remaining pockets of colonialism and racism [see A/33/235, annex I, resolution CM/Res.635 (XXXI)]. The summit gathering also decided that this military force should be conceptually and administratively African and be deployed by African decision under the banner and in accordance with the principles and objectives of the OAU. That resolution emphasizes the seriousness and determination of the Khartoum summit meeting to seek the enhancement and consolidation of the unity, solidarity and strength of the organization. In that connexion, the summit meeting created conciliation and arbitration committees, as well as machinery for the containment of disputes.

34. The past year in the life of our organization has seen sincere and relentless African efforts demonstrating the ability of the African continent to solve its problems without foreign interference or pressure. The African wisdom which characterized the efforts of African leaders such as Senghor, Houphouët-Boigny, Sékou Touré and Tolbert was a demonstration of the effectiveness and authenticity of the African approach to solving the problems of the continent and one of the factors that contributed to the success of the Khartoum summit meeting.

35. The Sudan is the cauldron in which the Arab and African civilizations converged and synthesized in wonderful harmony, complementarity and integration. Although our geographical position contributed to the achievement of this harmony and complementarity, it was not the only factor involved. What attracted Arabs to Africa was a long history of cultural relations and interactions that produced flourishing civilizations in the heart of Africa, such as the civilizations of Timbuktu, Benin and Meroë. Hence, afterwards, both Africans and Arabs were subjected to similar colonialist conditions, characterized by barbarous entities based on racism and racial discrimination seeking to replace the indigenous population. The unity of the African-Arab struggle was a natural and logical result of those difficult conditions that characterized the history of the Arab and African peoples.

36. The African-Arab Conference held in Cairo in March 1977⁴ represented a landmark in this common fight. That

⁴ First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held in Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977.

Conference reinforced the sense of solidarity and laid the basis for co-operation in the political and economic fields which enjoyed the support of Arab and African peoples throughout successive meetings and led to the establishment of a number of economic and social institutions, structures and organizations which uphold and strengthen this solidarity.

37. Naturally, this African-Arab solidarity, which presents a solid front and is a major pillar of the international liberation movement, provoked the forces of racism and colonialism on our African continent and in Palestine discreetly to co-ordinate their efforts and to join hands with the forces of darkness in what came to be known as the Pretoria-Salisbury-Tel Aviv axis.

38. Sufficient proof of this is contained in what Mr. Robert Mugabe, the co-leader of the Zimbabwean Patriotic Front, conveyed to the Khartoum Assembly, namely, that Uzi machine-guns made in Israel found their way into the hands of the forces of the régime fighting the liberation movements.

39. The Khartoum summit meeting was also a crowning of United Nations efforts to combat racism and racial discrimination and a continuation of its meetings during the United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which started with the Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia,⁵ the Conference for Action against *Apartheid*⁶ and the recent Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,⁷ which was held following the Khartoum summit meeting.

40. Africa, which had instinctively been aware, since the beginning of its awakening, of the organic relationship between Israel and the racist régimes in the southern part of the continent and had discovered the essential nature of those régimes, once again affirmed that Zionism is a form of racism and racial discrimination which should be denounced and condemned by the international community.

41. Our continent has continued to stress the fact that the problem of Palestine is the core of the present conflict in the Middle East, and that the persistence of Israel in occupying Palestine, its refusal to acknowledge the national and legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, its persistence in following a policy of expansion based on racism and challenging the international community in utter disregard of the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, constitute, in our view, a direct and very clear threat to international peace and security. At the same time, the persistence of Israel in continuing its occupation of the Arab territories, including holy Jerusalem, and in following a policy of colonial settlement in the occupied Arab territories further complicates the situation, which could lead to an armed conflagration in the region that might eventually develop into a global conflict, the dimensions of which cannot be perceived or envisaged by the human mind.

⁵ International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

⁶ World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977.

⁷ World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978.

42. The establishment of a permanent peace in the region can only be achieved through the solution of both of these outstanding problems at the same time. In this respect, I have to emphasize that it will not be possible to attempt to solve either of the two problems in isolation from the other. The meeting in Khartoum, in conformity with the other African meetings which preceded it, was especially conscious of the fact that the intransigence of Israel constitutes the stumbling-block to the attainment of a just and permanent peace in the region. It is therefore imperative that all forms of pressure be exerted on Israel by the international community, primarily by the adoption of effective measures to implement the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. The international community is therefore called upon to take all the necessary steps to support and consolidate the Palestinian cause by extending the necessary and effective material assistance to the Palestinian Liberation Organization in its capacity as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. The international community is also called upon to condemn and reject the changes introduced by the Zionist entity in the region to change its physical, demographic, economic, cultural and religious structure. Africa has confirmed its determination to participate positively and effectively in observing 29 November of each year as an International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, and calls upon all peace-loving people of the world to support the just struggle of this heroic people to recover its territory and the right to return to its homeland.

43. The just peace that is so necessary for our world today is a complicated matter, but it can still be achieved through our persistent determination, effort and constructive dialogue in an atmosphere of confidence and hope. This Organization has studied the Middle East question more than once and has adopted several resolutions, including Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which form the basis for peace and set out the minimum rights of the Palestinian people.

44. We have heard of the initiative undertaken by the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, at the Camp David meeting and this is something that we must welcome from the point of view of principle, because it is an historical attempt to secure peace in the region. While we do not attempt to evaluate the results of that attempt, whether positive or negative, we believe that we should not jump to conclusions in evaluating them or undermine that initiative. We should undertake a thorough and positive study and analysis of those results in the light of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations and the Arab summit conferences. We should also throw light on the positive elements of that initiative so that it may be seen as a basis and a pillar for the attempts of others to achieve peace. We should not deviate from our main objective, which is a just and durable peace in the Middle East.

45. The time has come for the OAU to play a more active role in global development efforts and in combating the social and economic problems from which the countries of the third world continue to suffer. If that organization has not addressed itself fully to these issues over the past 15 years, it is not because of a lack of interest or a belittling of the importance of this vital sector, but rather because it had

to direct all its attention and apply all its abilities to combating colonialism and supporting liberation movements until colonialism had shrunk to the remaining three pockets in the southern part of our continent.

