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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Before calling on the first speaker, I should like to appeal most respectfully to representatives to limit the number of their statements in the exercise of their right of reply. I am sure that, in view of the large number of speakers listed and the length of their statements in the general debate, I can count on the loyal co-operation of all members of the Assembly in that respect.

2. At this stage, I shall limit myself to urging all delegations to agree voluntarily to make use of the right of reply only once or twice at the most in the course of the debate. I would not like formally to invoke the provisions of the rules of procedure and impose such a limitation but I may have to do so if the situation warrants it.

3. Once again I should like to appeal to representatives for their co-operation in this matter.

4. Mr. PEACOCK (Australia): This has been an exceptionally active year, with three special sessions of the General Assembly, a heavy calendar of conferences and an increasing range of activities conducted by the specialized agencies. For the successful management of the special sessions and the related consultations, I should like to pay a particular tribute to our former President for his competence and to express the gratitude of my delegation for his achievement.

5. The increased activity in which our Organization has been involved is a clear indication of the quickening tempo of international events and of the role of the United Nations as a focal-point for the negotiation of issues arising from the rapidly changing international environment.

6. It is important that the United Nations should demonstrate a capacity to respond to these pressures. As the Secretary-General has said in his report on the work of the

Organization [A/33/1], the willingness of Governments to involve the United Nations in major issues depends on their confidence in its objectivity and capacity for impartial action.

7. Relations among Member States have become increasingly complex and diverse. National prosperity and stability depend on a high level of exchange and contact between countries. No nation or group of nations can progress in isolation from the rest of the world community. The United Nations can provide the framework and the procedures which will permit the more orderly management of this increasingly interdependent world. The United Nations can ease the adjustments that the emergence of a global society requires.

8. Our Secretary-General, in his report on the work of the Organization over the past year, drew attention to some of the factors which limit the ability of the United Nations to act as the guarantor of justice and peace for all nations. At the same time, the Secretary-General was able to point to other instances where the Organization is indeed playing a highly constructive role.

9. The great issues confronting the world community might best be summed up as how we meet the challenge of a rapidly changing world situation. Change, of course, is a characteristic of any period, but it has rarely posed more serious decisions for the world community than those which are now before us. Change inevitably disrupts existing balances and established attitudes. It may be evolutionary or radical; its results may be a new era of peace or a major disaster for mankind. Too much is at stake for the representatives of the world community to stand aside and permit the future to emerge as a product of uncontrolled and unpredicted forces. There is an urgent need for us to reconcile competing interests, and we should not be distracted from our task by mere rhetoric or invective.

10. On many issues progress will only be achieved if we work for consensus and harmonize the interests of the major groups of nations. This is the only way to arrive at practical and durable solutions. The United Nations must, of course, do more than simply provide the forum for debate on the great international issues. It must provide leadership and it must provide guidance to Member States. It is only if we can demonstrate new will and intent in the Organization that we shall build the confidence of which the Secretary-General has spoken.

11. The preservation of international peace and security remains a major preoccupation. We address aspects of this question in the efforts of the United Nations to promote

arms control and disarmament, to reduce international tension and to provide peace-keeping arrangements.

12. Arms control and disarmament were considered in detail at a most important special session this year, the tenth. While the session was not intended to produce specific agreements it did result in some notable achievements. For the first time there was international agreement about priorities and objectives in the disarmament field. As a result of the session new momentum for progress in disarmament will develop. An agenda of measures has been agreed upon. And the international community will devote a significantly greater amount of time to disarmament issues over the next few years.

13. Despite these achievements we need to be realistic. Progress towards arms control and disarmament will require a commitment by States to the development of practical measures. Fundamental issues of national security, international confidence and survival are involved. We must recognize and seek to reconcile the important differences of approach and objectives. We must also be aware that competitive arms programmes may be as much an effect as a cause—beyond a certain point, arms control can only progress if underlying international tensions are reduced.

14. Australia continues to believe that the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks offer the best prospects for substantial measures of arms control between the super-Powers and ultimately among all nuclear-weapon States. We welcome the announcement that the conclusion of the second series of the Talks by the end of the year is possible. We were pleased, too, to see that the Final Document of the special session [*resolution S-10/2*] reflected a proposal, advanced by Australia and other countries, for a halt to the production of fissionable material for nuclear weapons purposes as one means of scaling down the arms race. It remains our view that this measure merits early action in future negotiations on the limitation of existing nuclear arsenals.

15. The decision of the special session to reaffirm the urgent need for a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty [*ibid.*, *sect. III, para. 51*] is consistent with Australia's long-held view. Such a treaty would be a barrier both to the expansion of existing nuclear arsenals and to the further spread of nuclear weapons. At this session we will continue our efforts to promote international support for the early conclusion of a comprehensive test ban.

16. It was agreed at the special session that the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons was a matter of universal concern requiring undertakings by all States, and that international co-operation in the peaceful uses of nuclear energy should be under effective safeguards [*ibid.*, *sect. II, para. 36*]. Australia would have preferred to see more explicit recognition in the Final Document that the right of all nations to develop nuclear energy for peaceful purposes carries with it a reciprocal obligation—indeed, a binding commitment—not to develop or acquire nuclear weapons. We believe, nevertheless, that the consensus reached provides a firm basis for the further development and elaboration of non-proliferation measures in the appropriate international bodies.

17. An important immediate result of the session was the undertaking by three of the nuclear-weapon Powers about the strictly limited circumstances in which they would contemplate using nuclear weapons. Australia was one of those countries which had been calling for strengthened assurances against the threat or use of nuclear weapons for non-nuclear-weapon States which had themselves renounced the acquisition of nuclear weapons. We welcome the unilateral assurances provided by the United States, Great Britain and the Soviet Union, which will do much to satisfy the concerns of non-nuclear-weapon States.

18. The special session also agreed on important improvements in international disarmament machinery. A wider and more representative group of countries will now be able to participate directly in discussions and negotiations on arms control and disarmament. Australia is glad to have the opportunity to join in the important work of the Committee on Disarmament and we will make an active and constructive contribution. We do not underestimate the task of the Committee; its time and resources are not unlimited. If it is to meet the expectations of the international community it will need to concentrate initially on practical and concrete issues where progress can be expected. Urgent consideration should be given to the conclusion of international agreements prohibiting the testing of nuclear weapons in all environments and prohibiting the development, production and stockpiling of chemical weapons. The achievement of early but worth-while results will do much to win the Committee the confidence and support of the world community.

19. There will still be an important, indeed essential, role for bilateral negotiations on disarmament questions, particularly between the super-Powers. Regional arms control arrangements can also be helpful. However, the Committee on Disarmament should be seen as the principal multilateral negotiating body on arms control and disarmament questions. It should be the means of achieving the long-term objectives of the world community in arms control and disarmament negotiations. This is a matter in which a global approach is absolutely necessary.

20. Through its tried and established peace-keeping machinery the United Nations has made a unique contribution to preserving international peace and security. Peace-keeping is a sensitive and difficult process, and the machinery which has been forged over the years has become an essential instrument of the Security Council in fulfilling its obligations. This machinery, which depends also on the key role of the Secretary-General and the active support of the General Assembly, is an encouraging example of how the United Nations can respond constructively to the concerns of the international community. My Government has given continuing support to United Nations peace-keeping operations, in men, materials and money, over many years.

21. We welcomed the establishment of UNIFIL and the recent renewal of its mandate in a very complex and dangerous situation. We believe it should be maintained until effective Government control can be restored in the areas of its responsibility. UNIFIL's mandate does not of course extend to Beirut and northern Lebanon, where continuing conflicts have caused heavy casualties and human suffering, which my Government deplors.

22. United Nations peace-keeping operations can only be as effective as the parties to a dispute will permit. To be successful in the long term, they must be accompanied by intense efforts to resolve the underlying causes of the conflict. Peace-keeping is not an alternative, but an important contribution, to the negotiation and settlement of disputes. There is a responsibility on the parties to a dispute to work actively to resolve their differences and to remove the need for the continuing presence of United Nations forces. The peace-keeping role is intended to promote solutions, not to perpetuate disputes.

23. The United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus is of long standing, as is the question of Cyprus on our agenda. It is our hope that renewed consideration of the question of Cyprus by the General Assembly this year will lead to more urgent and productive negotiations in the intercommunal talks, in which we continue to place reliance.

24. In a similar spirit we approach the consideration of two key areas of international tension: I refer to southern Africa and the Middle East.

25. As far as southern Africa is concerned, every avenue must be pursued for the peaceful achievement of just and lasting solutions in southern Africa.

26. Australia has followed with close interest and sympathy the negotiations for a settlement which would bring independence to the people of Namibia. We applaud the efforts made by the five Western members of the Security Council and the positive response of the front-line States in the common search for a just and peaceful settlement of the problem, which is the collective responsibility of the United Nations. Australia has a close understanding of the issues involved from its former membership in the Security Council and its present membership in the United Nations Council for Namibia.

27. We are encouraged that the Security Council, with the clear concurrence of the South West Africa People's Organization, has now adopted resolution 435 (1978) and has thereby approved the report of the Secretary-General and his explanatory statement. The Security Council has been obliged to act in the face of South African defiance of the will of the world community. For South Africa to reject this eleventh-hour chance for a peaceful settlement would be a historic disservice to all concerned and not least to its own people, and we would deplore it. We look to the new Government of South Africa to reconsider its position and to co-operate fully and faithfully with the Secretary-General in implementing the plan for a settlement.

