

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-THIRD SESSION

Official Records



22nd
PLENARY MEETING

Thursday, 5 October 1978,
at 10.55 a.m.

NEW YORK

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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

Address by Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Republic of Cyprus. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, President of the Republic of Cyprus, to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. KYPRIANOU (Cyprus): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you, Sir, warm congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your country, Colombia, with which my country maintains very friendly relations, has always played a prominent role in international affairs. Your distinguished record as a statesman gives us the assurance that under your experienced leadership the present session, which has so many important items on its agenda, will be guided constructively and skilfully to a successful conclusion.

3. I should like also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for the excellent manner in which he discharged his difficult duties through the regular session of the Assembly last year and the three special sessions this year.

4. I wish to express our very warm welcome to the delegation of Solomon Islands, a fellow Commonwealth member which has joined the Organization at this session as its one hundred and fiftieth Member and with which we look forward to developing close ties of co-operation and friendship.

5. When in the general debate we review global problems and international conflicts with reference to the relevant role of the United Nations it is, I believe, our common

purpose to contribute to the effective maintenance of international peace and security through the Organization.

6. In that sense, the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] is a most significant document. Its review of world developments and its assessment of situations should be given full consideration and attention as a basic premise for discussion in the general debate. The need to make the United Nations central in the policies of Governments is felt more impressively than ever in these turbulent times.

7. Increasing manifestations of insecurity and near anarchy at the international level threaten the very foundations of human society. To arrest those ominous trends, recourse to the system of legal order and security prescribed in the Charter is becoming a compelling necessity.

8. To that end, determined steps must be taken to bring into operation the provisions in Chapter VII of the Charter for the effective implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council, thereby giving effect to its decisions and restoring the authority of the United Nations.

9. In the face of a sharply deteriorating world situation the Secretary-General in his most recent reports has dealt with this problem in a bold and pragmatic manner. In a reference to the non-implementation of the Security Council's resolutions, this year's report pointedly notes that this situation has

"... tended to downgrade the prestige and effectiveness of the Organization ... as the ... guarantor of international peace and security ... [with the result that of late] some small States no longer turn to the United Nations as the protector of their sovereign rights." [See A/33/1, sect. II.]

10. The Secretary-General warns of the seriousness of such developments and adds that:

"A more reliable and generally accepted international security system [through the United Nations] is the only logical answer to this fundamental problem." [Ibid.]

11. It thus becomes clear that the mere adoption, often unanimously, of resolutions by the General Assembly and the Security Council without their implementation will in fact have the effect of discrediting the Organization and of encouraging the party in default to continue its attitude of contemptuous disregard towards those resolutions. It is high time that the crucial issue of the implementation of Security Council resolutions should, at an appropriate time, be placed on the agenda of the General Assembly for careful consideration and remedial action. I would go a step

further and formally propose the holding of a special session of the General Assembly to deal with this vital issue alone.

12. The report emphasizes the fundamental truth that:

“The United Nations was intended, among other things, to be the guarantor of justice and peace for all nations, and most especially for defenceless or small countries which would otherwise have no recourse in a world dominated exclusively by power politics.” [*Ibid.*]

The Secretary-General also rightly stresses that:

“We must strive to reach a point where the system and the principles of the Charter, and not the rivalries of great Powers, are the decisive and dominant elements of the international order.” [*Ibid.*]

13. Those observations are indeed very significant. If they could be translated into practical action—and it is up to the States Members of this Organization to do so—they would provide the solution to nearly all the problems facing the world today, whether they be problems of international peace and security, problems of economic relations between States, problems of human rights or problems of international law. It is only through the faithful application in practice of the letter and the spirit of the Charter that the world can be made safer, more just and more peaceful than it is today.

14. What adds significantly to the importance of international security through the United Nations is that it is closely linked and interdependent with the burning world problem of the arms race and disarmament.

15. The convening for the first time of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament demonstrates the frustrations involved in all disarmament efforts. The tenth special session, although it did not fully live up to the aspirations of humanity, was nevertheless a major event in our world Organization. It focused world public opinion as never before on the primary need to deal effectively with the arms race. In the words of paragraph 18 of the Final Document of that session [*resolution S-10/2*] “we must halt the arms race and proceed to disarmament or face annihilation.”

16. The special session laid the foundation for an international disarmament strategy which, through the co-ordinated effort provided for in the Final Document, aims at general and complete disarmament, thus halting the arms race. It has almost imperceptively emerged from the special session that there can hardly be any prospect of halting the arms race as long as the security of nations continues to be dependent upon the anachronistic concept of balance of power or, rather, “balance of weapons”. The resulting competition to attain or maintain such a balance inevitably spurs on the arms race and leads to its rapid and continuing escalation, as experience for over three decades has amply demonstrated.

17. The vital prerequisite for the cessation of the arms race, allowing progress towards disarmament, is to provide for the security of nations otherwise than through the

balance of weapons. Such alternative security can come only from the effective application of the relevant provisions of the Charter.

18. In this connexion I wish to reiterate the proposal of my country, made at the special session, for the establishment of an organ of the General Assembly for the peaceful settlement of international disputes that would give meaning and substance to the provisions of Article 33 of the Charter.¹

19. A positive contribution to the effort to establish international security is the study prepared by the Centre for Disarmament on the interrelationship between disarmament and international security,² which was presented by the Secretary-General to the special session by virtue of a consensus General Assembly resolution [*resolution 32/87 C*] introduced by Cyprus and sponsored by it and 10 other non-aligned countries.

20. It is very comforting that in its Declaration, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, referring to the arms race as a major threat to the survival of mankind, emphatically stated:

“This situation is mainly due to the lack of adequate international security as provided for in the United Nations Charter, and the failure to replace the outdated concept of balance of power as a means of security.” [*See A/33/206, para. 147.*]

With reference to the strengthening of the role and effectiveness of the United Nations, strong emphasis is given in the Declaration to the need to apply “a system of international security as expressly provided in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations” [*ibid.*, para. 161].

21. Turning now to the crucial issue of the new international economic order, I would like to observe that the existing inequality between the rich and the poor is constantly growing and has become another source of tension in the world. As a developing country we have long advocated the adoption of a new and fairer international economic order which, seen in the long term, is bound to benefit the developed countries as well. It is very worrying that the ongoing North-South dialogue has so far yielded no significant results. There is an evident need for a reappraisal of the whole situation and for a reorientation not only of specific policies but also of fundamental thinking. We firmly believe that increased co-operation between developing countries should be encouraged as it will not only stimulate and foster collective self-reliance but also positively contribute to the establishment of the much sought after new international economic order. For our part, in our modest way we have taken concrete steps to promote technical co-operation with neighbouring and other countries through agreements providing the framework for and encouragement of such co-operation.

22. Peace-keeping by the United Nations, in the form in which it has repeatedly been carried out in recent years—

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Ad Hoc Committee of the Tenth Special Session*, 11th meeting, and corrigendum.

² See document A/S-10/7 and Corr.1.

that is, based on the consent of the Government of the State concerned, though this is not expressly provided for in the Charter—has come time and again to provide a temporary answer to situations in which containment is necessary while efforts are under way to solve the underlying causes of such a situation.

23. The complaint is sometimes voiced—with a considerable degree of justification—that such operations can be counter-productive in the sense that by containing existing conflicts they tend to remove the incentive for the radical solution of the problems which necessitated those operations, with the result that peace-keeping operations of the kind, instead of being temporary palliatives, are converted into near-permanent features of indefinite duration. Yet it should also be borne in mind that peace-keeping operations exist not in a political or legal vacuum but in the context of the Security Council resolutions, the proper implementation of which—by the parties concerned in the first place, and by the Security Council through enforcement action in the last resort if one or more of the parties is unwilling—would indeed radically solve the problem on the basis of such resolutions and the Charter, thus rendering such operations no longer necessary. It is, therefore, in the failure of the Security Council to exercise its responsibilities under the Charter and to take the necessary steps to implement its own resolutions that the reason for this anomaly exists.

