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

*Programme of work*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I should like to make an announcement concerning our programme of work. The general debate will be interrupted on Wednesday morning, 11 October, for the special meeting of the General Assembly to observe International Anti-Apartheid Year, in the course of which awards will be presented for distinguished service against *apartheid*. It may be recalled that, in resolution 31/6 G of 9 November 1976, the General Assembly authorized the Special Committee against *Apartheid* "to establish an award to be presented to persons who have, in co-operation with the United Nations and in solidarity with the South African liberation movements, contributed significantly to the international campaign against *apartheid*".

2. The Special Committee has accordingly selected seven persons for the award this year: the Reverend Canon L. John Collins, Cannon of St. Paul's Cathedral and President of the International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa; His Excellency the Honourable Michael Manley, Prime Minister of Jamaica; the late General Murtala Mohamed, former Head of State of Nigeria; the late Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, former Prime Minister of India; the late Kwame Nkrumah, former President of Ghana; His Excellency Mr. Olof Palme, former Prime Minister and leader of the Social Democratic Party of Sweden; and the late Paul Robeson, famous black American singer, actor and leader in the struggle against racism.

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

3. Mr. PHILLIPS (Samoa): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. The confidence this Assembly has in you is indeed well placed and I wish you well in the discharge of the responsibilities of your high office.

4. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts in the service of the United Nations and for the valuable personal contribution he continues to make in the advancement of its objectives.

5. This time last year the Prime Minister of Samoa addressed this body,<sup>1</sup> upon the accession of Samoa to membership in the United Nations, on the theme of the search by man for a harmonious relationship with his environment and his fellow men. He described how the people of the South Pacific have a harmonious relationship with the region and with each other, and how we seek the same with the rest of the world. We are already acutely aware of the problems that confront us in this forum and the fact that often they seem insoluble.

6. Thus far, we have participated in quite a limited way but we have observed closely. It is paradoxical and sometimes disturbing to observe that, while the complex machinery of this Organization of world hope churns on with all its splendour and high-sounding rhetoric, so many problems remain unsolved, and in some cases we seem actually to be moving backwards. Rhetoric is no substitute for action and empty rhetorical exchanges can have no real meaning for those whose problems we are here to solve. We do not wish to seem over-critical and we are well aware of past achievements of the United Nations and hold them in high admiration. We do, however, want to support the Secretary-General's suggestion in his report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] that a streamlining of procedures, a severe pruning of the copious prose employed here and a move towards action on issues are essential.

7. We, the small countries of the Pacific region, are growing in number in this forum. We have welcomed Solomon Islands into the world body and note the accession to independence of Tuvalu just a few days ago. Next year the Gilbert Islands also will be an independent State. Although Pacific island peoples are made up of different races scattered over a vast ocean, we have a very special kinship based on the similarities in our histories, the long years of isolation from other parts of the world and, of course, our shared experience during the colonial period.

8. We feel deeply about the welfare of all the members of our group. That is why I want to express here my country's deep concern at the fact that some of our neighbours who wish to gain independence have not yet been able to do so. In some cases their wish for independence and their right to aspire to it have not even been acknowledged by the

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, paras. 2-29.

colonial Powers concerned. We would wish to see an end to this situation as soon as possible.

9. The Pacific peoples who have achieved independence have for the most part followed peaceful paths to that goal. This had been due to a combination of patience and forbearance on the part of the peoples concerned and some measure of goodwill on the part of the colonial Powers involved. We would not wish to see any of our neighbours remain in a situation that might strain their patience beyond endurance.

10. On the Middle East question, we applaud the initiative and courage shown at the Camp David meetings. We hope that other countries in the area will join in renewed efforts for peace and that all parties affected will eventually be included in a comprehensive peace agreement. Only if this happens can we be sure of firm and lasting peace in the Middle East.

11. The Palestinians must have a secure homeland and must eventually determine their own future, but Israel, too, must be able to feel secure and free from attack if there is to be peace and stability in the area. The proposal for peace between the major protagonists should be allowed to pave the way for wider accord. If a settlement can be achieved in the area the countries involved will have made a great contribution to the welfare of mankind, for if this seemingly endless conflict can be ended, then we can hope for resolution of the many others for which we had almost lost hope of speedy and safe conclusions.

12. On Namibia, my delegation sincerely hopes that the intransigence of South Africa will not frustrate the progress achieved in recent months through constructive discussion and conciliation; and that following free and fair elections we will soon welcome Namibia into this Organization.