28. We will continue to support efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement in Zimbabwe which provides for majority rule and independence. We believe that the Anglo-American proposals on Zimbabwe¹ still provide the best available basis for such a settlement, and we see no alternative to the convening of an early meeting of all parties to discuss them.

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

29. Australia's position on the question of *apartheid* is clearly and firmly on record. We oppose and condemn a system which so grossly violates the basic rights of the black majority in South Africa. While some modifications have been introduced by the South African Government, it is quite clear that they do not represent a fundamental change of policy. Unless such a change occurs increasing violence appears inevitable.

30. The Government of South Africa must make fundamental changes. It must renounce the system of *apartheid*. It must cease to harass and humiliate the majority of its people. We are approaching a point where the possibility of conciliation and compromise will be lost.

31. Recent developments in the Middle East have given us some hope that conflict will be avoided. The Australian Government welcomes the two agreements signed following the Camp David meetings² as a constructive framework for progress. In particular, the Australian Government welcomes agreement that further negotiations will be guided by the provisions and principles of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

32. These positions accord with Australia's views. The Australian Government pays a tribute to the statesmanship of the leaders of Egypt and Israel in reaching these agreements and applauds the initiative and the assiduous efforts of the President of the United States in fostering them.

33. We recognize that long and difficult negotiations will be required if there is to be a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. It is our earnest hope that other Arab States, whose support will be essential to any lasting settlement, will be encouraged to accept the Camp David framework as a basis for future negotiations and will be prepared to join in the search for peace. For its part, the Australian Government stands ready to lend its support to any settlement agreed between the parties in the Middle East.

34. Member States at this session of the General Assembly should in our view be careful to avoid any action which could have the effect of prejudicing the prospects for peace which these agreements offer. The momentum generated by the Camp David agreements should be maintained. This will require a favourable climate for intense diplomatic activity, and we should not disrupt this process.

35. In my address to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly³ I drew attention to the dilemma Governments face in weighing commitment to human rights against other critically important concerns, including commitments to international peace and order and to national cohesion. Events during the past year have illustrated the difficulty—to which I referred at that time—of protecting the rights of individuals while also working for progress in détente. The international community is being brought to

² A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 31-78.

accept the fact that in cases such as this the pursuit of one objective should not exclude the other.

36. The reconciliation of what is principled with what is practical has never been easy. Bilateral and international responses to human rights situations must evolve over time, and responsible experimentation will be required. As a starting-point, the United Nations must uphold the provisions of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The United Nations must inspire confidence that it is prepared to promote basic human rights and provide the framework for responsible action by Governments in situations where difficult choices may well have to be faced.

37. Action by the United Nations should, of course, promote and not prejudice the observance of human rights. We must always bear in mind that the objective is not to strike attitudes but to improve the conditions of individual men and women. Care must be taken to avoid tackling situations in such a manner as to place at risk other valid objectives of the world community. Private persuasion can be most effective. The unobtrusive work of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights provides a very good example.

38. As States Members of the United Nations we must continue our search for means and mechanisms effectively to promote and effectively to protect human rights. Australia welcomed the adoption by this Assembly last year of resolution 32/130. We believe that there is a growing public expectation that the United Nations should be able candidly to consider situations where gross breaches of human rights appear to have occurred. The United Nations must also be seen to stand firm on the rights of the individual within the context of agreed international instruments.

39. The international community must have confidence that the Organization can provide workable multilateral procedures equally applicable to all and equally available to all. The United Nations should act, in the human rights area, without over-rigid adherence to restrictive interpretations of Article 2, paragraph 7, of the Charter. If it could be established that the purpose of such multilateral procedures was to consult and not simply to condemn, to work for improvement, not for impeachment, then a great step would have been taken in achieving a principal objective of the Organization.

40. The visit of a working group to Chile⁴ has established a most important precedent and represents an approach which might be repeated and refined in other cases. We could also seek alternative means of enlisting the co-operation of States where human rights situations appear to require investigation. We might seek to enlarge upon the method of self-criticism and self-reporting inherent in the implementation procedures of the various international human rights instruments.

41. But no matter what possibilities we pursue and what priority we give to them, we are required by recent

circumstances to recognize that the United Nations must now deal with human rights issues in a fair and practical way. If it does not, we shall see its claims to moral authority eroded year by year. We are particularly conscious of this now as we commemorate the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

42. I wish now to turn to economic issues. It is a matter of great concern to my Government that so very little has been achieved in the negotiation of the serious international economic issues which confront us all at the present time. Although some progress has been made in the consideration of matters by UNCTAD, particularly the question of debt, and although the outcome of the recent United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries was encouraging, the over-all situation—to put it mildly—is far from satisfactory. The difficulty of establishing a workable framework for the discussion of these issues was further highlighted by the problems surrounding the activities of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole.

43. Failure to achieve substantial progress cannot be attributed only to a lack of political will. There is abundant evidence that Governments have been prepared to make broad political commitments to the search for a more just and more equitable economic order. There is now a greater understanding of the interdependence of our economies. But, while Governments have been able to make general undertakings, it has proved far more difficult to achieve agreement on specific action.

44. The problem has, of course, been complicated by the sluggish growth of the world economy, which has left Governments with difficult economic decisions in regard to their own national economies and in responding to international problems. The slow progress is due also to the technical complexity of the issues themselves. If agreements are to be implemented and to endure, they must be carefully and thoroughly negotiated.

45. I believe also that some of the responsibility for our lack of success may well lie in our approach to the North-South dialogue. The phrase itself has become hackneyed and it obscures the fact that “dialogue” seldom takes place. One cannot have a dialogue if each country or each group of countries approaches the subject from established negotiating positions. Moreover, the simple division into North and South presumes a uniformity of view on either side which simply does not exist. The North-South distinction has dramatized the issues, but we should recognize the variety of attitudes which exist in both the North and the South and seek solutions which take account of the interests of all countries.

46. The United Nations needs a forum in which a true dialogue can take place, a forum in which issues can be discussed frankly with a view to determining appropriate courses of action. The Committee of the Whole offers that chance and we hope that developments since its last meeting will enable the Committee to overcome its problems and take up early in the new year the substantive work which is on its agenda. Industrialization is an example of the important matters on that agenda. Rapid changes in

⁴ *Ad Hoc* Working Group on the Situation of Human Rights in Chile.

some areas of manufacturing have thrown into doubt a number of our perceptions about the development process. Technological advances have resulted in less emphasis on investment in countries with low labour costs and increasing investment in these sectors in the industrialized countries themselves.

47. The international community just cannot allow negotiations on international economic issues to proceed at their present pace. It is altogether too slow. There must be a renewed effort by Governments to achieve results. We face a full agenda over the next 12 months, including the resumption of negotiations on the common fund, the fifth session of UNCTAD and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. We must make a start on the preparation of the framework for a new international development strategy, a framework which can accommodate the objectives of growth and equity.

48. My Government believes that we must press ahead in a practical way with the discussion of the proposal for the common fund. Australia has been particularly active in seeking to make a positive contribution to the establishment of a common fund for commodities. In the long term, all nations would benefit from an institutional framework which would contribute to stability in commodity marketing. In Australia's view, the common fund would have to be financed by direct government subscription, by deposits by international commodity agreements and by borrowings from international financial markets. We consider also that the fund should have a role in financing what we term "other measures" and we would expect the activities in this area to be directed to needs not met by other institutions.

49. Australia attaches great importance to the round of multilateral trade negotiations, which are entering a decisive phase. Final results are proving difficult to achieve. There are grounds for concern that agricultural commodities have been neglected in the negotiations, and discriminatory safeguard measures, which could seriously disadvantage newly industrialized nations, are still under consideration. At a time of economic difficulty, when Governments come under protectionist pressures, it is all the more important that the multilateral trade negotiations should contribute to an expansion of global trade.

50. My Government believes that adjustments in the field of energy will be among the most challenging issues facing the world community over the next few decades. The world cannot continue to rely so heavily on oil to fuel its economic growth. We must begin now to develop alternative energy sources. It would be short-sighted to regard present surpluses as anything but short-term or make them the excuse for not confronting the coming problems. We are conscious of the long lead times involved in introducing new energy technologies. International co-operation in this area is essential and must be initiated urgently. It was with these considerations in mind that Australia took a modest initiative at the last session of the Assembly in submitting a draft resolution on international energy consultations.⁵ There is still no international forum for a wide-ranging dialogue on energy.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 67, document A/32/480, para. 36.

51. In the coming years Australia will be an increasingly important exporter of energy resources and we remain concerned to play an active part in fostering support for an international dialogue on energy. We firmly hold the view that the United Nations can provide a forum for broad-based participation in such a dialogue. My Government was pleased to note the recommendation of the Economic and Social Council in its resolution 1978/61 that the General Assembly should give favourable consideration to convening a conference on new and renewable sources of energy. This also could assist the process of energy transition in the longer term.