24. Turning to another subject, I wish to express and stress the importance we attach to the successful outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, where for five years a systematic effort has been under way to arrive at a comprehensive and generally acceptable convention. Such a convention should include adequate provisions, on the basis of just and objective criteria, regarding the delimitation of the maritime zones between States the coasts of which are opposite or adjacent to each other, as well as an effective system for the peaceful settlement of disputes arising therefrom.

25. As the Secretary-General has pointed out in his report on the work of the Organization, the main political problems regarding which the Organization has specific responsibilities are the Middle East, southern Africa and Cyprus. All three have common elements, and in all of them the non-implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions has rendered them a threat to international peace and security.

26. With regard to the very sensitive region of the Middle East, we reiterate our firm support for the objective of a just and lasting settlement of all aspects of the Middle East conflict within the framework of the relevant United Nations resolutions. The Palestine Liberation Organization should fully participate in the efforts aimed at a solution based on the United Nations resolutions and on the establishment of a Palestinian homeland, as well as on recognition of the rights of all States in the region to exist in peace and within recognized boundaries.

27. The sad events in Lebanon give rise to concern and anxiety. We fully support the efforts of the Government of Lebanon assisted by UNIFIL to restore its sovereign rights over all its territory. The territorial integrity of Lebanon must be safeguarded at all costs.

28. Cyprus has been consistent in its full support of the right of the people of Zimbabwe to determine their destiny in accordance with their sovereign will. Cyprus will continue to observe strictly the sanctions imposed by the Security Council against the Salisbury régime until genuine majority rule and true independence have been reached with the agreement of the leaders of the Patriotic Front. I wish also to reiterate our solidarity with the fellow non-aligned countries of Zambia and Mozambique in their determined resistance against repeated acts of aggression by the Smith forces.

29. As regards Namibia, we express the hope that the Pretoria régime will comply with all Security Council resolutions and no longer impede progress towards Namibia's independence. Cyprus stands firm in its solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

30. We unreservedly condemn the policy of *apartheid* practised in South Africa; and we have, in this connexion, consistently advocated more determined action by the Security Council.

31. The current session takes place in the course of a year that marks the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. During the last 30 years a comprehensive series of conventions, declarations and recommendations have been developed under the guidance of the United Nations system.³ Thus, human rights standards have been set and the fundamental freedoms of individuals and of peoples have been established in detail, foremost among them the right of peoples to self-determination and to economic and social advancement in greater freedom. Also, the right of every individual to freedom of movement in his own country, his right to own property and his right to choose his place of residence were irrevocably established.

32. The separation of ethnic groups on the basis of race was deplored, and racial discrimination and the theory of racial superiority were declared scientifically false, morally condemnable, socially unjust and politically dangerous. And yet we still see a flagrant denial of human rights and a wanton and declared policy of racial discrimination practised in a number of cases.

33. What is needed, therefore, is for the international community not simply to theorize about human values and fundamental freedoms but rather to concentrate on ways and means of implementing them.

34. That is why we are gratified that, at long last, the principles embodied in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights have become binding through the entry into force of the two International Covenants on Human Rights and the establishment of the Human Rights Committee last year.

35. Likewise, the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination [resolution 2106 A (XX)] provides the necessary machinery for the

³ See, *inter alia*, *Human Rights: A Compilation of International Instruments* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.XIV.2).

purpose of the application of its provisions in the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination established under article 8 of its provisions. It is noteworthy that decisions of that Committee relate to the situation in Cyprus.

36. Before I deal with the Cyprus problem, I wish to express to the Secretary-General our deep appreciation of the keen interest he has been showing and for his efforts to find a just solution to our problem. Our sincere thanks go also to his collaborators in Cyprus and in the Secretariat. I should similarly like to express our appreciation to all countries that participate with military or police contingents in the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, as well as to those which, through financial contributions, make its functioning possible.

37. As was stated by the Secretary-General, one of the most serious problems in the world today is that of Cyprus. No one can disagree with him. Four years have elapsed since the summer of 1974 when an unprecedented crime was committed at the expense of my country, a small, defenceless and non-aligned independent State, a Member on an equal footing with others of the United Nations. Cyprus was invaded by Turkey and as a result thousands of people lost their lives, 40 per cent of its territory was occupied, and one third of the population of Cyprus became refugees in their own country having been uprooted from their ancestral homes and lands by the invading forces of the Turkish Atti¹.

38. That aggression was described at the time by the Prime Minister of Turkey as a "peace operation" aiming, allegedly, at the restoration of constitutional order. That most peculiar "peace operation" was carried out with the use of the most brutal methods—cold-blooded murder, rape, robbery and destruction. Forty thousand troops were used, with heavy artillery, and for several days the Turkish air force bombed the cities and villages of Cyprus with napalm bombs. Repeated resolutions of the Security Council calling for the cessation of the armed intervention were ignored by Turkey. The atrocities that were committed by the Turkish troops in that infamous "peace operation" are beyond description. Those who could have prevented that crime did not do so, nor did they do anything to stop it.

39. Four years have elapsed since then, but nothing at all has been done to restore justice to the suffering people of Cyprus. In the meantime, Turkey—as part, I suppose, of this so-called "peace operation" supposedly intended to protect the rights of the Turkish Cypriots—implanted settlers from the Anatolian depths of Turkey in massive numbers in the areas under the occupation of the Turkish troops. Four years have elapsed, and we are still trying to find a way to trace the fate of 2,000 missing persons.

40. Four years have elapsed since the General Assembly of the United Nations by its unanimously adopted resolution 3212 (XXIX) demanded the withdrawal of foreign troops from the Republic of Cyprus and called for the return of the refugees in conditions of safety to the homes from which they had been brutally uprooted. That resolution, which also called for the cessation of the intervention in Cyprus and for respect for its independence, sovereignty

and territorial integrity, was unanimously endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 365 (1974). I suppose that four years are enough to prove that the intentions of Turkey in carrying out its aggression against Cyprus in 1974 had nothing to do with the restoration of constitutional order. Four years are enough to establish beyond any doubt that the intentions of Turkey were, and still are, the destruction of the unity of Cyprus and the changing of its demographic structure for the purpose of promoting partition; and this was officially confirmed by the partition proposals of Ankara in April 1978.

41. During all those four years various efforts have been made to find a just and viable solution to the problem of Cyprus in conformity with resolution 3212 (XXIX) and subsequent General Assembly and Security Council resolutions. It is argued that the Cyprus problem can be solved only through negotiations; and some go further and allege that the Government of Cyprus is not interested in negotiations and that it is not in a hurry for a solution. All such assertions are wrong and absurd, to say the least.

42. In fact, during the past four years and in the course of the intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General, the Greek Cypriot side has tried hard, but in vain, to secure meaningful negotiations. It has proved impossible because of the intransigence of Turkey and the Turkish Cypriot leadership. Negotiations between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots cannot really be freely conducted, as experience has demonstrated, while the occupation troops remain on the island. This has the effect of making the negotiations nugatory, as has been confirmed by the official proposals prepared in Ankara and submitted to the Secretary-General in April 1978.⁴ These proposals render manifest the design of partition and the concern of the aggressor to legalize the faits accomplis created by the aggression. We would have been entitled to refuse any negotiations until the occupation troops were withdrawn from Cyprus in conformity with the United Nations resolutions. We would have been entitled to refuse to talk to anyone until the United Nations resolutions were implemented. We would have been entitled to refuse to do anything at all until at least paragraph 2 of resolution 3212 (XXIX), calling for the withdrawal of the foreign troops from Cyprus, was implemented. But in a spirit of goodwill, we did not do so. On the contrary, we went well out of our way in our earnest desire to see a speedy settlement to the Cyprus problem, because who would really be more anxious to see a speedy settlement to the Cyprus problem than the Government of Cyprus and the people of Cyprus? Who would be more anxious to see an end to the tragedy than the victim of the aggression? But despite all our efforts and all our sincere endeavours in the course of the last four years, there has been no progress whatsoever. And there are still no signs of any change in the attitude of Turkey.

