



CONTENTS

|  |      |
|--|------|
| Agenda item 9:                                 | Page |
| General debate ( <i>continued</i> )            |      |
| Speech by Mr. Jorge (Angola) .....             | 475  |
| Speech by Mr. Motee'a (Democratic Yemen) ..... | 479  |
| Speech by Mr. Ake (Ivory Coast) .....          | 482  |
| Speech by Mr. Jamal (Qatar) .....              | 486  |
| Speech by Mr. Umba di Lutete (Zaire) .....     | 488  |

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. JORGE (Angola):<sup>1</sup> On analysing the agenda of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, we foresee intense and delicate activity, in view of the complexity and vast number of the items included. However, we hope that in the course of the debates on such important questions ways and means may be found best suited to the solution of the international problems that we are all obliged to face seriously.

2. May I first, Mr. President, on behalf of the People's Republic of Angola, extend to you most sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly, which is testimony of recognition of your noble qualities. At the same time, may we wish you every success in the discharge of your difficult and strenuous mandate.

3. May we also reaffirm to the outgoing President our highest appreciation of the brilliance and dynamism he imparted to the manifold tasks of this international body during the period when he was invested with similar high responsibilities.

4. Our feelings of significant appreciation extend to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the dedicated efforts he has consistently made for the solution of the grave problems that affect the international community.

5. In the course of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, which took place in Belgrade at the end of July this year, we had an opportunity to state that the direct confrontation of many peoples with imperialism, neo-colonialism, colonialism,

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Jorge spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

zionism, *apartheid* expansionism and the exploitation of man by man still constituted an indisputable reality of our era. Under these circumstances, the supreme aspiration of the peoples to peace is far from being guaranteed everywhere in the world, in that we still see continuing colonial wars, acts of aggression of every kind against independent States, inadmissible military interventions, the resurgence of the use of mercenaries, multiple plots against the sovereignty and security of States, foreign domination and occupation and economic plunder. All these factors are fostered entirely by the imperialist or neo-colonialist Powers.

6. This alarming situation prevails, and will continue to prevail for an indeterminate period, so long as the Governments of a certain number of countries, which have already been amply characterized, do not strictly respect the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, the Charter of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the policy of non-alignment; so long as many of us are unable to achieve complete independence, taking our national resources into our own hands and using them for the benefit of our peoples and not for that of multinational companies; so long as there is not a categorical rejection of all forms of subordination and dependence, of all interference and of all pressure, whether political, economic or military; so long as it is not forbidden to establish military bases in the most diverse parts of the world, generally imposed or maintained against the will of the peoples concerned, and so long as those already existing are not duly dismantled; so long as all United Nations Members are not seriously and sincerely aiming towards achieving détente, general and complete disarmament and the absolute prohibition of the manufacture and use of weapons of mass destruction, particularly nuclear weapons, including the neutron bomb; so long as all do not recognize the imperative need to make the Indian Ocean effectively a zone of peace; so long as all do not equally recognize and respect the right of the oppressed peoples to struggle, by armed force or any other means, for national liberation and to choose the political régime that best suits them; so long as the astronomical sums spent on the arms race are not judiciously earmarked for the economic development of under-developed countries; so long as a New International Economic Order has not been created, in accordance with principles long established and enunciated.

7. In the middle of this year, in this same place, the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was held. Of the about 150 items on the agenda of this current session of the General Assembly, 14 are related exclusively to general and complete disarmament. This prompts us to make a few brief remarks on this problem of cardinal importance, although the Prime Minister of the

People's Republic of Angola has already defined our position from this same rostrum.<sup>2</sup>

8. The trend towards achieving real détente appears to us to be predominant now, and this implies taking tangible steps in the field of disarmament. Thus, together with the efforts pursued to achieve agreement on the destruction of stocks of nuclear weapons, it becomes imperative for the nuclear Powers, without exception, to undertake to sign and respect the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and for the guarantees for the security of non-nuclear countries to be strengthened by the adoption of an international convention. In the same way, a treaty on a general and complete end to all nuclear tests should be concluded as soon as possible.

9. It is our belief, however, that the achievement of these prime goals should be accompanied by the gradual reduction of the military budgets of countries that produce the most diverse types of weapons.

10. Nevertheless, we wish to reaffirm clearly that the principle of not resorting to force for the settlement of international conflicts should not in any way constitute an impediment to the armed struggle of peoples for their national independence or to the exercise of the right to defend national sovereignty and territorial integrity against foreign aggression.

11. For these reasons we regard it as absolutely necessary to establish now the requisite conditions or foundations for the holding of the World Conference on Disarmament.

12. Within this context of general and complete disarmament we cannot fail to mention the untiring and praiseworthy efforts made by the socialist countries, and particularly by the USSR, for the establishment of the most varied treaties and conventions aimed at preserving mankind from the disastrous consequences of the frenzied arms race and greater and lesser wars. If those praiseworthy goals have not yet been completely achieved, this is solely and exclusively due to the patent lack of seriousness and sincerity on the part of the imperialist Powers, in particular the United States of America, which thus benefit from the fabulous profits made by their armament consortia.

13. Another question which also merits some reflection is that related to the promotion of and respect for human rights.

14. We start from the principle that in the constitution of each country Member of the United Nations the rights of its citizens are duly safeguarded. Every Member of this Organization has adhered to or proclaimed its respect for the norms laid down in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Any action honestly intended to make human rights prevail where they are trampled underfoot is, therefore, legitimate.

15. However, what we cannot understand is that certain Western Powers set themselves up as the great and sole champions of human rights when they themselves clearly

do not respect them. How, for example, can it be conceived that those which most frequently invoke the much acclaimed rights of man should be precisely those which, through their multiform support for the racist and Fascist Pretoria and Salisbury régimes, not only have ensured the survival of the criminal *apartheid* system, which constitutes the most flagrant violation of human dignity, but have tried to impede the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa? Moreover, how can one understand the fact that they have not recognized the legitimate right to independence of the peoples of the Democratic Saharan Arab Republic and the Democratic Republic of East Timor? How, then, can the economic blockade against Cuba and the maintenance of a military base at Guantánamo against the will of the Cuban people be justified? How can one explain the failure to recognize the right of the Arab people of Palestine to recover their usurped homeland and set up an independent State and, at the same time, the massive support given to Israel, which enables it to occupy Arab lands, impose Israeli laws on Arab citizens and establish settlements on land which also is Arab? Furthermore, how can one justify support for the Fascist régimes of Latin America—in Chile, Nicaragua and Uruguay—in the face of the courageous struggle of the peoples concerned for their right to freedom? Where, then, is the morality of such champions? As we understand it, the campaign launched on this question is supposed to be against an alleged lack of freedoms in socialist countries, and hence is an attempt to discredit socialism.

16. Since the People's Republic of Angola is an independent country on the African continent, it cannot fail to assume its growing responsibilities within the geopolitical context, both as regards the progressive development of political and economic relations and as regards the national liberation struggles.

17. In this respect, our special attention centres on the situation prevailing in southern Africa. No one is unaware that the five Western members of the Security Council have for some time now been devoting certain efforts to finding a negotiated solution to the Namibian problem through numerous talks held with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the front-line countries and the Fascist and racist Pretoria régime.

18. After the Luanda Agreement of 12 July 1978,<sup>3</sup> the requisite steps were taken by the Secretary-General of the United Nations for the progressive implementation of the decolonization programme for Namibia, as SWAPO has always shown a certain flexibility and a marked spirit of co-operation in order to achieve the desired solution. Moreover, SWAPO's proposal to sign a cease-fire with the Pretoria régime, which was duly authenticated by the Secretary-General of the United Nations on behalf of the Security Council, is clear evidence of its firm intention to honour the commitments undertaken. However, faced with the imminence of a Security Council resolution, the Pretoria régime embarked on a series of shameless manoeuvres aimed at compromising the implementation of the decisions of that international body.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 10th meeting.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12775.

19. In these circumstances the Government of the People's Republic of Angola considers that the unilateral decision of the Pretoria régime to hold early elections in Namibia is intended, as a minimum, to achieve the following purposes: to prevent at all costs the participation of SWAPO in a necessarily free and democratic electoral process; to impose a puppet government which would be constituted on a tribal basis and do its bidding, so as to prevent the transfer of power to SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people; to perpetuate the illegal occupation of Namibia and the inhuman exploitation of the people and natural resources of that Territory; to pursue its constant acts of provocation, violation and aggression against the People's Republic of Angola.

20. At the same time, the Angolan Government also considers that the putting into effect of the Pretoria régime's pernicious designs to reject the decolonization plan for Namibia, as set forth in Security Council resolution 435 (1978), will have grave consequences, both inside and outside Namibia, which will be the entire responsibility of the five Western Powers if they do not decide to act with due and indispensable firmness—of which, moreover, they have never given proof—to ensure the strict application of the sanctions long advocated at various international conferences and in international bodies.

21. In view of the possibility that the Governments of the five Western countries may show their habitual timid and hypocritical attitude in facing this insolent challenge to the international community, we think that the appropriate response is perfectly summarized in the ever-timely statement made more than a year ago by the far-sighted leader of the Angolan revolution, when he said:

“Only through armed struggle is it possible to defeat the oppressive forces in the world. It is not through negotiations, through conferences or councils, that the peoples will determine their own future, because there is a struggle of interests, a struggle between classes now developed through imperialism and through the desire of just one social group to dominate all the others. Without armed struggle, the national liberation struggle would have no vigour in it. It must therefore be intensified.”

22. And, because the People's Republic of Angola is and will be by its own will a firm bastion of the revolution in Africa, no one should underrate its unshakeable determination to support SWAPO by all necessary means, and also the other national liberation movements, until such time as their aspirations and rights are universally recognized and fully attained.

23. The present evolution of the situation in Zimbabwe is no less disturbing. While it is true that the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of their legitimate representative the Patriotic Front, have achieved significant victories in their armed struggle for national liberation, it is no less true that there are ever more imperialist manoeuvres aimed at seeking to push aside the Patriotic Front or destroy it, to create differences among the front-line countries and to establish a neo-colonialist régime in Zimbabwe.

24. It was on the basis of the connivance of certain imperialist Powers and their agents that the Fascist and racist Salisbury régime saw fit to resort to the farce of the so-called “internal settlement”, and also saw fit to perpetrate systematic and criminal acts of aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and, albeit on a lesser scale, against the Republics of Zambia and Botswana.