52. It would be appropriate for me to refer to some developments in our own region. I recently attended the independence celebrations of Solomon Islands. Australia was a sponsor of the application of the Solomons for membership in the United Nations, and we warmly welcome its admission to our number.

53. Although the attention of the United Nations in the field of decolonization has focused largely on developments in Africa, we in Australia have seen the emergence of a number of new nations in the Pacific in recent years. One of the first of these was our neighbour Papua New Guinea, with which we enjoy a specially close relationship. The latest is Tuvalu, whose independence celebrations I attended last week. The Gilbert Islands are due to become independent in 1979 and the New Hebrides in 1980. Most of our newly independent neighbours have small populations and a very limited land area, but their territories are widespread and they have substantial maritime economic zones. Their accession to independence has changed the political face of the South Pacific and has given a powerful impetus to regional co-operation.

54. Australia recognizes a special responsibility towards the new nations of the Pacific, and we shall continue our efforts to provide assistance for their development.

55. The South Pacific traditionally has been free from political tensions. We hope that this condition will continue. As I have indicated, this is an area where regional organizations are making an important contribution to the process of change. The South Pacific Forum and the South Pacific Commission have responded to the needs of the island States in the fields of economic development, health and social welfare. The United Nations should work closely with these and other regional bodies in these fields.

56. Regional associations can be of great value in facilitating and developing harmonious and mutually beneficial relations among neighbours. Perhaps the most important grouping of this kind in Australia's vicinity is the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], formed by five of Australia's close neighbours. The Australian Government welcomes the increasing confidence and economic growth of the members of the ASEAN, and we are working to achieve closer co-operation with them and their organization.

57. The success of ASEAN and the South Pacific Forum in furthering the interests of their members encouraged Australia to propose that a regional dimension be added to the Commonwealth. As a result of the Commonwealth

Heads of Government regional meeting held in Sydney last February, working groups are now being set up in the fields of energy, trade, narcotics and terrorism. Their activities will supplement—not replace, but supplement—and further encourage regional co-operation.

58. However, the region of South-East Asia is not without its problems, some of which pose considerable difficulties for Australia and its neighbours. I would join other speakers in referring to the large number of refugees from the Indo-China area. There should be no doubt about Australia's attitude. We have a long record of receiving and assisting refugees from many parts of the world. We are doing what we can to help with the present problem and by the middle of 1979 we shall have received more than 20,000 refugees from the Indo-China area alone. However, the limited nature of the international reaction to the problem has caused growing concern to Australia, its ASEAN neighbours and traditional countries of resettlement. A broader based international response is needed and we look to a wider group of Member States to do more to support the work of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in assisting and resettling these people.

59. I began by referring to the accelerating activity of the United Nations. Issues long defined, and no less urgent for that, remain before us, especially those of southern Africa and disarmament. They have been given new prominence and priority this year. Others to some extent still subject to delimitation, especially in the fields of international economic relations and human rights, demand additional agenda space. We can take heart that they continue to be brought to the United Nations. We are jointly responsible for ensuring that Governments are given further incentives to make proper use of this world body.

60. Such incentives cannot be provided without a realistic perspective of our activities in the United Nations from year to year. It is a Charter purpose that the United Nations should be a centre for harmonizing national actions. Clearly, the present Organization is an imperfect instrument for that purpose, but the imperfections are those of its Members as well as institutional. We cannot expect to come here and find ourselves always in agreement. But we should expect to leave in greater agreement. If harmonization is to be achieved, the machinery available to us at all levels in the United Nations needs to be kept in good repair and its reputation must remain in good standing. Only the combined membership can impose quality controls on the Assembly's decision.

61. In many areas the United Nations has succeeded in suggesting standards to be observed by all Governments and in all communities. In far fewer cases has it succeeded in setting an example by its own conduct. We can be grateful that there has been some success in the control of international crises. But the one crisis that cannot be risked is a crisis of confidence in the United Nations itself.

62. Mr. President, in the important tasks that lie ahead your own role will be one of particular importance. On behalf of my Government, I should like to congratulate you on your election as President of this thirty-third regular sessions of the General Assembly. Your election reflects the standing of Colombia in the world community and your

own valuable contribution to international affairs. You may be sure of the effort that my delegation will make to assist you in fulfilling the heavy responsibility of guiding our work to a successful conclusion.

63. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic would like to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to the office of President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to wish you full success in that high office.

64. We also welcome the admission of the State of Solomon Islands to membership in the United Nations.

65. Each regular session of the United Nations General Assembly provides an opportunity for States Members of the United Nations to engage in political stocktaking of the period that has elapsed between sessions, to make an assessment of the present situation in the world, and to outline for the future specific measures aimed at consolidating the peace and security of peoples, settling outstanding problems, and developing and deepening international co-operation in various fields.

66. The salutary changes in the world, which have become especially numerous in the 1970s, are tangible and concrete. They consist in a recognition and formalization in international documents of a kind of code of rules for honest and fair relations among countries, a code which erects legal as well as moral and political barriers in the way of those given to military gambles. They consist in the achievement of the first understandings—however modest they may be so far—which seal off some of the channels of the arms race. They consist also in an intricate system of agreements covering many areas of peaceful co-operation among States with different social systems.

67. On 25 June 1978, speaking at the ceremony devoted to the presentation of the Order of Lenin and the "Gold Star" medal to the hero city of Minsk, the capital of the Byelorussian SSR, Comrade Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, emphasized that:

"The vital interests of the working peoples of all countries demand that the positive achievements of the last few years on the world arena should not be discarded and that efforts should be made to advance towards a genuine, lasting peace for all nations. By the joint efforts of all peace-loving forces this aim can be achieved, and we believe it will be achieved."

68. Given the complexity and contradictory nature of world developments, and despite the resistance of the forces of imperialism and reaction, the successful implementation of the programme of peace put forward by the Twenty-Fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and of its organic follow-up, the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation, and for the freedom and independence of the peoples, adopted by the Twenty-Fifth Congress of the Communist

Party of the Soviet Union, promotes the consolidation of the process of détente and provides a real opportunity for the consistent assertion in international relations of the principles of peaceful coexistence, for the development of mutually advantageous co-operation between States, for the removal of the threat of another world war and the elimination of war from the life of humanity, for the cessation of the arms race and the attainment of disarmament, for the solution of the problems of decolonization and the liquidation of racism and *apartheid*, and for the further economic and social progress of all peoples.

69. One cannot fail to note, however, that with the deepening of the process of détente, its adversaries are mounting a more active campaign. This requires increased vigilance on the part of all peace-loving forces. The task has become particularly urgent in the context of the apparent activation of militarist forces. The aggressive circles of imperialism are not willing to reconcile themselves to all their failures: defeat in social battles, the loss of their colonial possessions, the departure from capitalism by an increasing number of countries, and the successes of world socialism. Under the guise of deceptive propaganda campaigns, one of which makes a lot of fuss about the so-called "Soviet military threat", they are feverishly launching long-term military programmes to secure their military superiority—a fact which poses a very serious threat to the cause of the peace and freedom of the peoples.

70. The actions of China are also fraught with serious danger. By embarking on the road of great-Power chauvinism and hegemonism, the leaders of that State preach the inevitability of another world war, openly count on an increase in international tension, sabotage disarmament, and form blocs with the most reactionary militarist forces. The course at present being followed by the leaders in Peking is a great threat to many peoples of the world. This is attested to also by the continuous provocations of the People's Republic of China against its neighbouring States, against heroic Viet Nam, whose people recently maintained, in bloody battles, their freedom and the unity of their native land.

71. In present conditions it is absolutely essential to counteract in the most resolute way any attempts to undermine the process of détente, to turn international developments back to the times of the "cold war". Now more than ever before it is imperative to adhere strictly in relations among States to the principles of the non-use of force and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, to respect the rights of all peoples to freedom and independence, and to increase efforts designed to ensure the extensive development of peaceful co-operation—and the possibilities of such co-operation are clearly defined in the United Nations Charter, in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in the United Nations Declaration on the Deepening and Consolidation of International Détente [resolution 32/155], and in other United Nations decisions.

72. In international affairs the Soviet Union is steadily pursuing the Leninist policy of peace, of consolidation of the security of peoples, and of broad international co-operation. Our Constitution outlaws war propaganda and puts forward the task of achieving general and complete

disarmament. Designed for the years and decades to come, our plans are directed towards peaceful construction, for the happiness and well-being of the people. That is why the Soviet Union is so active and consistent in its policy of curbing the arms race and proceeding towards measures of real disarmament.

73. Lately the Soviet Union put forward a comprehensive programme of new constructive and realistic initiatives to ensure a break-through in the struggle for stopping the arms race. These specific proposals have been formulated in a number of speeches by Comrade L. I. Brezhnev and in the document entitled "Practical measures for ending the arms race", submitted by the Soviet Union to the United Nations General Assembly special session devoted to disarmament.⁶ It is to be noted with satisfaction that all major Soviet initiatives are reflected in some form or other in the Final Document adopted by the special session on disarmament, and they should be negotiated further or become part of the future programme of work of the Committee on Disarmament.