13. We reaffirm our condemnation of the continuation of minority rule, which has given rise to wide-scale violence and considerable human suffering in Zimbabwe. We are encouraged by the efforts of those countries which are playing a direct part in trying to involve all parties in a negotiated settlement. It is the duty of Member nations to contribute in whatever way they can to create a climate that is conducive to the resolution of this problem and to refrain from any activities that may work to the detriment of an early settlement.

14. When one thinks of the trouble-spots and areas of tension around the globe and the violence and suffering both actual and potential involved therein, one cannot help but ponder with sadness the ready availability and the rapid build-up of arms and instruments of destruction in general. As a country with no defence forces at all, Samoa deplores the misguided priorities which put the purchase, development and production of arms before the welfare of people. It is a fact that the world has spent \$1.4 trillion on arms over the last five years and it is also a fact that there are more than 650 million people without enough to eat, let alone having places of security for themselves and their families. We must reverse these trends.

15. In these circumstances it is beyond our comprehension how nations can proudly claim to have produced new

weapons of destruction to add to the world's arsenal. We cannot even say that the methods of warfare have become more humane or that the killing is swifter and less painful when we know that chemicals and other agents that cause immense pain and severe suffering have been developed for use in warfare. The limiting of certain types of means of destruction is not, however, an adequate answer. We must move towards complete disarmament.

16. Early agreement must be reached to ban nuclear testing and to cease the creation of more nuclear weapons. The Pacific has been the scene of a great deal of nuclear testing. Only recently the Bikini island people had to be once again removed from their homes because of the dangers of radiation there. Closer to home for us, the islands north of Tahiti have for some years been the site of a series of nuclear tests to which an end is not yet in sight. We in the area, had we been consulted, would have wished for the Pacific to stay a nuclear-free area. Now that our region has been exposed to nuclear pollution we can only hope that the cessation of testing and time will restore our environment to something like its original purity.

17. In the Pacific there has been a very special relationship between the people and the environment, which is why any damage to our surroundings or depletion of its resources is felt very personally by our people. We are still living in close contact and in harmony with the land and the sea, and they are for the most part unspoiled by man-made intrusions. The sea in particular has been a very sacred source of inspiration and a supplier of sustenance for us. In some cases it is virtually the only resource available to the people. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, then, is of great importance to us and we have taken part in it whenever possible. Progress has been slow, but what has been achieved is perhaps remarkable when we consider the diversity of situations and viewpoints involved. Renewed determination to resolve remaining problems is essential if we hope to see a treaty concluded by the end of this decade. As we see it, the conclusion of a convention on the law of the sea would ensure that at least in one area the heritage of mankind would be treated with respect and shared fairly among the nations of the earth. As it is, our world is already plagued with enormous inequalities.

18. It is with a sense of despair that we see the gap between the developed and the developing world continue to widen. There have been over the past decade enormous amounts of time, words and literature devoted to searching for means to narrow this gap. Unfortunately, words have not been matched with action in most instances. Probably one of the starkest instances of this is the complete failure of virtually all developed countries, and particularly the largest developed countries, even to approach the aid-transfer target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product agreed to in this forum in 1970. In real terms, aid resource-transfers from rich to poor countries are less now than in the early 1960s. The developed world's failure to meet the agreed target and the reduction in aid transfers in real terms call in question the sincerity of its commitment to the developing world.

19. Over recent months there has been a very disturbing rise of protectionism on the part of many developed countries, which has already had very adverse effects on

some third-world countries. Protectionism is both selfish and negative and reduces the opportunities of developing countries to help themselves. With the interdependence of all countries, surely increased trade must assist developed and developing countries alike. We therefore consider that the present wave of increased protectionism is, to say the least, extremely short-sighted on the part of the developed countries practising it, with quite tragic results for their poorer developing neighbours.

20. Much rhetoric has been devoted to the new world economic order but very little action has occurred in the implementation of any part of the package of reforms. Samoa is committed to the need for the total package of reforms and structural changes which constitute the proposals of the developing countries on the new economic order, but, given the realities of the attitudes of the developed countries at the present time, it may be most practical to isolate several of the highest priority areas in which results are achievable within a short-term period and concentrate on their early attainment. Priority areas would seem to be: first, encouraging the developed world to give effect to the commitment of aid transfers of 1 per cent of gross national product; secondly, stemming the growing tide of protectionism and achieving some positive steps towards trade liberalization; thirdly, commodity arrangements, including the initiation of a common fund for financing buffer stocks of various internationally traded commodities of importance to the developing countries; and, fourthly, reform of international financial institutions to make them more responsive to the realities of the priority financial requirements of developing countries.