43. Turkey, under whose military control the Turkish Cypriot leadership operates, does not aim at ensuring the independence and territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus as a sovereign and non-aligned State Member of the United

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12723, annex.

Nations, but at its demolition and dismemberment. The two sides, therefore, are at cross-purposes. How can negotiations on such premises succeed? How can the intercommunal talks—or indeed any other talks—succeed as long as Turkey imposes its will on the Turkish Cypriots through the presence of its troops, and as long as Turkey pursues its partitionist policy?

44. All the resolutions of the United Nations, both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, have been completely disregarded by Turkey and we have come once again this year to the United Nations to protest this continued violation of the Charter and of the resolutions of the United Nations. The human rights of the people of Cyprus are being continuously violated. And, in this context, I must stress that when I speak of the human rights of the people of Cyprus, I speak of the human rights of the Turkish Cypriots as well, who now live in conditions of poverty, misery and terrorism, and under the mercy of the Turkish troops and the settlers from Turkey. When I speak of justice and freedom for Cyprus, I speak on behalf of the entire people of Cyprus, whether they are Greek or Turkish or Maronite or Armenian or Latin.

45. It is no longer a secret that the Turkish Cypriots—with the exception of a few favoured by the invader, as is usually the case—are fed up with the present situation, and we know very well how they feel and what they want: they want exactly the same thing that the Greek Cypriots want. There is a common desire on the part of both the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots for relief from military occupation and for reunification; for deep in their hearts they both feel that security, prosperity and happiness lie in unity and co-operation, and not in cultivated separateness and adversity imposed from outside by military force. There can be little progress towards co-operation and peace unless opportunities for trust through association are freely offered to the ordinary people from both sides. Both such opportunities are denied them by the presence of the occupying forces.

46. There can be no lasting peace in Cyprus and there can be no happiness for its people unless the occupation troops are withdrawn and unless Cyprus is reunited—and unless the people of Cyprus also are reunited. The stumbling-block to a solution to the Cyprus problem is the presence of the occupation troops.

47. During the special session on disarmament, I put forward a proposal,⁵ which I should like to repeat today. I propose that the Republic of Cyprus be completely demilitarized: that all foreign troops be withdrawn from Cyprus, and that all Cypriots, whether Greek Cypriots or Turkish Cypriots, be disarmed and that the security of the citizens of Cyprus be the responsibility of a mixed Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot police force under the supervision, guidance and control of a strong international police force of the United Nations for as long as necessary. Those who want a peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem cannot but see the merit of this proposal, because its implementation would remove all the obstacles to a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem.

48. I wish today to put forward another proposal, in addition to the previous one: if it is considered necessary, we would be willing to accept the establishment of any machinery of international supervision, through the United Nations, for the protection of the human and political rights of all citizens of Cyprus within the context of a just solution based on the resolutions of the United Nations. A similar proposal was put forward some years ago by the late President of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, in his desire to provide additional guarantees for the rights of the Turkish Cypriots.

49. We are full of goodwill and are anxious for an early and peaceful solution to the Cyprus problem. But we are firm in our position that it must be just and viable, in compliance with the resolutions of the United Nations, which contain all the necessary elements and prerequisites for such a solution, in the true interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. But Turkey does not seem to be interested in that, and consistently refuses to comply with those resolutions.

50. It is high time that the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, considered very seriously what steps should be taken in order to implement its own resolutions. It is high time for the Security Council to live up to its responsibilities and to meet the test and the challenge. That would be good not only for Cyprus but also for the United Nations, for it would revive the trust which all Member States should have in the ability of the Organization to deal with situations brought to it on the basis of the principles of the Charter, and would thus justify the hope which small countries, especially, have always reposed in the United Nations.

51. Cyprus has always been devoted to the principles of the United Nations, in which it has placed its faith. But four years after the aggression and the violation of these principles, we are, I believe, justified in expressing our deep disappointment at the lack of any progress towards the implementation of the United Nations resolutions. And we are, I believe, similarly justified in strongly urging concrete action by the United Nations to obtain the implementation of its own resolutions.

52. The present situation should not be allowed to go on indefinitely. Turkey has been flagrantly defying the resolutions of the United Nations. Chapter VII of the Charter provides the answer, and it was pointed out also by the recent Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade, that the Security Council must start considering action in conformity with its provisions and especially Chapter VII, which would include sanctions [see A/33/206, annex I, para. 77]. There is no justification for reluctance to point firmly to the aggressor and compel him to withdraw his troops from Cyprus. Why are the Turkish troops still in Cyprus? If Turkey is interested in the well-being and security of the Turkish Cypriots I am sure it can put faith in the United Nations in conformity with the proposal which we have put forward. The continued presence of the Turkish troops in Cyprus is a threat to international peace and security and it proves beyond any doubt that Turkey wishes through its presence and occupation to impose a solution to its own liking.

⁵ See document A/S-10/AC.1/39.

53. It is also high time for those Powers which are in a position to exercise effective influence on Turkey to act decisively, and compel Turkey to abandon its expansionist and partitionist designs. If the Security Council and its members remained idle, it would not only mean condoning the crime against Cyprus, but it would also mean the sacrificing of the principles of the Charter for the sake of expediencies totally alien to morality and justice. There can be no selective morality and there can be no selective justice. There can be no double standards.

54. We all rejoiced at the determination of the Security Council to act effectively in the case of Namibia, as well as in other cases. And we are entitled, I believe, to expect the same consideration as a Member of the United Nations whose independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity have been and continue to be flagrantly violated by another Member State.

55. I convey to the Assembly the agony of the suffering people of Cyprus. I convey the agony of the thousands of relatives of the missing persons and their demand that effective action be taken to trace the fate of their loved ones. I convey the agony of those who are in enclaves. I convey the voice of the 200,000 refugees and their demand to return to their homes. I convey the voice of the entire people of Cyprus who long for justice, freedom and peace.

56. The Cyprus problem is not in its essence a difference between the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots. The Cyprus problem is a problem of occupation and aggression. It is a problem of freedom, a question of respect for human rights and for the principles and the resolutions of the United Nations. The internal aspects of the Cyprus problem, including the constitutional issue, could easily be dealt with in a manner satisfactory for all under the aegis of the United Nations if the occupation troops were to be withdrawn. Is that so difficult for those who are in a position to take effective action to understand? The arrogant attitude of the aggressor is a challenge to the United Nations. It is a test case for all those who would like to be regarded as the champions of freedom and justice and for those who wish to uphold the principles of the United Nations and of human rights.

57. The Cyprus problem is not a problem of details. The very survival of Cyprus is at stake. The basic human rights of its people are at stake. I appeal to all of you to listen with understanding to the voice of a suffering people. I appeal to all of you to do whatever you can in order to achieve a solution to the Cyprus problem as quickly as possible in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations, the resolutions which you all have voted for and endorsed. I appeal to all of you to consider the Cyprus problem as your problem and take all necessary steps to remove the injustice done in Cyprus. I appeal to you not to allow any expediencies and short-sighted considerations to override the urgent need for a just solution in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations. I appeal to you all not to permit any attempt to legalize the results of the aggression and thus deny to the people of Cyprus their inalienable rights. I appeal to you not to tolerate any more the immense crime which has been committed against one of your small fellow Members. I appeal to the non-aligned countries and to all other small countries to accelerate their

efforts to help Cyprus at this, its critical time. I appeal to the great Powers to do whatever they can, in co-operation with each other or otherwise, to contribute effectively to the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations. Tolerating the aggression is tantamount to upholding it.