74. It will be recalled that the Soviet proposals provide for the complete cessation of further quantitative and qualitative increases in the arms and armed forces of States having large military potentials; an end to the production of all types of nuclear weapons and a gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed; the cessation of the production of, and prohibition of, all other types of weapons of mass destruction; the cessation of the development of new types of conventional armaments of great destructive capability; the renunciation by the permanent members of the Security Council, and by countries that have military agreements with them, of the expansion of their armies and the increase of the quantity of their conventional armaments; a reduction in the military budgets of States with a large economic and military potential, and above all those of the permanent members of the Security Council. Suggesting that negotiations towards the cessation of the nuclear arms race be started at the earliest possible date, the Soviet Union has also made a number of proposals for political measures and measures of international law to strengthen the security of all States. Of paramount importance in this respect is the need to conclude a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations, whereby all States, including, of course, all the nuclear Powers, would pledge not to use or threaten to use force; this would guarantee the genuine security of all States, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear. We support also the proposal of the Polish People's Republic on the adoption of a declaration on the preparation of societies for life in peace [A/C.1/33/2].

75. A move of greatest importance in the further struggle for the strengthening of international security is the Soviet-sponsored draft international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States which stipulates that:

"The nuclear-weapon States Parties to this Convention pledge themselves not to use or threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States Parties to this Convention which renounce the production and acquisition

⁶ Document A/S-10/AC.1/4.

of nuclear weapons and which have no nuclear weapons in their territory or anywhere under their jurisdiction or control, on land, on the sea, in the air or in outer space.” [A/33/241, addendum, article I.]

The implementation of this Soviet initiative and the reaching of an understanding to the effect that no nuclear weapons should be stationed in the territories of States where there are no such weapons at present would make a substantial contribution to reducing the threat of a nuclear war.

76. The socialist countries have recently made very substantive proposals at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. These proposals are based on the principle of equal security for all parties. They accommodate the wishes of Western countries, from which we are entitled to expect a constructive approach to these talks.

77. It is of great importance to conclude as soon as possible the current negotiations on such questions as the limitation of strategic offensive arms, the complete and general prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests, the prohibition of chemical weapons, the prohibition of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction and the prohibition of the production, stockpiling, deployment and use of neutron weapons. It is necessary to take effective measures to prevent the further spread of nuclear weapons and to frustrate attempts to put into effect plans for the production of nuclear weapons in South Africa and Israel.

78. A most pressing problem of our time is that of curbing the arms race. It is clear to all that the development of new, even more destructive and barbaric types of weapons and the further build-up of military potential may lead mankind to the dangerous threshold of an armed confrontation. All this imposes a special responsibility upon Governments, statesmen and the United Nations, from which the peoples of the world expect not mere lip service to disarmament but the attainment of disarmament in real terms.

79. The Byelorussian SSR and all States of the socialist community are firmly convinced that the task of making sweeping advances in disarmament requires the preparation and early convening of the World Disarmament Conference, as the most representative and authoritative international forum, which could make the concern for the formulation and adoption of effective and mandatory decisions on disarmament a matter of first priority for the leaders of all States at the highest level.

80. One of the main tasks before the present session is to take more effective measures to eliminate as soon as possible the existing hotbeds of international tension and to prevent the emergence of new ones. This is true first and foremost of the Middle East. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be achieved only on the basis of the complete liberation of all Arab territories occupied by Israel in 1967, full and unambiguous respect for the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to create their own independent State and ensuring firm guarantees of the security of all countries in the region and their right to an independent existence and peaceful development.

81. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR believes that it is neither through separate deals at the expense of the interests of the Arab peoples nor through capitulation to the aggressor, thus consolidating the spoils of the Israeli aggression, but through the implementation of the United Nations decisions on the Middle East and the Palestinian issue and through negotiations within the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, under the co-chairmanship of the Soviet Union and the United States, with the full participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, that a lasting and just solution in the Middle East can be achieved.

82. The United Nations decisions on Cyprus providing for the settlement of the problem on the basis of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its policy of non-alignment, non-interference in its internal affairs and the strengthening of trust between the two communities should be fully implemented. The proposal of the Soviet Union to convene an international conference on Cyprus under the auspices of the United Nations⁷ has lost none of its relevance at the present time.

83. Our delegation advocates the implementation of the decision of the United Nations General Assembly concerning the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea [resolution 3390 B (XXX)], thus creating the prerequisites for the independent peaceful reunification of Korea on a democratic basis, free from any outside interference.

84. It is imperative to seek the elimination of the racist and colonialist régimes in southern Africa, the prompt exercise by the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia of their right to self-determination and genuine independence, the liquidation of the system of *apartheid* in the Republic of South Africa, and the cessation of military, political and economic interference by imperialist Powers in the affairs of independent African countries. The imperialist forces should not be permitted to undertake, under a new disguise of far-fetched propaganda—as they have more than once in the past—activities tailored to the patterns of the colonial era against the peoples of southern Africa or any other dependent territories.

85. The General Assembly must make wide-ranging international efforts with a view to implementing the provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted last August by the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination [A/33/262, sect. III]. The Conference stressed the danger of the growing ties between Israel and the racist régimes in southern Africa. It recalled the tragedy suffered by the people of Palestine and emphasized the need for comprehensive and binding sanctions against the *apartheid* régime in Pretoria and the racist régime in Rhodesia. The non-participation of Western countries in the Conference and their negative approach to its decisions are clear evidence of their intention to hamper the elimination of racism and of their disregard for fundamental human rights.

86. It is necessary to intensify the struggle against mass and flagrant violation of human rights and freedoms, which,

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1974*, document S/11465.

among other things, endanger the peace and security of the peoples: in other words, to intensify the struggle against *apartheid*, racism, the violation of the rights of the Palestinian people on the occupied territories and the infringement of human rights in Chile, Nicaragua and South Korea.

87. According to the United Nations Charter, one of the purposes of the Organization is to achieve international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights. What is involved here is co-operation at the inter-State level through the conclusion and universal implementation of the relevant international instruments, with due respect for the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The struggle for human rights cannot validly serve as a pretext for attempting to shield or exonerate racist or pro-Fascist régimes or to allow agents on the payroll of imperialist services engaged in subversion to go unpunished.

88. The progress made in the main and most important area of United Nations activity aimed at strengthening peace and international security generates more favourable conditions for safeguarding the political and economic independence of the developing countries and restructuring international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. The socialist countries actively support the aspirations of the developing countries to eliminate discrimination and all kinds of artificial barriers in international trade and all manifestations of imperialist *diktat*, exploitation and inequality in international economic relations. It is specifically the vestiges of the colonial past and the neo-colonialist activities of international monopolies with regard to relations between developed capitalist States and developing countries that are being used by the imperialist forces to encroach upon the sovereignty of young independent States, impose their will on those States and interfere in their internal affairs. The Foreign Ministers of those developing countries have given details of the scale this danger assumes and the scope of the economic, trade, scientific and technical problems the developing countries are facing. They rightly pointed out that the political and economic factors related to the foreign policy and economies of the developed capitalist countries, which are afflicted by crises, inflation, unemployment and constant increases in the cost of living, give rise to the phenomena of destabilization and precariousness in the development of international economic relations and have most adverse effects on the situation in the developing countries.

89. As is well known, the socialist countries have nothing to do with the colonial plundering of African, Asian and Latin American countries, the neo-colonialist ways of exploiting them or the adverse impact of the economic factors of the capitalist economy on the developing countries. The States of the socialist community neither hunt for concessions in the developing countries nor covet control over their natural resources. In our view, the way to solve the problems of economic growth and social progress in the developing countries lies in the elaboration and implementation of a series of measures that would meet the requirements of the restructuring of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis, in reducing the burden of military expenditures and channelling the resources thus released to the objectives of development,

with 10 per cent of that amount being allocated to increase assistance to developing countries.

90. History knows of no society that has been able to do or has done as much as socialism for the benefit of the working people. The peoples of the socialist countries cherish their economic, political and social gains and their social order, which they won in fierce battles and built up with their strenuous labour. A case in point is the Byelorussian SSR, which will celebrate its sixtieth anniversary on 1 January 1979. The enlightened policy of the Communist Party, the internationalist unity and fraternal assistance of the peoples of the USSR and the selfless labour of the people of the Republic have made it possible not only to make up for the material losses caused by the wars that were imposed upon us but also to transform in a short period of time a once backward country of semi-primitive enterprises and an almost ruined agriculture, a country of poverty, disease and illiteracy, into a socialist republic having a highly developed industry, a highly mechanized, intensive and collectively-managed agriculture, modern science and high standards of culture. The salient feature of the Byelorussia of today is its large-scale industry, which accounts for over 60 per cent of the Republic's gross national product. Its main components are machine building, machine-tool construction, radio-electronics, chemistry and petrochemistry, instrument-making and other modern industries underlying scientific and technological progress. The industrial output of the Byelorussian SSR has increased more than 190-fold as compared to the pre-revolutionary level. In recent decades Byelorussia's economic potential has doubled every seven years. During the past 12 years its grain and milk production has doubled and its production of meat has increased by a factor of 2.6. In the current five-year period, 1976 to 1980, industrial output should increase by 45 per cent and grain production will amount to 1 ton *per capita*. At the same time the average earnings of industrial and office workers in the Byelorussian SSR will increase by 22 per cent, and those of collective farmers by 32 per cent. In the past 12 years over a million apartments have been built in the Republic, housing 9.5 million people. State allocations for free all-grade education, free medical care, social welfare and so on have been growing every year.