25. In these circumstances, winning national independence for Zimbabwe inevitably will be achieved through the continuous development of the armed struggle and, consequently, through the growing politico-military implantation of the Patriotic Front on its national territory. We reaffirm our unconditional, militant solidarity with it.

26. In its turn, although under extremely difficult conditions the African National Congress of South Africa is pursuing its politico-military action against the Pretoria régime, which before long will have to face internally a truly explosive situation. To the Congress, the revolutionary vanguard of the South African people, we express our full support in its struggle against the odious system of *apartheid* and in favour of national liberation.

27. Within the context of decolonization, the total liberation of our continents and solidarity with the national liberation movements, there is a need for all Members of the United Nations to give serious thought to the courageous armed struggles of the peoples of Western Sahara, East Timor and Palestine, under the respective leadership of the Frente POLISARIO,<sup>4</sup> FRETILIN<sup>5</sup> and the PLO.<sup>6</sup>

28. Allow us to refer once again to the fundamental facts of the question of Western Sahara. The heroic armed struggle of the Saharan people constitutes the basis of permanent or growing tension among three non-aligned countries, and that has seriously affected the harmonious development of bilateral relations among some of our States.

29. In the light of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the right of the Saharan people to self-determination and independence is indisputable, and this, moreover, was officially recognized by the parties directly concerned until 1975.

30. At the advisory hearing of the International Court of Justice held on 16 October 1975,<sup>7</sup> it was clearly denied that there existed any ties of territorial sovereignty or any form of uninterrupted exercise of political authority, by any country whatsoever, over Western Sahara prior to Spanish colonization.

31. The mission sent to the Western Sahara by the United Nations in 1975 clearly stated in its report<sup>8</sup> that the people of the Territory whom they met were virtually unani-

<sup>4</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro.

<sup>5</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

<sup>6</sup> Palestine Liberation Organization.

<sup>7</sup> See *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.

<sup>8</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23*, chap. XIII, annex.

mously in favour of independence and also recognized that the Frente POLISARIO was the predominant political force, thus acknowledging its representative character.

32. Finally, the Madrid Agreement of 15 November 1975,<sup>9</sup> was reached without Spain, the then administering Power, having previously consulted the Saharan people. For these reasons, it is clear to us that any territorial claim over the Western Sahara is therefore illegitimate.

33. Although we still hope that a just solution will be found within the framework of the OAU, through the work of the *ad hoc* Committee composed of five Heads of State of the OAU and the holding of a special summit on the question of the Western Sahara<sup>10</sup> we are convinced that it is now necessary, by means of negotiations and with the full participation of the Frente POLISARIO, to face up to the inevitable political solution, so as to safeguard the Saharan people's right to national existence and to preserve the region from foreign intervention.

34. In East Timor the situation is very similar to that in the Western Sahara. When the administering colonial Power withdrew, the Maubere people, already for some years under the leadership of their legitimate representative, FRETILIN, were preparing to assume full power, when suddenly foreign armed forces belonging to a member country of the non-aligned movement invaded East Timor and occupied the capital despite the proclamation of the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

35. Since 1975 the armed struggle has been considerably intensified. Despite the progressive increase of invading military contingents, which now number some tens of thousands of troops, and also despite the lack of external logistic bases and the inconceivable passivity of the progressive community as regards military and financial help for the FRETILIN fighters, the Maubere people, relying on their own forces, undoubtedly control the greater part of the national territory.

36. It is important to note that after three years of war the invading armed forces have not succeeded in eliminating or crushing FRETILIN, nor have they been able to beat them back further than about 30 kilometres from the capital. It is therefore imperative that the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the non-aligned movement itself address themselves seriously to the grave situation existing in East Timor and that the democratic and progressive forces of the world express militant solidarity with the Maubere people.

37. At the same time, the gravity of the present crisis in the Middle East also merits particular attention in view of the high degree of tension and the military confrontations in that area. We are wholly convinced that this deplorable situation will continue so long as the legitimate rights of the

Arab people of Palestine to recover their homeland usurped by Israel and to establish an independent State are not recognized. At the same time, we believe that without the participation of the PLO in any negotiations on a solution to the problem it will not be possible to solve that grave conflict.

38. For these reasons it does not seem to us that the bilateral Camp David agreements<sup>11</sup> arrived at under the tendentious auspices of the Carter Administration can contribute to a just and lasting solution to this crisis that would accord with the interests of the Arab peoples as a whole and of the Palestinian people in particular.

39. The permanent hostility of the Israeli régime and the impunity it enjoys owing to the massive support it receives from North American imperialism, which permits it to commit multiple acts of aggression against certain Arab countries, prevents us from being able to conclude that these two could one day favour the just cause of the Arab peoples to the detriment of the sordid objectives of the imperialist Powers in that area, where Israel is the operative tool.

40. The heroic people of Viet Nam, an exemplary source of inspiration for all peoples fighting for national liberation, are today suffering fresh and treacherous aggression and provocations which barely conceal patently expansionist designs. We thus reaffirm our unshakable militant solidarity with the just and well considered positions taken with the aim of solving present conflicts through the correct method of negotiation.

41. To the fighting people of Korea we express our total support for their persistent intention to reunify their country by peaceful means and without any foreign interference in their internal affairs.

42. To the people of Puerto Rico we convey our full solidarity and our warmest congratulations on the victories recently achieved, as reflected in the recent resolution of the Special Committee reaffirming their inalienable right to self-determination and independence, including the complete transfer of all powers to the people of that territory [*see A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 73*].

43. To the Chilean people we reaffirm our unconditional support for their just struggle to recover their human dignity, freedom and independence.

44. We express our most heartfelt solidarity with the people of Nicaragua and their fighting vanguard in the courageous struggle they have been waging to achieve their legitimate aspirations.

45. And, since the policy of non-alignment identifies with the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples, it is fitting here to hail the holding in Cuba of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and to express our conviction that that Conference will

<sup>9</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.*

<sup>10</sup> See document A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, AHG/Res. 92 (XV).

<sup>11</sup> 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.



without doubt contribute to the strengthening of the cohesion and united action of our movement.

46. The People's Republic of Angola will shortly be commemorating the third anniversary of the proclamation of its independence, and in assessing the efforts already made in this short period we can note with legitimate pride, as an example, that, in the field of education, one out of every three Angolans is studying. The number of pupils receiving primary education has tripled in comparison with that in the colonial era, and in secondary education the number has doubled. One hundred and sixty thousand young people and adults have already become literate, and 600,000 are taking literacy courses. In the People's Republic of Angola education is free of charge.

47. In the field of health, all medical and health care is also free of charge. Substantial efforts are being made to ensure that such care gives the best possible coverage to the rural areas of our country.

48. With regard to agriculture, the basic factor, and that of industry, the decisive factor, the state production units have been progressively increasing their output, thanks to the selfless efforts of our peasants and workers.

49. In the fields of construction, transport and fisheries, the results already achieved are quite significant.

50. Yet, the levels attained do not as yet correspond to the targets set because, among other things, it has not been possible to compensate for the material damage sustained because of the invasion of South African armed forces, which is estimated at \$6.7 billion and for which compensation has not yet been forthcoming.

51. The people of Angola, their Party and their Government are enthusiastically pursuing the tasks of national reconstruction in order to consolidate the revolutionary process, strengthen national unity and defence, establish the Party structures throughout the country and build the foundations for a socialist society.

52. The struggle continues; victory is certain.

53. Mr. MOTEE'A (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you warmly on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly. This is undoubtedly a tribute to your country, Colombia, and to Latin America.

54. I should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who successfully guided the deliberations of the previous regular session as well as those of the three special sessions.

55. May I also warmly welcome Solomon Islands, the newest Member of the United Nations.

56. This month our people celebrate the fifteenth anniversary of the glorious revolution of 14 October. That armed revolution demolished the pillars of colonialism and Sultanate entities in the southern part of our homeland and achieved victory after victory in consolidating our national

independence and sovereignty. In this context, our resources are utilized in the interest of the masses of the Yemeni people under a people's democratic system led by the United Political Organization, "the National Front".

57. It also gives us great pleasure that this fifteenth anniversary of our revolution coincide with an important stage in the history of our Yemeni people. For this month the first conference to establish the Yemeni vanguard party—the party of the workers, peasants and all toiling Yemeni people—will be held. This party will convene under the slogan: "To defend the Yemeni revolution, implement the five-year development plan and unite the Yemeni homeland". Yemeni unity has always been the goal nearest to the hearts of our people. Our people has always struggled to achieve Yemeni unity, undeterred by great sacrifices, both before and after the 26 September 1962 revolution in the north, as well as under the British colonial presence in the south. Today we pay a tribute to all the martyrs of the Yemeni revolution in Sana and Aden and on all Yemeni soil.

58. However, with each victory our Yemeni people achieve the imperialist and reactionary forces rally against our people's legitimate wishes and aspirations to obstruct our march towards progress and unity. Those forces sometimes resort to internal sabotage and subversion, while on other occasions they launch foreign aggression, underestimating our people's moral and material capabilities and their heroic history of repulsion of foreign aggression and liquidation of conspiracies and conspirators wherever they exist.

59. Our Yemeni people are a peace-loving people relentlessly working for stability and progress and endeavouring to avoid any resort to war, with its devastating effects. It has always been a firm principle of our national policy to strengthen love of peace and to encourage all efforts for peace not only in our own area but the world over. Our people are conscious of this purpose, but they are also on the alert and are capable of defending our country and its independence, national sovereignty and progressive achievements.

60. My Government has repeatedly affirmed its desire to establish normal and cordial relations with the peoples and States of the area, based on mutual respect, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and reciprocal co-operation. We believe that the right way to settle all differences between the States of the area is by peaceful means and non-violence, by democratic dialogue and peaceful negotiations.

61. We are fully aware that the struggle of our people for progress and unity is an integral part of the struggle of the Arab masses and their steadfast national Governments, which firmly resist all Zionist and reactionary designs in the region. In a wider context, it is also part of the national and international struggle against imperialism and its local allies. It is of great significance, in this regard, to witness the convergence of true revolutions extending from Cuba to Angola and from Viet Nam to Ethiopia, together with those of other progressive countries, which in their struggle stand united with the socialist countries, in particular the friendly Soviet Union.