46. Notwithstanding what I have just said, the African group of States participated within the Group of 77 in advocating the need to change the structural form of the prevailing economic relations, which is characterized by an aspect of economic and commercial hegemony by the developed industrial countries over the resources of a majority of third-world countries. Consequently, it is important that this imbalance in the international economic field be corrected by introducing an element of balance and compatibility as between developed and developing countries. A number of resolutions have been adopted in the respective international organizations which constitute an acknowledgement on the part of developed countries of the dimensions of the problem facing the developing world. Unfortunately, this acknowledgement has not been followed by the necessary implementation of those resolutions. Furthermore, the developed countries were not able to honour their commitment in the respective international bodies to provide the new international economic order with an opportunity to prove its viability in correcting the imbalance which characterizes the international economic system. The positive resolutions which were adopted in the interest of the developing countries concerning debts, the common fund for commodities, the special fund for the least developed countries, which emanated from the Paris dialogue between the North and South,⁸ besides not measuring up to our expectations, were not implemented positively by the industrial countries.

47. I wish to declare on behalf of Africa our complete commitment to the resolutions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, in that we are left with no alternative but to change the prevailing international economic order and consequently to implement the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

48. We have suffered in Africa, and we continue to suffer from many dangers that loom over our development programmes, mainly because the economies of the African countries depend in the first instance on their exports of raw materials. These exports lack the very much needed stability and fairness in prices—to such an extent that, unless they are protected from the serious fluctuations that characterize their markets, our country, along with other third-world countries, will continue to move in a vicious circle. It is our sincere hope in Africa that the developed industrial countries will eventually be prevailed upon to put an end to this state of affairs by honouring their commitment in respect of the establishment of the common fund advocated by UNCTAD. We look forward with much interest to the convening of the second negotiating conference for the common fund,⁹ which is due to take place in Geneva next November, and we earnestly hope that the participants will be able to reach final results and that the industrial countries will at last assume their responsibilities

by approaching and dealing with the economic problems of the third world in a positive manner.

49. Africa is largely composed of a great number of the least developed countries that typically suffer from the burden of foreign indebtedness, which is further aggravated as a result of the growing complexity and the impact the servicing of these debts entails—to the extent that in some cases our countries have to devote half of their foreign-exchange earnings to this aspect. We believe that the time has come to take immediate action to alleviate the burden of these debts and to set up organizational machinery that would comprehensively deal with the various aspects of this problem.

50. In their persistent striving towards a better future the developing and the least developed countries of Africa have committed themselves to plans for economic and social development, to which they have devoted most of their capabilities and limited resources in order to emerge from the stage of backwardness and to be able to meet the aspirations of their peoples in freedom and pride. This, we believe, entails a moral responsibility on the developed and industrialized countries to participate directly and effectively in the development of those poor countries. In this respect I should like to express our appreciation and gratitude to those countries that offer developmental aid in the size and volume recommended by the United Nations. I take this opportunity to appeal to the developed industrialized countries and capital-exporting oil countries that contribute to the resources of IDA in the IBRD. On the occasion of the current annual meeting in Washington, I appeal to them to initiate urgent negotiations on providing the sixth replenishment to the resources of the IDA. We consider this of special importance for the poor and least developed countries because of IDA's appropriate and easy terms. I also call upon those countries this time to increase their contributions to an extent that would reasonably meet the requirements of those poor countries in soft loans needed to develop and promote their economies and to establish the economic structural set-up to spare them the stiff conditions of the money market, which they cannot afford to bear.

51. Africa believes it has a duty towards the rest of the world of advocating that the key to progress and development lies in the realization of a great deal of self-reliance both individually and collectively. Africa is firmly convinced that it is imperative that the countries of the third world consolidate their respective national self-reliance, at the same time striving to lessen their collective dependence on others. With this understanding Africa is looking forward with great optimism to taking part in the deliberations of the forthcoming fifth session of UNCTAD to be held in Manila next year. Meanwhile we shall try to rally our fellow members in the Group of 77 around this central point at the forthcoming meetings of the Group to take place in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, prior to the Manila Conference.

52. Reference to international development will remain devoid of any meaning or impact if we fail to link it integrally with the pathetic reality faced by our contemporary world, in which poverty, hunger and disease continue to prevail at the very time when expenditure on

⁸ Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

⁹ United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

armaments continues to grow at an astronomical rate. Large resources are wasted on armaments, resources that would better be directed towards the cause of international development and raising the standard of living of the human race as a whole. We believe that the convening last June of the tenth special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, which was the culmination of the efforts and initiatives of the non-aligned movement, constituted a step in the right direction since it highlighted the international awareness of the magnitude and dimensions of the armaments race and drew the attention of world public opinion to the danger posed by continuation of this serious situation. Although the decisions adopted by the special session on disarmament fell short of our expectations, it is our considered opinion that the moral support and momentum it created should provide us with the incentive and drive to generate maximum efforts in pursuit of these definitive objectives: first, negotiation and completion of a general and comprehensive agreement to ban all kinds of nuclear tests; secondly, the adherence of all countries to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons; and, thirdly, the establishment of nuclear-free zones.

53. Africa earnestly hopes that the new Committee on Disarmament that was set up at the tenth special session will be able to follow up implementation of the resolution adopted at the special session [*resolution S-10/2*]. It welcomes with enthusiasm the establishment of a new negotiating body in which all nuclear Powers and a number of non-nuclear Powers will participate on the basis of equality.

54. Permit me to reiterate that Africa's confidence in the United Nations is unlimited and that its determination to support and strengthen it is firm and unwavering in recognition of the Organization's role in providing the vital moral and material support to the continent's struggle against colonialism and racism. On behalf of the African peoples I should like to reiterate from this rostrum our pledge to spare no effort in supporting the United Nations in upholding its lofty principles and ideals, in the process antagonizing whoever antagonizes or undermines it, and rallying to whoever shares with us this attitude of devotion and gratitude. Guided by the content and spirit of our Organization's resolutions, our delegations will participate in the work of this session bearing in mind the principles of the United Nations Charter in a spirit of generous devotion.

55. If Africa draws attention to the fact that its representation in the Organization's Secretariat is inadequate compared to its numerical weight, it is only to emphasize its desire to be at the service of this Organization and to shoulder its responsibilities towards it. This spirit is very evident in the resolution adopted by the last African summit, which was held in my country's capital and commended and expressed appreciation to the Secretariat of the United Nations, under the leadership of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for having selected one of the sons of our sister country Ghana, Mr. Kenneth Dadzie, for the post of Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation [*see A/33/235, annex 1, resolution CM/Res.652 (XXX)*]. The resolution also paid a tribute to the capabilities and qualifications of Mr. Dadzie and his devotion to his responsibilities, which it considered a great honour to Africa and its sons.