91. The new Constitution of the Byelorussian SSR, adopted by the Supreme Soviet of the Republic on 14 April following a Republic-wide discussion, reflects the important social and economic changes that have taken place in the Byelorussian SSR during the years of Soviet rule. Favourable conditions have been created, and their scope is increasing, for continuous improvement of the people's well-being and full enjoyment of the entire range of rights and freedoms of the Soviet people. Ever widening and more active participation by the working people in the management of State and social affairs is the central direction of the political development of our country.

92. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR, which is a supporter of and a participant in the statutory activities of the United Nations, wishes to stress the importance of effective administrative and budgetary activity in the Organization. In our opinion, when considering this problem at all levels and in all bodies, one should proceed from the basis of the inadmissibility of excessive expenditure and

the need for rational and economical use of the allocated resources, first and foremost in the interest of achieving the major objectives of the Organization as defined in the Charter—that is, the promotion of lasting peace and the consolidation of international détente, which must have specific material content.

93. It is also known, however, that the efforts made in recent years to improve the programme planning and budgetary system of the United Nations have not yet reached the goals set and that the internal reserves and resources released as a result of the completion, reduction, reorganization, cancellation or elimination of overlapping in United Nations programmes, projects or activities, or as a result of any other changes in them, are being misused and are not being turned into savings, which in turn results in unreasonably high rates of increase in the Organization's expenditure. Insufficient attention is being paid to raising the labour efficiency of the staff, to improving the administrative methods of the United Nations Secretariat and even to implementing decisions already adopted. All this naturally gives rise to legitimate concern among the States Members of the United Nations and suggests the need for constructive measures to eliminate the above-mentioned and other deficiencies in the work of the United Nations Secretariat.

94. The United Nations, whose membership totals 150 States, plays an ever more positive role in international affairs, in the consideration of the most important issues in the world and the key problems of international relations. Under conditions of international détente, the United Nations is conducting its activities in a more business-like atmosphere and with a higher degree of constructiveness and consistency. The contribution of each State to the strict observance and implementation of the provisions of the United Nations Charter is a real guarantee of the resolution of existing international problems and the opening up of new prospects for fruitful and mutually beneficial co-operation among countries. The role of the United Nations is to be enhanced not through the revision of the Charter but rather through its consistent observance. Together with the fraternal States of the socialist community, the Byelorussian SSR attaches paramount importance to the task of safeguarding peace and eliminating the danger of war, and will actively contribute to the progress of United Nations activities in this field. By consistently pursuing and advocating this policy we are putting into practice one of the main slogans of the October Revolution—a behest of the great Lenin: "Peace to the peoples".

95. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): Mr. President, it is my honour to convey to you, and to the representatives meeting here, the greetings and good wishes of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuk, King of Bhutan, and to express His Majesty's whole-hearted support for the efforts which will be made during this session to resolve the complex questions which lie at the heart of the quest for world peace, security and progress.

96. I should also like, on behalf of the Kingdom of Bhutan, to offer you our warmest congratulations on your election as President of this thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your assumption of this high office is a fitting tribute not only to the country you represent, but

also the South American continent. The record of long and distinguished service in international diplomacy which you bring to it assures us that you will provide sound and fruitful leadership. As one of the Vice-Presidents at the current session, I wish to pledge to you the fullest co-operation of my delegation in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities.

97. Our grateful thanks go also to your predecessor Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, who won our respect by the wise and efficient manner in which he guided our deliberations at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and at the important special sessions held during the year.

98. This year we have much pleasure in warmly welcoming Solomon Islands to membership in this great Organization. Our complete support for this admission is evident from our sponsorship of the draft resolution to that effect. It is a fitting tribute both to the administering Power and to the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples that Solomon Islands' accession to independence has been peaceful. Its entry into the United Nations brings us yet another step closer to our goal of universality of membership, a goal to which the Kingdom of Bhutan attaches high priority.

99. The year 1978 has been marked by a number of positive developments on the international scene. Unfortunately these have been counterbalanced by a lack of progress in other areas and by an evident lack of willingness on the part of the parties involved to find lasting solutions to some of the critical problems facing the world community. We have seen the convening of a high-level special session on disarmament here at the United Nations, a session which impressed upon the international community the seriousness with which the world's Governments and its peoples view this long-sought and crucial goal.

100. We have seen, too, the ninth special session on the question of Namibia, which was held in New York, and the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held in Geneva. These meetings have been significant in showing support for the continuing struggle of the oppressed peoples in many parts of the world for their right to independence and self-determination—a struggle which continues to gain momentum.

101. And we have seen, too, the disappointing suspension of the deliberations of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, referred to as the Committee of the Whole. We very much hoped that the Committee would pursue the promise of a new kind of world order, indeed of the New International Economic Order which we had all agreed to establish, based not on old and outdated concepts, but on the equal and harmonious development of all States, and on an equitable distribution of the world's resources and knowledge.

102. The Kingdom of Bhutan attaches the greatest importance to the principles and objectives of non-alignment and to the Charter of the United Nations. We believe adherence to these principles by all Member States can and will show

the way to world peace, a peace based not on shifting and precarious alliances, not on rivalry for spheres of influence and domination of the many by the few, but on a genuine framework of mutual respect and co-operation among nations, large and small, rich and poor.

103. Like many non-aligned Members, we believe that all Member States should be actively and tirelessly engaged in working towards just and enduring solutions to the world's problems. We must find solutions which will bring about not a temporary abatement of tension or an illusory glimpse of peace, but a genuine and permanent stability. The history of this century has taught us all too painfully that the formation of Power blocs and military alliances among great Powers brings not peace but war, not freedom from fear but the institutionalization of fear.

104. It was in recognition of this sobering truth that the United Nations was founded. Yet the international situation today, more than three decades later, makes it clear that the lesson, learned at so great a cost, has been all too soon forgotten by the major world Powers. Tension continues to be generated by the struggle for supremacy between the two Power blocs and in the process many weak and smaller countries are being subjected to various forms of pressure and, in some cases, even exposed to threats or acts of domination and aggression. Nowhere is this situation more apparent today than in Africa and the Middle East region. There, as in many other parts of the world, developing countries are finding themselves caught up in a game of power politics not of their own making. Their already limited resources are being severely strained and their people are suffering unnecessary hardships for causes inimical to their national development.

105. It is hard to envision lasting and universal progress towards peace as long as this situation is allowed to continue. It is not enough to pay lip service to the high ideals on which this Organization is founded. We must show ourselves ready to work constructively to bring about the new era of world peace and understanding that was the vision of the founders of the United Nations and to outlaw forever the divisive and destructive forces of imperialism, expansionism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and racial discrimination.

106. At the heart of this vision is the concept of national independence, sovereignty and self-determination. We must resolutely reject all interference in the internal affairs of other countries and maintain the inviolability of legally established national boundaries on the basis of the sovereign equality of all nations, whether big or small. It was in recognition of this very equality that the United Nations was founded.

107. We are pleased that this year has seen the continuation of good and productive relationships between Bhutan and our neighbouring countries. It is our aim, and an integral part of our foreign policy, to establish relationships of friendship and co-operation with all countries, in the genuine spirit of non-alignment and mutual respect. In our home region, the south Asia subcontinent, the prospects for promoting peace and stability are excellent. All States have contributed to the present encouraging situation by demonstrating a spirit of conciliation and accommodation. A

number of successful initiatives have been taken towards building bridges of mutual trust, understanding and co-operation. As a result, some of the major issues impeding stability have been resolved. In this context, my Government would like to express to the Janata Government in India its deep appreciation of its pragmatic and constructive policies towards its immediate neighbours.

108. Elsewhere in the Asian region there have been some concerted efforts towards peace, although in some areas the situation has been less encouraging. We sincerely hope that the countries directly involved will be able to display a sense of real conciliation and accommodation in the interests of creating an atmosphere of renewed respect and co-operation. My delegation fully subscribes to all attempts to bring about a better, more secure life for all peoples in the region.

109. As we meet here, the attention of the international community is focused on events in southern Africa. In Namibia, the just struggle of the people for independence and self-determination seemed to have brought promising results. We welcome Security Council resolution 435 (1978), designed to implement practical measures to lead to the attainment of independence by the people of Namibia, and commend the Secretary-General for his forthright stand in calling for a concerted United Nations presence to ensure a peaceful transition through free and fair elections.

110. Elsewhere in Africa, the people of Zimbabwe continue to be denied self-determination and true independence. It is clear that peace will not come to this troubled land until the majority of the people, and not just a token handful, are given the right to self-rule through a freely elected and genuinely representative government. In the meantime, under the bogus so-called coalition Government, the terror and oppression and grim toll of death continue. Acts of aggression carried out by the Smith régime against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia are unpardonable infringements of the national sovereignty of those nations and pose a disturbing threat to peace in the area. We support the struggle of the Patriotic Front, and urge that all possible efforts be made by the United Nations to bring about a real and just settlement of the conflict.

111. International security also continues to be threatened by the situation in the Middle East. During the past year, and recently, there have been several initiatives for peace in that region and yet the situation remains fluid. My Government believes there must be concerted efforts to move towards a comprehensive and meaningful settlement acceptable to all peoples in the area. We remain convinced that no enduring settlement can be achieved without full recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and establish their own independent State and the right of all States in the area to exist within universally recognized boundaries.