62. Although today the picture of the situation in the Arab homeland and other parts of the world looks gloomy, we are confident that the close alliance between the Arab and international revolutionary forces will change the balance of power in favour of freedom, socialism and peace in our area.

63. Thirty years have elapsed since the usurpation of Palestine and the expulsion of its people. Moreover, the racist Zionist entity, directly supported by the United States of America, launched its aggression against the Arab people in 1967 and, consequently, occupied Arab territory. Today Zionism and international imperialism reap the fruit of their aggression in the Camp David capitulationist accords. Democratic Yemen, together with the other parties of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, reaffirmed in the conclusions of its third summit conference held in Damascus, Syria, from 20 to 23 September, their condemnation of those accords because they violate all resolutions of the General Assembly, of the non-aligned movement and of the OAU and they ignore the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of its independent State. They also attempt to obliterate the Palestinian identity and to isolate the Palestinian people internally and externally from the true leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

64. The Camp David accords were reached under the direction and supervision of the United States of America, which is a principal party to the conflict in the Middle East because of its material and military support to the Zionist entity. It is this continued support that encouraged and enabled the Zionist entity to commit aggression and continue its occupation. The Camp David accords represent a deviation from the resolutions of the Arab Summit Conferences of Algiers<sup>12</sup> and Rabat<sup>13</sup> and would only split Arab solidarity, which is based on anti-Zionist struggle and support of the Palestinian people. Moreover, they aim to form an alliance between Israel and the Sadat régime to serve the interests of international imperialism. In the final analysis, the accords amount to a final capitulation to the Zionist enemy and subservience to its expansionist and racist ambitions inside and outside of Palestine. Although they claim to form a framework for a comprehensive peaceful solution, they ignore the other parties to the conflict and impose upon them conditions and commitments that violate their right of national sovereignty and the liberation of their occupied territories. Consequently, these agreements can in no way achieve just peace in the area.

65. After it had exhausted all means of direct aggression and the use of force, imperialism in Camp David resorted to a new device in an attempt to consolidate and continue its exploitation and control over the people and the resources of the region.

66. The Israeli intervention in Lebanon poses a threat to peace and security in the region. Israeli troops yesterday

shelled Beirut from the sea. This once again reaffirmed the aggressive expansionist Israeli policy which nowadays takes cover behind the Camp David agreements. We condemn that intervention and affirm the unity and Arabism of Lebanon. The internal disturbance in Lebanon is the responsibility of the rightist secessionist forces which work for the maintenance of continued fighting in Lebanon, instigated and encouraged by Israel and its allies. The Syrian forces in Lebanon are part of the Arab deterrent forces which are present there to end fighting and to achieve stability in Lebanon.

67. It is no accident that these attempts coincide with the acceleration of armed peoples' resistance against the colonial and racist régimes in other parts of the world. National liberation is indivisible and liberation movements, whether in Palestine, Zimbabwe or southern Africa, are equally confronted by imperialism.

68. Without the active material, military and moral support of the capitalist States, the racist régimes can never survive. They have both an intertwined mutual interest in the suppression of peoples and the exploitation of their resources. The only way to liquidate the colonial racist régimes in Africa is through the acceleration of the armed struggle until the peoples attain their desired sovereignty and independence. This poses a challenge to the international community which should firmly stand by the just struggle of the African peoples and extend to them all material and moral support. We strongly condemn the latest position of the racist régime in South Africa in respect of Namibia and call for an end to this régime's disregard of the United Nations and its resolutions.

69. We also salute the struggle of the nationalists in Namibia and Zimbabwe and extend our full support to the legitimate representatives of their peoples, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front. Moreover, we welcome the latest decision adopted by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries to accept SWAPO as a full-fledged member within its ranks.

70. As for Cyprus, we call for the total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops and the liquidation of the military bases whose presence represents a violation of the island's non-aligned status. We call for full respect for its sovereignty, territorial integrity, and independence. Likewise, we call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea and support the just stand taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its endeavours to achieve unification of Korea through peaceful means.

71. We have always called for the right to self-determination of the peoples of Western Sahara and Puerto Rico. We also salute the heroic struggle of the peoples of Nicaragua and Chile against the dictatorships there. And we support the struggle of the friendly Cuban people for its territorial integrity and call for the liquidation of the Guantánamo base of aggression.

72. We fully subscribe to the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], and support the initiative for holding a conference to that end. We believe that the decision adopted by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian

<sup>12</sup> Sixth Arab Summit Conference, held in Algiers from 26 to 28 November 1973.

<sup>13</sup> Seventh Arab Summit Conference, held in Rabat from 26 to 29 October 1974.

Ocean to hold a preparatory conference of the littoral and hinterland States in the second half of next year [see A/33/29, para. 28] will constitute, after its adoption by the General Assembly, a positive step towards the preparation for the world conference on the subject. As a littoral State, Democratic Yemen views the Red Sea as a natural extension to the Indian Ocean. We have always attached great importance to maintaining the Red Sea as a zone of peace and security, with particular emphasis on preserving the territorial sovereignty of its littoral States and the utilization of its resources to the benefit of their peoples.

73. Being well aware of the great importance of the strait of Bab el Mandeb to all peoples and States of the world as an international waterway which has long been used for international navigation, and of its important strategic location as a link between the international traffic lines, and believing in the importance of keeping international navigation through this vital strait free for the benefit of the peoples and States of the area in particular and the international community in general, Democratic Yemen affirms its respect for the freedom of maritime and air navigation of ships and aircraft of all States without prejudice to the sovereignty, integrity, security and independence of the Republic.

74. However, the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace cannot be achieved without the liquidation of the foreign military bases in the territories of the littoral and hinterland States themselves, as well as in the islands such as Diego Garcia and Masira in Oman, whose people, under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, struggle to achieve national sovereignty and independence and rid themselves of all foreign military forces. Moreover, the security of the area is endangered not only by the expansionist ambitions of certain States and their military intervention in the affairs of smaller States but also by aggressive military pacts.

75. The peoples of the world have a common goal, the maintenance and promotion of world peace and security. They will not be deterred by the attempts of imperialism from pursuing their cherished goals and aspirations. We support the call for a cessation of all nuclear tests and the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and of weapons of mass destructive capability, as well as an end to the arms race, so that the enormous amounts wasted for this purpose may be diverted to developing and improving the peoples' standard of living.

76. In this respect, we support the new Soviet proposal for the conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States [A/33/241]. The outcome of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, has demonstrated the concern of the international community regarding the arms race. Moreover, in spite of the obstacles, it has also shown that concrete and positive results could be reached in this respect in the future.

77. This year has witnessed an increasing number of activities on the international scene. A number of meetings and conferences have taken place in addition to the special session devoted to disarmament. These include two other

special sessions, the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference of the Law of the Sea, the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries and the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries. Similar activities and international conferences are scheduled to take place next year, in particular the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries to be convened in Havana. We are confident that the success of all these activities will positively enhance the role and status of the United Nations and firmly consolidate international co-operation and world peace as a whole.

78. The new international political order was established by the will of the people of the world yearning for freedom, progress and peace. However, not very long ago, it became amply clear that this system would have to be complemented and strengthened by a New International Economic Order that would eliminate all forms of dependence, domination and exploitation, and through which the developing countries would achieve their economic independence, without which political independence is devoid of social content and true essence.

79. Yet, from the very inception of efforts for the establishment of the New International Economic Order, the developing countries, as a result of their painful experience in the political sphere, have known that this will not be an easy task or one to be accomplished without sacrifice. For in restructuring world economic relations, developing their own national economies through individual and collective self-reliance, and attaining complete sovereignty over their natural resources they will be faced with hurdles and obstacles set up by the capitalist States that control the world economy, and their transnational corporations that have a vested interest in maximizing their profits at the expense of the millions of people in the developing countries.

80. Today, after four years of consultations, negotiations and various important international conferences, the so-called North-South dialogue has reached a stalemate. We believe this is a result of the lack of political will on the part of most capitalist States, in particular the United States of America, to respond positively to the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries. A striking case in point is the latest session of the Committee Established under General Assembly resolution 32/174, otherwise known as the Committee of the Whole. This Committee is not an end in itself but merely an instrument for effecting the radical changes necessary for the process of real and over-all development. These changes cannot take place smoothly unless some States abandon their manoeuvres and overwhelming concern for their short-term narrow interests, and unless they shoulder their responsibilities in the establishment of the New International Economic Order. The economic situation in the developing countries, and particularly in the least developed and non-oil-producing developing countries, requires urgent and radical solutions, including the provision of material, technical and moral support without any kind of pressure or economic blackmail and without the imposition of conditions that might harm their sovereignty and independence.



81. Unfortunately, many of the problems of the developing countries are a result of the negative aspects of the economic policies of the capitalist countries. The developing countries should consolidate their ties and co-operation and strengthen their relations with the socialist countries to bring about the New International Economic Order. However, we have to reaffirm that the United Nations system, since it is the most representative framework, is the only one in which all negotiations of a global nature relating to the establishment of the New International Economic Order should take place. Only in this context can we reach just solutions that may lead us to world peace and stability.

82. In conclusion, I have pleasure in expressing our gratitude and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his untiring efforts to strengthen the United Nations so that it can play its full role in achieving the noble goals, objectives and principles enshrined in its Charter.

83. Mr. AKE (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all may I, with infinite pleasure, offer you my warm congratulations and my best wishes for total success in connexion with your brilliant election to the post of President of the General Assembly. There is no doubt that in entrusting to you the highly important responsibility of directing the work of the thirty-third session, the General Assembly wanted to pay a tribute both to your eminent qualities as a statesman and seasoned diplomat, well versed in international affairs, and to the persevering efforts of your Government in favour of peace and international security and co-operation. I am particularly pleased since you are the head of the diplomatic corps of a country with which mine is honoured and pleased to maintain excellent relations of friendship and co-operation. I should like to assure you of the entire co-operation of the delegation of the Ivory Coast in the fulfilment of your mission.

84. May I also associate myself with the homage paid to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, by expressing to him our great gratitude for the outstanding way in which he presided over the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly and the three special sessions which followed.

85. I should also once again like to give assurances of our total support for the efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in favour of peace and progress in the world and of friendly co-operation between nations. Mr. Waldheim's high sense of duty and dedication to the cause of our Organization have always called forth the admiration and respect of the Government and people of the Ivory Coast.