56. At the same time the Khartoum summit meeting recognized and supported the United Republic of Tanzania's nomination of one of its sons for the post of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and expressed its hope that this auspicious choice would meet with the blessing of the international community [*ibid., resolution CM/Res.626 (XXXI)*]. Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania to the United Nations, is one of the illustrious sons of our generous continent in whose hands lies the fulfilment of Africa's expectations and aspirations, and those of the world in general. I need not introduce him as the Assembly, I am certain, is well aware of his knowledge, experience and competence as regards the work and business of this Organization.

57. As I reflect here on the history of my country and its place in Africa, through which it has been privileged to share a deeply-rooted heritage and civilization, I recall our conviction that words, whether designating conduct or a decision, were an effective weapon among the various weapons we deployed in our struggle for freedom and emancipation. This is particularly true in a gathering such as this since words are still considered by Africa to be a highly effective and powerful factor in shaping the destinies of our individuals and groups.

58. The responsibility we recognize to participate effectively in the successive sessions of this Assembly will continue to be influenced by the reflections of the past and our experience in this Organization, which produced much evidence of the inherent ability to achieve success in every endeavour whenever good will and confidence exist.

59. It is my considered belief that nothing surpasses the greatness of commitment to the principles of freedom, equality and respect for the common interests of the peoples of the world. Consequently persistent and progressive efforts towards the development and consolidation of international solidarity have become a prerequisite for overcoming the obstacles facing the peoples in this decade of the twentieth century, characterized as it is by numerous preoccupations, worries and uncertainties regarding a series of complex and intricate problems. I see no way of overcoming those problems other than by positive action and constructive optimism.

60. I am very confident that the statements of the representatives of the peoples of the world delivered in this hall will continue to guide our deliberations at this session, for they are the expression of the conscience of their peoples and of the real worries and preoccupations of the human race.

61. I should like to praise all the constructive efforts which have emanated from the ideas expressed in this hall and which have proved to carry weight and be effective. I sincerely pray that the Almighty God will guide us towards the achievement of the goals of our peoples and that He will preserve those who are behind every endeavour aimed at the establishment of a new world order based on equality, international co-operation and peaceful coexistence.

62. In the interest of international peace let us all remember that, while our common interests may contribute greatly to guaranteeing peaceful coexistence, our hopes will never get us to our destination unless they are augmented by equal and sustained effort by all.

63. Thank you, brothers, and thank you, Mr. President, and may peace go with you on your path.

64. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, the President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and current Chairman of the OAU for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

65. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me to offer you the heartfelt congratulations of the Hungarian delegation on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. I am particularly pleased to note that recently more favourable conditions have emerged for the further development of relations between our two countries, Hungary and Colombia. May I assure you that the Hungarian delegation will do its best to promote the successful work of the General Assembly under your guidance.

66. On behalf of the delegation of the Hungarian People's Republic I welcome the delegation of Solomon Islands and wish this new State Member of the United Nations every success in its activity.

67. The events which have occurred since the thirty-second session of the General Assembly have given clear proof once again that mankind has no task more important and more urgent than that of defending peace and ensuring the normal international conditions necessary for creative pursuits. Those conditions can be guaranteed only by peaceful coexistence and the deepening of détente. That is, indeed, in the common interest of all peoples and of mankind as a whole. It is by no mere chance, therefore, that the process of détente is playing a fundamental role in international politics.

68. The beneficial effects of the advance of peaceful coexistence and of the extension of détente are particularly perceptible in Europe. In our part of the world, political consultations between representatives of countries with different social systems have become regular, with trade relations expanding and co-operation programmes and cultural exchanges broadening in scope.

69. Yet, we also witness intensified efforts and counter-attacks to halt the launching of that positive process by those who cash in on the arms race, by the forces opposed to the relaxation of tension, which try to justify their intentions with false arguments such as the non-existent Soviet military threat and the alleged military supremacy of the Warsaw Treaty Organization. But nothing can be invoked to justify actions against peace and security and international understanding, or attempts to start a new

spiral of the arms race or the decision of the North Atlantic Council, meeting at the level of Heads of State and Government in Washington on 30 and 31 May, to launch a long-term programme of armaments.

70. There can be no doubt that, by reason of sabotage by the forces acting against peaceful coexistence and détente, recent times have seen a slowdown, a check, in the momentum of the process of détente which may be observed in relation to a number of world affairs.

71. Still, we look with optimism to the future, mainly because we hold that détente is a necessity ensuing from the international balance of power. We are convinced that, if the advocates of peaceful coexistence and of détente join forces and act with resolve, they will succeed in surmounting the obstacles now in the way of the process of détente, in sustaining the results achieved thus far and, above all, in strengthening and deepening the process of détente by extending it to the military field. We note with satisfaction that a number of realistically-minded politicians in the Western countries similarly come out in favour of détente and of wider relations between socialist and capitalist countries. We regard it as being of great importance that the non-aligned countries are taking a stand against the use of force, armaments and intervention in the internal affairs of other countries, as well as for peace and security.

72. The position of the Hungarian People's Republic on this decisive issue is well known. We struggle for lasting peace and stable security and we spare no effort to prevent the genie of the "cold war" from getting out of the bottle of the past. We come out consistently in favour of the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems, of wider international co-operation, of preventing the arms race and of placing peace and security on even firmer foundations.

73. The most pressing task in international life is to promote the cause of disarmament, first of all nuclear disarmament. The strength of the process of détente is evidenced by the fact that the various disarmament forums continue with their work despite the unfavourable changes in the international situation. Moreover, the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament is added proof that collective efforts tend to impart a fresh impetus to talks seeking to advance effective disarmament. The special session made it possible for more countries to join in the disarmament talks and confirmed the correctness of applying the principle of consensus to questions related to disarmament and international security.

74. In our judgement the proposal presented by the Soviet Government at the special session concerning practical measures for ending the arms race¹⁰ is of particular relevance to the promotion of disarmament. The great number of other documents submitted there provides an additional pool of useful ideas that deserve further study. It is our common task to work for the implementation of the constructive proposals made on disarmament. By so doing we can make a large contribution to the proper preparation of a world disarmament conference.

¹⁰ See document A/S-10/AC.1/4.

75. The Hungarian Government follows with great attention the tripartite negotiations on the complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. The conclusion of a treaty on that subject would be a major step towards reducing the danger of nuclear war. From the point of view of the successful outcome of those negotiations I should like to commend the useful work of the *Ad Hoc* Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Co-operative Measures to Detect and to Identify Seismic Events, set up to consider international co-operative measures to detect and identify seismic events, a group in which my country's representative is also taking an active part.

76. The Hungarian People's Republic warmly welcomes and considers as a highly significant step the new proposal of the Soviet Government that at this session the Assembly should discuss a draft international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [A/33/241]. A similar proposal was submitted by the Soviet Union as early as 1966,¹¹ but it did not meet with sufficient response at that time. We feel that now real possibilities exist for concluding such a convention.