112. Our other area of concern is the Republic of Cyprus. It is to be regretted that no tangible progress has yet been made in alleviating the tension under which the people of Cyprus have lived so long. The last session of the General Assembly strongly endorsed the need for swift implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and

Security Council resolution 365 (1974). These measures provide the basis for a just settlement of the community's problems, under which the territorial unity and integrity of Cyprus would be preserved. Continuation of the dialogue between the two communities is essential if a settlement is to be achieved. We appreciate the role being played by the United Nations peace-keeping Force in Cyprus and by the Secretary-General.

113. No task facing the international community is more imperative or of wider ranging significance than that of disarmament. We are gratified that, through the initiative of the non-aligned nations, the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was held here this year, and that all nuclear-weapon States participated. There is no doubt that this landmark meeting was instrumental in refocusing world opinion on the whole question of disarmament and in mobilizing public support for this goal. At the same time, we share the disappointment expressed by many countries that the Final Document produced [*resolution S-10/2*] fell short of our expectations. As we said in our statement at that session,⁸ it is our belief that all nations must be involved, and actively involved, in a fresh and enlightened examination of this crucial issue. In particular, we should like to see all nuclear-weapon States included in all negotiations and represented on both deliberative and negotiating bodies.

114. In the same spirit, I should like to reaffirm the commitment of my Government to the establishment of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, as called for in resolution 2832 (XXVI), adopted by the General Assembly in 1971 and endorsed in the Political Declaration of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo in 1976.⁹ We are disappointed to find that while talks concerning this objective have been initiated by the great Powers they remain inadequate in scope and little substantive progress has been made.

115. It has long been recognized that the disproportionate allocation of resources for military purposes is a major factor in the imbalance in the world economy. It is hard to imagine how a just economic order can ever come into being without the reallocation of even a small part of these resources for peaceful purposes.

116. Much of the unrest in the world today is generated by the patent imbalances and inequalities in the international economic system. The economic system is marked by inflation, currency fluctuations, instability in commodity prices and the growth of protectionism. These factors are of serious concern to many countries, but particularly to the developing countries, as they directly affect their development plans and over-all economic growth. The growth recession experienced by many nations, accompanied by a slackening in world trade, has, in our interdependent world, taken a heavy toll in many developing countries. The gap between rich and poor countries has widened still further. The upheaval in the world economic situation in 1973 provided a warning of

the consequences of not restructuring the international economic order. A number of important initiatives were taken. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly outlined the framework for the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The North-South dialogue held in Paris¹⁰ was continued at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly,¹¹ and it was with great hope and expectation that the Committee of the Whole was established to overview problems involved in the formation of a new economic order. That hope has not been fulfilled and it is with great disappointment that we find the work of the Committee has been suspended. The report of the Committee of the Whole [*A/33/34*] makes clear the reasons for its failure. It points to a lack of willingness on the part of some countries to engage in constructive negotiations and to move towards agreement on a number of fundamental proposals concerning the restructuring of the international economic system. We hope that the underlying differences about the role and functioning of the Committee will be resolved so that this important work can continue without impediment.

117. All efforts aimed at the constructive transformation of world economic conditions must take cognizance of the fact that the gap is widening not only between the economies of the developed and developing countries, but also between those of the least developed land-locked countries and other developing countries. This is an alarming situation and we earnestly hope that further positive measures will be taken to help the land-locked countries to overcome the enormous disadvantages they face, so that the gap will not widen still further. Without such measures those countries will be hopelessly constrained in their attempts to overcome their geographical handicaps and achieve economic progress and self-reliance.

118. Bhutan, as a land-locked developing country, has, along with others in a similar position, continued to work towards overcoming its geographical disadvantages through a constructive, balanced and realistic development strategy. We are encouraged by the progress which has been made in a short time towards our goal of economic self-reliance, and towards ensuring a full and productive life for our citizens. Under the wise and able leadership of our dynamic monarch, we look forward to the future as an active and peace-loving member of the community of nations.

119. Next year, 1979, will be the International Year of the Child. In recognition of the importance of this Year in bringing attention to bear on improving the conditions of children everywhere, my Government has initiated a number of programmes with Bhutan. As this important year approaches it is fitting, too, to remind ourselves in the strongest possible terms of the responsibility we bear, not only towards the children of today, but towards all future generations, to forge a new era of peace, prosperity and happiness for all the world's peoples.

120. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): My delegation is pleased to participate in this session of the General Assembly. To us,

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 23rd meeting.

⁹ See document A/31/197, annex I, paras. 122-134.

¹⁰ Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

this is an occasion for serious reflection on the numerous problems which confront our imperfect globe. It is for this reason, among others, that the United Nations as an international institution was born. My statement will concentrate unavoidably on some of these issues which continue to tax our foreign relations, in particular, the crisis in southern Africa.

121. Before delving into the substance of my contribution, Mr. President, I wish on behalf of the Zambian delegation to congratulate you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-third regular session. Your election is also a mark of honour to your country, Colombia, with which we are linked in the current struggle of the third world for justice and equity in the economic, political and social spheres. My delegation pledges co-operation with you.

122. Mr. President, this is the opportune moment for me to pay a particular tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, who ably presided over the thirty-second regular session as well as three important special sessions of this Assembly, held this year.

123. I also wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts in the promotion of the objectives of the United Nations and for his lucid and comprehensive report to this session.

124. Zambia welcomes the admission of Solomon Islands to the membership of this family of nations. The admission of a new Member is an occasion for rejoicing and reflection, in the knowledge of the difficulty of the process of decolonization. Colonial masters never give up easily. Zambia also hopes and expects to welcome independent Zimbabwe and Namibia to membership in the United Nations in the very near future. We also congratulate Tuvalu on the attainment of independence and we look forward to its admission to the United Nations.

125. Mr. President, in your important opening statement [*1st meeting*], you gave a vivid and impressive account of the pattern of pervasive poverty and increasing inequalities which continue to characterize existing international economic relations and to subvert international peace and security. My delegation fully shares the sense of disappointment with the continuing deterioration of the international economic situation. In particular, we associate ourselves with the numerous expressions of grave concern regarding the worsening condition and grim prospects of developing countries.

126. The North-South dialogue, which was initiated some four years ago on the basis of a hard-won consensus, remains in serious jeopardy. The hopes which were aroused by the successful outcome of the seventh special session of the General Assembly in 1975 have yet to be fulfilled in any meaningful manner. The implementation of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of the New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*] depends on the undertaking of structural changes and the adoption of appropriate policy decisions in conformity with the reality of interdependence and the mutuality of interest among nations. It does not rest, nor should it be permitted to rest on the fulfilment of traditional concepts

of aid, charity or philanthropy—lofty as these notions may be.

127. On that premise, I wish to submit that the picture which has emerged from negotiations on major issues—notably those on the Integrated Programme for Commodities,¹² the common fund, multilateral trade negotiations, the transfer of resources in real terms, the reform of the international monetary system, industrialization, the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency and the code of conduct for the transfer of technology to developing countries—is indeed a sombre one, and does not provide any consolation.

128. It is the sincere hope of my delegation that Member States, in particular the developed countries, will exert maximum efforts in appropriate forums to transform the current stalemate into concrete success. We reaffirm our conviction that the ongoing dialogue can be sustained and rendered meaningful only through concrete discernible results which reflect the structural character of the mandate given. We cannot as yet confidently point to any such accomplishment. The outcome is decisively dependent on the measure of commitment to negotiate in good faith and of political will on the part of the industrialized countries.

129. Zambia welcomes recent announcements by a few industrialized countries of their intention to increase financial assistance and to cancel official debts in respect of the poorest among the developing countries. In addition, we would urge donor countries to accord serious attention to those land-locked, island, developing and middle-income countries which have not so far benefited from meaningful special measures, in spite of the formidable economic difficulties which continue to confront them.

130. My delegation remains convinced that existing economic criteria which accord undue weight to *per capita* gross national product, useful as they are in determining eligibility for special attention, have increasingly tended to conceal more than they reveal. The criteria employed by the United Nations development system, including UNDP, and by such international institutions as IBRD do not reflect peculiar circumstances such as disadvantageous geographical location, lengthy and costly transportation lines, and specific geo-political situations, which impose major constraints on the development efforts of certain countries, such as my own. We trust that the question of criteria will receive serious and urgent consideration from the relevant United Nations bodies and specialized agencies, financial and technical assistance institutions and creditor and donor countries.

131. In this connexion, Zambia continues to make immense sacrifices in its effective implementation of the United Nations policy of sanctions against the rebel British colony of Southern Rhodesia, particularly following Zambia's closure of its border with rebel Rhodesia. Today, the cost to Zambia of its application of United Nations sanctions exceeds \$1 billion. Our full and effective implementation of such United Nations decisions, especially with

¹² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

regard to the transportation of essential commodities, is consequently being gravely jeopardized by the absence of sustained commitment on the part of certain Member States, as well as by the lack of commensurate assistance to countries such as my own which continue to be adversely affected by the implementation of important United Nations decisions. In this regard, Zambia will soon have no alternative but to transport by the southern route more than 100,000 tons of badly-needed fertilizer before the onset of the rains.