86. We wish to welcome with particular satisfaction the admission of Solomon Islands to the United Nations. In addressing to the representative of that new Member our most heartfelt congratulations and our wishes of welcome, I should like to assure him of our readiness to co-operate with him within the United Nations and to maintain with his country sincere relations of friendship and confident co-operation.

87. In spite of certain laudable efforts, particularly by our Organization, to promote peace, the international situation remains characterized by the persistence of certain hotbeds of tension and war, by the selfish behaviour of human beings and States, and the emergence of new crises.

88. Africa, unfortunately, offers just such a spectacle. The harsh rivalry between the two blocs is one cause. The problems of decolonization and the aftermath of colonization itself are another.

89. Although the western part of our continent is in a state of relative peace which can promote regional economic co-operation, the situation prevailing in other regions is, as far as we are concerned, a reason for major concern, not only because it sows dissension between friendly States whose proximity requires them to be co-operative and understanding but also because it plays into the hands of certain Powers which, while claiming to help Africa to settle its problems, are in fact trying to expand their zones of influence.

90. These Powers justify their military intervention in Africa by the argument that the States concerned requested it, and by the claim that that request was based on the "inherent right of individual or collective self-defence" of any Member State subjected to armed aggression, as recognized by Article 51 of the United Nations Charter. That is entirely understandable, but what is much less so is that these same Powers reproach others for their intervention, although it is justified by much the same reasons.

91. Africa wishes to have peace, because it cannot develop except in peace. Africa aspires to freedom, because it knows the value of freedom all too well. It aspires to genuine independence, because it wishes to be true to itself and be master of its own destiny in order, with the selfless assistance of its genuine friends, to exploit its immense riches in the manner best suited to its own interests and deepest aspirations, and to the creative genius of its sons.

92. To those who claim to seek no advantage for themselves in Africa, we wish to renew our invitation to take part in the only valid battle on that continent: peaceful competition in the economic, technical, social and cultural fields to help Africa to emerge from the quagmire of under-development.

93. Africa needs no foreign ideologies that would cause it to lose its personality; it has no use for cannon or other means of mass destruction which, after having sown death and desolation, would mortgage its development and its aspirations to well-being, peace and security.

94. Given the division of the world into two blocs, the Ivory Coast has always felt that peace in Africa requires neutrality. Indeed, only absolute neutrality, which would protect Africa from foreign interference, will safeguard the independence and soul of that continent. The essential conditions for this are: domestic peace for each one of the African States, peace between African States, and peace between Africa and the rest of the world.

95. Hence our understandable satisfaction at the results of the meeting between the Presidents of Gambia, Guinea,



Ivory Coast, Liberia, Senegal and Togo, held in Monrovia from 18 to 19 March 1978, which set its seal on the reconciliation between Guinea and Senegal, on the one hand, and Guinea and the Ivory Coast, on the other hand.

96. The decisions that followed that summit meeting reflected our firm desire to strive, in the spirit of Monrovia, for the strengthening of fruitful brotherly relations between our two countries for the greatest good of our peoples.

97. Hence also our understandable gratification at the recent reconciliation between Zaire and Angola, and at the happy prospects which it offers for the harmonious development of their relations and their co-operation. We ardently hope that it will be crowned by total reconciliation within each of the two countries.

98. Against that background, one may also appreciate our satisfaction at the successes already achieved by the Government of Chad on the road to national reconciliation. We heartily encourage it to persevere in its efforts to resume the dialogue with its citizens who are still alienated from the Chad family, with a view to a reconciliation among all the citizens of Chad and the consolidation of national unity.

99. We would very much have liked to be able to say as much of the other conflicts or disputes which still divide African countries. We can only venture to hope and to voice the wish that those conflicts or disputes will similarly find a rapid solution which will strengthen peace and security in Africa. The Ivory Coast, for its part, is quite ready to make its modest contribution to the pursuit of such a solution, if those countries deem it necessary and appropriate.

100. The results of the Monrovia Summit Conference, the dialogue between Zaire and Angola, and between the Government of Chad and the opposition, are eloquent evidence of the fact that, when left to themselves, Africans will always rely on authentically African criteria for the peaceful settlement of the disputes that may from time to time set them against each other, and that it is pointless to try to divide them, because African brotherhood will always triumph in the long run and allow Africans to come together again.

101. When all our hopes for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem appeared well-founded, the South African Government has just unilaterally decided to hold elections in Namibia in December, arguing primarily that the measures contemplated by the Secretary-General for the implementation of the process of the Territory's accession to independence are not in accordance with the plan elaborated by the five Western Powers members of the Security Council.<sup>14</sup>

102. The arguments invoked by the South African Government in support of its decision are unacceptable. Indeed, as has been recognized by all the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five Western Powers, the report of

the Secretary-General<sup>15</sup> is entirely in keeping with their plan. According to one of them, it contains an objective evaluation of the human and financial resources necessary for the implementation of that plan, for which we are pleased to renew our full support.

103. The South African Government's decision, the unavowed purpose of which is to achieve an internal settlement of the Namibian question, appears to us to be dangerous. If put into effect, it would result in an escalation of violence and would lead to a great loss of human life in Namibia. Moreover, it would harm the cause it claims to serve, especially since the international community would not recognize a Power about which all that could be said is that it would have emerged from elections decided upon and organized unilaterally, outside United Nations framework, and excluding SWAPO militants and other Namibian nationalists.

104. The Government of the Ivory Coast can only deplore that unexpected, disconcerting and unfortunate decision by the South African Government. In the face of such a decision, the temptation would seem to be great to resort to radical solutions, in particular to the sanctions provided for in Articles 41 and 42 of the United Nations Charter.

105. The Government of the Ivory Coast believes that such measures would be inappropriate because there is still a chance for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian problem. We therefore urgently appeal to the five Western members of the Council to persuade the South African Government that the course which it initially chose in accepting their plan is the best, and that it must implement it fully so as to turn the page in the dispute which still pits South Africa against the international community.

106. The clarifications made by the Secretary-General in submitting his report to the Security Council on 29 September,<sup>16</sup> and the support accorded him by the members of the Council, should lead South Africa to reconsider its position and to postpone its decision.

107. We fervently hope that the Government of South Africa will turn back to the path of wisdom and reason, so that the hopes for Namibian independence aroused by the Security Council's adoption of the five-Power plan in its resolution 435 (1978) will materialize.

108. In Rhodesia, after a considerable number of delays, the head of the illegal régime has finally acknowledged the principle of universal suffrage and accordingly has agreed to the accession of the majority of the Rhodesian population to power. But he has thought that he could attain that objective by what is commonly known as an internal settlement.

109. That solution, which has excluded the nationalist forces living outside the country, in particular the Patriotic Front, from the process of accession to power is doomed to failure. The appeal for a cease-fire has been answered by an intensification of combat. The spectre of widespread civil war is hovering over the country, with everything that this

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Year, 2087th meeting.

implies in terms of loss of life, destruction of property, unspeakable suffering and horrible misery.

110. It would therefore seem urgent to abandon the fiction represented by the so-called internal settlement in order to embark, without reservations or bitterness but resolutely and with tolerance, on the course which will lead to the genuine decolonization of Rhodesia through the peaceful and democratic transfer of power to the majority, and to concord and unity among all its inhabitants. In this respect, we are pleased at the British and American initiatives to convene a conference of all the parties to the conflict in order to break the present deadlock and ensure Zimbabwe's rapid accession to independence.

111. Peace and security in southern Africa are similarly threatened by the odious policy of *apartheid* and of racial discrimination prevailing in South Africa, in spite of its condemnation and the indignation it arouses among the international community.

112. The Ivory Coast has constantly condemned that inhuman system without reservation or ambiguity. But we believe in the possibility of its elimination by peaceful means. Hence we shall continue trying to make the South African Government understand the grave danger posed by its *apartheid* policy to peace in Africa and to the neutrality of that continent. We shall also try to convince it of the need to engage in dialogue with the blacks of South Africa in order to overcome mutual distrust, promote mutual understanding and confidence between the different communities, bring about racial equality, and guarantee to all South Africans the same rights and obligations, as well as equal opportunities for social progress.

113. In the case of the conflict brought about by the decolonization of the Comoros, we are pleased by the willingness expressed by the Comorian Government to solve the problem of Mayotte through dialogue with France and the people of Mayotte, and by the understanding shown in this respect by France. The normalization of relations between the two countries and the useful contacts that have been established are quite encouraging in this respect. We hope, therefore, that when this problem is examined the General Assembly will adopt a decision that will not jeopardize the chances of a peaceful settlement but will encourage a dialogue between the parties concerned with a view to settling the dispute and make it possible for the Republic of the Comoros to recover its unity.

114. The Government and people of the Ivory Coast, which have made of dialogue a genuine dogma, could not but applaud the historic and exceptionally courageous initiative taken by President Anwar El-Sadat last November. But we had no illusions about the difficulty of the task, especially since the positions of the parties to the conflict in the Middle East were so far apart and it was clear that all the problems of the region could not be removed on that single visit, as if by magic, from one day to the next. Direct negotiation between these parties, which was unthinkable yesterday, has become possible today.

115. We wish to pay a particular tribute to the President of the United States of America, Mr. Jimmy Carter, for having helped in maintaining the dynamic of peace brought

about by the initiative of the Egyptian Head of State and for having made possible the summit meetings at Camp David and the conclusion of the agreements that resulted therefrom.

116. To be sure, those agreements are only a framework for peace that still has to be filled in and that leaves open or only touched upon some of the crucial questions. Some of the aspects of the Palestine question in particular which are at the heart of the conflict have not been resolved. But it appears to us that the Camp David agreements have created the necessary conditions for the continuance of the dialogue and for negotiations between the parties and have made it possible to hope for a just and lasting settlement of the tragic Middle East problem. In our opinion they are an important step along the difficult road that should lead to peace.

117. Added to all those which preceded it, the Camp David meetings are striking proof that when the protagonists in a conflict, whoever they may be, meet and enter into dialogue the wall of mistrust and hatred crumbles, understanding and confidence are established and the conditions and hope for settlement of the dispute are created.

