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*President:* Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JALILI (Afghanistan): My first act in addressing this Assembly will be to convey to you, Sir, and through you to all peace-loving nations represented here, the sincere and fraternal greetings of our great and beloved leader Noor Mohammad Taraki, Secretary-General of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, President of the Revolutionary Council and Prime Minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and to transmit his message of friendship, solidarity and best wishes for the successful conclusion of our deliberations in the interest of international peace, democracy and social progress.

2. Permit me, Mr. President, to extend to you on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan our heartfelt congratulations on your unanimous and well-deserved election to the presidency of the current session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are indeed fortunate in having a person of your eminent stature, wide experience and great ability to guide our deliberations. May we also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, for the wisdom and tact with which he carried out his delicate mission in the course of the thirty-second session and the three recent special sessions of the General Assembly.

3. Before proceeding to the substance of my statement, it is only fitting that I should extend my best wishes to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and express my delegation's deep appreciation for the effective manner in which he has shouldered the heavy responsibilities of his high office.

4. It is a source of pleasure to my delegation to welcome Solomon Islands as a Member of the United Nations. We consider the admission of this young State to be another step towards the realization of the principle of the universality of the world body as enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, and we wish to assure its delegation of our full co-operation.

5. The Vice-Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs and leader of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the tenth special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, Comrade Hafizullah Amin, had the occasion to speak from this rostrum<sup>1</sup> and to brief representatives on the background of the Great Revolution of 27 April 1978, when members of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, including our valiant and patriotic officers and soldiers of the armed forces, under the complete leadership of the Party and with the staunch and unreserved support of our noble people, triumphantly downed the towers of tyranny and despotism and crushed the last remnants of a decayed monarchy which vainly endeavoured to perpetuate its own selfish interests under the guise of a republican order. Before the day's end the banner of the new democratic order appeared on the horizon of Afghanistan triumphantly proclaiming an end to an anachronistic system of feudalism and aristocracy and heralding a new era dedicated to the principles of social and economic progress and building a society free of poverty, corruption and exploitation of man by man.

6. Barely six months have elapsed since our victorious revolution, and during this short span of time the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the only true representative of our working and industrious people and the custodian of their sacred rights and interests, has striven unrelentingly to create conditions favourable to the attainment of their social, economic and political aspirations, and to consolidate the gains of the revolution by eliminating all reactionary and imperialistic plots and elements that vainly endeavour to thwart or impede this historic trend. We shoulder a heavy responsibility, but derive sustenance and courage from the knowledge that the forces of history, which have undeniably proven that the oppressed will triumph over the oppressor and the exploited over the exploiter, are with us, and that the will of the Afghan people is not to be taken for granted.

7. In the short span of time since the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan has been entrusted with the power of administering the State machinery great strides have been made in adopting the implementing measures geared to the social and economic development of our country, with the active and constructive participation of our people. Concrete steps have been taken to pave the way for a democratic agrarian reform; a five-year development plan is currently under preparation which envisages programmes in other sectors that will ensure the effective utilization of our natural resources, which for centuries were monopolized to serve the interests of a selected privileged minority.

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 19th meeting.

8. We are confident that our efforts will not be in vain, and that, in fulfilling our historic mission and overcoming the under-development bequeathed to us by former régimes, we shall receive the unconditional assistance and support of all peace-loving nations free of any political or exploitative purpose.

9. In our external relations our declared policy of independence, peaceful coexistence, positive and active non-alignment and free judgement of international issues based on their own merit emanates from the profound aspirations of our people, who cherish peace and liberty and hold in contempt any ambitious designs of aggression or expansionism. We wish to maintain and develop relations of friendship and sincere co-operation with all peace-loving countries that support our April revolution, on the basis of mutual respect for the principles of equality, independence, non-interference in the internal affairs of others, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

10. In this respect our relations with our immediate neighbour, the Soviet Union, are exemplary. This record of friendly and sincere co-operation and good neighbourliness established between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union is honoured by our respective people and all peace-loving people of the world. It is a shining example of peaceful coexistence that should be followed by all neighbouring countries.

11. Friendly relations between the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and the great nation of India are expanding and we expect similar relations with our two historical friends and neighbours, Iran and China.

12. We are equally hopeful that, in the interest of friendly relations and greater co-operation between our two countries, a just and amicable solution can be found through friendly and sincere dialogue for the only political difference existing between us and Pakistan, that concerning the question of the national issue of the Pakhtun and Baluchi peoples based on the national and historical background.

13. We have formally declared that adherence to the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights constitute the corner-stones of our foreign policy, and our reaffirmation of faith in those principles here today is not to be interpreted as the performance of a mere ritual, for it stems from our firm belief in principles which we hold to be self-evident and from our dedication to an Organization which has played an important role in the fields of colonialism, racial discrimination and international development. But to be truly effective the world body must become an evolutionary and progressive instrument responsive to the dynamic changes which characterized our times, thus successfully fulfilling its mandate to create a world based on justice and equity and to promote international peace and security in all regions of the world in conformity with the wishes and aspirations of the majority of its Members. However, this objective has so far been frustrated by the short-sightedness and selfishness of a small minority in disregarding or flouting its resolutions, but we believe that the Organization will rise to the challenge and point the way to mankind's more positive and nobler goals.

14. As we have repeatedly said, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan will support every measure aimed at the promotion of world peace and security and the enhancement of international understanding. In this connexion my delegation regards the draft proposal of the Polish People's Republic, namely, the draft declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace, contained in the annex to document A/C.1/33/2, as an important proposal which merits the favourable consideration of all peace-loving forces.

15. Most of us gathered in this Assembly hall last met two months ago in Belgrade as members of the non-aligned movement to exchange views on matters of common interest and pressing political and economic issues that demand the urgent attention of the world community. The movement successfully demonstrated the ability to preserve its unity and solidarity against reactionary forces, and adopted decisions of far-reaching importance on questions of international peace and security, the evils of colonialism and imperialism, aggression and alien domination, racial discrimination and *apartheid* and the defence of the liberation of peoples and their right to self-determination [see A/33/206]. We believe that these decisions, as well as programmes of action for economic development, can serve as useful and constructive guidelines in the course of our present deliberations.

16. Annual sessions of the General Assembly provide an opportunity to scan the international panorama in depth and realistically to evaluate achievements or setbacks in areas affecting world peace and progress. It is indeed distressing to observe that the situation in most of the problem areas is either kept stagnating or allowed to deteriorate and that even the process of détente has been threatened with tendencies which might revive manifestations of the cold war. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly believes that such tendencies must be arrested and that the process of détente must be deepened and broadened to encompass all regions of the world, and transformed into a positive force geared to serve a new and more equitable system of international relations.

17. We should like to see that process of détente also extended to the military sphere. No one can deny that the arms race has assumed unprecedented dimensions and that countless hundreds of billions now spent on armaments could well serve nobler purposes. The notion that military strength deters aggression has hardly any credibility in an interdependent world, and it behooves all States—nuclear and non-nuclear, great and small, developed and developing—to combine their efforts to arrest the spiralling race to increase nuclear stockpiles and sophisticated instruments of mass destruction, such as the neutron bomb.

18. The qualitative and quantitative increase in the production of conventional weapons is also of grave concern to all progressive and peace-loving nations, for these weapons serve as instruments of suppression in areas where peoples are struggling for the attainment of their legitimate rights against colonialism and alien domination, and help to perpetuate and expand areas of conflict.

19. Accordingly, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan considers the effective implemen-

tation of resolutions adopted during the recent tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament to the vital importance and whole-heartedly supports the convening of a world disarmament conference with the participation of all States and of the United Nations Conference on Prohibitions or Restrictions of Use of Certain Conventional Weapons Which May Be Deemed to Be Excessively Injurious or to Have Indiscriminate Effects, scheduled to be held some time next year.

20. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan fully supports the initiative of the Soviet Union proposed by Andrei Gromyko, Minister for Foreign Affairs and head of the delegation of the Soviet Union to this Assembly, for the conclusion of an international convention on strengthening guarantees of security to non-nuclear States [see A/33/241].

21. We also supported the inclusion of this proposal as an item on the agenda of this thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly as an important and urgent question.

22. We consider this initiative to be in the interest of world peace for it would promote trust and confidence among non-nuclear States with regard to their security.

23. When discussing disarmament within the context of international peace and security, my delegation cannot refrain from expressing its views on aggressive foreign military bases on alien soil, which it sees as but an extension of the arms race and one of the main causes of world tension and complications in the region in which those bases are installed.