58. For our part, we are always ready to consider any constructive suggestion as long as it is within the framework of the resolutions of the United Nations. We also, as we have repeatedly declared, support the suggestion for a representative international conference under the auspices of the United Nations to deal with the Cyprus problem. But, as I said at the beginning, four years have elapsed since the time of the aggression and the occupation still continues. We realize that there are other problems also in the world that need the attention of the international community. But four years is a long time for the international community to be so ineffective in the case of Cyprus. We know and we can understand that its members cannot all feel the way we do. But, on the other hand, we all have the same responsibility if we all really believe in the necessity for international order and in the principles of the Charter.

59. I would like to express our sincere appreciation to all countries that have been supporting our just cause, but also our deep disappointment to those who have not been doing so because of expediencies totally irrelevant to morality and to their obligations under the Charter, or interests based on short-sighted considerations.

60. The rights of Cyprus and of its people are at stake, but as we see it, the authority of the United Nations is also at stake. The people of Cyprus are determined to continue their struggle for survival, freedom, justice and human dignity. Will the United Nations live up to their expectations? This is the big question.

61. We are often asked, What do you expect? Why do you hope? Why have you placed your faith in the United Nations? We do want to believe in the United Nations, and despite our disappointment we repeat our appeal to you because we believe that the Security Council is in a position to take the necessary action to remove the injustice which has been done to Cyprus. The Security Council is in a position to discharge its responsibilities because, as the Secretary-General has stated, Cyprus is the direct responsibility of the United Nations.

62. Cyprus is a very small country. It does not possess the means to achieve its goal of complete freedom and justice or to achieve the restoration of its rights by the use of force. It is unable to achieve its goals through any but peaceful means. We want a peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem. We want all the people of Cyprus—Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots—to be free and to enjoy their human and political rights in freedom, in conditions of security and in conditions of equality before the law and before the State.

63. Cyprus can become a happy island for all its citizens if it is left alone. Cyprus can be a place of peace and not a source of permanent friction. The responsibility of all the countries of the world, and especially of the great Powers,

to see to it that division does not become entrenched and that division is removed is great, because the division of Cyprus can only lead to the destruction of Cyprus and can only be to the detriment of the people of Cyprus, both Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots. At the same time it will be the source of conflict in the area. The sooner the division is removed and the sooner justice is restored to Cyprus the better for the entire world and for the United Nations.

64. I appeal to all of you. You may not consider the Cyprus problem critical, because there is no bloodshed at this moment. Therefore, we do not have Cyprus in the newspapers and Cyprus does not get the headlines in the newspapers. But the problem is there. The problem exists. The problem is serious for the future of Cyprus and for the prestige and authority of the United Nations. I appeal to all of you to consider it an urgent issue, before something worse happens. I appeal to you to do whatever you can to prove that when we speak from this rostrum of principles, of morality, of justice, of freedom, of democracy, of human rights, we mean what we say; that when we speak here of the necessity of the United Nations' being effective, we mean that; that when we speak of the necessity of adherence to the Charter of the United Nations and of the implementation of resolutions, we mean what we say.

65. Let us at least try. Let the Security Council discharge its responsibilities. The agony of the people of Cyprus must be understood, must be felt, by the entire international community. That the people of Cyprus suffer such agony is a crime in the twentieth century, reminiscent of crimes in the past. It is an unprecedented crime that has been committed. Anything that tends to legalize this crime should be avoided. The United Nations must reply to the big question in the affirmative. The United Nations must give the answer that it will do what it can—and it can do a lot through the Security Council—to restore justice to Cyprus.

66. We in Cyprus want to continue to believe and to place our faith in the United Nations. I hope that the United Nations will not fail in its responsibilities towards one of its small Members; otherwise a dangerous precedent will have been created for all small countries in the world.

67. I appeal to all of you to understand us and to do whatever you can, so that justice may be restored to Cyprus and so that the people of Cyprus may live in peace and harmony.

68. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I thank His Excellency the President of the Republic of Cyprus, for the important statement he has just made.

Address by Mr. Henck A. E. Arron, Prime Minister and Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Suriname. I have great pleasure in welcoming

His Excellency Mr. Henck A. E. Arron and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

70. Mr. ARRON (Suriname): I should like to express my great pleasure at having the opportunity once again to address this gathering of representatives of the members of our world community.

71. Permit me to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to this high office. To do so gives me particular satisfaction since your election not only represents a well-deserved tribute to you personally, but also does honour to Colombia, as well as to our Latin American region, of which you are one of the most outstanding spokesmen. In this connexion, my delegation is particularly pleased with the ever-increasing cordial and warm relations Suriname has with your great country.

72. I should also like to express my delegation's deep-felt gratitude for the sincere endeavours of your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, and for his remarkable leadership not only of the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly but also of the three special sessions of the General Assembly held in the course of this year.

73. The independence of Solomon Islands and its subsequent admission as a Member of the United Nations constitutes yet another stage in the rapid liquidation of colonialism. We extend our warm welcome to this new and friendly nation and express to the United Kingdom our appreciation of its having brought Solomon Islands to independence.

74. The thirty-third session of the General Assembly opens against the grim background of increasing political and economic tensions and deepening crises which leave little room for optimism and which could aggravate already existing feelings of frustration, if not desperation. The most important and fundamental issues of war and peace and the establishment of a New International Economic Order remain far from settled. The nuclear and conventional arms race continues unabated. The rumblings of war are once again being heard in the South-East Asian region, where many had real hope for a lasting peace after the ending of the Vietnam war. The Africans, already burdened with the scourge of *apartheid* and the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia, are now being threatened by an extension of external conflicting interests and pressure in other parts of their continent.

75. Against the background of increasing turmoil my delegation deems it necessary to say a few words about the general principles of our external policy.

76. Suriname is a country which attained its independence only a few years ago. Its foreign policy is based, first of all, on the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. As a developing country we are deeply committed to the ideals of the developing world aimed at attaining economic justice as between the developing and the developed nations. As a country of the Latin American continent and a member of the Organization of American States, we pursue an active policy aimed at strengthening our relations with sister countries of the Latin American continent and in the Caribbean. My country was therefore happy to sign treaties

of friendship and co-operation, as well as agreements on trade and on cultural and other matters, with Brazil and Venezuela and we are in the process of establishing an embassy in the Caribbean area as one of the steps towards cementing our traditional links with sister countries in that area.

77. In July of this year Suriname signed the Amazon Pact,⁶ together with Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Ecuador, Guyana, Peru and Venezuela, to promote the harmonious development of the Amazon region. Also, the constitutional procedures in connexion with our entry to the Latin American Economic System have already been initiated. In doing this Suriname is giving form and substance to its policy with regard to Latin American integration.

78. On disarmament, since the Second World War, which, like the First World War was considered to be the war to end all wars, we have witnessed a mind-boggling nuclear and conventional arms build-up, a steady increase in regular armed forces and the greatest boom in the history of conventional arms sales.

79. According to the highly respected Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, world military expenditures since 1963 have increased in real terms by about 40 per cent to reach the current figure of about \$US 400 billion a year, while in the past 15 years the world's armed forces have increased by nearly 30 per cent to about 26 million persons. Since 1963 the trade in major weapons, aircraft, missiles, armoured vehicles and ships has increased more than fivefold. It is a matter of deep distress and concern that the bulk of those weapons were sold to third-world countries.

80. Needless to say, my Government welcomed the initiative of the non-aligned countries in calling for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We, together with most countries, regarded that session as being of vital importance for devising new approaches to arms limitation and, if possible, to actual disarmament, in order to put an end to the race of death in which mankind is now involved. In evaluating the results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly one can take either an optimistic or a pessimistic view depending on one's expectations. As disarmament problems are politically as well as technically highly complex and the special session, after all, was not a conference designed to negotiate a world disarmament treaty, we would like to opt for a more positive appraisal, since we did not expect a major breakthrough.