118. That is why we wish to express the hope that all the parties concerned, including the PLO, will take part in the negotiation at some stage with a view to arriving at a global, just, equitable and lasting settlement of the conflict on the basis of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly which stipulate, *inter alia*: the withdrawal of Israel from Arab territories occupied since 1967 and the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to a homeland, and the right of all the people of the region to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed borders.

119. The situation prevailing in Lebanon is closely linked to the Middle East conflict, and is very distressing indeed. The United Nations should not remain indifferent faced with such terrible massacres and destruction, which in recent days have acquired unprecedented dimensions. We deem it to be the absolute duty of the international community, in particular the great Powers and the Arab countries, to do everything in their power to stop that bloodshed and put an end to the suffering of the people of Lebanon, to help Lebanon to find peace and national unity and to ensure respect for its sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity. We believe that the General Assembly, through its President, should make an urgent appeal for the immediate cessation of hostilities.

120. The prolongation of the Cyprus crisis likewise causes us concern. The foreign interference puts a brake on the attempt to settle this crisis. It is therefore desirable that an end be put to it and that, under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, a sincere dialogue should be begun between the two Cypriot communities so that on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974) a settlement may be found that will preserve the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of Cyprus and guarantee the harmonious coexistence of the two communities on the island.

121. The Ivory Coast welcomes the results obtained at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament. The conclusions and recommendations of that session [*resolution S-10/2*], in particular those relating to the limitation of conventional weapons and nuclear disarmament, must be followed by concrete measures and rapidly implemented if we are not once again to disappoint the expectations of mankind.

122. We consider, in this respect, as a realistic and important action the creation by the General Assembly at that session of new machinery to ensure the participation of all States in the negotiations on this vital question. We hope that that body will make it possible to make substantial progress on the way to general and complete disarmament, which is so strongly desired by the international community but which still remains a distant goal.

123. That goal could be brought closer if everyone sincerely considered peace to be a fundamental and natural requirement of man. In order to be able to disarm, it is necessary to desire peace. To desire peace is to renounce struggles for prestige, the thirst for hegemony, the arms race and the threat or use of force; it is to resort to peaceful means for the settlement of international disputes. This means that general and complete disarmament will only be possible as the result of a profound transformation of our mentalities and our concepts of relations among peoples and nations.

124. Until that transformation takes place we shall see a constant growth in military expenditures throughout the world. Those expenditures, as is known, have now reached the astronomical figure of \$400 billion per year. What waste that represents in the face of the wretchedness, the disease, the poverty, the famine and the ignorance of more than two thirds of the population of the globe, before the haggard eyes of so many thousands of famished children; and what irresponsibility!

125. President Houphouët-Boigny has said, "Man has gone to the moon, but he still does not know how to make a tree or a bird-song".

126. Is it not time for the achievements of science and technology, as well as enormous human and material resources, finally to be oriented towards life and progress rather than towards death and destruction?

127. One is scandalized when one is not revolted to see the revenues of the inhabitants of the developed countries growing at a much more rapid pace than those of the citizens of the developing countries.

128. Indeed, the change in the world economic system is typified by an alarming and asymmetrical contrast whereby the rich are becoming richer and the poor are becoming poorer and getting even further bogged down in their wretchedness.

129. This calls urgently for the establishment of the new international economic order, which has been spoken of at such great length but the implementation of which has not yet gone beyond the stage of good intentions.

130. The Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of our Assembly in 1974 [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the resolution on development and international economic co-operation adopted at the seventh special session in 1975 [*resolution 3362 (S-VI)*] which laid down the principle of the restructuring of international economic relations have not been followed by any concrete measures that might have satisfied our aspirations and hopes.

131. The Ivory Coast hopes that the thirty-third session will make it possible to resume the North-South dialogue at the level of the competent authorities and, in particular, that the Committee of the Whole will resume its work in tranquillity and play the role incumbent upon it.

132. My country hopes in the year 1979 to see substantial progress on fundamental questions relating to trade in commodities, through the adoption of the Integrated Programme;<sup>17</sup> to the indebtedness of the developing countries and financial aid that the developed countries can give them; to the transfer of technology and the multi-lateral trade negotiations; to technical co-operation among developing countries; and to the law of the sea.

133. But this great work of restructuring the world economy must not make us overlook the special problems of the least well endowed countries. In this respect, special attention should be given to Africa, a continent that lags farthest behind economically and has enormous needs that it cannot satisfy by itself.

134. The Ivory Coast hails with great hope and deep gratitude the proposal by the President of the French Republic, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, supported by other heads of State, concerning the creation of a development fund for Africa. We hope with all our heart that the other Members of our Organization, and particularly the most developed—whether of the East or West—will favourably consider this project, which answers the needs of Africa.

135. Having as its objectives the prosperity and dignity of all men, the new international economic order is an indispensable condition for the effective enjoyment of human rights by all peoples.

136. As President Houphouët Boigny has asked,

"... what is the use of speaking of equality among citizens and of fundamental freedoms to those who have only the freedom to die of hunger, or speaking of the freedom to work to those who find no work?"

The economic, social and cultural rights of man and of societies are inseparable from the civil and political rights of the individual. Development must be conceived of in an integral way. It is necessary to guarantee to all men decent living conditions and free access to education, work, information and culture.

<sup>17</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).



137. These are our positions with regard to the problems to which I have just referred. They give expression to Ivory Coast's devotion to peace and friendly co-operation with all countries, without exception, to the exclusion of none, with respect for their individual choices and the sovereign commitments of each, and its unshakeable will and determination to resort to dialogue for the settlement of all disputes. They are inspired by faith in human destiny and by a supreme goal—the happiness of man in peace, dignity, justice and liberty.

138. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is a great pleasure and honour for me to convey to Mr. Liévano, through you, Sir, on behalf of my Foreign Minister—who, for compelling reasons, is unable to attend this crucial session—and on behalf of the delegation of the State of Qatar, warmest and most sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. His election to that important post is a clear acknowledgement of his excellent personal attributes and his thorough knowledge of the working of this Organization, which fill us with confidence that he will carry out his immense task with skill and wisdom.

139. I should also like to take this opportunity to congratulate the President's predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, on the excellent way in which he directed the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

140. Similarly, my country's delegation would like to praise the great efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the service of the international community, and to assure him of our total and sincere co-operation in his noble task.

141. It is also with pleasure that my country salutes and welcomes the admission of the Republic of Solomon Islands to membership in the United Nations, a new victory for justice and for the freedom-loving peoples. My country's delegation would like to take this opportunity to wish this young nation success in consolidating its independence.

142. The true suffering experienced by humanity makes it incumbent on the United Nations not to be a mere rostrum for ideologies or only a medium for disseminating messages of peoples' aspirations and hopes. Man's suffering imposes on our world Organization the need to be a base for serious work and a place for achievement and the achievement of all our legitimate ambitions as an international family, united in striving for a better life.

143. The United Nations emerged at the end of the Second World War pledged to achieve peace, security and freedom for all peoples, but we find a bitter state of affairs after 30 years of activity. Our international Organization has not fulfilled its pledge, not out of lack of capability or deficiency in the provisions of its Charter, but because of the great Powers' hegemony and their persistence in imposing schemes and policies based on interests that do not correspond with human aspirations to freedom, peace and security. We can only reiterate that the proclaimed human rights are an ideal. We ask at the same time, "Where is its effective implementation, and what is its extent?"

Today, 30 years after the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted, we find countries practising racial discrimination in its most abominable forms, discrimination based on race, religion, language or thought, in addition to colonialism and other forms of military and economic aggression practised by Governments signatories of the Declaration. The principles and articles of the Declaration have no effect in restraining those Governments from using those hideous methods, which amount to a degradation of human dignity and a denial of basic rights.

144. The issue of decolonization and the liquidation of all the remnants of racism and racial discrimination is directly related to the preservation of international peace and security and the alleviation of world tensions, sparing the world the misery of war and armed struggles. Yet racist régimes still practise various forms of repression, persecution and mass murder against the original inhabitants of South Africa and Rhodesia.

145. Those odious racist régimes would not have been able to survive without the political, military and economic support that they receive from some Western countries, and especially from Israel, which has now come to represent the prime source of weapons for those despised régimes. We in the State of Qatar hail and support the heroic struggle of those peoples who still suffer under the yoke of colonialism and foreign domination. We shall support their efforts until they achieve total liberation. We appeal to the countries that support the racist régimes, whether in the economic, military or nuclear fields, to stop their assistance immediately. We also appeal to all countries to increase their assistance to the peoples that have fallen under the yoke of racial discrimination and segregation. We call upon the world community to reject any steps taken by the South African Government tending to weaken the geographical unity and security of the territory of Namibia and to oppose the legitimate and free expression of the will of the people of the Territory concerning its future. Any constitutional arrangements drawn up for this Territory ought to be considered invalid unless they are based on the views and wishes of the legitimate representatives of the Namibian people under the leadership of SWAPO and in conformity with Security Council resolution 385 (1976), concerning the exercise by Namibia of its inalienable right to freedom, national independence and the integrity of its territory, including Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of that Territory.

146. The world today is heading towards a catastrophe which threatens humanity with extinction as a result of the frantic arms race and the accumulation of destructive weapons, especially nuclear weapons. The arms race not only threatens us with the catastrophe of extinction but saps our human, material and intellectual resources at a time when the peoples of the world in general, and the developing countries in particular, are in dire need of those resources to dispel the spectre of hunger. To that end the non-aligned countries took the first initiative for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the problems of disarmament. Its aim was to dispel the spectre of war and extermination that threatens mankind and to divert the material and human resources devoted to the production of weapons to the field of development. For the first time in the history of the United



Nations a special session was convinced for a global evaluation of the question of disarmament, a question that lies at the heart of the problem of our world order. International concern regarding that session gave us reason to hope that resolutions and recommendations would be adopted that would further disarmament and limit armaments, thus speeding up the process of economic development. Yet the great Powers which are directly responsible for the escalation of armaments did not make any tangible efforts for the success of the session, because they had a negative attitude to it. They also torpedoed many of the constructive proposals put forward by the third-world countries.

147. My Government supports and reaffirms the principal role to be played by the United Nations in the field of disarmament in achieving the complete implementation of the provisions of the Final Document of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*], in increasing efforts to ensure an end to the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, and in diverting efforts in the opposite direction to serve the economic and social development of all peoples.