77. The Hungarian delegation likewise pins great hopes on the work of the Special Committee on Enhancing the Effectiveness of the Principle of Non-Use of Force in International Relations and strongly supports the efforts to draw up an international treaty, as proposed by the Soviet Union. The conclusion of such a treaty could form an integral part of the disarmament process.

78. The extension of the prohibition against certain weapons to chemical weapons is becoming a matter of increasing urgency. We hope that the long years of talks thereon will be crowned with success.

79. We continue to demand that the production and deployment of the neutron bomb should be abandoned once and for all.

80. The disquieting prospect of the development and manufacture of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction only underlines the timeliness of the proposal to ban those weapons. The last advances of science and technology should be prevented from being used for the development of new devices of mass destruction. We are firmly convinced that it is easier to agree on banning weapons of mass destruction in the design stage than at the time of series production.

81. The outcome of the ongoing talks on disarmament issues depends to a great extent on the results of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America concerning the limitation of offensive strategic weapons. Precisely for that reason, we attach exceptionally great importance to the Soviet-American talks to reach agreement at the second series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT II], which it is hoped will be concluded in the near future. The SALT II agreement would greatly promote the disarmament talks going on in other forums, would substantially improve the international climate and would advance the process of détente.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 97, document A/6398.

82. The Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe have made little headway despite the serious efforts exerted by the socialist countries of Europe. In June of this year the socialist countries submitted a new proposal which, with the aim of promoting an agreement, took into account several important elements of the position of the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We hope that our Western negotiating partners will be acting in the same spirit and will open the way to an agreement by proceeding on the basis of the principle of equal security. It is our earnest desire to see Helsinki followed up by Vienna entering world politics as a synonym of international understanding and co-operation. Following the path taken at the Helsinki Conference,¹² Europe could well set another example in Vienna. In our view, an agreement on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe would lay the basis for additional arms limitations; what is more, it could in the longer run facilitate accords on arms reduction in a broader area than that covered by the talks currently under way.

83. The results achieved so far by the implementation of the Final Act of 1 August 1975 adopted at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe similarly react favourably on the process of détente. In our opinion, the Belgrade meeting concluded its work with basically positive results, despite the well-known difficulties it had to face. It reaffirmed the commitment of States to the continued implementation of the recommendations of the Helsinki Final Act and determined the directions of developing co-operation in Europe. The work of that meeting has given further proof that great effort is still needed for the settlement of questions related to the elaboration of different forms of co-operation and to the promotion of political and military détente and economic and cultural co-operation. It is encouraging to note that the Bonn Economic Summit Conference in July, one of those envisaged at Belgrade, concluded its work successfully on the subject of the "Scientific Forum". Serious efforts are being made to prepare additional meetings of experts in a constructive spirit and to carry out the proposals for the implementation of the Final Act by laying the basis for the Madrid meeting scheduled for 1980.

84. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic will, as heretofore, strive for the consistent implementation of the recommendations of the Final Act, thereby contributing to the improvement of the international climate and to the expansion of Hungary's relations with the countries of Western Europe and North America.

85. There have been clear indications even before now of Israel's quest for a separate peace with the Arab Republic of Egypt as a means of bringing the other Arab States to their knees and of asserting its own annexationist interests in the Middle East. The Camp David agreements are a reflection of such endeavours.

86. It is understandable that the representatives of the genuine interests of the Arab peoples should dissociate themselves from those agreements and should have decided to take measures in defence of their interests. The

¹² Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

Governments of several Arab countries have condemned those accords, which are harmful to the Arab peoples, and have dissociated themselves from them.

87. In our view, the peoples of the Arab countries will never accept these humiliating agreements, which ignore their interests. We repeat what we have already said time and again, namely, that a Middle East agreement that is made without the participation of all the parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, cannot result in a lasting peace.

88. We hold that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only if account is taken of the well-known principles that should govern a settlement and of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly, as well as of the right of the Arab people of Palestine to set up its own State, and if the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East is revived.

89. The worsening situation in the Middle East is being further complicated by Israel's repeated armed provocation against Lebanon. The territorial integrity of Lebanon has been directly threatened. One of the most pressing tasks in the region is to curb the Israeli aggressors.

90. The situation on the African continent is characterized by new successes that have been scored in the struggle by the patriotic forces and the adherents of social progress to win the independence of their countries, preserve their sovereignty and territorial integrity and defend their progressive social systems.

91. It was with great hopes that public opinion in Hungary greeted the decision of the Security Council on the question of Namibia. We believe that the United Nations should do its utmost to ensure that the proposed settlement will not result in a sham independence for Namibia designed as a screen for the prolongation of foreign domination. Such a "solution" would only lead to the emergence of a broader conflict. The South African racists' refusal to accept the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and their scheme to stage an electoral farce in order to present the world with a fait accompli amount to outright defiance of our world Organization.

92. It is evident now that the "internal settlement" in Southern Rhodesia has failed. One must be prepared for the illegal Smith régime's attempting new provocations against its neighbours. We regret to state that certain Governments fail to regard this highly important matter with due seriousness and, in defiance of the Security Council resolutions, still maintain commercial contacts with the Salisbury régime.

93. The Hungarian people is convinced that no manoeuvring will be able to prevent the victory of SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, and of the Patriotic Front struggling for the genuine interests of the Zimbabwean people. As in the past, we will continue to assist the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe in their struggle for complete and final liberation from colonial bondage and from the domination of the white minority.

94. Disquieting news continues to reach us from South-East Asia. Tensions in that part of the world have been aggravated by the big-Power and hegemonistic policy of the Chinese leaders, by their gross pressure on and constant provocations against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. This is now the greatest obstacle to peace and security in that region. Hungary pledges its solidarity with the fraternal Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has won its right to a life in peace and independence through long years of arduous struggle and sacrifices.

95. We still hold it necessary for the United Nations and the specialized international organizations to assist the people of Viet Nam in healing the wounds of war as soon as possible.

96. There is still no progress in the settlement of the Korean question. My Government lends continuing support to the endeavours of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea on behalf of the peaceful unification of the country.

97. This year's session has to face again the unresolved situation in Cyprus. The Hungarian Government unswervingly maintains that a lasting settlement can be achieved only through respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-aligned policy of the Republic of Cyprus and by guaranteeing the equality and mutual interests of both communities.

98. Given its natural and economic conditions, my country has a very great interest in establishing a pattern of international economic co-operation that is free from any discrimination and factors that stand in the way of building broader ties.