81. However, we agree with the President of the tenth special session, Mr. Lazar Mojsic, who in his closing remarks at the session said: "If we have not lived up to the most optimistic expectations... this should not be taken as a reason for disillusionment or disappointment."⁷

82. Though it is true that no movement has been achieved in major areas such as the prohibition of nuclear and chemical weapons, a nuclear test-ban treaty and the question of linking disarmament and development, the

special session nevertheless produced a generally valid Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*]. We should have preferred more far-reaching and explicit decisions, but, taking into account the magnitude of its tasks and the relatively short period of time the session lasted, the results are certainly encouraging.

83. The delegation of Suriname accepts, as a basis for further work, the three major elements of the Final Document of the special session, namely, the Declaration, the Programme of Action and the decision regarding the machinery for deliberations, consisting of the First Committee of the General Assembly and the Disarmament Commission, as well as the decision on a more democratic Conference of the Committee on Disarmament more closely linked to the United Nations.

84. It is our sincere hope that the discussions in the First Committee of the General Assembly will focus on the most pressing problems of disarmament and in particular on the question of a systematic and eventually total elimination and prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, without, however, underestimating the problems of other weapons systems.

85. The delegation of Suriname, furthermore, expresses its sincere hope that a deterioration in the international atmosphere will not have an adverse effect on the ongoing negotiations to achieve an agreement at the second series of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks and a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

86. As signatories of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, better known as the Treaty of Tlatelolco,⁸ we are highly satisfied with the accession of the Soviet Union to Additional Protocol II of the Treaty and with the fact that France has entered into contact with the authorities constituted by the Treaty for the purpose of examining the conditions under which its signature to Additional Protocol I might be effected.

87. We are also very pleased that the Government of Argentina has initiated the procedures necessary for the ratification of the Treaty.

88. The Government of Suriname would welcome the accession to the Treaty of Tlatelolco of countries in our region that have as yet failed to seek such accession, as it is a treaty that affects all sister States of our continent.

89. My delegation also attaches great importance to possible regional extension of the Declaration of Ayacucho⁹ on the limitation of conventional weapons which was signed in 1974 by several Latin American sister countries, following the initiative of Venezuela.

90. My Government participated in a recent informal meeting in Mexico City, called to explore the possibilities of limiting conventional weapons in our region. The meeting dealt with the intensification and organization of regional efforts to achieve an ever greater and more extensive Latin American co-operation in this field. We are of the opinion that, as in the case of the Treaty of

⁶ Amazon Co-operation Treaty, signed at Brasilia on 3 July 1978.

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 27th meeting.

⁸ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

⁹ See document A/10044, annex.

Tlatelolco, a regional agreement on the limitation of conventional weapons could serve as an example for the adoption of similar actions in other regions of the world.

91. With regard to human rights, one of the main purposes of the United Nations as formulated in Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter, is:

"To achieve international co-operation . . . in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion".

It is therefore imperative that our Organization direct its actions against all forms of oppression and that it make its voice heard whenever and wherever those rights are violated. The Charter leaves no room whatsoever for selective indignation. A discriminatory attitude of the world body or its organs or on the part of its affiliated organizations in combating such actions would have a hollow ring and could rapidly stain and seriously diminish their credibility or effectiveness.

92. The *apartheid* policy of the Republic of South Africa is in direct and open conflict with the purpose of our Organization. It is a system of a *sui generis* nature, in that it is legalized by South African laws and enforced by the South African police forces. The killing, maiming and imprisonment of numerous victims are therefore not primarily acts of individual savagery but the logical outcome of the implementation of a system.

93. Thus it was not a haphazard incident that the forty-fourth detainee to do so since 1963 recently died while in the hands of South African policemen.

94. What can we, as a Member of the United Nations, do while the South African time bomb is ticking away and martyrs such as Nelson Mandela are withering away in the dungeons of South Africa?

95. We believe that we should actively support the forces within the South African population that are fighting for the abolition of the repugnant *apartheid* policy. Those forces are steadily growing in strength and numbers notwithstanding the rigorous organization of the South African State.

96. The delegation of Suriname, furthermore, is of the considered opinion that the arms embargo against South Africa is far from sufficient. The Security Council should now impose full economic sanctions. We are aware of the existence of two schools of thought on this matter. The opponents of the imposition of sanctions, many of whom can be considered to be sincere, argue that this would victimize the black population most heavily. In our opinion, however, they tend to overlook the basic fact that continuing foreign investments and trade are strengthening the economic and military position of South Africa and are thus contributing to the maintenance of the oppressive system.

97. In this connexion it should be pointed out that the seemingly more flexible attitude of the South African authorities with regard to the question of Namibia is not a

sudden awakening of their consciences. The recent appearance of numerous newspaper and magazine analyses of how South Africa can "beat sanctions" speak for themselves.

98. Consequently, Suriname voted in favour of a resolution, adopted on 25 May 1978 in Vienna by the United Nations Commission on Transnational Corporations,¹⁰ calling for the termination by the transnational corporations of their collaboration with the racist minority régimes in southern Africa, a resolution which was subsequently adopted by the Economic and Social Council on 4 August 1978.¹¹

99. The International Anti-Apartheid Year was officially launched on 21 March 1978. My delegation sincerely hopes that in the course of this year we shall witness real progress in the struggle for the liberation of the black population of South Africa.

100. In observing the International Anti-Apartheid Year it seems only fitting to announce that my Government has decided to sign within the very near future the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* adopted by the General Assembly on 30 November 1973 [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)].

101. As regards Namibia, my delegation fully supports the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted on 3 May 1978 by the ninth special session of the General Assembly on the question of Namibia [resolution S-9/2], as well as Security Council resolutions passed on Namibia on 27 July 1978.¹² The adoption of those resolutions, and in particular that on the principle of a negotiated settlement, is a tribute to the wisdom of the leadership of SWAPO, as well as to the strenuous efforts of the five Western countries, members of the Security Council, and last but not least to the statesmanship of the front-line States.

102. We are very much concerned about the question of Walvis Bay, as we consider that area an integral part of Namibia. It is an area which, since it includes Namibia's only deep-water port, is essential to the viability of the new nation. Namibia, if deprived of this outlet to the sea, would be at the mercy of South Africa.

103. During the transition process the United Nations, bearing the primary and crucial responsibility, will no doubt be confronted with many thorny questions which, given the history of the many promises broken by South Africa, are surely to be expected.

104. A successful outcome of the process, set in motion by the adoption by the Security Council, of the Western plan for a settlement of the Namibian situation,¹³ ultimately depends on whether the political will of the people of Namibia will eventually prevail through independent and free elections. It is our sincere hope that such will be the case.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1978, Supplement No. 12, chap. I.A.*

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Supplement No. 1, resolution 1978/73.

¹² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council, 1978, resolutions 431 (1978) and 432 (1978).*

¹³ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.*

105. As regards Southern Rhodesia, a successful result in the Namibian settlement may also influence the solution of the problem of Zimbabwe, an area in which we are faced with an equally dangerous situation. We fully agree with the Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, Ambassador Salim, that the so-called "internal settlement" is no settlement at all, but has, on the contrary, caused the conflict to escalate. One should bear in mind that the settlement, while appearing to transfer power to the black majority, essentially leaves all the instruments of domination in the hands of the white minority. Since its inception the war in Southern Rhodesia has increased in violence and intensity.