148. The State of Qatar also fully supports the special declarations regarding the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East, the Indian Ocean, South Asia, Africa and Latin America and to make all the oceans and seas zones of peace. In our view, this will contribute to the alleviation of international tension, dissipate the fear that hovers over the peoples in those areas and strengthen international peace and security.

149. My country also supports the notion of providing comprehensive international guarantees to the countries that do not have nuclear weapons and of having the United Nations, and especially the Security Council, take effective measures against South Africa and Israel to prevent them from exercising nuclear blackmail. There is no doubt that Israel's refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons will certainly expose that particular region to the dangers of destructive nuclear weapons.

150. The imbalance in the economic relations between the developed and the developing countries has come to endanger peace and stability in the world and to jeopardize its prosperity and progress. It is among the most important reasons for the initiation of the North-South dialogue for the building of a new international economic order based on the principles of justice and equality among nations in regard to their policies and the control of their national resources without foreign interference. However, that dialogue did not reach its desired conclusion, because of the developed countries' position. Therefore my country stresses the importance of resuming the North-South dialogue in order to deal with the problems of raw materials, energy and development and to solve them on the basis of the resolutions of the General Assembly's sixth special session, namely the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

151. In the light of the worsening economic situation in the developing countries, which are unable to solve their

development problems alone, it is imperative to establish profitable technical co-operation between those developing countries and the developed ones and to stop foreign monopolies from jeopardizing and obstructing the efforts of the developing countries for the achievement of economic independence. It is deplorable that the developed countries export their economic problems of inflation and rising costs to developing ones instead of assisting them with their practical experience, technology and technical training. All the present economic indicators point unequivocally to the fact that the international monopolies are plundering the third world's wealth without helping its development, thus creating a huge gap between the revenues of the developing countries and those of the developed ones.

152. The consecutive sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea constitute an outstanding precedent in the history of our Organization and that of the world, but we note that those meetings have not yet produced an agreement on a final convention which would deal with extremely important subjects on a just basis and specify the means for the maximum utilization of the vast natural resources in the oceans in order to make them available for the general good of humanity at large. Some very important questions are still under discussion, such as those of the international authority, economic zones, the rights of land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries, the peaceful and legal means necessary to solve disputes that arise between countries over the aforementioned questions and others related to the exploitation of maritime natural resources.

153. It is obvious from the discussions and deliberations of the Conference that the major Powers are ignoring the vital interests of the developing countries and raising obstacles in order to prevent the Conference from reaching its desired conclusion and from solving the questions under consideration in a way that would enhance the exploitation of resources and their just distribution. The State of Qatar appeals to the great Powers to abandon their egotism and give the same consideration to the interests of other countries, especially the developing ones, as they give to their own.

154. The question of Cyprus remains unsolved despite the commendable efforts exerted by the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Consequently, the Government of Qatar supports the holding of serious and constructive negotiations to solve this problem. Those negotiations should be held freely with equality of representation, and without foreign intervention, so that eventually an agreement acceptable to the relevant parties could be reached which would achieve independence and territorial integrity for the island and guarantee its non-alignment, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX).

155. My Government also welcomes the efforts being exerted to solve the Korean problem by peaceful means free from foreign intervention. My Government believes that a peaceful solution of the Cypriot and Korean problems would contribute to the easing of international tensions and the strengthening of world peace and security.

156. The situation in the Middle East is fraught with the gloomiest consequences as a result of the stubborn intransigence of the Zionist entity and its procrastination and lack of commitment to United Nations resolutions, especially General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which aims at the establishment of a just and permanent peace in the Middle East. This entity, based on zionism, which has been judged by the United Nations to be a form of racism, is still occupying Syrian and Egyptian territories in addition to the whole Palestinian homeland, thereby violating the sovereignty of Member nations of the United Nations and preventing the Palestinian people from exercising its legitimate inalienable national rights, including the right to self-determination and the establishment of an independent State on its own national soil.

157. The primary goal of Israeli aggression is the achievement of Israel's expansionist aims, as has been clear from the time of the armistice until now from the various ways in which the Israeli authorities have annexed demilitarized zones and subsequently occupied the whole of Palestine and portions of Egypt, Syria and Lebanon. As this is not the time to list continuous Israeli aggressions from the inception of Israel to the present day, I shall limit myself to the latest aggression against Lebanon and the occupation of parts of the territory of that country. Israel is still persisting in this occupation, defying the United Nations Charter and disregarding Security Council resolution 425 (1978), which calls for immediate Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon, and Security Council resolution 426 (1978). Israel committed that aggression in fulfilment of goals and plans that are based on expansion and aggression, in fulfilment of the Zionist colonialist plan to establish a Jewish national homeland and the desire of some Western nations to secure their interests in the Arab region, and in fulfilment of Israel's role of the powerful guard who guarantees the division of the Arab world and its exhaustion in order to prevent its progress towards the exploitation of its own natural resources.

158. By repeated aggressions Israel is manoeuvring itself into a more strategic position for further territorial expansion, and therefore zionism will never accept any international guarantees of its boundaries with Arab States in spite of its persistent claim to want those guarantees. Israel can never live in peace within the boundaries that were decided upon at its inception for the following five reasons: first, because of considerations appropriate to its basic ideological belief that it must establish a state within an area larger than its boundaries; secondly, because it follows a policy of encouraging immigration and the absorption of the majority of world Jewry; thirdly, because of its worsening economic situation; fourthly, because of its nature as a colonialist stooge in the area, which makes it constantly seek to keep the area in a state of tension and upheaval; and fifthly, because it has benefited from the constant state of tension and upheaval in the area which has enabled it to remain in the spotlight and allowed it to request more funds from international Zionist organizations and to receive increased support from some countries which have a vested interest in it.

159. The Palestinian problem is at the core of the dispute in the Middle East and at the heart of its bloody struggle, a struggle that was imposed by Israel on the Palestinian Arab

people after Israel forced them to leave their homeland and possessions through repeated savage and barbaric aggressions over recent years. That wicked aggressor has used various savage and barbaric practices against the Palestinian people and is planning to liquidate the Palestinian cause. In spite of all Israel's criminal, barbaric deeds it has not succeeded in exterminating the Palestinian people or in liquidating their just cause. Instead, the Palestinian people, through its national liberation struggle, is proceeding to the recovery of its legitimate rights and will be able through its steadfastness and continuous struggle and with the assistance and support of the peace-loving nations of the world, to impose its existence and defeat all Zionist plans to eliminate it.

160. The world community as a whole is convinced that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the Middle East struggle and that there cannot be a solution to that struggle without a just solution to this problem in accordance with international law and the resolutions and Charter of the United Nations. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East requires the complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the territories Israel occupies and its recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries that was held in Belgrade recently reiterated what has already been accepted by the world community, namely, the importance of strengthening co-ordination between the non-aligned countries and the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people [*see A/33/206, annex I, para. 65*]. It also reiterated the right of the PLO to reject all forms of compromise settlements and solutions that aim at the liquidation of the Palestinian cause and the denial of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The Government of Qatar totally supports the important decision adopted by the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries which calls for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine, with a view to adopting measures conducive to the implementation of the United Nations resolutions concerning Israeli withdrawal from occupied Palestinian and Arab territories as well as the achievement of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people [*ibid.*, annex III, resolution on the Middle East, para. 21].

161. The question of Palestine is an international issue at the heart of the Middle East struggle and upon its solution depends peace or war in the region. There cannot be peace and security in the Middle East without the recovery by the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights under the leadership of the PLO, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and the total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories, including Arab Jerusalem. It is therefore incumbent on our world Organization, and all its organs to strengthen international faith in its capacity to make peace, bring about stability, ensure justice and restore the rights of rightful owners. We are confident that through the honest collective determination of all Member States we shall be able to realize these noble and lofty objectives.

162. Mr. UMBA DI LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my delegation I am happy to discharge the pleasant duty of congratulating the President most warmly on his brilliant election to preside over the

thirty-third regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. By a happy combination of circumstances the presidency of our Assembly has successively been entrusted to members of the Group of 77, who all face the same difficulties of existence and are thus part of a movement of collective solidarity in the face of common challenges. My delegation is convinced that under Mr. Liévano's presidency we will do constructive work to overcome the present difficult world situation. This conviction is based on his brilliant personal qualities and his experienced statesmanship.

163. We likewise congratulate Mr. Liévano's colleagues on the General Committee, whose contribution will no doubt be indispensable in the discharge of his heavy and serious duties.

164. My delegation is pleased with the excellent report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] submitted to this Assembly by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has once again proved his qualities as a tireless pilgrim of peace. The relevance of the proposals contained in that report, like the courage with which they are presented, constitute confirmation of the judiciousness of the choice of our Organization in renewing his mandate two years ago by an overwhelming majority.

165. I wish to pay a more than deserved tribute to Mr. Mojsov, the President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly, who, during a year filled with work for the Organization, discharged his duty with honour to his country, the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and to the entire family of non-aligned countries by competently and authoritatively guiding the destiny of our Organization.

166. Today, as in the past, Zaire continues to place its confidence in the United Nations because we consider it to be an irreplaceable instrument for the quest for peace in the world. Our Organization is a melting-pot in which a universal conscience is defined and affirmed at the same time as the major principles of co-operation among nations. If all States displayed genuine political will, there is no doubt that the means of action of our Organization in the full assumption of its responsibilities would be markedly increased. But in order to improve the output and increase the effectiveness of our Organization perhaps some of our working methods should be changed. The present practice of holding an annual session with an annual general debate followed by a vote on draft resolutions is certainly constructive. First of all it gives us the opportunity and the privilege to meet and to exchange ideas. But in some ways it looks like a huge tourist operation. Moreover, if we examine things closely we see that since the problems are often the same, our speeches and resolutions remain the same too. Sometimes, even, statements are made before an almost empty hall. Even so, we are satisfied to produce an impressive number of resolutions, three fourths of which, certainly, are not implemented. This sometimes has a depressing effect. That being so, should we not reduce the number of meetings, and set up a committee to monitor the implementation of resolutions in order to avoid their being repeated? Finally, would it not be desirable to reduce the number of items submitted to us for consideration? These

are some thoughts my delegation submits to the Assembly for its consideration.