99. My Government supports the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and democratic basis, in accordance with the principles embodied in the resolutions of the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

100. The Hungarian People's Republic attaches great importance to social problems and human rights issues. We think that discussion of these questions in the United Nations would enable us to take further steps towards the final elimination of the different forms of colonial and racial oppression, of social injustice and of hunger and misery which still beset a number of countries across the world.

101. We favour the consideration by the present session of the role played by the equitable distribution of national income in the promotion of economic and social progress. It is our conviction that national income should be devoted essentially to peaceful economic construction, to the creation of conditions for the practical implementation of the right to work, and to the improvement of material, medical, social and cultural services for the broad masses of the people. The products created by working people should be used, first of all, to raise their standard of living. Only this will make it possible to realize the principle of social justice as enshrined in the Charter and to achieve the fullest observance of human rights.

102. It is in the spirit of the United Nations Charter and in accordance with the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act that Hungary for its part wishes to participate in international co-operation aimed at effective respect for human rights, and it expects other countries to do likewise. Therefore, my Government rejects any attempt at interference in matters within the domestic jurisdiction of other States under the pretext of defending human rights. Justified international action to ensure respect for human rights should also in the future be distinguished from political campaigns seeking the revival of "cold war" confrontation.

103. The Hungarian Government considers that the United Nations system of institutions concerned with human rights is satisfactory and sufficient. Precisely for this reason we are against the creation of additional human rights bodies, since their functioning would raise considerable difficulties for the related activity of our Organization and might lead to a deterioration of relations between Member States.

104. The Hungarian delegation avails itself of this opportunity to condemn once again the terror prevalent in Chile and to demand the cessation of brutality and the restoration of human rights and democracy. Our people supports the Chilean patriots in their struggle for a democratic revival of their country. We similarly condemn all forms of racial oppression and demand that an end be put to the *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime.

105. My Government believes that it is absolutely essential to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations, and therefore we follow attentively the work of the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization. We note with satisfaction the Committee's growing awareness of the fact that any step forward in this direction can result only from complete consensus of opinion. The role of the United Nations can be strengthened and its effectiveness increased primarily through greater observance of the Charter, which has stood the test of time.

106. While recognizing the useful activities of the United Nations, I should like to voice the concern of the Hungarian delegation about certain concepts for the restructuring and developing of the Organization, including the Secretariat. The Hungarian delegation is naturally not opposed to carrying out the necessary restructuring, but it holds it essential that such efforts should be made with great caution and with a clear definition of the areas of activity and competence.

107. It is along these lines that I have wished to sum up the position of my Government concerning some questions on the agenda of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly. I hope that the session will also perform useful work and will contribute to strengthening co-operation and understanding among nations and to consolidating peace and security.

108. Mr. OWEN (United Kingdom): Mr. President, let me first extend to you my congratulations on your election. Your experience and skill will help to ensure a successful

Assembly session. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Mojsov of Yugoslavia, who ably led the Assembly through no less than four sessions during his year of office.

109. When the United Nations was established at the end of the Second World War, the British Empire covered one eighth of the world's land surface and had a population of over 500 million. In the years since then, 35 independent States have emerged from among the people and territories that made up that Empire and have taken their place among the nations of the world. There can be no clearer testimony to the commitment of successive British Governments to the principle of self-determination.

110. Today we are left with a handful of small dependent Territories which, because of their particular circumstances, have not become independent States.

111. It has been the firm policy of the present British Government to give every encouragement and support to those Territories which seek independence. It was in fulfilment of that policy that Solomon Islands became an independent nation earlier this year and so the one hundred and fiftieth Member of the United Nations. In a few days' time, on 1 October, yet another country, Tuvalu, will celebrate its independence and will apply for membership in the specialized agencies. The Gilbert Islands have already reached the stage of full internal self-government, and we hope they will achieve independence in 1979. In the Anglo-French condominium of the New Hebrides, a programme has been agreed which will lead to independence by 1980. Among the West Indies Associated States, which are in voluntary association with Britain, Dominica will move to independence on 3 November this year. Discussions are continuing on the constitutional future of the other States.

112. Our policy is to respect the wish of the peoples of our remaining dependent Territories to determine their own future in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter, to uphold that Charter in all its aspects, and to put support for the United Nations at the centre of our foreign policy.

113. People all over the world read in their newspapers day by day graphic accounts of systematic murders, cold-blooded tortures and the debilitating ravages of famine and disease. They watch pictures on television of grotesque sufferings caused by the dictatorial actions of Governments or by natural disasters. Most people hope that those countries and agencies which can do so well take practical steps to alleviate this misery; they do not want to find themselves in similar circumstances. Discussion and words of condemnation or sympathy are not enough. Ordinary people want to see real evidence that those who offend against the norms of civilized society are not accepted as members of it and that the effects of malnutrition and monsoon are mitigated for everyone. One of the United Kingdom's major aims is to encourage the strengthening of the United Nations capacity to protect human rights.

114. In upholding our Charter commitments, we, the Member States, must pay more attention to the mechanics

of how in our daily business we move from dialogue to negotiation, from general principles to specific detailed agreements, from rhetoric to action and from general support to binding commitments. No world organization can ever build up its strength, authority and effectiveness without developing and adopting a machinery which would enable its member States as a whole to make decisions sure in the knowledge that they will be carried out. It is, of course, not a new problem, but it is an urgent one. It is not enough to have a dialogue between rich and poor to redress inequalities. The millions outside looking in on our meetings, debates, special sessions and committees rightly expect progress. Most of them are realistic—they recognize the limitations; but once a year at least we should examine our record objectively and seek to learn from the past year to improve our performance for the coming year.

115. It cannot yet be said our people have fully appreciated the immense importance of the relationship between the developed and the developing countries. The North-South dialogue in which we are engaged is not an elaborate stalking operation, where bureaucrats spend days and weeks locked in discussions which produce little agreement. It is potentially a deeply divisive issue and a central factor in world economic management. It can mean literally life or death for millions. There is a challenge here for the Governments of all countries. For the more developed countries the challenge is to be prepared for adaptation and change in the creation and distribution of new wealth in the world, and to generate the fullest public support for tackling the great disparity between the standards of life in fortunate countries, such as mine, and those which obtain over vast areas of the globe. For the less developed countries the challenge is to maintain the necessary disciplines both to enable them to achieve a rapid but stable expansion, with an equitable sharing of the benefits, and to continue to take part constructively in the search for an agreed approach to the problems and a shared responsibility for finding solutions.