24. It is in this conviction that in our own immediate region we favour the adoption of the concept of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, and of putting an end to the military rivalries of big Powers in the Indian Ocean through the immediate dismantling of military bases and installations in that ocean, including those on Diego Garcia. All foreign forces should be withdrawn from the southern part of Korea. We view the presence of such bases as not only weakening the forces of peace and progress, but hindering the consolidation of the political and economic independence of the countries of the region.

25. The movement of the nations and countries of the world against imperialism, colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination has scored an increasing number of victories in Asia, Africa and Latin America, and we are firmly convinced that the eleventh hour is striking for the last pockets of colonialism and alien domination in southern Africa. The national liberation movements of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania are growing in scope and attest to the fact that the will of the oppressed people in southern Africa to resist the tyranny of racial discrimination and minority rule cannot be suppressed.

26. Confronted with prospects of a complete collapse, the racist régimes have been compelled to resort to shameful manoeuvres in their final attempt to safeguard their economic and strategic interests, aided by their imperialistic allies, which, in defiance of world public opinion and United Nations resolutions, continue their political, military and economic collaboration, and extend such assist-

ance even to the nuclear field. Yet they and their protectors will have us believe that they have resigned themselves to the inevitability of the process of liberation and that they are trying to adapt to it. But we have learned to distinguish between truth and falsehood, and are confident that delaying tactics and pacifying moves cannot deprive the African peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia from the inevitable attainment of their goals.

27. However, to facilitate this process and prevent further bloodshed, the world community has laid down conditions for the process of self-determination in Namibia, and it is the earnest hope of the Afghan delegation that the United Nations will not relent in its determination to ensure their implementation. In the meantime the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the only authentic representative of the Namibian people, must be given all necessary support to continue its struggle against the atrocities and genocide committed by the South African minority régime. Similarly, in Zimbabwe the terms of any settlement must be dictated by the warriors of the Patriotic Front. We are convinced that the circle obsessed by the ideology of racial superiority will not be able to prevent the people of Zimbabwe from the exercise of their rights for much longer.

28. Afghanistan, which had to wage an arduous struggle against colonialism and imperialism and to safeguard its independence, feels deep solidarity with peoples resolved to ensure their self-determination, and thus hails the courageous decision taken by Mozambique, Angola and other front-line States to apply the sanctions decreed by the United Nations against the minority régimes of southern Africa, thereby rendering themselves victims of incessant threats and armed incursions by the white racist rebels. The Democratic Republic of Afghanistan expresses sympathy and solidarity with the progressive régimes of Angola and Mozambique and other front-line States, and strongly condemns any acts of aggression against them. We consider such acts as threats to their respective endeavours to consolidate their independence and assist their African brothers in the realization of their rights to self-determination.

29. We are confident that, through their own efforts and with the assistance of other peace-loving nations, the genuine representatives of Zimbabwe and Namibia will soon join us in this Assembly hall.

30. In addressing itself to problems that afflict the great African continent the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as a member of the non-aligned movement, cannot but express its views on the situation prevailing in the Horn of Africa, where parties to the conflict are members of that great movement. We believe that the parties concerned should settle their differences through peaceful negotiations and understanding in conformity with the principles of the non-aligned movement and the United Nations Charter, and we regard any intervention in that area as an attempt by imperialistic and reactionary forces to dominate the African continent. The delegation of Afghanistan fully supports the heroic struggle of the people of Ethiopia in defence of their independence and territorial integrity, and believes that any assistance received from friendly countries for that purpose is fully justified.

31. The question of the Middle East essentially revolves around the problem of Palestine, a complex problem with regard to which this Organization bears a great responsibility. The question has been the origin of four successive wars in the region, and it has become increasingly evident that until the Palestinian and other Arab peoples of the region recover their legitimate rights there will be neither peace nor stability in the Middle East.

32. The condition for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East is the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination, as confirmed in General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX) including their right to establish a national State of their own, and the withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories.

33. To this end, my delegation is of the opinion that the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the full and active participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, will constitute an important and crucial step towards paving the way to a just settlement of the Palestinian problem and putting an end to the instability and insecurity that have characterized the Middle East region for over 30 years.

34. Agents of imperialism and enemies of peace have not confined their activities to the immediate region of Palestine, but have expanded their activities to neighbouring peace-loving countries. The bloody clashes which are taking place in Lebanon are but a result of the critical situation in the Middle East. While the Arabs have been struggling to recover their occupied territories, forces hostile to the Arabs have concerted their efforts in Lebanon. We have followed the events of this fratricidal war and have been frustrated to see that the ray of hope that the contending armed factions would be reconciled has faded.

35. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan sincerely hopes that the conspiracies against Lebanon, the Palestinian cause and the Arab nation will be defeated and that all necessary support and assistance will be given for the restoration of stability in Lebanon and for the preservation of the country's territorial integrity and the national unity of its people.

36. Moving from the Middle East region—which encompasses the eastern Mediterranean—to an island situated in an equally strategic region to the north, the Aegean Sea, and fast becoming an area of potential threat to international peace and security, namely the island of Cyprus, I am confident that I express the views of the majority of my colleagues when I state that the solution of this complex and dangerous problem requires that the territorial integrity, sovereignty, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus be ensured and that its internal problems be resolved by the Cypriots themselves in a settlement that would ensure the rights of both the Greek Cypriot and the Turkish Cypriot communities within the framework of a mutually acceptable agreement.

37. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan strongly believes that this objective can be realized only when all foreign forces are withdrawn from

the island and their military presence and installations are removed.

38. Turning to the great continent to which we in Afghanistan belong, my delegation cannot pass over in silence the disturbing problem of the divided Korean people and the increase in the tension prevailing in that part of the world.

39. My delegation reaffirms its support for the relevant United Nations resolutions for the peaceful reunification of Korea free from foreign interference and considers the withdrawal of all foreign forces, including the dismantling of all military installations in the southern part of Korea, to be essential prerequisites.

40. Last but not least, when reviewing the international political situation the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan cannot but turn to another great continent and express its indignation at the intensified determination and efforts of certain Powers to undermine the independence of Latin American and Caribbean States by creating such régimes as would further their interests. We deplore the unabated violation of human rights and liberties in several Latin American countries where such régimes rule.

41. Previous speakers have dealt with the economic disparity between the developed and the developing countries. I should like to add that such disparity has not resulted from some inherent disability arising from their respective capabilities or resources but has its roots in the historical heritage from the era of colonialism and an imbalanced economic structure geared to serving and perpetuating the exploitative and unscrupulous interests of a minority group of countries that have piled up wealth at the expense of the developing countries to the detriment of two thirds of humanity. The stubborn resistance of the developed countries to the practical implementation of the goals and principles of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, [resolution 3201 (S-VI)], the Programme of Action [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] designed to implement the Declaration and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)] testifies to their vain endeavours to preserve their selfish interests and inherited privileges.

42. Such resistance and reluctance to negotiate on substantive issues can only be interpreted as a determination on their part to foil efforts aimed at the development of a sound strategy which would ensure the balanced and realistic development of the developing countries free of colonialistic and exploitative purposes. Such resistance or lack of political will has also manifested itself in their failure to achieve the required target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for allocation as official development assistance to developing countries within the framework of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. In certain cases where such assistance has been available attempts have been made to infringe upon the sovereign right of recipient countries by imposing priorities inconsistent with their national development programmes.

43. We strongly condemn any aid or assistance programme that is dispensed on implied conditions or has exploitative purposes, be it within the framework of sluggish official development assistance transfers or bilateral assistance, for the bitter experience of the developing countries has demonstrated that reliance on such assistance is fruitless.

44. Mention of the need to devise special measures to alleviate the debt burdens of developing countries also falls on deaf ears. Most of those debts invariably flow from what is given those countries as aid at exorbitant interest rates and thus the purpose for which such aid was requested is defeated.

45. The current economic order based on relations of economic domination, exploitation and dependence is untenable in a world seeking justice and equity and an orderly utilization of world resources for the benefit of present and future generations. We of the developing world do not consider the present disparity solely as a matter of economics but as a moral question to which developed countries of the West must seriously address themselves by considering the justice of an economic system which over centuries enabled them to reach their present heights of affluence while condemning millions in Asia, Africa and Latin America to poverty, misery and pestilence. Let them consider whether trade dealings are left untarnished by aspects of exploitation and whether the trade deficits of the developing countries are not the direct outcome of such exploitation; whether the constant disturbances witnessed by the world monetary system, for which responsibility rests with them, are not a source of imbalance in trade and an addition to the huge burdens borne by the economies of developing countries; and whether crises in their economies and their increasing recourse to protectionist policies have not affected the developing countries' development efforts to overcome backwardness and to achieve social and economic progress for their toiling peoples.