167. Since it came into being the United Nations has often faced arduous problems the solution of which has necessarily entailed the goodwill and assistance of all States. Regrettably we must note that, while there are rays of light here and there, complete success in seeking peace and fruitful co-operation requires increased vigilance by our Organization.

168. At present the United Nations is reaching the end of a decade in which we ambitiously set ourselves some important goals in various fields which can all be grouped as one, namely that of development. In this field we are bound to note that results have fallen short of our expectations and ambitions.

169. In a world characterized by interdependence peace and security become common treasures and constitute indispensable factors for sincere and fruitful co-operation in respect for the sovereignty of one's partners whatever the socio-economic régime to which they belong, and whatever their prestige or level of development.

170. However, this world in which we live is daily threatened by cataclysms of all kinds and by the unbridled super-arms race which absorbs important resources that could be allocated to development. It is also threatened by the aggravation of inequalities which tends to become systematic—in brief, by the dehumanization that runs the risk of bringing our planet to total ruin.

171. At its tenth special session the General Assembly devoted more than a month to a question of vital importance in our time: disarmament. It is 17 years since the non-aligned countries expressed the desire of having our Organization assume more direct responsibility in regard to disarmament. All mankind places great hopes in this prospect, given the problem of the escalation of the violence to which the world is now subjected and the production of increasingly sophisticated arms the destructive capacity of which grows alarmingly.

172. The tenth special session of the General Assembly aroused great hopes, but they have not been fulfilled—far from it. The results of that session were, it must be realized, very scant. The international community still wants to arrive at results such as those enumerated by the President of the French Republic, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing,<sup>18</sup> so that it can propose elements for a solution or a system for de-escalation and a return to calm.

173. There have been various reactions to the proposals of the French President. But we think that they should be considered a positive contribution to increasing mankind's awareness of the apocalyptic danger represented by the excessive armaments that in our day nations that can indulge in the luxury of such military enterprises allow themselves. Yet it may be observed that both in real and in relative terms the gross national product of the majority of

<sup>18</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 3rd meeting, paras. 3-72.



the States Members of our Organization clearly reveals a state of decided poverty.

174. Of course the arms race and the constant improvement of these more and more sophisticated weapons are the consequence, the corollary, of a persistent climate of insecurity created by fear of the future: fear first of all of being the victim of a holocaust and fear also of losing supremacy and the diplomatic advantages that that entails. Finally, the aggression perpetrated by Member States against other countries has only intensified the climate of mutual distrust already aggravated by the absence of any significant international control of disarmament.

175. That is why we must attack the evil at its roots. It is to be hoped that acts of aggression will cease through a voluntary and deliberate return by all members of our international community to respect for the principles of the Charter, in particular the principles of the peaceful settlement of disputes arising in one place or another between Member States, strict respect for the sovereignty of States, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

176. It was in that spirit that, at the thirty-first regular session, my delegation supported the Soviet proposal for the conclusion of a treaty on non-recourse to force in the settlement of international disputes.<sup>19</sup>

177. If such principles were adopted and respected there would perhaps be more respect for commitments, thereby lessening aggressiveness and resulting in less and less recourse to violence. This would have as its corollary recourse to dialogue, which implies negotiation, because, in order to settle conflicts which arise throughout the world in the absence of adequate conciliation machinery, there is only armed violence either with conventional or with nuclear weapons.

178. The draft convention submitted by the Soviet Union with regard to the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon countries [*A/33/241, annex, addendum*] is an excellent initiative and represents a first step, but the most adequate solution would consist in simply prohibiting nuclear weapons as such.

179. On 16 December 1969, at the twenty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly, when the 1970s were declared the Disarmament Decade [*see resolution 2602 E (XXIV)*], the major objective to be attained was the release of resources devoted to the arms race and their channelling for the benefit of economic and social development. However, we have since then witnessed a reverse trend. Military expenditures are increasing at an accelerated rate, going from approximately \$US 113 billion in 1969 to approximately \$400 billion at the present time, which represents an average of more than \$1 billion every day. And there is nothing to indicate that in the near future there will be a reversal in the curve regarding military expenditures.

180. If a tax of that magnitude were to be collected by the Organization and devoted to development, as proposed

so wisely by President Sédor Senghor of Senegal,<sup>20</sup> important progress could be made in achieving a new balance in international economic relations, instead of continuing to sink such colossal sums in an enterprise at once as absurd as it is perilous for the future of mankind.

181. Thus my delegation endorses the proposal to set up machinery to collect such a tax.

182. For rather more than five years the world has been living through one of the most serious crises of its economic and social history from the point of view of both its proportions and its duration. This crisis is being particularly felt by the under-equipped and poor countries, which are suffering the cumulative effects of inflation, deterioration in the terms of trade, a decline in the principal raw materials market, drought and other natural calamities.

183. On the other hand, today there are still States indulging in senseless waste of large resources on military enterprises, instead of using them for the benefit of development in keeping with the declared objective of this Disarmament Decade.

184. Faced with this situation, our Organization should adopt all the measures needed to define a new strategy for development, for the crisis which is raging has brought to light the inadequacy of the machinery and the failure of the means made available for development.

185. The North-South dialogue, which should work out the procedures for the new international economic order, is marking time. And the first hopes it had aroused in Paris, at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in 1977, are beginning to be stifled because of the lack of political will and firm commitment among the rich countries which cling to their privileges, although a proper perception of their interests should have led them to greater understanding and determination.

186. We must encourage the continuance of this dialogue within UNCTAD. We regret that since agreement was reached on the principle of setting up a common fund no substantial progress has been made at the negotiating conference.<sup>21</sup> We remain convinced that the common fund could play the role of catalyst in the attainment of the objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities. In another context, the industrialized countries accepted other commitments in Paris, including the establishment of a special fund to assist the most needy countries. They also declared themselves ready to support the African countries in their programme within the framework of their Transport and Communications Decade in Africa.

187. My country, Zaire, which relies in particular on exports of raw materials, including copper, was severely shaken by the international crisis, with its train of misfortunes, to which were added other difficulties caused by its geographical location as a semi-land-locked country. Outlets for most of its export products are located outside its territory. All these negative factors have created a very

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 124, document A/31/243.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, *Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 17th meeting.

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



difficult situation for my country, to meet which special measures and recourse to international solidarity are required.

188. Thus, within the framework of its development Zaire has been forced to draw up a programme for recovery which includes such action as transport reorganization, agricultural development and the complete development of the mining industry. However, to the many difficulties in the implementation of this plan, there is added a natural phenomenon—the drought now afflicting the western region of the country, where this natural calamity has resulted in very serious losses in agricultural production and in the income of the population of that region, which numbers nearly 2 million.

189. I should like to take this opportunity to thank all the countries which have agreed to participate in implementing the recovery plan, which bears the name of our President.

190. It is fitting to mention here another area in which negotiations between rich and poor countries are not advancing. This is the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the importance of which is vital to all in the establishment of a new international economic order.

191. The vast resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor, which have been proclaimed as the common heritage of mankind, must be equitably distributed among all the members of the international community, taking due account of the interests of the under-equipped and geographically disadvantaged countries.

192. In this new context the new law of the sea should not lead to aggravation of the situation of the under-equipped countries, particularly those which produce raw materials on land, countries which are already severely afflicted by the world crisis and by declining prices for most of their raw materials.

193. The exploitation of the resources of the sea must be carried out for the benefit of all—rich or poor, technologically advanced or not. However, in order to achieve this, all countries must show sufficient political will so that the arduous negotiations may reach a successful conclusion within a reasonable time. Meanwhile, no ill-considered initiative should be taken.

194. I should like now to take up a question which for some 30 years has been debated by our Assembly; this is, of course, the Middle East crisis or, more accurately, the Israeli-Arab conflict, the background of which is the question of Palestine.

195. Zaire's position on this thorny problem has never altered since at this very rostrum on 4 October 1973 it was clearly defined by the most authoritative voice of Zaire, that of the President of the Republic.<sup>22</sup>

196. Any lasting and genuine solution of this crisis must necessarily include the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and the withdrawal by

Israel from the territories it occupied as a result of the 1967 war. To this end, it seems to us that there should be a dialogue between the parties concerned. Zaire, like the other Members of our Organization, cannot fail to encourage this.

197. No one can deny that the tragedy of the Middle East is extremely complex. Simplistic solutions cannot be applied to it. Similarly, it is neither adequate nor seemly to become involved in condemnations and sterile invective or in facile congratulations for some minor success. Zaire supports all efforts aimed at establishing a just and lasting peace in the interests of the peoples of the region. We therefore encourage the initiatives of President El-Sadat and hope that they will lead to a lasting solution satisfactory to all parties to the conflict, the Palestinian people and the entire Arab nation.

198. Furthermore, Zaire has always proclaimed that all the countries in that part of the world must have the right to exist. Israel is a fact, a geopolitical reality, which cannot be denied by anyone since Israel actually exists and is there. Similarly, that the Palestinian people also exist is a fact. One cannot therefore refuse to some what has been given to others.

199. When we speak about boundaries between Israel and its neighbouring Arab States we often use expressions such as "secure and recognized boundaries".

200. The concept of internationally recognized boundaries appears reasonable, while the concept of secure boundaries has always seemed to us to be artificial, for how can frontiers be secure, bearing in mind modern means of warfare, except through the will of those who inhabit the region and through international guarantees, because if there is bad faith on one side everything will be brought into question again.

201. To be more convinced of this it is only necessary to recall that, despite the boundaries it considered not to be secure, Israel waged and won the 1967 war, whereas with so-called secure boundaries it almost lost the war of 1973.

202. Let us not forget that for centuries the Jewish people suffered from the Diaspora. The international community then gave it territory where it exercised its sovereignty for 30 years. It would be unfair now to subject the Palestinian people to a similar Diaspora.

203. In taking up the Middle East problem the international community must bear these realities ever in mind. It must do everything in its power to facilitate the establishment of propitious conditions for a frank and sincere dialogue among all the parties concerned so as to safeguard the exercise of their sovereign national rights in territory with boundaries guaranteed by the international community.

204. In recent years Africa has experienced a difficult political situation which has been exacerbated by economic difficulties engendered mainly by the international crisis and natural calamities.

<sup>22</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting.