132. The procedural stalemate currently facing the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, is a source of grave concern to my delegation. The problem of the procedural impasse must be resolved at this session in order that this important Committee may be able to proceed with its substantive work without further delay.

133. Efforts to reform the international environment so that developing countries are given equal opportunity to participate equitably in the sustained progress of mankind are dialectically linked to efforts aimed at forging all forms of co-operation among the developing countries themselves. Those two sets of endeavours are not mutually exclusive. They reinforce and complement each other.

134. In this connexion, it is Zambia's belief that the significance of the recent United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires, essentially resides in its potential contribution to enhancing endogenous development on the basis of self-reliance and the optimum utilization of resources within and among developing countries, thereby facilitating the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

135. My delegation would like here again to stress the dialectical and complementary character of existing North-South forms of co-operation on the one hand and the new South-to-South forms of co-operation on the other hand. Zambia is confident that the Plan of Action adopted at the Conference¹³ will be given serious consideration by the international community with a view to ensuring its successful implementation.

136. For Zambia's part, our authorities will continue to accord high priority to implementing viable programmes and projects to realize self-reliant development and to forging co-operation with other developing countries in various fields of common interest, including the critical areas of trade, transport and communications.

137 I should also mention that my country was recently privileged to act as host to a meeting of some 17 countries at the conclusion of which a declaration of intent was signed for the creation of a preferential free trade area for eastern, central and southern Africa. I need not state that this was a most significant step towards the establishment of an economic community, thus giving effect to our common desire to promote co-operation among developing countries.

¹³ 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.

138. In brief, it has become imperative to preach the sermon according to the New International Economic Order in order to convert constituents of public opinion and sections of national interest to the cause of structural change and a new world order.

139. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea constitutes an essential element in the struggle to establish the New International Economic Order. An international legal régime of the seas, based on justice and equity, will be an important constituent of an equitable world order. In this regard, Zambia attaches much importance to the conclusion of an international convention on the law of the sea, which must of necessity cater for the legitimate interests of both the coastal and the land-locked States and of the developed and developing States. It is our fervent hope that in the interim nations will refrain from taking unilateral measures to grab the resources of the sea and the sea-bed.

140. For generations the Middle East has been characterized by incessant conflict and warfare. The situation in the area remains complex and continues to threaten international peace and security. Unless and until the underlying causes of the conflict are removed, the durable solution to the question of the Middle East which we all desire will continue to elude us. In recognition of that fact, my Government has repeatedly called upon Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and to allow the Palestinian people to exercise freely their inalienable right to self-determination, including their right to the establishment of a sovereign and independent State. We shall continue to do so, as this position is consistent with numerous United Nations resolutions and constitutes the only realistic basis for a just and permanent solution to the problem of the Middle East.

141. Within the context of the situation in the Middle East I cannot fail to refer to the tragedy in Lebanon. We cannot turn a blind eye to the strife that has taken a very high toll of human life and has almost torn that country asunder. It must be halted and a political solution should be found that will allow the Lebanese people to enjoy peace and tranquillity.

142. The situation in Cyprus remains a matter of concern to Zambia. Once again we must note the lack of progress in the negotiations aimed at resolving the critical questions that continue to threaten the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. The negotiations under the auspices of the Secretary-General must go forward. We urge the two Cypriot communities to co-operate fully with the Secretary-General. We also reiterate our call for the withdrawal of all foreign military forces which are in Cyprus in defiance of the United Nations.

143. With regard to Korea, Zambia continues to support the efforts for the reunification of that country on the basis of the North-South joint communiqué.¹⁴ We hope that the aspirations of the Korean people for reunification will soon be realized.

144. One of the major preoccupations of the United Nations since its founding has been the promotion of the

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

inalienable right of peoples under colonial and alien domination to self-determination and independence. Southern Africa remains a major blot on the otherwise good record of the United Nations in the field of decolonization. In that part of the world the black majority of more than 30 million continues to languish under brutal and exploitative white racist minority régimes. The General Assembly, the Security Council and other United Nations organs have adopted numerous resolutions in support of the right of the oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa to freedom and independence. Each and every one of those resolutions has met the same fate of contemptuous rejection by the intransigent racist minority régimes.

145. As in all colonial cases, the preference of the oppressed people of southern Africa was to attain their freedom and national independence by peaceful means. Before resorting to armed struggle and other violent means for their liberation, they exhausted, to no avail, all possible avenues. Even as they wage armed struggle, they remain ready and willing to negotiate the modalities for the transfer of power to them, if reason and sheer common-sense should at any time find entry into the minds of the die-hard white racists who oppose them.

146. The problems of southern Africa continue to preoccupy us in Zambia. The white racist minority régimes which are oppressing the African people in the region happen to be our neighbours. They are our neighbours, not by choice, but by the designs of imperialism.

147. President Kaunda of Zambia has for over a decade now consistently speculated about, and drawn the attention of the world community to, the potentially explosive nature of the situation there. The movement towards that potential holocaust is gaining greater momentum. A calamity of immense proportions is dawning in southern Africa. The United Nations and the international community have a duty not only to deliberate on the problem but also to prescribe solutions to it and thereby avert the imminent catastrophe. Crisis-management and brinkmanship are required of all those who are concerned with the situation. Rigidity, cynicism, duplicity, trickery, bigotry, dogmatism, intransigence and their correlates have no place in resolving the grave situation in southern Africa. The situation is no longer a tragicomedy, but a real human tragedy.

148. More than enough blood has been shed in southern Africa since the advent of racist colonizers in that region over 300 years ago. Undoubtedly the attempts to exterminate the African people have increased in recent years as their resistance to occupation and exploitation has intensified. If the problem is not resolved quickly more innocent lives of both blacks and whites will be lost and we shall witness the beginning of an all-out war.

149. What, then, is the root-cause of this problem in southern Africa? Unless we can diagnose an ailment it is almost impossible to prescribe the appropriate remedy. It is important to stress that the root-cause of the problem in southern Africa is the very existence of the decadent racist and Fascist minority régimes. Those Fascists are intent on clinging desperately to power as colonial masters under the pretext of racial superiority. Furthermore, those racist

régimes in Pretoria and Salisbury have embarked on expansionist policies and aggressive actions against Angola, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia, which support the right of peoples to self-determination and independence. Surely it would be folly to expect those of us who have fought for our own independence to remain apathetic in the face of the plight of the oppressed peoples.

150. If all Member States represented here were agreed on these fundamental principles the task of resolving the problem of southern Africa would be much easier. But, while many profess to support the cause of self-determination verbally, their overt or covert actions in support of those racist régimes negate their purported good intentions. Is the time not opportune for the high councils of the United Nations to act as one on all matters pertaining to southern Africa?

151. It is important for States Members of this Organization, especially those with leverage and vested interests in southern Africa, to desist from engaging in duplicity and deceitful manoeuvres.

152. The situation in Southern Rhodesia, the Zimbabwe to be, is pregnant with ominous consequences. The actions of the Smith régime in Salisbury show all the signs of neurosis. Southern Rhodesia is on the brink of exploding. History will not pardon all those who failed to act decisively while there was time. My Government holds the view that time to avert a chaotic situation in the British colony of Southern Rhodesia is quickly slipping away from the international community.

153. The so-called "internal settlement" which was concocted in Salisbury earlier this year has resolved nothing. Even its proponents now admit, albeit reluctantly, that the so-called agreement has failed lamentably to achieve a cease-fire or any resolution to end the conflict. Smith is in fact not even prepared to hand over nominal power to his dear friends, the co-signatories of the so-called agreement. The issue in Zimbabwe is not—I repeat, not—whether the so-called internal settlement will succeed or fail. It has failed, and it is therefore no longer a bone of contention. The real, substantive issue is how to stop the bloodshed in order to bring about genuine independence in a country which is torn by civil strife as a result of the war situation.

154. The present state of insecurity inside Zimbabwe is so serious that neither whites nor blacks can claim to be secure. The Smith régime is unable to guarantee the safety of the people it purports to rule. Civil order has crumbled.

155. The fighting forces of the Patriotic Fund have extended the theatre of the war against the recalcitrant régime to embrace the entire country. The guerrillas from the countryside have encircled the cities. Battles between the Rhodesian army and the Patriotic Front are common occurrences in the urban areas of Zimbabwe, including the capital, Salisbury. Surely no one can doubt the resolve of the fighting forces to liberate their motherland at any price.

156. The chief protagonists, therefore, are the rebel forces and the armed forces of the Patriotic Front. While the Zimbabwe liberation forces are fighting a war of liberation against a system of oppression, there are bands of armed

men who are killing and exterminating hundreds of persons in Zimbabwe every week. These include the Rhodesian army and deserters from that army, and its specialized murder squads such as the Selous Scouts, the Grey Scouts and thousands of mercenaries drawn from South Africa, some European countries and the Americas.

157. The Smith régime has also helped to organize armed gangs for the three African co-signatories of the so-called Salisbury agreement. These groups are used against whom-ever they define as their enemy. As a result, one group is set against the other. Fighting between and within the internal parties has become a common occurrence.