46. Unless the inherent bias of existing institutions is removed and unless the massive economic power of the rich countries is counterbalanced, the gap between the developed and the developing nations will continue to expand. The lack of foresight and the self-interested delays which pervade the treatment of major political issues must not be allowed to be extended to the economic field. Just as man's best hope for political peace and security lies in replacing the old power politics with a democratized international system, so his best hope for economic peace and security rests in an economic order based on justice and equity. Poverty and affluence cannot coexist indefinitely.

47. In this respect, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan would like to express its sincere appreciation to socialist countries and other progressive forces which have proved themselves the natural and active partners of developing countries by unflinchingly supporting their demands for an equitable share in the world's resources and for the creation of favourable conditions conducive to their rapid social and economic development.

48. Another matter the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan regards as inseparably linked to the New International Economic Order is the plight of the

least developed land-locked countries, which deserves special care and attention. The extremely high costs of transport weigh heavily on their export earnings and greatly swell the cost of transit for them. These countries are entitled to certain rights which we regard as natural, namely, the right of free access to and from the sea, including the right of free transit. We hope that when the new international strategy is formulated special consideration will be given to the specific problems and requirements of this group of countries and that transit countries will demonstrate the political will to respect and ensure those rights.

49. In closing, I should like to return briefly to a theme that I developed earlier. As we participate in this highly representative forum, the attention of the world is focused on us, and the peoples of the world have good reason to expect that this Organization will make positive contributions towards translating into reality the ideals of peace, democracy and social progress. We believe that the world body can rise to that challenge only if we, its Members, demonstrate a sense of realism and belief in human solidarity by responding to the call of humanity for co-operation, not confrontation, and ensuring that all actual and potential changes are directed to benefiting mankind as a whole.

50. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): I congratulate you, Sir, as an outstanding political personality of Colombia, on your election to the lofty office of this session of President of the United Nations General Assembly, I wish you, as well as the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, much success in carrying out your demanding and responsible work.

51. We welcome the admission of Solomon Islands to membership in the United Nations. It reflects the progressive elimination of the remnants of colonialism and contributes to strengthening the universality of our Organization.

52. Events over the past year have brought a great deal of new and positive changes favourable to the cause of détente and peace—a fact that we sincerely welcome and encourage.

53. The situation in which we have opened the current session, however, is not at all clear. It is at the same time both favourable and complicated. It is contradictory, but it also holds promise for the future.

54. It is favourable because it clearly proves the historical futility of all the efforts by the champions of the "cold war" to revive the policy of acting from positions of strength.

55. It is complicated because the opponents of détente have not laid down their arms but have even stepped up their dangerous activities.

56. It is contradictory because, in confirmation of the laws of dialectics, it reflects the inevitable conflict between the old order, which resists progress, and the new order of world affairs in the spirit of the principles of détente.

57. Notwithstanding this, it holds promise for the future because the desire of peoples for détente and for the ending of the arms race continues to be the decisive factor of international development.

58. Therefore, if we do not want to grope in darkness there is no more urgent task ahead of us than to march together along the well-tested paths of détente, the salutary effects of which we are only beginning to feel and whose almost unlimited possibilities we are only just discovering.

59. In that process we must orient ourselves to what brings peoples and nations together, what unites them, and not what divides them. We must try to push forward to new horizons, not just live passively next to one another and "merely" avoid conflicts. That might have sufficed yesterday for good-neighbourly relations but no longer does today. We must constantly develop the infrastructure of détente and strengthen its political, economic and legal foundations. We must improve the pattern of bilateral relations, build mutual confidence and cultivate political dialogue on all levels, including the highest levels. We must maintain a regular and smoothly functioning system of consultations, conclude mutually advantageous agreements and give them specific content. We must see to it that they are observed, because the old Roman principle "*Pacta sunt servanda*" is more valid today than ever before. We must bring about détente by developing economic, scientific and technical co-operation, and our aim should be further mutual cultural and spiritual enrichment. The striving for détente—this clearly defined, many-sided, dynamic and lasting asset, beneficial to all—must permeate more and more the body of international life and become universal and irreversible.

60. One cannot expect to see in the future any imposing, externally spectacular successes, because it will be necessary, as it is now, to wage a persistent day-to-day struggle to achieve what has already been agreed upon. It must not be permitted that the positive results achieved be brought to naught. We must prevent any risks being taken with détente. It must not be discredited or used as a pretext for interference in the internal affairs of others. At the same time, we must advance, often as pioneers, along unknown, untrodden trails.

61. But first of all we shall have to come to terms with that difficult but feasible task of extending détente to the military field. We must not succumb to those who wish to pursue a policy of flagrant disregard for mankind's aspirations. We must not allow them to place wolf traps on the path of détente by stepping up tension and the feverish arms race, by generating mistrust, confrontation and bleak instability.

62. It will therefore be necessary to remind them ever more often of the futility of counting on blackmail. Threatening gestures were without effect on the socialist countries in the past and are even less effective today. Nothing has been or will be gained by them. They merely are used to complicate the situation, and their use now would be too dear a price to pay for such a miscalculation in technological instrumentation due to erroneous information.

63. Thus the policy of détente is a policy of persistent, untiring, responsible endeavours. The question whether it is worth pursuing is answered by facts.

64. In Europe, that ancient epicentre of conflicts, political developments are, unquestionably and more successfully than anywhere else, crossing the fateful cross-roads at which we all stand, first of all thanks to the implementation of the ideals of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, effectively reaffirmed at its first review session held in Belgrade from October 1977 to March 1978 by the determination of all the participants to continue the policy of détente, despite the absurd attempts at ignoring the principles agreed on or even assuming the position of "ordained" arbiters.

65. In the micro-climate of Central Europe alone, that malignant source of wars as terrible as the Thirty Years War or the Second World War, détente is reflected in the longest period of peace in recent centuries. That is the level of benefits to be derived from détente.

66. It is with this basic philosophy, founded on undeniable facts, that Czechoslovakia approaches the policy of détente as a stable link in the community of the socialist countries, an active participant in the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. We are purposefully implementing this philosophy in practice, in co-ordination with the fraternal socialist countries, guided by the principles of the Leninist concept of peaceful coexistence. The President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, declared, on the occasion of this year's visit by a Soviet Party and Government delegation headed by Leonid Brezhnev:

"Our Party and the entire Czechoslovak people highly value the peace policy of principle of the Soviet Union; they are fully supporting it and are doing their best to contribute to its implementation."

67. That is why we welcome every impulse, by any country, towards making the process of détente yet more vital.

68. A valuable contribution to that development is, in our view, the positive results of Czechoslovakia's relations with its Western neighbours.

69. Their culmination was this year's official visit by the President of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, Gustáv Husák, to the Federal Republic of Germany, the first visit on that level, by the way, in the history of the two States. The joint statement reviewing the results of the talks clearly reflected the political will of both sides to deepen détente and to make it stable, as well as further to expand mutual relations in all fields. The following up of the invitations accepted by the leading representatives of the Federal Republic of Germany to visit Czechoslovakia will undoubtedly strengthen that determination.

70. Continued favourable developments have been noted in our relations with Austria, in which, in recent times, foundations have been decisively strengthened for an all-round development of constructive, mutually beneficial relations between our two countries. The expected visit by

the President of Austria to Czechoslovakia will in that respect be a significant contribution to the development of peaceful co-operation between our two countries.

71. In fact, we have been enriching the process of détente by developing mutually advantageous co-operation with practically all European countries and other States in all continents, including those with which our relations in the past were insignificant or did not exist at all.

72. We continue to deepen our traditionally good relations with the developing countries. We are most resolutely supporting their just struggle for political independence, economic development and social progress.

73. The movement of the non-aligned countries is regarded by us as an important and positive factor in international relations. We welcome the fact that the non-aligned countries consider it beneficial and objectively necessary for the process of détente to become universal and dominant in all continents.

74. We have therefore welcomed with a feeling of satisfaction the results of the Belgrade ministerial meeting.<sup>2</sup> We expect that the contribution to peace by the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which is to convene next year in Havana, will be the more significant for that.