205. The year 1979 will perhaps bring a ray of hope for peace and stability after the tumult we have suffered during the past three years. The process of decolonization has entered into its last phase, a decisive and hazardous phase, that requires of our Organization the greatest vigilance and a strictness that will withstand all tests, because the enemy, which is struggling with the energy of despair to maintain its immoral and historically condemned privileges, attempts by tricks and violence to vitiate and rob of all meaning the inevitable accession to independence and majority rule of the peoples of southern Africa.

206. Since the process of liberation began the African continent has polarized the attention of world public opinion. Today the world can no longer question what will happen tomorrow in Africa in the field of decolonization.

207. It was following the crumbling of the bulwark of the Portuguese colonialists in Africa that the process of liberation was accelerated and broadened to include Zimbabwe and Namibia, thus creating new conditions, unknown until then in the very bastion of *apartheid*.

208. Tomorrow—who can doubt it?—Zimbabwe and Namibia will accede to independence, and this will deal the final blow to the system of *apartheid* that afflicts South Africa. This is why we can now affirm that 1979 will be for our continent a decisive year for the future of all of Africa, and this despite the rear-guard action that is being desperately carried out by the racists who built the last colonialist bastion in that part of the world.

209. As regards Zimbabwe, confusion reigns. We welcomed the Anglo-American plan,<sup>23</sup> hoping that its faithful application would become a basis for discussion. The internal settlements have solved nothing because, to be valid, they would have to include all components of the problem and indicate the successive steps for peaceful accession by Zimbabwe to real independence.

210. Nevertheless, because of its experience and recent history Zaire sincerely hopes that all those who are fighting will unite so that the majority may take power in order and calm, without foreign interference, for the benefit of all of Africa.

211. Lack of unity has often given an opportunity to foreign Powers to interfere in our continent and thus hamper our progress towards development. In conformity with its Constitution and the fundamental ideas defined in the Manifesto of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zaire reaffirms its determination to contribute to the struggle against the white racist minority in Zimbabwe, as well as its total support for the brother countries of Africa, the neighbours of Rhodesia and the victims of repeated acts of aggression by the Ian Smith clique.

212. We have been informed that Ian Smith has been invited to come to the United States and deliver a lecture. We certainly should not interfere in the internal affairs of another country, but we sincerely hope that there is still

time for the United States to prevent the arrival of Ian Smith on its territory.

213. Ian Smith is a criminal and an assassin and his arrival in the United States would be considered by all to be an attack on human rights. If he should come here, we sincerely hope that Amnesty International will intervene.

214. The situation in Namibia, in our opinion, seems clearer. SWAPO, the only movement recognized by our Organization and the legitimate representative of the Namibian people, has accepted the peaceful path to independence within the framework of a plan drawn up by the five Western Powers.

215. The Secretary-General of the United Nations has made relevant proposals indicating the stages leading to irreversible independence, including adequate consultation with the population concerned. Zaire cannot but subscribe to that clear and precise plan and reaffirms its belief in the unity of the Namibian people and the territorial integrity of that country.

216. The Republic of Zaire therefore vigorously condemns the sordid manoeuvres of South Africa to precipitate elections in Namibia so as to bring about a puppet government loyal to it. No form of independence is acceptable for that Territory unless it is sanctioned by our Organization. The United Nations has the imperative duty to bring Namibia to independence with respect for its unity and territorial integrity.

217. The accession to independence of the States which surround South Africa has sounded the death knell of the minority racist régime of South Africa. South Africa is waging an anachronistic war to save its iniquitous *apartheid* system. As was stated at this rostrum on 4 October 1973 by the President of the Republic of Zaire: "A fruit falls only when it is ripe; but in the storms and the tempests of history, the fruit falls, whether ripe or not."<sup>24</sup>

218. It is a sign of our times that for some days a process of political instability has been going on in South Africa. The situation prevailing in South Africa must be considered in terms of the racial conflict which provoked it and the odious and reprehensible system of *apartheid*, that new form of slavery of our times.

219. The tension which *apartheid* in South Africa has always caused and the terrible and barbarous massacres of the non-white populations to which it has given rise since Sharpeville have made the international community fully aware of the situation so that today the infamous doctrine of *apartheid* is unanimously condemned by all mankind.

220. This explains all the meetings and conferences which have taken place, whether in Maputo, Lagos, Maseru or, very recently, Geneva. In regard to the last, my delegation regrets the rather disappointing results of the Geneva Conference,<sup>25</sup> but continues to believe that it is not

<sup>23</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

<sup>24</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting, para. 109.

<sup>25</sup> World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, held at Geneva from 14 to 25 August 1978.

because there has been a change of attitude regarding the more general question of the elimination of racial discrimination and in particular the system of *apartheid*. These questions are too serious for our community to be able to compromise on them.

221. I should now like to take up a matter to which my delegation attaches as much importance as to the preceding ones: good-neighbourly relations. The President of the Republic of Zaire, during the Second Congress of our Popular Movement of the Revolution, recalled this policy when he declared:

"Faithful to our Constitution and its fundamental action as defined in the Manifesto of the Popular Movement of the Revolution, Zaire attaches special importance to its African vocation and, and in particular, promotes good-neighbourly relations."

222. And Zaire sets great store by that policy. That is why my delegation wishes to draw the attention of the Assembly, during this session, to the genuine and complete normalization, in accordance with the political and diplomatic process, of our relations with our neighbour, the People's Republic of Angola.

223. That is a major achievement of our international policy, which is to the credit of our will for peace, solidarity and brotherhood, so often proclaimed by the President of the Republic of Zaire. That will has met with an echoing response from and the same positive determination on the part of Antonio Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola.

224. This, I think, is one of the appropriate important places for us to exalt this elevated political sense of the Presidents of Zaire and Angola, who resort to African wisdom based essentially on dialogue and consultation. Between them they have brought our peoples to this situation, over which every Angolan and every Zairian rejoices. The two countries have put an end to the atmosphere of opposition, which was not appropriate for two brother peoples. In our world of interdependence, peace and security constitute, to be sure, factors indispensable for the development of our countries. Africa is still far from having an atmosphere favourable to genuine development.

225. Our two countries, the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Zaire, despite their different economic and social systems, have decided to co-operate so that cordial and brotherly understanding shall reign between them and their brother peoples with a view to their development.

226. This reconciliation, which took place after that reached by our brothers of Senegal and the Ivory Coast, on the one hand, and Guinea on the other, cannot but create rejoicing among all sons of the African continent. It shows also that as long as Africans are among themselves, free from evil geniuses or wicked sirens, there are no difficulties or disputes which they cannot overcome and iron out.

227. I could not conclude under this heading without special mention of our blood brothers of the People's

Republic of the Congo and their President, Mr. Yhomby Opango, for the positive and substantial role they played in this normalizing of relations between Zaire and Angola.

228. I shall end my statement by expressing the satisfaction of my delegation at seeing Solomon Islands joining the great United Nations family. We welcome it. We are sure that its contribution to our work will be most constructive.

229. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

230. Mr. CASTILLO ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At yesterday afternoon's meeting the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Nigeria, Barbados and Guyana, in their addresses as part of the general debate [23rd meeting], included some statements which my delegation feels compelled to reply to and to reject.

231. The delegation of Guatemala deplores the fact that once again the subject of Belize is being introduced in the general debate of the Assembly in particularly equivocal and compromising terms. Some of those who spoke about it yesterday certainly lack the full and objective information which would enable them to analyse all of the political, social and legal aspects of the question. Ignorance of the nature of the problem on the one hand and biased alignment on the other necessarily distort facts in accordance with individual political interests, and for that reason we should like to make the following corrections.

232. The representative of Nigeria suggests that the countries friendly to Guatemala make use of their influence to ensure the implementation of resolution 31/50 of the General Assembly. We must reply, in the first place, that it should be made clear that Guatemala has rejected and rejects the interference of any nation, Government, group of nations or international organizations in a matter the solution of which is solely the responsibility of the parties concerned in the dispute over Belize.

233. Secondly, no one should ignore the recommendatory nature of the political resolutions of the General Assembly, which cannot be observed or implemented when they have been adopted in violation of a universal legal system established by the United Nations Charter itself, a principle which prevails as a basic assumption for the maintenance of international order and security.

234. The question of Belize cannot be defined as a case of decolonization alone since that would mean disregarding a legal aspect of the matter which has to do with Guatemala's sovereignty over its own territory.

235. Resolution 31/50, referred to by the Commissioner for External Affairs of Nigeria, prejudices the outcome of the negotiations, which is not only unacceptable but also impedes a solution of the question.

236. The representative of Barbados, for his part, referred to the question of Belize as a case of colonialism to conceal his own private and governmental interests of expansion. The delegation of Guatemala wishes once again to repeat before this Assembly its vigorous position against colo-

nialism, a position which has been proved by means of constant activity in the United Nations and in the inter-American system in favour of eliminating the obsolete system of colonialism from the face of the world.

237. Guatemala has contributed to bringing about an end to colonialism in many countries represented here as independent States. But the case of Belize is a different one.

238. To accuse Guatemala of hindering the process of the independence of Belize is to make a self-interested affirmation which seeks to distract attention from the ominous action of colonialist Powers, which for so long have oppressed so many peoples throughout the world.

239. For many years, Guatemala has unceasingly maintained this territorial claim against the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, and it is precisely in order to find a solution to the dispute that we have resorted to the procedure of holding direct negotiations between the parties concerned. In those talks, the Government and people of Belize take an active part.

240. The legitimate rights of Guatemala over the territory cannot be questioned, and that is what should be understood in this Assembly so that there is no further insistence on trying to arrive at a political solution to an essentially legal question.

241. Finally, with reference to the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guyana, we wish to note that it is precisely the procedures provided for in the Charter which should enable us to arrive at a negotiated, equitable solution, one which would do justice to the claims of Guatemala by respecting its territorial integrity and its right to national unity.

242. Our country is ready at all times to continue exploring peaceful means within the international legal order so that, while protecting the interests of the people of Belize—which is made up largely of persons of authentic Guatemalan origin—and in concert with the interests of the Republic of Guatemala, we might at the earliest possible time find a solution satisfactory to all parties to the dispute.

243. Mr. AL BU SAIDY (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen, in his speech today, once again attacked my country, repeating the lies which we are tired of hearing every year from this rostrum, to try to cover up the parlous situation and the well-known foreign military presence in his country. I wish to reserve my delegations's right to reply on another occasion.

*The meeting rose at 6.15 p.m.*