106. The hope for the convening of a conference to bring together all the parties directly involved seems rather dim at the moment. However, such an all-party conference based on the Anglo-American proposals submitted on 1 September 1977¹⁴ is the only alternative to an escalation of the war into a prolonged and gruesome civil war. In the meantime, my delegation is of the opinion that the international community should continue its pressure in order to bring about a settlement of the conflict. Needless to say, therefore, my delegation will resist any effort aimed at lifting the existing sanctions against the Territory.

107. The situation in the Middle East is complex. The delegation of Suriname maintains the position that a peace settlement must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which contain the principles that all States in the area, including Israel, are entitled to exist within secure and recognized borders; that the Palestinian people is entitled to chart its own course and has the right to establish its own homeland; and that the acquisition of territory by force is against the rules of international law.

108. My delegation cherishes the sincere hope that the recent diplomatic events which resulted in the acceptance by the President of the Arab Republic of Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel of certain formulas may eventually lead to a comprehensive and peaceful solution of the Middle East problem. In the light of the current situation we would appreciate the General Assembly's acting in such a way that existing, though understandable, feelings are not further inflamed.

109. We should like to restate our well-known position in respect of the Korean conflict, that we will support all efforts aimed at the resumption of direct negotiations between North and South Korea which could lead to a peaceful reunification of the peninsula. The efforts to reach a peaceful settlement will not be furthered by a fruitless debate in the General Assembly.

110. My Government will continue to contribute to and participate in future conferences on the law of the sea which deal with the interests of all nations on an equitable basis. My delegation is therefore deeply concerned at the planned unilateral action in the sea-bed, which will be counter-productive taking into account the progress that

has so far been made in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In the light of that undesirable action concerning the sea-bed, my Government expresses the hope that the opposing views that have been expressed during the past seven sessions will be reconciled at the forthcoming session of the Conference in Geneva.

111. A number of issues central to the establishment of a New International Economic Order were the subject of negotiations within the framework of UNCTAD; they were, *inter alia*, the establishment of a common fund, a code of conduct on the transfer of technology and the debt and debt problems of developing countries.

112. When one takes into consideration that the concept of the New International Economic Order inherently accepts the mutuality of benefits from trade and foreign investments and that it proposes structural reforms to underwrite a more favourable division of the gains to the developing world, it is regrettable that those negotiations have so far not come to a successful conclusion. We are of the opinion that those negotiations between the developing and the developed world should no longer be reduced to global bargaining in which the industrialized countries make commitments only in return for concessions obtained from the developing countries. It is our view that mutual interest should be the only valid basis for future co-operation.

113. We welcome the creation of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, which is charged with overseeing and monitoring the implementation of agreements reached in our Organization on the establishment of a New International Economic Order and with facilitating negotiations on global economic problems within the United Nations. It is our view that the Committee must function in such a way as to have a positive effect on efforts to find acceptable forms of international co-operation for development and that the Committee must not pre-empt or duplicate the functions of other organizations.

114. The United Nations Conference on the Establishment of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization as a Specialized Agency, held in the first part of this year, failed to reach agreement on the draft constitution submitted for its consideration. We regret the lack of the adequate political will on the part of some countries which participated in the Conference to reach an agreement. We hope, however, that during this Assembly this matter will be considered in such a manner that an acceptable solution can be found. In our opinion, UNIDO as an autonomous body could better deal with the comprehensive effects and aspects of industrial development.

115. As is known, we have endorsed the Buenos Aires Plan of Action adopted by the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held recently in Argentina.¹⁵ My Government will participate fully in the activities to be undertaken at the national, subregional, regional, interregional and global levels.

¹⁵ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11), chap. I.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

116. According to the Secretariat's latest world economic survey,¹⁶ the economic outlook for the developed world market economies in 1978 is one of slow growth. The latest world development report of the World Bank¹⁷ seems to contain the same pessimistic view. The economic difficulties of the industrialized countries and the prevailing atmosphere of uncertainty about the growth of international trade as well as the future movements of capital suggest that it will be more difficult for the developing countries to expand their economies in the coming decades than it has been in the past 25 years. Even to maintain their present rates of progress developing countries will need larger inflows of foreign capital while opposing vigorous and increasing efforts in the industrialized countries to establish protectionist barriers.

117. Seen in the context of the great diversity of conditions and multiplicity of factors, the prospects for the developing world remain uncertain. However, it is a fact that the economic repercussions around the world have had a different impact on different countries, thereby greatly increasing the disparities in development performance. All this has led to a new challenge which the developing and developed world in their mutual interest will have to face during the coming years.

118. The process of economic development in our region is characterized by imbalances and short-comings. However, despite the economic difficulties of the world, a certain progress has been achieved in such fields as production growth, increased *per capita* income and reduced balance-of-payments deficits. Nevertheless, the relatively more advanced among the developing countries also continue to have economic and social problems, such as income inequity and poverty, as well as high rates of inflation. Therefore, I sincerely hope that the institutions of the United Nations and their relevant bodies will continue to pay attention to these facts.

119. As far as the general social and economic policy of my country is concerned, I should like to quote from a statement I made in our Parliament on 15 March 1978:

"The prime objective of the Government of Suriname is the achievement of national economic independence. The development policy, which is attuned to this objective, will be aimed at achieving prosperity as the basis for an equitable welfare policy. My Government holds the view that the process, already started, for the realization of the national goals of an increase in the economic strength of the nation, an increase in the availability of employment, the improvement of the living conditions of the entire population and the regional distribution of development activities must be intensified through the mobilization and participation of the entire population."

120. World developments in the political, social and economic fields make it imperative that we formulate and express an opinion such as that I have just presented to the Assembly. The Government of the Republic of Suriname

does not purport to act as a reformer of the world, but we are of the opinion that the developing countries should play a more significant role in determining international politics if they are to make an essential contribution towards their own political, social and economic development and progress.

121. We express our views on, *inter alia*, human rights and freedoms, disarmament, the establishment of a New International Economic Order, the situation in the Middle East, the Korean conflict, the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia and the *apartheid* policy of South Africa in full awareness that we may not and cannot live in isolation.

122. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I thank his Excellency the Prime Minister and Minister for General and Foreign Affairs of Suriname for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

123. Mr. HAMEED (Sri Lanka): It gives me great pleasure, Mr. President, to join the representatives who have preceded me in congratulating you on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your long experience in international affairs and the prestige that you enjoy in the international community will undoubtedly assist you in successfully conducting the work of this Assembly. We are greatly pleased by your election.

124. I should like to pay a tribute to my friend, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, our outgoing President, Representatives here will remember that during the past year he played a major role and contributed most effectively to the successful conduct of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and the special sessions held this year.

125. I should like also to associate myself with previous speakers who have expressed high regard for and appreciation of the contribution of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose continued determination to make the United Nations an effective instrument for the creation of lasting peace and security in the world has earned him the co-operation and support of all Member States.

126. Only recently we were grieved to learn of the passing away of three eminent world statesmen whose contributions to international peace and harmony are so well known to all of us. The late Pontiff, Pope Paul VI, dedicated his ministry and his efforts to bringing peace to all mankind. While expressing our deep regret at his passing, I am confident that his words and his mission will long be remembered. Last week we were shocked to learn of the sudden passing away of Pope John Paul I, whose brief but promising period of office was marked by dedication to world peace.

127. The late President of Kenya, Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, was a symbol of a nationalist statesman who dedicated his life to securing freedom for his people at a crucial stage in Africa's struggle against colonialism. He emerged as a great

¹⁶ *World Economic Survey, 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.C.1).

¹⁷ *World Development Report, 1978* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, August 1978).

world leader dedicated to the struggle for international peace and universal freedom.

128. It is a great pleasure for me on behalf of Sri Lanka to welcome Solomon Islands as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of this Organization. The admission of Solomon Islands reflects the constant widening of the membership of the United Nations towards ultimate universality.

129. It is my personal privilege to address this Assembly as the first Foreign Minister of the Democratic Socialist Republic of Sri Lanka. I have pleasure in conveying to this Assembly the good wishes and greetings of my President, His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene.