75. We are placing special emphasis on the over-all restructuring of the international economic relations and the introduction of a new international economic order.

76. This task, however, must be resolved in accordance with that concept, which is based on equitable international division of labour, on the development of equal and mutually advantageous relations between all countries—socialist, capitalist and developing.

77. Valuable experience is being gained in the European continent thanks to the fact that the material tissue of the policy of détente is starting to be reinforced through multilateral economic co-operations.

78. We welcome the fact that the thirty-third session of ECE agreed to convene all-European congresses on the environment.<sup>3</sup> The current contacts between representatives of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and the European Economic Community also demonstrate how important, as well as possible, it is to work out a joint agreement on the establishment of official contacts, and thus to contribute to the development of multilateral co-operation among countries of the European region as well as other regions and to the strengthening of the material basis of détente.

79. A few months ago, for the first time in the history of this Organization, in this highly representative forum and

with the participation of almost all the countries of the world, we conducted deliberations on that key issue of our time, namely, disarmament. The specific nature of the tenth special session was marked by the untiring efforts of all the participants to help to resolve that vital issue; by their determination to remove the senseless burden of armaments from the shoulders of nations and to eliminate the incipient explosive situations which result in conflicts.

80. The tenth session confirmed clearly and positively the profound interest of mankind in halting the arms race. It confirmed the urgent necessity of complementing political détente by military détente without delay. It recognized that this problem was a universal one affecting the vital interests of all peoples and countries, which therefore could be resolved only through joint efforts.

81. It is in the light of this most urgent need of our day that we evaluate the Final Document of the special session [*resolution S-10/2*]. In our view, it gives, on the whole, a realistic assessment of the present situation in the field of disarmament and constructively sets out concrete goals.

82. Thus, we cannot complain about a lack of well-defined alternatives here, or about a lack of effective instruments to be used, as we fervently hope, for the dismantling of the hideous armaments monster.

83. Foremost among those alternatives is the document on practical measures for ending the arms race, submitted by the Soviet Union,<sup>4</sup> which calls for the halting of the arms race and the blocking of the channels through which it is spreading and crossing ever new thresholds of great destructive power.

84. The implementation of this comprehensive programme, beginning with international agreements to halt the production and ban all types of nuclear weapons as well as other weapons of mass destruction and including the prohibition of the development of new types of conventional weapons of mass destruction, would mean the removal for all time of the danger of a nuclear war and the establishment of lasting international peace and security throughout the world.

85. We firmly believe that the positive solution of the disarmament problem would be greatly assisted by a world-wide treaty on the non-use of force in international relations. As far as the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic is concerned, it is ready at any time to sign such a treaty. Czechoslovakia, which, in September and October, exactly 40 years ago, as a result of the infamous Munich *diktat*, became the first front-line minefield of the Second World War, is, as a socialist and peace-loving country, vitally interested in the ending once and for all of all armaments and all the dangers of military confrontation. It is willing at all times to consider any constructive proposals by other countries and to co-operate with anybody who has a genuine interest in halting the development and manufacture of weapons of mass destruction and the unbridled arms race.

<sup>2</sup> Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978. (see document A/33/206).

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Supplement No. 7, vol. I, chap. III, para. 82 and chap. IV, resolution 1 (XXXIII)*.

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

86. But effective disarmament measures, the urgency of which was again shown by the special session, can acquire the force which they vitally need and a lasting and, in particular, binding nature for all States only through the holding of a World Disarmament Conference. We are sincerely pleased that the special session really became a prologue to such a conference when it recommended with all its authority the convening of that conference "at the earliest appropriate time" [see resolution S-10/2, para. 122]. The time has thus come for us to reach an agreement on that basis on when and how that conference could be held most successfully.

87. Last summer the socialist countries, including Czechoslovakia, submitted another important proof of their sincere efforts and desire to reach a mutually advantageous agreement on the important subject of the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. The new proposals and initiative of the socialist countries in many respects go a long way to meet constructively the position of the West. They are designed finally to break the deadlock at those talks. This step may eventually become a positive stimulus for the much-needed progress in the entire field of disarmament.

88. The situation in the field of disarmament would be substantially improved by the early conclusion of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States on the limitation of offensive strategic weapons and their systems.

89. The same applies to a successful and early conclusion of the tripartite negotiations between the Soviet Union, the United States and the United Kingdom on the general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests. Furthermore, we believe that the current session of the General Assembly should encourage the initiation of constructive negotiations on the conclusion of an agreement to prohibit the development, manufacture and deployment of neutron weapons.

90. In our view, the adoption of a joint undertaking by all nuclear States not to use nuclear weapons against those countries which renounce them and which do not have them in their territories is most important. We resolutely support the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union [see A/33/241] that this undertaking be made into an international agreement as soon as possible and that reliable international measures be adopted to forestall the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of States where they are not as yet deployed. The achievement of concrete agreements to halt the arms race depends, first of all, on the policies of States, on their strong political will and also on the peoples of all countries committing themselves to efforts aimed at ending the arms race. That is why we fully support the draft declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace, submitted to this session of the General Assembly by the Polish People's Republic [A/C.1/33/2]. We share the view that such a document would contribute significantly to the support of the noble ideals of peace, security, mutual respect and understanding throughout the international community as a whole.

91. A burning problem of our time is posed by conflicts which complicate détente and, if they were to worsen

further, would gravely jeopardize that process. They are rightly described as hotbeds of tension.

92. Although all these conflicts differ from each other, they have a common denominator. It is not only a question of disputed borders, or borders which some consider to be unjust, but also of that quest for oil, copper, cobalt, uranium and other raw materials, that greed for cheap labour that brings fabulous profits to the transnational corporations. It is also a question of the endeavour to hinder the process of the internal polarization of forces, to preserve or maintain the last colonial territories, and of the ominous efforts to turn some developing countries into strongholds or spring-boards for the struggle against the national liberation movements.

93. That is why any attempts at suppressing the national liberation movements, which are widely recognized as legal by the international community, are in no way a suitable response to the indomitable determination of the peoples of Africa to fight for their honour and dignity.

94. Once again we would point out that the obsolete anachronisms of the racist and colonial régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria continue to be a grave source of danger for the entire independent continent of Africa and for peaceful life, not only in that region but throughout the world in general. They are a contemptible insult to the dignity and intellect of the Africans. We categorically denounce the numerous acts of aggression by the South African and Rhodesian racists against the heroic people of Angola and Mozambique.

95. While on this point, I should like to emphasize once more here in the United Nations forum that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic has always consistently and actively stood for the complete elimination of such political anachronisms as colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. Therefore, both here and in the Security Council, of which we are a member, we resolutely speak out in favour of the speedy granting of independence to the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, in keeping with the United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. We support and shall continue to support all concrete measures leading to the attainment of that objective.

96. We have always held the view that any separate negotiations on the Middle East—that chronic source of tension—wherever they are held, in a tent on kilometre 101, in Jerusalem, in Cairo or at Camp David, run absolutely counter to the vital interests of the Arab nations. Since they have never tackled the issue comprehensively—particularly from the point of view of the Arab people of Palestine—they can never lead to peace but only to continued instability, to further complications and conflicts. Their essence has not changed, whether we call them "a step-by-step" policy or a search for "the framework of peace", and regardless of where they are held. We therefore continue to be firmly convinced that truly lasting peace in that explosive region of the world can be ensured only on the basis of a comprehensive settlement with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO. Such a settlement calls urgently for the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied by the

aggressor in 1967, for the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination and to the establishment of their own State, and for the safeguarding of the right to independence and security of all States in that area.

97. We continue to believe that the most suitable framework for such a settlement is the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO.

98. We firmly advocate the settlement of the Cyprus question on the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, in accordance with the appropriate United Nations resolutions. We reaffirmed that position during the recent visit to Czechoslovakia of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Cyprus.

99. We are firmly on the side of the people of the reunified socialist Viêt Nam who, after long years of war, still at the present time are courageously defending their sovereignty against hegemonistic tendencies, pressures and provocations. From this rostrum I should like to express our full support for their just cause.

100. Furthermore, I should not like to omit the fact that this year 25 years have elapsed since the end of the Korean war. We emphasize once again that, according to the resolution adopted at the thirtieth session of the United Nations General Assembly [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*], it is necessary to provide all the prerequisites for turning the armistice into lasting peace and for a speedy, independent and peaceful reunification of Korea, as sought by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

101. This month Czechoslovakia will commemorate 60 years of its existence. In the first half of that period my country lived under the old social order. We lived through the economic crisis, the Munich tragedy, the six years of Fascist occupation and cruel war, during which almost 400,000 Czechs and Slovaks lost their lives.