116. It would be a failure of statesmanship on both sides if the North-South dialogue, as in the early 1970s, became again an exchange of sterile slogans between spokesmen for the developing countries on the one hand and spokesmen for the developed countries on the other. Conducted in these terms the dialogue becomes a forum for rhetoric and confrontation instead of a co-operative enterprise from which all our countries and all our peoples will gain. We have risen above this, but we have not yet focused our attention collectively, and with understanding, on the specific problems: for example the optimal management of the world's limited resources of raw materials, energy, finance, the transfer of resources from the rich to the poorer countries, and the problem of coping imaginatively with problems of adjustment so that the output of the newly industrialized countries can find its place in the world's markets. We will need more understanding, greater political resolve and imagination in the months ahead as we approach the fifth session of UNCTAD in May of next year and the special session in 1980. The United Kingdom recently decided that, as part of our aid policy, we would take immediate steps to relieve the debt burden of the poorest countries. The total amount of principal and interest involved in some £900 million, or \$1.8 billion. This was a decision to give practical expression to the agreement

negotiated within UNCTAD. It reflects our willingness to take action to show how genuine compromises can be achieved within the North-South dialogue. So far seven countries have taken a similar decision. For us it was a tough, political decision, which will undeniably cost jobs at home and be a charge on our balance of payments. There is no comfortable solution. Politicians will have to fight for these measures in the world; and then defend them at home.

117. Understanding and imagination will need to be shown by those relatively rich countries which at present stand aside from the common efforts of the rest of the world to help the developing countries. I believe that the Soviet Union and its partners are beginning to realize that there is a growing recognition among developing countries of the irrelevance of the time-worn excuse that the so-called "colonial legacy" of former imperial Powers means that the Communist countries can absolve themselves of any responsibility for helping the developing countries. I hope they also realize that the increasingly close economic interrelationships between countries of different systems and at different levels of development give all countries a shared interest in helping the less fortunate to make progress.

118. The divide between rich and poor is everyone's problem and everyone's responsibility. The economics of all countries are now so closely interlinked that none of us can find solutions by battenning down the hatches and hoping to find some isolated—or protected—salvation. On the contrary, continued economic growth in the developing countries has an important part to play in supporting the health of the world economy. But the scope for sustained growth in the developing countries will of course be limited until the economies of the industrialized countries move out of recession. Recession in the West—or North—means receding hopes for the economies of the South. This is the reality and this is one of the reasons why my Government has spared no effort this year to bring about concerted action to restore confidence and growth round the world. The results of the July Bonn Economic Summit Conference show that there is a collective understanding at the highest level in the Western world of the need to stimulate growth, to make the most of our scarce energy resources, to avoid taking precipitate protectionist action and to get increased resources flowing to those countries where they are most needed.

119. A major and acknowledged obstacle to these endeavours is the vast accumulation of military power which drains away scarce resources urgently needed for economic and social development. Four months ago here in this Assembly Heads of Government and Foreign Ministers attended the tenth special session on disarmament. We hoped to see moves to check this process of gathering and spending of money on armaments and take some practical action towards arms control and disarmament.

120. Where did we get? While all States in the United Nations agreed on a Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] expressing for the first time the views of all Member States on disarmament, much of it was so watered down that one gets the impression that everyone is in favour of disarmament until the moment that any proposal could actually affect them. The session admittedly encouraged more

States to take an active interest in disarmament. Two nuclear-weapon States which previously had not been involved in multilateral discussion of disarmament following the reform of the negotiating committee in Geneva will, it is hoped, now participate, and this is a welcome step. The involvement of non-governmental organizations in the debate was helpful and the special session stimulated greater public interest. The United Kingdom and other nuclear-weapon States gave the non-nuclear-weapon States important assurances that they would not be the subject of nuclear attack.

121. The need for action to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons—one of the most crucial issues facing mankind—was recognized. But the dilemma of how to make available to all who need them the benefits of the peaceful uses of nuclear energy without the risk of weapons proliferation was not squarely faced. My country has for some years made a financial sacrifice in not exporting some civilian nuclear equipment, materials and technology because of a fear of adding to the proliferation of nuclear weapons. The existence of adequate safeguards to ensure that there is no fear of adding to the proliferation of nuclear weapons is also an essential condition of nuclear exports from the United Kingdom. But sophisticated countries still compete ruthlessly in the nuclear market place, and nuclear installations have become symbols of national sovereignty, so that any unwillingness to supply is wrongly seen as a political act. The Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons in 1980 must look deeply at these matters, for I believe that it is possible for the equipment and services which are essential to a successful civil nuclear industry to be made available while minimizing the proliferation risk. Of course, one way to reinforce the non-proliferation régime is through the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones.

122. It was natural that many countries at the special session should place the emphasis on nuclear disarmament. That must be the major concern. But let us not forget that four fifths of the military expenditure in the world goes on conventional forces and weapons. The system of nuclear deterrence has helped to keep the peace in Europe for over 30 years. But what has happened elsewhere? According to one estimate, there have been over 120 wars in the world since 1945. Not one day has passed in which a war was not being fought somewhere in the world. War casualties since 1945 number tens of millions, all caused by conventional weapons.

123. We should give more attention to conventional arms control. The Final Document of the special session makes a negligible contribution to balanced reductions in military budgets and a halt to the world-wide build-up of conventional weapons. The brief and rather qualified reference to consultations on limiting transfers of conventional weapons is inadequate. The passage on reduction of military budgets is general and, unlike the Western draft programme of action, does not call for the testing of a means of measuring budgets so that actual reductions can be planned, with all the social and economic benefits that could ensue. In short, do not let anyone delude himself: an historic opportunity has been missed and we must resolve to achieve more at the next special session on disarmament. Otherwise another expensive session and a stream of words

will produce cynicism rather than commitment. A major reform is needed in the way we negotiate the final document. The political leaders make the speeches, but the final document is negotiated by officials. One senses in reading the words no clash of political view, no give-and-take. We appear to talk at each other rather than to each other, and so the bureaucratization of international politics relentlessly proceeds. Declarations, principles abound, but action is relegated to second place.

124. At least in the bilateral negotiations being conducted between the United States and the Soviet Union to achieve a second strategic arms limitation agreement, one is aware of a political debate at the highest level between Presidents and Foreign Ministers. This is a vitally important negotiation and needs to be followed as soon as possible by further reductions in strategic offensive weapons as well as by controls on qualitative improvement.

125. My country, the United States and the Soviet Union are involved in negotiations on a comprehensive test ban. This would be entirely non-discriminatory; it could, if properly designed, curb the development of nuclear weapons and hinder their spread to more countries. We should like to see the widest possible adherence to the treaty, but that will only come if the non-nuclear-weapon States see the nuclear States as making a step-like change downwards in their development programme. There are some who want to take no action and to continue testing without any impediment to their scientific and technical plans—oblivious of the wider implications that would have for those States that need to be persuaded not to engage in testing themselves.