130. In our Constitution, adopted on 7 September of this year, we have pledged to build a fair, just, democratic and socialist society. The Constitution enshrines the rule of law, guarantees the enforcement of the fundamental rights of the citizen, and outlaws discrimination, be it on grounds of caste, colour or creed. The new Constitution is a national declaration of commitment and dedication not only to the domestic ideal of a fair and just society but also to the ideals of the United Nations, its Charter and the obligations of its Members.

131. The agenda that will occupy the General Assembly at this session includes the issues that are of major concern to the international family. For several years mankind had, after bitter experience, worked out arrangements in various stages for the stabilization of peace. Those efforts gave rise to an improvement in the environment of international relations. However, in recent months we have been unwilling witnesses to a deterioration in this climate. The period of détente witnessed some relaxation of tensions, but now détente seems to be threatened. The question is therefore legitimately asked, Are we returning to another cold-war era? We hesitate to answer in the affirmative. It is our hope that this interruption in the relaxation of tensions we are witnessing is only a temporary one. Détente, in our view, means the acceptance of peaceful coexistence, not just in limited areas of the world for limited periods by a limited number of countries, but throughout the whole universe in which we live. We believe that détente should not be overthrown; and we believe that it cannot survive by being limited to particular areas or particular groupings.

132. Looking back at the momentous events of the past year I see four international conferences as being of vital political importance to those of us who belong to the third world. There was the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, in May of this year; the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], in Khartoum in July, the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, in Belgrade, also in July; and, finally, the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, in Geneva in August.

133. To my mind, those four Conferences symbolize the genuine efforts of the third-world countries to restructure the world political order. No doubt it will take more conferences before we see the reality of a new international society. But we have come a long way from the time when the voice of the third world was unheard, unnoticed and unheeded.

134. Year after year we have in this Assembly discussed the threat to peace that arises from the arms race and the qualitative and quantitative escalation of armaments. We met in this Assembly last May in the tenth special session to discuss the question of disarmament, the problem of greatest concern for the future of all mankind. The reactions to the results of that special session have been many and varied. Sri Lanka, together with the other non-aligned countries, had agitated for the special session, and Sri Lanka had the privilege of introducing, on behalf of the non-aligned countries, the United Nations General Assembly resolution calling for the special session [resolution 32/88]. The results of the special session have only partially satisfied us. However, we feel it has opened the way to a serious examination of the problem and to the adoption of practical measures that could help in realizing the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

135. The special session has also made possible the reform of the machinery for accelerating the process of disarmament. We welcome the revival of the United Nations Disarmament Commission and the reconstitution of the Committee on Disarmament, of which Sri Lanka is one of the new members. In both bodies we shall contribute whatever is within our capacity to help the advancement of the cause of disarmament.

136. Sri Lanka's concern over the problem of the arms race and the threat it poses to mankind has been expressed by the President of Sri Lanka, His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene. In a special appeal to all Heads of State or Government, our President sought their support for the creation of a world disarmament authority within the United Nations system.¹⁸ We hope that that proposal and the many others that were laid before the special session will receive the serious consideration of those who have been entrusted with the task of studying this problem. We feel that the conscience of mankind has now been stirred to a point where it is realized that practical and urgent steps must be taken to curb the threat that armaments pose to mankind.

137. Two months ago the largest single regional group of both the United Nations and the non-aligned movement met in Khartoum. We hail the success of the OAU Assembly and applaud its conclusions [see A/33/235 and Corr.1] as a sharp rejection of the beginning of a new scramble for Africa. The African position on the questions of colonialism, *apartheid* and racism emerged united and unshakable. The leadership given by that meeting to the peoples of Africa constitutes a firm determination to keep foreign intervention outside the African continent. We admire the resolution of African problems by the Africans themselves, as symbolized in the proposals made for the solution of the Western Sahara question and for the normalization of relations between Angola and Zaire. We support the OAU position on Zimbabwe and Namibia, and we look forward to the day when the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia will, as the true representatives of their people, enjoy their right to govern their countries. We welcome, in this connexion, the admission of SWAPO to full membership in the non-aligned movement.

¹⁸ See documents A/S-10/AC.1/9 and Add.1.

138. Later in July this year 87 non-aligned nations, all of which are Members of the United Nations, met in Belgrade at the Foreign Minister level. It was a Conference that was preceded by a considerable amount of adverse publicity. That publicity highlighted bilateral differences among the non-aligned members in an attempt to create the impression of disunity and disarray. As the Chairman of the non-aligned movement, Sri Lanka viewed those assessments with great concern. We recognized that those attempts to challenge the unity and progress of the movement stemmed from a fundamental recognition that the movement has grown into a formidable factor on the international scene.

139. What the 87 nations achieved in Belgrade represented a major reaffirmation of the fundamental principles of non-alignment and the basic unity of the non-aligned countries in their commitment to those principles. The non-aligned movement was not diverted by bilateral disputes that had unfortunately arisen among them. The Belgrade Declaration [A/33/306, annex I] stands, therefore, as a remarkable and courageous document. We stand united for a new system of international relations based on true independence and non-interference in internal affairs and for equality and justice in relationships among countries.

140. Sri Lanka is proud that at this crucial juncture of the history of non-alignment the responsibility was placed on it to be Chairman of the movement. We are dedicated to the course of strict non-alignment. I referred earlier to the non-aligned movement's initiative on holding a special session on disarmament. This is one of the many achievements that the non-aligned group of nations has recorded in its history. We look forward to greater achievements. Our aims are in complete harmony with the aims of the United Nations, and indeed the efforts of the non-aligned strengthen the role of the United Nations. We seek to democratize the decision-making process in international affairs. The non-aligned movement stands resolutely for a system of complete equality and justice in all spheres. We believe that the era of an international system based on unequal exchange is over. The fact that so many nations of the world belong to the non-aligned movement and the desire on the part of newly liberated countries to join the movement are ample testimony to the validity of the principles of the movement. It is also significant that no member of the non-aligned movement has expressed a desire to leave the movement.

141. The non-aligned movement has never pretended to be a solid monolith. Indeed, we have specifically rejected the idea of a bloc. Two thirds of the world's countries and peoples belong to the non-aligned movement, and we go forward to the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to be held in Havana in 1979, confident of the future. These principles and objectives constitute the framework for a new world political and economic order which the non-aligned seek to usher in. They are the principles of self-determination, true independence and the equality of nation States, freedom from all forms of domination and pressure, international peace and justice, and mutually beneficial co-operation. These principles will ensure the creation of conditions for all nations to live in dignity and prosperity.

142. These principles are not merely of academic value, for their application, be it to the situation in Africa, that in the Middle East or that in the Indian Ocean, is clearly evident in the Belgrade Declaration. They are non-aligned positions which the Government of Sri Lanka endorses.

143. With regard to the Middle East, we are disappointed that all our efforts so far have failed to ensure the return of all occupied territory and the restitution of the inalienable national rights on the Palestinian people.

144. We are aware of the developments that have taken place with regard to the Middle East question since the Belgrade Conference. Those developments have now become the subject of serious study by Member States and by members of the non-aligned movement. However, we wish to reiterate our position, which has been made clear in this forum and elsewhere. It is our view that the solution to the Middle East question should be in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and the decisions of the non-aligned movement.

145. With regard to the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], Sri Lanka is glad to note that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean is recommending to the General Assembly that a meeting of the littoral and hinterland States be held in New York, from 2 to 13 July next year [see resolution 32/86]. We believe that the next step should be the early convening of a conference.