102. The second half, an incomparably happier one, represents 30 years of the building of socialism and all-round prosperity; of the exploration of outer space, thanks to the Soviet Union; of securing favourable conditions for the comprehensive spiritual as well as material development of our people, that is to say, first of all the right to work, to comprehensive medical care free of charge, free education, all-round care for mother and child, and security in old age. I mention these facts because firm, secure conditions on the home also make the foreign policy a firm and reliable instrument for advancing the interests of one's people. For us these interests are peace and social progress.

103. That is why I think that it is hardly necessary for me to repeat here once more our unwavering determination to see the United Nations acknowledged as an irreplaceable international body born in the earliest post-war years of general happiness, when the irrepressible cause of human freedom, triumphing over the unparalleled barbaric destruction, united the world community in a staunch effort to prevent a new world war.

104. An instrument which has stood the test of time, the United Nations Charter, that document of universal validity, has since then enabled us to struggle, according to our possibilities, with the problems of the post-war period. Its consistent unswerving observance is a guarantee of the effectiveness of the role the United Nations will play in the future.

105. The Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, as one of the founding Members of the United Nations and at present also a member of the Security Council, is fully committed to the cause of the United Nations and in the future, encouraged by the enthusiasm of the peace-loving forces, will continue to give undiminished support to the process of détente and to the expansion of constructive international co-operation—because that policy is fully in keeping with the humane nature of our socialist system and because that effort to create the necessary conditions for a peaceful life for all nations and the development of peaceful and fruitful co-operation among States is the main purpose of our foreign policy.

106. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to offer you the warm congratulations of the delegation of Bahrain on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. Undoubtedly, the choice of you to bear this great responsibility is the best proof of the high qualifications and excellent qualities you possess.

107. I would like to express my deep appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for his great contribution and excellent ability in conducting the work of the thirty-second session and the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions of the General Assembly.

108. I take this opportunity also to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his report on the work of the Organization [*A/33/1*], which contains a useful evaluation of the Organization's work and of the international situation in general. I should also like to thank him for his efforts in the service of international peace and co-operation, and the achievement of the goals of this Organization.

109. The delegation of my country congratulates the Government and people of Solomon Islands on the independence of that State and welcomes its admission to the membership of the United Nations. Its admission to the United Nations family is a positive step towards the liquidation of colonialism. It brings our Organization closer to the attainment of its goal of universality, as the number of its Members has now reached 150. We hope that we shall be able in the near future to welcome new Member States from among nations which are still struggling for their freedom and independence.

110. We meet every year in this Assembly several States to which, despite the long distance that separates us, we are linked by ties of friendship and co-operation on the basis of the principles of the United Nations Charter. These principles still retain their force and value in the conduct of our work and the direction of our international relations in a way that enables the nations of the world to avoid the dangers that surround them.

111. The United Nations has been able throughout the last 33 years to adapt itself to a rapidly changing world, and has become truly the only and proper forum for the continuance of dialogue between nations, big and small, rich and poor, on the consolidation of efforts to solve the questions that confront humanity, such as the establishment of a new international economic order, the achievement of general and complete disarmament, the liquidation of imperialism and the combating of racism and racial discrimination.

112. The General Assembly meets these days at a time of utmost importance because of current world developments. Tension is increasing because of the re-emergence of the cold war in the sphere of international relations, involving a threat to the future of détente. It has been clear to the world that armed conflicts and centres of tension are not confined to the great Powers, but extend to developing States. The clearest example is the events in the African continent and the Horn of Africa during this year.

113. All this is taking place at this historic stage when the aims are the liquidation of colonialism and the establishment of just and equitable international relations based on the principles of complete equality, respect for the independence and sovereignty of all States and the exchange of interests and benefits among them. In our opinion, if détente is to be durable and permanent all States must act effectively to find positive solutions to the crises and problems that threaten the world. This means that détente should extend politically and geographically to all parts of the world and not be confined to Europe and the great Powers alone. We should therefore exert unceasing efforts to liquidate imperialism, racism and aggression, lay the foundations for a new international economic order and solve all conflicts between States through mutual understanding, common sense and justice.

114. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in July of this year, reaffirmed the principles of non-alignment to international blocks, non-subjection to the influence of the great Powers and resistance to all forms of pressure, including interference in the internal affairs of States. It called for action to change the system of political and economic relations based on domination, subjugation and hegemony, and for the establishment of new rules and bases for political and economic relations based on the principles of sovereignty, equality and justice [see A/33/206].

115. Our agenda is comprehensive and full of important and pressing matters which are far-reaching and of great consequence. I should like now to state concisely our views on some of those international matters which engage the attention of the world and the United Nations in particular. The attention of the community of nations should be devoted to them in order to find just and proper solutions for them before it is too late.

116. If we go through our agenda for this session we find that the problem of the Middle East and the question of Palestine are among the most important and pressing matters, and are of particular concern to us. It is needless to remind the Assembly of the gravity of the situation in the Middle East. As the international community admits, the

problem does not concern the Arab States and Israel only, but the whole world, as it may involve a threat to international peace and security.

117. The question of Palestine, which has existed as long as our Organization itself, is still foremost among the matters which are before the community of nations. It is greatly to be regretted that, since 1947 when this question was first brought before the United Nations, no just and permanent solution for it has been found. The people of Palestine have been throughout all these years subjected to grave injustice and excessive sufferings, waiting for the United Nations to rid them of the oppression and unjust treatment that have befallen them. In spite of the many resolutions of the United Nations adopted in a quest for a peaceful settlement to the problem of the Middle East, no such settlement has been reached because of the persistent refusal of Israel to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

118. World Zionism was not content with expelling the Palestinian people from their homeland and uprooting them from their land by violence, terrorism, oppression and persecution; Israel persisted in its endeavours by all unlawful means to eliminate the traces of the Palestinian cause and distort their lawful struggle for the recovery of their usurped rights.

119. It has become clear that no progress has been made towards a comprehensive solution to this problem because of the persistent refusal of Israel to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and the PLO as the sole lawful representative of the people of Palestine, in addition to the continuation by Israel of its aggressive and expansionist policy through the establishment of more settlements and the annexation of large parts of the Palestinian and Arab lands occupied since 1967. The main problem is still the continual aggression of Israel against the people of Palestine and the Arab States, and the refusal of the Zionist régime to abandon its policy of expansion at the cost of the Palestinian people and the Arab States.

120. The position of the State of Bahrain as regards the question of Palestine and the critical situation in the Middle East is known to this Assembly. We explained before that the core of the problem of the Middle East is the question of Palestine, and that no permanent solution of that problem can be reached without the recognition of the legitimate and inalienable rights of the people of Palestine and the complete and conditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Palestinian and Arab lands. We are firmly convinced that no comprehensive and permanent solution to the Palestinian question and the Middle East situation can be found except on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council relating to the question of Palestine and the situation in the Middle East.

121. The basic conditions for a peaceful settlement are the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied in 1967 and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their lawful and inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination and to the establishment of a State of their own. Any solution which does not meet these two conditions will undoubtedly lead to a deadlock.

122. The State of Bahrain considers that for any negotiations, initiatives or political or diplomatic activities to be successful in settling the Middle East crisis they should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties to the dispute, including the PLO on terms of equality with the other parties, since it is the main party to the dispute, as is admitted by the United Nations and the international community. Its participation is indispensable for the success of the negotiations and international conferences aimed at finding a comprehensive settlement of this issue.

123. We cannot imagine that any efforts will be successful without the participation of all the parties concerned, including the representatives of the people of Palestine. We would like to emphasize that no solution or effort for peace will be meaningful or effective if it excludes the PLO.

124. The time has come for the international community to make intensive efforts to promote the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East at the earliest possible time. As a first step, Israel should prove its good intentions with regard to peace by recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. If Israel persists in disregarding reason and logic, the United Nations should take all measures under the Charter, including the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII, to compel Israel to abandon its expansionist policy and its persistent disregard of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, and to force it to end its aggression and restore the legitimate rights it has usurped. If the United Nations fails to do that, a renewal of hostilities in the Middle East will be inevitable and the international Organization will bear the corresponding responsibility for the grave dangers to which the area and the world will be exposed through the threat to international peace and security.