126. Another priority is to maintain and accelerate the momentum injected recently into the Vienna talks on mutual and balanced reduction of forces in Central Europe. The Eastern response to the latest Western proposals has been encouraging, although serious difficulties remain unresolved. The Western participants will be ready at the right moment to propose that the talks be raised to ministerial level. Without this kind of political input, caution will predominate, the years will go by, and we shall all complain about the gap or the imbalance in forces while it widens before our very eyes, as it has done in every year that the negotiations have continued. The prize for us all is an agreement providing a more stable relationship and a lower level of military confrontation in Europe. It could be a major achievement in arms control and détente, but it will not be achieved at the present tempo and style of the negotiations.

127. In one key area—peace-keeping—the United Nations has responded extremely well throughout the year. My Government is totally committed to the concept of United Nations peace-keeping. With our fellow-members of the European Community we shall be appealing to all members of the United Nations to reaffirm their support for United Nations peace-keeping measures. We have backed this support of principle with men, facilities and money.

128. We have recently reviewed our own national capacity to assist in the preparation and conduct of peace-keeping operations, and I am pleased to be able to make the following offer of support, which is in addition to our current contribution to United Nations forces in Cyprus

and Lebanon. If requested, and subject to national commitments and exigencies, the United Kingdom will make available an infantry battalion group or a Royal Marine commando group for up to six months. The force will be available at seven days' notice and we shall airlift the force and its equipment to the area of operation. We shall also be willing to provide a small number of military personnel for duty as observers, and we shall consider as sympathetically as possible requests for other types of forces or forms of military assistance. In view of the experience which the United Kingdom armed forces have acquired in peace-keeping, we stand ready to share our knowledge and experience with others.

129. When I addressed this Assembly a year ago,¹³ I singled out Lebanon as an example of a situation where the United Nations should be involved in trying to resolve a major crisis before it occurred. In retrospect, I think we would all wish it had been possible to take more preventive action in spite of the difficulties. It took the Israeli military involvement in south Lebanon last March to make the international community fully aware of the vital need for the United Nations to play a part in that troubled country. Thereafter, the Security Council acted with admirable speed in securing the creation of UNIFIL to bring about the withdrawal of Israeli forces and to help the Lebanese Government to reintroduce its authority in the south. UNIFIL has undertaken its task with remarkable tenacity. It has faced great obstacles, but has nevertheless progressively fulfilled its mandate by military courage and skilful diplomacy. Already it has carried out the first part of its mandate; the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces has been effected. The difficult task of restoring the authority of the central Government in the south still lies ahead.

130. But this is not a problem they can solve in isolation. A solution to the problems in the south depends on a solution to the larger political crisis which still racks Lebanon. All Members of the United Nations committed to the restoration of the authority of the Lebanese Government throughout the country should make a determined effort to work urgently for a political solution to Lebanon's problems. Only a political solution can guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon and put an end to the internal fighting which threatens to destroy the country.

131. Peace in Lebanon depends also upon a solution to the wider conflict between Israelis and Arabs. The Camp David meetings have given renewed hope that a just, durable and comprehensive settlement can be achieved. Many major questions remain to be resolved, and I do not underestimate the difficulties. Nevertheless, the gap between the two sides has narrowed significantly. I believe that the success of the Camp David framework agreement¹⁴ was because it did get into detail, not just declare principles, and because it involved the two Presidents and the Prime Minister. The detailed provisions in the Sinai Accord for demilitarization,

force reductions and United Nations involvement¹⁵ are something which my Government has long advocated. The Camp David agreements provide, too, a reasonable basis on which realistic interim arrangements for the most difficult problem, the West Bank, can now, given the will, be negotiated in greater detail.

132. Those who condemned the agreements so hastily should look at them again more carefully. They are based upon the principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and upon the international consensus in its favour. A perfect settlement cannot be achieved by exchanging declarations of principle any more than by making speeches at one another. Politicians have to be prepared to get down to what I term the "nitty-gritty" detail and then explain and defend the position to their own people. For our part, we have set out on a number of occasions—in particular in the statement on the Middle East made by the European Council in London on 29 June 1977—our views on the principles which should govern a peace settlement. The Camp David agreements are a positive step in that direction and they have our full support.

133. Another major initiative has been that undertaken with regard to Namibia. We will be debating this issue in the Security Council, and I will reserve my remarks until then. But the Secretary-General's report on the United Nations Transition Assistance Group, the political commitment and atmosphere of patient diplomacy that has characterized the whole process, is an example of how the United Nations can act. At all times these negotiations have involved political leaders, whether foreign ministers or nationalist leaders, and their officials and supporters. African nations and leaders, as well as those of us outside Africa, have worked for an African solution and an international solution. It would be a tragedy for southern Africa if, at this late stage, the opportunity for Namibia to become independent was rejected. The alternatives—another Transkei, continued fighting and an escalating confrontation between South Africa and the world—would represent a shameful retreat from the ideals to which all parties have, I believe, been committed. Yet success here could not fail to have an impact upon the fundamental issue of racialism which haunts southern Africa, besides giving hope for a negotiated settlement in Rhodesia.

134. Racism is one of the greatest evils which we face in the world community today and, in this International Anti-Apartheid Year, it is imperative that we should make clear our absolute, united condemnation of *apartheid*.

135. Sadly, we see no real sign of movement towards fundamental change in South Africa since the General Assembly last met, but the message must go out again. Change is inevitable, and time is not on our side if that change is to be peaceful.

136. At the time we meet, a new State President and Prime Minister are about to be chosen in South Africa. I

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, paras. 97-137.

¹⁴ A Framework of Peace in the Middle East, agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

¹⁵ Agreement between Egypt and Israel, signed at Geneva on 4 September 1975. See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1975*, documents S/11818 and Add.1-4 and *ibid.*, *Supplement for October, November and December 1975*, document S/11818/Add.5.

hope that these new leaders will respond to what I believe to be the true aspirations of the South African people for change, and will show courage and resolution in bringing that country back to its place in our community of nations. I believe that a united South Africa, through the efforts of all its people, can meet this challenge in the knowledge that failure will have the gravest consequences not only for the people of South Africa but for the world as a whole.

137. Africa, and all of us outside Africa, are pledged to bring about majority rule, a return to legality, and independence in Zimbabwe. We want to do so without further bloodshed and in a way acceptable to the people as a whole. The objective for us all is a non-racial society in an independent Zimbabwe.