146. The attention of the world is focused now on the great continent of Africa. The final phase of the struggle of the African people against colonialism and minority racist domination has gathered momentum. We look forward to the total elimination of colonialism and racism from Namibia and Zimbabwe. We earnestly hope for an end to the inhuman practice of *apartheid* and await the day when majority African rule is a reality in South Africa. The true course of history cannot be diverted. The just cause of the African people must triumph. It is surprising that we still have among us those of whom it may be said that they have eyes but see not and ears but hear not.

147. The tragic irony is that these minority racist régimes refuse to see their inevitable end. They seek instead to perpetuate themselves. By doing so, what do they hope to gain? How long can they cling on? Their stay is temporary. We salute the courageous nationalist forces in those countries for their heroic struggle; they are not far from their goals.

148. I would be failing in my duty if I did not refer to the situation in Cyprus. We call for the effective implementation of United Nations resolutions which call for respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus and non-interference in its internal affairs.

149. We are greatly disturbed by the recent developments in Lebanon, which is a member of the non-aligned movement. Therefore I wish to make an appeal on humanitarian grounds: I appeal for an immediate cease-fire and urge that no party involved should attack civilian targets, but should allow the supply of food to the sick and the wounded and to the civilian population.

150. A special word on human rights, which figure so prominently in the Belgrade Declaration, is relevant. Sri Lanka stands resolutely on the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Our participation in the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva in August this year, was based on the premise that human rights, like peace, are indivisible. We support an integral and comprehensive approach to the question of human rights, which must be viewed in the national, social and economic context.

151. The insignificant progress in the negotiations for the New International Economic Order has been very clearly brought out in the Belgrade Declaration adopted by the non-aligned Foreign Ministers. The one body that sought to negotiate a package deal encompassing the principal issues at stake—namely, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation—ended in miserable failure.

152. Meanwhile, in the absence of purposeful action on the kinds of interrelated issues discussed at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, the world economy has continued to stagnate. Unemployment in the member countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development is in excess of 17 million. The defensive reflex action of each developed country to raise prevailing levels of protection can only deprive developing countries of access to markets. The collective effect of such action can only result in the worsening of stagnation. If, in addition, international credit becomes curtailed, then the world as a whole is bound to face unprecedented levels of unemployment.

153. Yet it is not difficult to see areas of mutual interest common to developing and developed countries alike. It has been accepted, for example, for quite some time now that, in the absence of mechanisms for recycling the balance-of-payments surpluses warranted by the world's economic potential, actual growth must inevitably be well below capacity. In a sense, the relative degree of ease with which the international banking system has so far coped with the recycling problem of recent years has distracted attention from more durable attempts to translate short-term liquidity into long-term investment.

154. It was with a view to exploring ways and means of enhancing, diversifying and making more stable the long-term flows of investment funds that, in my address to this Assembly last year,¹⁹ I suggested possibilities for action in two areas: first, better facilities for exploration for natural resources, including petroleum; secondly, the diversification of investment channels that will become possible through a revival of the idea of multilateral investment insurance or reinsurance mechanisms and other forms of guarantee facilities. Their total impact would be expected better to utilize global excess capacities. As it happens, not long after the relevant resolution was passed in the United Nations General Assembly [resolution 32/176], there was presented to the Intergovernmental Group of 24 on International Monetary Affairs at its meeting on 28 April this year in Mexico a proposal for a long-term recycling facility to

finance purchases of capital goods by developing countries. That proposal was also placed on the agenda of the relevant United Nations expert group, as well as on that of the Development Committee of IMF and IBRD. Unfortunately, the United Nations expert group was unable to devote sufficient attention to the proposal.

155. Modifications of this proposal are possible and desirable with respect to both the amounts and the terms of the finance to be raised. It is, moreover, an open question how far the desired expansionary impact of the proposal on the world economy can be adequately achieved if it is tied too rigidly to project finance. The decision of the IMF Interim Committee of the Board of Governors on the International Monetary System last week to allocate 4 billion special drawing rights in each of the next three years—that is from 1979 to 1981—is welcome in the present context.

156. This same broad objective—namely, the development of the relevant degree of mutuality of interest within the international community—was the intent of my remarks last year on the question of natural resources exploration. The report of the expert group²⁰ which resulted points out, for example, that on certain assumptions the financing requirements for the exploration of petroleum between now and 1990 could be in the range of \$US 12 to 25 billion in the oil-importing developing countries alone [see A/33/256, para. 10].

157. A wide range of mutual interests could be served by a suitably devised multilateral financing mechanism—estimated by the expert group to require at least \$US 500 million [*ibid.*, annex, para. 83]—that would go into areas of further exploration and wildcat drilling which have been a traditional preserve of multinational corporations. It would also continue to provide an expanding export market for oil-exporting developing countries. The lessening of exploration risks resulting from such a multilateral fund could, in turn, permit the negotiation of better terms between countries and investors in the development phase. Directly within the ambit of the activities of UNDP are the group's suggestions for the improvement of facilities and coverage of the United Nations Revolving Fund for Natural Resources and I would urge the General Assembly's endorsement of both sets of proposals.

158. The vexed question of the common fund has still not been resolved except in so far as a commitment to principle is concerned. We therefore attach the greatest importance to a successful conclusion of the meeting²¹ now scheduled for 14 November this year. We are encouraged by recent expressions of positive views made by several developed countries, particularly at the last Development Committee meeting in Washington concerning the common fund, and we would naturally welcome the establishment of that fund on a generally agreed basis, without driving the developing countries to establish a fund through the mobilization of their own resources.

²⁰ Group of Experts on Mineral and Energy Exploration in Developing Countries.

²¹ United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities.

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 12th meeting, paras. 1-36.

159. Without in any way prejudicing the common fund, Sri Lanka has proposed to the non-aligned countries the creation of a better co-ordinated information system with regard to trends in prices and supplies of at least those key commodities which bulk large in international trade. The proposal has already been earmarked for study by a group of non-aligned countries, and we hope that it will gain the attention of the Assembly at this present session.

160. Much has been said in this forum about the New International Economic Order. The General Assembly at its last session set up the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, otherwise known as the Committee of the Whole, where the dialogue and negotiations on the New International Economic Order could take place. We are disappointed that the Committee has not been able to perform the functions that were entrusted to it. Great concern has been expressed by representatives of third world over this break-down in the work of the Committee. At the same time, we note that those countries that had certain problems or difficulties regarding the work and mandate of the Committee have expressed a sincere desire to find a method whereby the Committee could resume its work.

161. We reiterate our firm belief that dialogue and negotiations on the New International Economic Order should take place within the United Nations system and that the Committee should be in a position to enter into negotiations. And we hope that the deep concern expressed at the break-down of the work of the Committee will give impetus to the search for a mutually acceptable and productive basis for the continuation of its work.

162. This is the second occasion I have had to address this distinguished gathering in my capacity as Foreign Minister. I must admit to knowledge of the existence of a growing body of cynical opinion which views the statements made by Foreign Ministers of the Member States of the United Nations as a ritualistic exercise. We arrive here every year; we say what we have to say, and we disperse. The words we utter do not, and indeed cannot, change the course of international events. More importantly for us in the poorer countries, the words we speak do not accelerate the development process in our countries. Why is it then that we persist in this exercise? Why is it that we continue to make these statements, adding to the enormous volume of paper that is already produced by the United Nations?

163. I wish to say, in all humility and modesty, that for us the small nations, the weaker nations, the poor nations, the United Nations General Assembly represents a unique forum. It is a forum where what we say echoes throughout the world. We speak here in the hope that some of our words may get through, so that the hopes and aspirations of the men, women and children of third-world countries will register in the consciousness of the leaders of the world. We are here because our people have sent us here. We speak here to articulate the problems, hopes and fears of our people. Not to do so would be a shameful betrayal of the mandate given to us by our people. It is in this spirit that I, coming as I do from a democratic socialist country, Sri Lanka, which is both a small and a developing nation, have placed before you some thoughts on how we in Sri Lanka see the present state of international development.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.