125. With regard to the situation in the African continent, we expressed in former sessions our optimism with regard to developments in the international field, particularly as regards the end of imperialism and the transition of the world from the cold war to détente in the relations between the two great Powers. But the developments which have taken place in Africa have led us to be very cautious in our optimism. We have been greatly concerned over the development of the situation in Africa, which has become the scene of painful events and bloody conflicts between African States. Such conflicts have led to foreign military and political intervention in the internal affairs of African States. It is hoped that the African States will be able to settle their differences by resorting to negotiations and peaceful settlements and renouncing the use of force for the settlement of their disputes within the framework of the Organization of African Unity. We call upon all States not to interfere in the internal affairs of the African States. We think that the African States, which have suffered for many centuries from under-development, oppression and exploitation, are much in need today of directing their efforts towards development and economic and social advancement, rather than wasting such efforts in armed conflicts which will be of no benefit to their people and which will only lead to continued under-development and deterioration. We hope that the General Assembly will issue

a declaration condemning interference in the internal affairs of other States for we consider that this subject should be given special priority during the current session.

126. The deteriorating situation in southern Africa is also a matter of great concern to the international community. The policies of *apartheid* and white minority rule in South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia are the core of the problem in southern Africa. Many initiatives have been taken during this year under the auspices of the United Nations and by some great Powers to find a peaceful solution to the questions arising out of the domination of the white minority through oppression and racial discrimination. All such initiatives have been thwarted by the persistent refusals of the ruling minority racial régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury to accept a peaceful solution. The withdrawal by the Pretoria régime from the plan for the independence of Namibia to be achieved under the auspices of the United Nations is a challenge to the principles of the Charter and an outrageous violation of the resolutions of the United Nations and the Security Council in particular.

127. The same is true of the situation in Rhodesia, where the illegal Ian Smith racial régime still procrastinates against the will of the international community over the transfer of authority to the black majority. As in the case in the Middle East, no permanent peace can be reached in southern Africa unless the principles of the United Nations Charter are observed and the principles of justice, equality and self-determination applied. We consider that the United Nations should discharge its responsibility towards the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania and take effective measures against the two racial régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria until they submit to the will of the international community. The State of Bahrain will continue to support the struggles of these peoples to attain their aspirations to independence, equality, justice and self-determination.

128. The World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination,<sup>5</sup> which was held for the purpose of assisting the victims of racial discrimination, has been of great significance to the African and other peoples in their arduous struggle against such evil policies.

129. The Conference condemned racism and *apartheid* as crimes against mankind. It also condemned the connexion existing between the racist régimes in Rhodesia, South Africa and Israel and the close ties that exist between them, particularly in the political and military fields.

130. The State of Bahrain, convinced of the justice of the cause of the African and other peoples which are combating racial régimes, would like to take this opportunity to affirm its opposition to, and condemnation of, all forms of racism and racial discrimination anywhere as grave violations of International Covenants, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the principles of the United Nations Charter and its resolutions in this respect.

131. As a centre for co-ordinating relations and co-operation among States to attain joint goals and maintain

<sup>5</sup> Held in Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978 (see document A/33/262).

international peace and security, the United Nations has this year been able to achieve some success in efforts to halt the frightful arms race.

132. The tenth special session, which was devoted to disarmament and held at the initiative of non-aligned countries, emphasized the determination of the international community to resolve this question which is vital to the future of humanity and will decide between the destruction and the prosperity of man. Disarmament and the limitation of the arms race, particularly in nuclear weapons, has been one of the prominent matters and questions dealt with by the United Nations since its inception and one of the principal issues before the Organization. The huge allocations set aside for armaments could be better utilized for raising the standard of living in developing countries. It is indeed regrettable to note that the financial, technological and human resources allocated to the production and purchase of arms far exceed the financial and technological resources needed to correct the current inequitable international economic order and raise the standard of living in developing countries.

133. Although the tenth special session did not adopt specific and concrete measures to halt the arms race, as we had hoped it would, we nevertheless truly hope that the Final Document adopted by the General Assembly at that session [*resolution S-10/2*] will contribute effectively to the attainment of our final goal—general and complete disarmament. It is also hoped that the new Disarmament Commission of the General Assembly established at that session will be able to pursue its efforts to arrive at a genuine programme for general and complete disarmament under effective international control and at the channelling of present military expenditure to economic development, particularly in developing countries.

134. We should like on this occasion to reaffirm our support of the efforts made within the United Nations to establish a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East and a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean with a view to maintaining the independence and sovereignty of the States of the regions.

135. Our agenda for this session contains numerous items dealing with international questions which occupy the attention of the community. Foremost among them is the question of the implementation of the new international economic order. It has become clear that no State, whatever its strength or economic capability or the degree of its technological advancement, can by itself deal with the economic problems confronting it. Hence the importance of the United Nations as a vehicle for the co-ordination of efforts to solve economic problems which are insoluble without collective action, particularly since we live in an age in which the interdependence of States is increasing daily. Although more than four years have elapsed since the General Assembly resolved to establish a new international economic order [*see resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], a wide gap still exists between what was decided in this respect and what it has been possible to achieve in practice. It is not in the interest of developed States to correct the defects in the current economic order and replace the existing relations, which are based on unfair advantages, by more just and equitable international rela-

tions. The gap between the economic standards in the developed and the developing countries is widening day by day. In other words, the rich get richer and the poor get poorer without any appreciable progress being made in bridging the increasing gap between the developing and the developed countries. It is a matter for great concern that, as IBRD pointed out in its report this year,<sup>6</sup> approximately 800 million people in the developing world suffer from abject poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, disease and a high mortality rate among children. The report warned that unless industrial States increase their aid to developing countries such problems will remain unsolved until the end of the century and that they are likely to get worse. It is important to re-emphasize here the pressing need for restructuring international economic relations by establishing the new international economic order, which guarantees the establishment of balanced mutually beneficial relations among States, thus leading to stability, prosperity and progress for mankind as a whole.

136. The seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea ended recently after some progress had been made towards the solution of hard-core issues. We should like on this occasion to support the appeal that no unilateral national legislation be adopted with regard to the exploration and exploitation of the international area before the conclusion of the convention, because of the detrimental effect that this would have on the work and success of the Conference. It is hoped that it will not be long before a generally acceptable and comprehensive convention on the law of the sea is concluded, thus contributing to the implementation of the new international economic order, which would benefit all the nations of the world.

137. In outlining my statement in my country's position on the most important items on our agenda it has not been my intention merely to refer to successes or failures but rather to draw attention to what in our view, are the pressing problems now confronting the world and point out the means and the possibilities for their solution under the auspices of the United Nations. There are many major, hard and complex problems confronting us. We hope that by looking at the problem as a whole and exerting real and relentless efforts, we shall be able to find the path to peace, co-operation and justice. In this respect we should be guided by the objectives and principles of the Charter, which we have vowed to support. For our part, my country's delegation would like to reaffirm the continuous adherence of the State of Bahrain to the principles and purposes of the United Nations and its readiness to work together with States which love peace and justice for their implementation. Our position stems from our firm conviction that this Organization provides the most effective means for the community of mankind to achieve its aspirations to peace, justice and economic and social progress.

138. Mr. KEUTCHA (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Dominated as it is by hegemonic rivalries, the international situation during the past year has been characterized by mounting tensions, the rousing and

<sup>6</sup> *World Development Report, 1978* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, August 1978).

exacerbation of feelings and the proliferation of political and military conflicts, particularly in the countries of the third world, resulting in greater instability and poverty. This situation might, because of its serious and persistent vicissitudes, cloud our vision of the future, were it not for the fortunate appearance of a few rays of light in the diplomatic sky that give us reason for hope and strengthen our belief in the progress of mankind.

139. Concern and hope, then, make up my mixed and seemingly contradictory feelings as I take part in these reflections on the state of the world that is this general debate, and as I set out the position of Cameroon on the problems of concern to the international community.

140. But I first join previous speakers in extending to you, Mr. President, most sincere and warm congratulations on your election, which pleases us immensely because, through your country, Colombia, it is a tribute to all of Latin America, a continent so close to Africa because of certain similarities in its human, material and cultural diversity but especially because of its commitment to the struggle against hunger, sickness and poverty and for the promotion of human dignity. There can be no doubt, Mr. President, that our work will benefit from your wise statesmanship, prudence, forbearance and awareness of the need for diplomatic compromise and from your sensitivity and creative imagination as a writer. I wish to assure you of the support and full co-operation of my delegation as you carry out your important tasks.