138. The gravity of the present situation cannot be exaggerated. Deaths in the war have been over 3,000 this year. Civilian casualties since 1972 include nearly 3,000 Africans and some 600 whites. Intimidation and fear grow daily; atrocities have been committed on all sides. There is a growing refugee problem both inside and outside the country. One thousand people per week flee to Botswana. Inside Rhodesia the rural population affected by the war is fleeing to the cities, homeless and jobless. If the war continues, and the farmers do not plant and sow for next year, there are growing prospects of widespread famine in a country once endowed with plenty.

139. The effect on the economic stability of southern Africa is now marked. There is a danger of foreign intervention and of embroiling the whole of Africa in a conflict out of all proportion to its original dimensions. The threat to the security of neighbouring States—Zambia, Botswana, Mozambique—is already only too evident, and has been highlighted by the latest raids into Mozambique.

140. The United Kingdom has never administered Rhodesia. In 1965 following the unilateral declaration of independence we came to the United Nations because we decided then, and have not shifted from that view since, that the United Kingdom acting alone could not end the rebellion and bring about majority rule. We accept our responsibilities and have tried to live up to them.

141. We have striven for a negotiated settlement on the basis of the principles endorsed by the United Nations and the principles approved by the British Parliament. One of these principles is that, before granting independence, it must be established that any settlement is acceptable to the people of the country as a whole.

142. Progress has been slow, but, encouraged by the support of many African States and the international community, we are urgently making every effort, together with the Americans, to bring about a satisfactory solution. But no one, including Britain and the United States, has a magic formula for peace in Zimbabwe. Ultimately it is for the people to decide the basis of their independence. It is not for any of us to impose a particular constitution or a particular leader on Zimbabwe.

143. It is frankly recognized in private but often ignored in public rhetoric that, in contrast to most other liberation struggles, the Zimbabwean nationalist movement is not united. Its divisions are long-standing and have constantly

bedevilled negotiations. It has been a major tactic of the régime to exploit these differences. It has never been part of our philosophy to seek to split the liberation movement or to widen divisions between the nationalists. Greater unity within the nationalist movement would make a comprehensive settlement far easier and a cease-fire a reality. The OAU has wisely endorsed the right of all the leaders to participate in elections. There must be no exclusions; we want an inclusive settlement.

144. We are committed to working by persuasion and negotiation: we cannot impose, and this is a restraint which is not always recognized.

145. Most of us in the United Nations support the objectives of freedom and of independence of the various liberation movements in southern Africa. Some support the armed struggle. My Government does not supply arms. To do so would gravely inhibit our ability to work for a negotiated settlement between all the parties to the conflict. I regret, though acknowledge, that many people have felt driven to take part in the armed conflict. No one can deny that this struggle has had a considerable effect, in addition to sanctions and diplomatic pressures, in making the possibility of majority rule a real one. Yet if the armed struggle continues with no negotiations it will result in massive damage to Zimbabwe: not just to its economy but perhaps above all to the chances of its being a non-racial society.

146. Armed intervention by the United Kingdom was ruled out in 1965 and there is no question of Britain or any other Western Power sending troops now to impose a settlement. We have committed ourselves to seek a solution through the international community and in the context of the Anglo-American proposals published on 1 September last year¹⁶ and debated in the Security Council. Within that framework, we will honour our obligations, play a major part in any settlement, and contribute fully in terms of money, manpower and expertise. But we are not about to assume a colonial role which we have never exercised, which was rejected in 1965, and which is even more inappropriate in 1978.

147. My Government's objective is to do everything possible to bring about a peaceful settlement through negotiations providing for majority rule and independence on a basis acceptable to the people of Zimbabwe as a whole.

148. We have listened carefully to the criticisms of the detailed proposals we put forward a year ago. We have been trying to find common ground and, in elaborating and refining our proposals, we have had to take account of the strong views of those of the parties who wish to reduce the powers of the proposed resident commissioner. After the Geneva Conference¹⁷ we thought that the inability of the parties to agree on a form of power-sharing could be quickly circumvented only by giving powers to the resident commissioner. Events have shown that judgement to be wise. We never sought those powers for ourselves; they were

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

¹⁷ Conference on Southern Rhodesia, convened at Geneva on 28 October 1976.

onerous and difficult. We willingly proposed that they should be exercised in concert with the United Nations. We advocated a special representative of the Secretary-General, a United Nations peace-keeping force and a United Nations civilian police element to monitor the existing police force. We have wasted a year arguing about the powers of the resident commissioner. I hope now, that after our consultations with the parties, we have found a workable formula for an executive and legislative council with powers on law and order reserved to the resident commissioner.

149. We now must agree on: the balance of representation on the council and the decision-making procedure; the appointment of a resident commissioner and the length of time he should remain; the timing of elections and the timing of independence; the details of the proposals put forward by the resident commissioner designate for the Zimbabwe national army and already explained in the presence of General Prem Chand to all the parties; the establishment of a unified command of all armies; the time-table for a cease-fire; and the structure of the United Nations Zimbabwe force.

150. We have presented some of these proposals to the parties in the form of options. We have not issued ultimatums. The detail is negotiable, but, if the parties continue to argue over the structure of a settlement, then—let us be clear—the war will continue, and the bloodshed will increase; and neither the United Kingdom nor the United States will be able to prevent a fight to the finish.

151. All these preparations have been done in the belief that it is necessary to prepare the ground for final

negotiations. Nothing has been pre-empted. The parties must decide for themselves; yet no decisions can be made without compromise. If they agree, then the United Kingdom is poised to enact the necessary legislation immediately. I hope the Security Council would then pass the necessary resolution for the establishment of a United Nations Zimbabwe force as speedily as in the case of Lebanon. In playing a neutral role as peace-keeper, the United Nations has never been partisan. The United Nations will stand up for the rights of all the people of Zimbabwe, as it will for the people of Namibia.

152. This is a critical moment: if we are to prevent the escalation which could take all parties over the brink, then the voice of the international community must make itself heard in support of a negotiated solution and of our proposals. More insistent still is the voice of the people of Zimbabwe themselves, weary of war and seeking a just peace. They want a settlement; they want an all-party conference; they want majority rule; and above all they want peace.

153. That is our commitment. We are actively preparing the ground now for round-table talks. I hope we can in the near future issue invitations to all the parties to come to negotiate a final settlement for an independent Zimbabwe. I hope that all of us as Members of the United Nations will do everything in our power to make such a meeting a success. The next few months in southern Africa are critical for us all, and the United Nations has, in my view, a major role to play.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.