158. In a desperate, indeed frantic, effort to exacerbate the civil war in Zimbabwe, the régime announced recently that Africans will be conscripted into the rebel army and that so-called martial law will be extended in many parts of that country, as if Africans had not suffered enough already.

159. What we have to contend with in Zimbabwe, therefore, is a situation in which a desperate settler régime is fomenting a civil war among Zimbabweans both inside and outside the country. In the process, Smith deludes himself with his hopes that he can benefit from the chaotic situation which he has masterminded.

160. The other strategy which the Salisbury régime continues to pursue is that of seeking to externalize the conflict further to engulf front-line States, in particular, and other members of the international community. By this strategy, Smith and his henchmen are hoping that should the front-line countries call upon their friends for assistance, the Western countries will come to their rescue. Smith is intent on provoking an East-West confrontation. We are already aware that the Fascist racist régime in Pretoria has resumed its massive support for the Smith régime.

161. The response of the members of the world community to all these problems has varied. Those who assume primary legal responsibility for Southern Rhodesia are both equivocating and prevaricating. In this context it was amazing to hear the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom state in his address before this Assembly on 27 September 1978 that "The United Kingdom has never administered Rhodesia" [10th meeting, para. 140], and that the United Kingdom has never been a metropolitan Power. The truth of the matter is that Britain colonized Southern Rhodesia. It does not matter—indeed it is irrelevant—whether a colonial Power exercises its authority directly or through an agent. It amounts to one and the same thing. As far as the international community is concerned, there is no way in which Britain can evade its legal and colonial responsibility over Rhodesia. We therefore call upon the British Government to be decisive in dealing with the Rhodesian situation.

162. Furthermore, I want to make it abundantly clear that in the aftermath of the publication of the Bingham report on British violations of the sanctions on the supply of oil to Rhodesia,¹⁵ Zambia will vigorously pursue, both in the

courts and here at the United Nations, its strong case against the British and other oil companies involved in this conspiracy since the unilateral declaration of independence.

163. The view of the Zambian Government is that the Rhodesian problem bleeds and yearns for a solution. If any talks are to be held, let them be convened now. Time is fast running out. Very soon it will be too late to find anyone to talk to, because the situation will have been overtaken by events.

164. It is within that context that we must view the impending visit of Ian Smith to the United States. It is with regret and great disappointment that we see that, at this crucial stage of the illegal Smith régime's apparent collapse, certain conservative members of the establishment have adopted strong-arm tactics of exerting pressure on the Administration to allow rebel leader Smith and his henchmen to enter the United States. In our view, the visit of Ian Smith to the United States not only compromises the position of the United States as a broker in the negotiations, but also seriously jeopardizes any renewed efforts at convening a genuine and meaningful all party conference.

165. We are aware that Ian Smith is visiting the United States not in order to discuss the modalities of the transfer of power to the majority, but to win support for his crumbling so-called internal settlement and the breach of United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia. Smith will no doubt use his visit to undermine the position of the United States Administration on the Anglo-American proposals by misinforming American public opinion and playing up to the sentiments of conservative elements in Congress. By succumbing to pressure, the United States Administration may well have tied its hands in regard to the pursuance of the Anglo-American proposals.

166. South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia continues to represent a major challenge to the authority and prestige of the United Nations. At its ninth special session this Assembly exhaustively analysed the question of Namibia and made important decisions imperative for the accession of Namibia to genuine independence [resolution S-9/2]. Only last week renewed efforts to seek South African withdrawal from Namibia and the transfer of power to the people of Namibia were undertaken in the Security Council. Hence, the collective will and determination of the international community to put an end to the continued illegal South African occupation of Namibia has been reaffirmed by both the General Assembly and the Security Council.

167. The action of the Security Council last week, particularly, offers South Africa a sensible international framework for terminating its illegal occupation of Namibia in grace—if indeed there be any in the Pretoria racist régime. This is a unique and historic opportunity to solve the problem of Namibia peacefully. The South African régime must co-operate with the Security Council and, indeed, with the Secretary-General, whose unenviable task it is to superintend the United Nations Transition Assistance Group set up under the authority of the Security Council by its resolution 435 (1978).

168. South Africa's characteristic intransigence, defiance and utter contempt of the United Nations must no longer

¹⁵ See T. H. Bingham and S. M. Gray, "Report on the Supply of Petroleum and Petroleum Products to Rhodesia" (London, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, September 1978).

be tolerated. Today we have a situation where South Africa is seeking to throw overboard and circumvent a proposal for the settlement of the question of Namibia which is the brainchild of its traditional supporters and allies. In our view, the five Western countries concerned have an obligation to ensure South African compliance with the proposal. Their inability to do so would raise serious questions about their sincerity in the exercise and would, indeed, have a bearing on their credibility with regard to the whole question of southern Africa.

169. If South Africa persists in its defiance of the United Nations and proceeds to hold sham elections intended to install its puppets in power in Namibia, we do not see any option but for the Security Council to impose mandatory sanctions against it under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. Those who have shielded it in the past cannot, surely, find further pretexts for doing so. We hope and expect that they will gather sufficient political will to support action by the Security Council against South Africa, and to join with the rest of the international community in totally ostracizing the Pretoria Fascists.

170. The ninth special session of this Assembly served the useful purpose of clarifying the various aspects of the question of Namibia. Zambia remains totally committed to the Declaration and Programme of Action on Namibia adopted at the special session [resolution S-9/2]. Let me in particular emphasize that we support the territorial integrity of Namibia, of which Walvis Bay is an integral part. We are also resolutely committed to continued support for the South West Africa People's Organization, the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people. Indeed, we commend that Organization for its heroic armed struggle, its statesmanship and diplomatic skill, which were the decisive factors in the successful conclusion of the negotiations on the proposal of the five Western members of the Security Council.¹⁶

171. South Africa, the citadel of institutionalized racist oppression and exploitation, continues to present a challenge to the United Nations and to all civilized mankind. More than ever before the world is confronted with a militarily strong, intransigent régime with expansionist aggressive designs in Africa. The Pretoria racist régime continues to perfect its already massive oppressive apparatus for use against the black people who are the majority in that country.

172. The obnoxious and illogical policy of bantustanization is still in force. In addition to the so-called Transkei, bogus independence has been given to the so-called Bophuthatswana homeland, while plans are afoot to grant similar independence to the unfortunate inhabitants of the Venda area.

173. The system of *apartheid*, which denies the humanity of people who are not white, subjects the Africans to mass killings, torture, arbitrary arrest and detention and to all other forms of inhuman treatment. Yet, the world this year

is observing the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

174. In addition, 1978 has been declared by the United Nations to be International Anti-*Apartheid* Year, for the purpose of focusing exclusively on strategies for combating the evil policies of South Africa. The United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid* has done commendable work already in awakening the conscience of mankind to the plight of Africans in South Africa, including that of the political prisoners on Robben Island. But how much have the majority of States represented here done to focus on this important Year? In particular, how much have those who arm and trade with South Africa done even to ameliorate the conditions of the victims? Alas, most of these countries pay only lip service to our goals in this respect. They prefer to reap profits by all means at their disposal. Appeals by the General Assembly for disinvestment and a ban on arms trade with Pretoria continue to be ignored.

175. It would be folly to be taken in by illusions concerning stability in Pretoria, because South Africa is a powder keg. The events in Soweto and other acts of African revolt should serve as timely warnings. The oppressed people of South Africa will undoubtedly change the system. Let the South African Fascists know that they are sitting on a time-bomb which is bound to explode at any moment. Rather than deterring them, the savage oppression and repression of which the black majority of South Africa are daily victims will only increase their resolve to overthrow the *apartheid* system and liberate themselves. South Africa's military might and policy of creating bantustan enclaves cannot and will not be the solution. The African people of South Africa will surely triumph over the modern Nazis who oppress them.

176. We in Zambia are well aware that a change from Vorster to Botha is only cosmetic. After all, this confirms what we already know about the Afrikaner *laager* mentality of selecting the so-called leaders from the Verkramppte party clique. Moreover, Vorster has merely promoted himself to the post of President; yet this has not raised an uproar in the Western democracies. We are watching the situation closely.

177. I wish to reiterate here Zambia's total and unequivocal support for the liberation movement in the struggle for the emancipation of southern Africa from the racist and colonial yoke. I also take this opportunity to commend the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa for the heroic struggles they are waging against the racist, Fascist and exploitative white minority racist régimes which have usurped their land and humiliated their people. We pay a tribute to the non-aligned, socialist and Nordic countries, and the progressive international community, which continue to render material and diplomatic support to the oppressed masses and their liberation movements. We urge them to continue to do so until final victory is achieved.

178. I have delved rather deeply into the situation in southern Africa because, in the view of my Government, it is vitally important that there should be no illusions in the international community as to its gravity and ominous

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

consequences. That situation defies the very central purpose of the United Nations. When the explosion comes, there is no way that this Organization or any of its Member States can afford to remain aloof.

179. The Preamble to the Charter eloquently speaks about the determination of the peoples of the United Nations to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Let it not be said that his aspiration was frustrated by some of

the Governments that comprise the membership of the United Nations. Zambia has faith in the potential of the United Nations to fulfil the expectations of the peoples of the world and those of its founding fathers. We hope its Member States will not be guilty of having failed to demonstrate the necessary political will.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.