141. I am also pleased, Mr. President, to express once again to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, your distinguished predecessor, my particular admiration of the competence and devotion that he showed as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. He will surely go down in the history of our Organization as an accomplished diplomat who presided over four sessions of the General Assembly in one year and, above all, helped our universal Organization to adopt its first global plan of action for disarmament.

142. This year we have devoted a special session to one of the most distressing problems of our time, one that is of concern to all mankind because it relates directly to man's survival. My delegation took part in the tenth special session devoted to disarmament, convinced that all States, great and small, must at long last face up to their responsibilities and agree on new measures to remove the danger of another world-wide confrontation, which could occur if an end is not put to the spread of weapons of mass destruction.

143. We must deplore the fact that the great surge of hope created by the tenth special session did not lead States, especially those States that possess such weapons, to change their attitude with a view to making a concrete and affirmative start on the process of general disarmament, beginning with nuclear disarmament.

144. We do not wish to underestimate the importance of the Final Document adopted by consensus at the end of the tenth special session, which, in laying down the principles of the Programme of Action [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*] and of disarmament machinery, outlined a new approach to this extremely complex problem. We even believe that

certain decisions, such as the decision to reform the negotiating structures of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, will considerably strengthen the bases of an international disarmament strategy. What causes us constant concern is the lack of a spirit of co-operation shown by States whose determination to dominate others seems to be at the root of the continuing excessive arms build-up, consuming untold resources and making world peace more and more precarious.

145. How is it possible to explain the attitude of the nuclear States which, while affirming the principle of the non-use of nuclear weapons or the threat of their use against non-nuclear States, refuse to adopt a binding international system that provides adequate guarantees of security?

146. As a non-aligned country, Cameroon, which has made peace a corner-stone of its development, remains convinced that world peace must be based not on a dangerous balance between over-armed military blocs, but rather on active co-operation among all States, all nations, and all peoples.

147. We can never denounce enough the shocking and growing disproportion between the enormous resources devoted to the build-up and perfecting of weapons and the modest sums, which incidentally are decreasing, allocated to assistance to the developing countries, whose debts have been soaring.

148. It is perhaps fitting to recall here what was said on this very subject nine years ago by the President of the United Republic of Cameroon, His Excellency Ahmadou Ahidjo. He said:

"It is, indeed, absurd that huge sums should continue to be swallowed up by the arms race while the bulk of mankind lives in tragic and unjust penury... Unjust because, in the world today, one of the common tasks of mankind is to achieve progress the benefits of which must be shared fairly among all."<sup>7</sup>

149. Your brilliant introductory statement, Mr. President [*1st meeting*], which shared that conviction, particularly caught the attention of my delegation in a year when the development of the world economy is far from encouraging optimism—a year when, disheartened by persistent turmoil, we are tempted to resort to ridiculous palliatives that push us farther and farther away from the accomplishments of the sixth and seventh special sessions, whose undeniable merit was to have been to make all the countries of the world aware of their interdependence and common destiny.

150. In the face of all these uncertainties and of the difficulties of all kinds, only the new international economic order is capable of re-establishing confidence in the future and the economic development of the world.

151. States must go beyond the mere management of the existing system, which has caused the disruptions to which our countries find themselves exposed, and embark

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1780th meeting, para. 28.*

resolutely on a far-reaching reform of conditions for a joint, just and equitable functioning of the international economy.

152. How can we fail to regret that international negotiations that are supposed to lead to that new order seem still to be getting nowhere because of the lack of political will and spirit of solidarity of the affluent countries, which, clinging to their privileges and the exorbitant advantages that they have bestowed upon themselves, reject any fundamental change or seek refuge behind flimsy ideological allegations?

153. Hence, the negotiations on debt relief and on the setting up of a common fund have met with no appreciable result. Yet these questions, about which I spoke here three years ago,<sup>8</sup> are of vital importance to the developing countries. We hope that the reassuring statements made at the beginning of this debate by certain industrialized countries about the common fund will make it possible for the negotiating conference<sup>9</sup> to produce fruitful results when it resumes work in November.

154. Because of the lack of solidarity, because of the lack of political will, multilateral trade negotiations have not yet led to a liberalization of trade and the adoption of a generalized system of preferences, without reciprocity, in favour of the developing countries. Because of the reappearance in the developed countries of protectionist and restrictive measures, and because of the virtually ubiquitous use of safeguard clauses, we cannot fail to be concerned about the future of these negotiations. In addition, we wonder whether in using as an excuse a new form of competition from the Southern Hemisphere there is not a risk that the international market will become fragmented and indeed may eventually disappear. Presumably there is no need to remind the Assembly that, had it not been for the liberalization of trade, the growth the world has experienced over the past quarter of a century would never have been possible.

155. Developments at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea have also been a source of concern because of the lack of human solidarity on the part of the industrialized countries, which once again want the lion's share of the common heritage of man represented by the sea-bed and the ocean floor.

156. The Conference has been going on for five years, and significant progress seems to have been made regarding the definition of the new concept of an exclusive economic zone; many countries have derived considerable benefit from that by proclaiming their sovereignty over large fishing zones. In contrast, no consensus seems to be near regarding the system for exploiting the resources of the ocean floor. And, as the Assembly is aware, that situation can certainly not be blamed on the Group of 77, which has come forward with every form of compromise imaginable. In addition, we must deplore that certain developed countries, using as an excuse the fact that negotiations have

been proceeding slowly, are now considering unilateral legislation. Cameroon believes that the Conference has gone on long enough and that the sessions set for next year should be the last ones before the adoption of a convention. We simply fail to comprehend why the Conference has remained deadlocked simply because there must be unanimity before a decision is reached. That seems to be nothing more than a subtle form of veto.

157. After the failure of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, last year we invited the States Members of our Organization to direct their efforts consistently towards the future and in three directions: fulfilment by the developed countries of freely accepted commitments; resumption of negotiations within the framework of the United Nations in areas in which agreement is possible; and continuance of negotiations on questions that have hitherto been stumbling-blocks. Obviously, we welcomed the creation of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, called the Committee of the Whole, whose mission it was to deal with these three problems.

158. After a year of debate, however, we must recognize that the differences of opinion that paralysed negotiations within the framework of GATT and within UNCTAD have cropped up once again in the Committee, thereby making it impossible for that Committee to do anything productive owing to lack of agreement on the content of its mandate.

159. We should like to remind the Assembly that under the terms of resolution 32/174, which set up the Committee of the Whole, the Committee should assist the General Assembly in overseeing and monitoring the implementation of decisions and agreements reached in the negotiations on the establishment of the new international economic order in the United Nations; in providing impetus for resolving difficulties in negotiations; in serving, where appropriate, as a forum for facilitating and expediting agreement on the resolution of outstanding issues; and in exploring and exchanging views on global economic problems and priorities.

160. While the complexity of the issues that are pending might make it necessary to give priority to one of these functions over another from time to time, the fact remains that the constant goal should be to achieve tangible results. Providing, as it does, machinery for supervision and the putting into effect of commitments entered into, the Committee cannot be considered a mere forum. It must instead mobilize the political will of all States and provide direct or indirect momentum for the development of international co-operation and the establishment of a new international economic order.

161. It is our hope that the present session will lead to wide consultations, so that the so-often expressed will to prevent the failure of the North-South dialogue will truly be felt at the forthcoming sessions of the Committee. We are sure that would lead to a more relaxed atmosphere and to the co-operation and mutual confidence that are necessary if an international development strategy is to be formulated in 1980.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Seventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2340th meeting, paras. 56-125.

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

162. Changes in international economic relations and the strengthening of co-operation for development require concrete, bold and imaginative decisions. It is high time, then, for us to give concrete expression to our common political will and to bring about, in a new climate of peace and solidarity, substantial progress in the major negotiations at present under way, in particular those on North-South issues.

163. Only by paying this price can the world economy emerge from its state of uncertainty and sluggishness. The stakes are high. We must succeed, for failure would bring increased hardship to untold millions of human beings. If we fail to meet this challenge, all future generations will, as the Secretary-General of our Organization has warned, inherit from us our shortages and confrontations. In giving this warning we cannot fail to express once again our gratitude and our great admiration for Mr. Kurt Waldheim and his untiring efforts to make it possible for our Organization, which he guides with such competence, devotion and courage, to play a leading role in bringing about the new international economic order. Our congratulations and the congratulations of all of Africa go to him in particular for his prompt response to the wishes of the General Assembly in reorganizing the structure of the Secretariat in such a way as to streamline its activities for the benefit of development and increase its impact on economic co-operation.

164. There must be reforms in other United Nations bodies too, as we have been advocating for many years, so that our Organization may more faithfully reflect the new global configuration.

165. We have in mind first of all the General Assembly, which must reconsider its working methods, as the Secretary-General has suggested [see A/33/1, sect. X], and in accordance with the recommendations of the Committee that was especially created for that purpose.<sup>10</sup>

166. Next—and perhaps more important—comes to mind the Security Council, which because of its present procedures is simply incapable of adequately performing its functions under the Charter.

167. It is indispensable that the countries of the third world, which represent three quarters of mankind, be represented more adequately in decision-making bodies which are responsible for world peace and collective security.

168. Next, all States, including the most powerful, must agree without any mental reservations to yield part of the attributes to their sovereignty to our Organization, so that it may be able to cope with the various problems, which no State or group of States, no matter how powerful, can resolve. After all, our Organization has only the power conferred upon it by Governments.

169. In the implementation of its decisions it is indispensable that our Organization should be able to count on the

<sup>10</sup> Special Committee on the Rationalization of the Procedures and Organization of the General Assembly. For the Committee's report, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Supplement No. 26*.

good faith of Governments. Regrettably, there are many reasons to question the degree of loyalty of all States. Perhaps the most regrettable case is that of southern Africa, where for decades a minority régime of white racists, whose arrogance exceeds all tolerable limits, has spurned the ideals, objectives and decisions of our Organization. Is it not also a matter for regret that, even though they have unanimously been held up to public obloquy by all States represented here, the outlawed régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury still seem to find defenders whenever it comes to applying sanctions under the Charter of our Organization against them? Is it not a matter for regret that there have been reports of violations of sanctions with the knowledge of certain States which have called for and supported the adoption of those sanctions in the Security Council?

170. Our position on that subject and on many other subjects relating to the present international situation is well known. Our position with regard to Cyprus is certainly well known: the sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of that country must be safeguarded and respected, without any foreign interference, in conformity with the relevant resolutions of our Organization. Members are also familiar with our position on Lebanon, a country that is our friend and whose unity has been seriously threatened by a crisis that seems to go on endlessly. They are also familiar with our position in regard to détente, which, if it is to become a reality, must spread to all countries, including the countries of the third world that are seeking peace in order to be able to tackle the work of national construction and the promotion of the well-being of their peoples in independence and freedom. They are also familiar with our position in regard to the kinds of international relations which should exist, based on equality, mutual respect and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

171. Cameroon took part in the Committee of African Heads of State, the so-called mission of "wise men" of the Organization of African Unity on the Middle East and it supports and indeed always will support any efforts to bring about a just, global and lasting settlement of the situation existing in that part of the world, which is a threat to world peace.

172. The Palestinian problem is the very core of the Israeli-Arab conflict, and in addition to the complete implementation of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), the solution of that problem implies the participation in all negotiations on the subject of the Palestinian people, under the leadership of the PLO, their genuine representative, and the exercise of all their rights, including their right to a homeland. We believe that the Camp David agreements, although they have given rise to certain hopes, reveal certain ambiguities, short-comings and uncertainties.

173. The presence among us of a delegation from Solomon Islands, in addition to confirming the aspiration to universality of our Organization, has aroused great hopes for the peoples of Africa that are still being oppressed by colonialist and imperialist domination and racial discrimination.

174. Thus it is a real pleasure to welcome the delegation of that new, free country upon the occasion of its entry into our Organization as the one hundred and fiftieth Member State, and we wish to convey to it the sincerest congratulations of the Cameroonian Government and people.

175. We wish to congratulate the former administering Power on the manner in which it discharged its responsibilities towards that former Non-Self-Governing Territory in guiding it to independence, just as it did in the case of the many Territories formerly under its dominion.

176. We regret that it has not so far met the insulting challenge both to itself and to the international community posed for 13 years by the minority of racist white settlers who seized power in Southern Rhodesia in disregard of the deeper aspirations of the majority of the population, who since then have been subjected to a régime of terror and the violation of their most fundamental rights.

177. It is undeniable that the so-called internal agreement of 3 March 1978 is a farce and a sinister plot against the people of Zimbabwe. With regard to the Anglo-American plan<sup>11</sup> advocating the peaceful transfer of power to the majority by means of negotiations, we have already said that we are interested in such a solution, which of necessity implies that we are interested in such a solution, which of necessity implies that the parties show a determination to negotiate in good faith.

178. But we have always been sceptical of the possibility of an honest and constructive dialogue with those who are ruling in Salisbury and Pretoria, for their ulterior motives as supporters of slavery are certainly clear to everyone.

179. The sudden about-face of South Africa regarding the plan of the five Western Powers<sup>12</sup> and the settlement in Namibia is particularly significant. In rejecting the report of the Secretary-General,<sup>13</sup> South Africa has once again committed an affront against the five Powers, the Security Council and the international community as a whole.

180. That is why we reaffirm our complete support for the liberation struggle being conducted by the people of Zimbabwe under the leadership of the Patriotic Front. Their heroic action has been a source of constant trouble to the Ian Smith régime, which has its back against the wall. This desperate situation of Ian Smith explains the growing aggressiveness of the Fascists in Salisbury, who are allied with those in Pretoria, and the killing of civilian populations in neighbouring African communities.

181. There can be no doubt in our minds that the peoples of southern Africa will soon recover their dignity and sovereignty and will soon set up democratic régimes under which freedom, concord and racial equality will prevail.

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, *Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

182. If our continent gave favourable consideration to the five-Power plan put forward by the members of the Security Council regarding the peaceful settlement of the problem of Namibia, it was—need we mention this—due to the prestige of the sponsors.

183. We are convinced that those who assumed the major responsibility of encouraging the Security Council to adopt that plan will not jeopardize their credibility in the eyes of world's public. The Government of South Africa has resorted to a good deal of quibbling and various stratagems, but we are sure that no one will be deceived. The goal of the Pretoria régime has been to oppose majority government in Namibia and to keep control over the international Territory, and its plan is to establish there a pseudo-independent régime controlled by representatives of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

184. Cameroon welcomes resolution 435 (1978), by which the Security Council approved the report of the Secretary-General and created the United Nations Transition Assistance Group to ensure, in the near future, the independence of Namibia by means of free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

185. We have noted with satisfaction the declared intention of the five Powers to see to the implementation of that resolution.

186. Clearly, if Pretoria continues to oppose the Western plan and stubbornly rejects the report of the Secretary-General, the Council should then draw the logical consequences from the situation and invoke the relevant provisions of the Charter. Our Organization has already acknowledged that the policy of *apartheid* is a crime against mankind and that it is a serious threat to international peace and security.

187. What situation would be more suitable for the application of the provisions of Chapter VII?

188. Cameroon believes that it is a matter of great urgency that severe sanctions, and first and foremost a strict oil embargo, be adopted and implemented against South Africa, so as to induce some repentance on the part of that country.

189. Cameroon reaffirms its complete support for the noble struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of its genuine representative, SWAPO, as it struggles to win real independence and respect for the unity and integrity of its territory, including Walvis Bay.

190. We are at the eve of the solemn celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and yet, despite the considerable accomplishments of our Organization in safeguarding international peace and security, it is a fact that decolonization and economic co-operation among States, the persistence of colonialism and racial discrimination, the systematic and institutionalized violation of human rights in southern Africa, the economic inequalities which have caused tensions and still keep the great majority of mankind in a state of chronic poverty, and the stubborn egotism of affluent States prove beyond a shadow of a doubt that our Organization has much unfinished business before it.

191. Needless to point out that the major changes in international life since the Second World War brought about by the newly independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America, by the development of technology in all areas, by the world-wide spread of military alliances and conflicts, by the yearning of all peoples for the ideals of peace and justice, and the growing awareness of our common destiny all require the liberalization and democratization of international relations. When that is achieved, and only then, will all States, great and small, powerful and weak, rich and poor, be able to work together to safeguard and strengthen that supra-national common asset of which

peace, collective security and the well-being of all peoples are the essential elements.

192. But changes of that order would require that the United Nations provide leadership and that its responsibility for taking action be increased so that it may, in a permanent and dynamic manner, regulate the furtherance of our common interests in conformity with the principles and purposes of the Charter.

*The meeting rose at 1.30 p.m.*