21. Given political will and sincerity on the part of the developed world, great progress could be made in each of those four areas in the next 12 months. Certainly, with a collective defence budget of \$1.4 trillion, even a relatively modest reduction would provide more than adequate financing for development. Having achieved progress in those areas, we could move on to the next stage of priority reforms.

22. It is gratifying to note that the international community is starting to focus more attention on the real problems peculiar to smaller developing economies. It is essential for international organizations to realize that such economies suffer from a variety of constraints which are unique to them. Particular problems include the fact of geographic isolation, small domestic markets, very limited natural resources and dependence on a few sources of foreign earnings which are often unreliable and volatile. The economies of small developing countries therefore tend to be extremely fragile and very sensitive to outside events and to changes in the world economic situation. We suggest that special development techniques are required for those countries and in dealing with them it is necessary for international organizations to display sensitivity and flexibility. In this respect the continued use of *per capita* lending as an important leading criterion is felt to be unrealistic and inequitable as applied to smaller developing countries. Regrettably, however, the majority of international financial institutions continue directly or indirectly to use that criterion, to the detriment of the smaller developing countries.

23. We note with disappointment that the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 on the new international economic order cannot proceed with its work and that a state of stalemate exists. We trust this development does not reflect an unwillingness on the part of the developed countries to contemplate any challenge to the continuation of their comfortable positions of economic power under the existing economic order. Growing global interdependence dictates that the future economic welfare of the developed countries will depend increasingly on a constructive and equitable relationship—in fact, a partnership—with the developing countries.

24. The attainment of a new economic order is essential if the dignity of man is to be a meaningful concept. It is surely a fundamental right of man to have food, shelter and the opportunity to work and to receive adequate compensation, as well as to participate in the processes of government and to live in peace and security.

25. Samoa strongly holds that economic, social and political rights are inseparable human entitlements and advocates urgent measures to redress the denial of these human rights wherever it may occur. Enlightened policies of economic co-operation at the international level would have direct relevance to the economic and social emancipation of communities in the developing countries. Of equal concern is the denial to people of their political rights and personal freedoms. Discrimination in whatever form is abhorrent to the spirit of the United Nations and contrary to its Charter.

26. The Samoan delegation looks forward to the development of machinery whereby the United Nations could play an effective part in the promotion and protection of human rights. For all its imperfections the United Nations is surely the hope of the world. It is up to each of us to help make this Organization more effective.

27. Mr. ODARTEY-WELLINGTON (Ghana): Mr. President, it is my great privilege to join the speakers who have preceded me in expressing to you on behalf of the Government of Ghana warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are delighted that you bring to this great responsibility the breadth of experience and wisdom that have been associated with your name as the Foreign Minister of Colombia. We are certain that your sterling personal qualities, which have been internationally recognized, will enable you to guide the deliberations of this session and secure their fruitful and successful conclusion. I pledge the support and co-operation of the Ghana delegation in the difficult tasks which you have assumed.

28. May I seize this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, for the devoted and excellent manner in which he served the international community in the past year. The guidance which Mr. Mojsov gave to our Organization during the past year's unusually heavy schedule—a schedule including two important special sessions on the intractable questions of Namibia and disarmament—will long be remembered and appreciated. His conduct of the affairs of the General



Assembly during the past year fulfilled our highest expectations.

29. I should like to place on record the appreciation of my delegation of the competence and skill of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and his able lieutenants and staff. We all owe those devoted international civil servants a debt of gratitude which can be paid only through sincere and strenuous efforts on our part to promote the cause of peace and justice.

30. Ghana wishes particularly to extend a warm and fraternal welcome to Solomon Islands as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of this Organization. The membership of Solomon Islands provides further proof that colonial rule, however benign and well-meaning, cannot be regarded as an adequate substitute for independence. The people of Ghana join their brothers and sisters of Solomon Islands in celebrating the admission of that state to this august body and pledge all the support and assistance we are capable of in resolving the problems which usually confront a developing country.

31. As we review the activities of this Organization over the past 32 years we are struck by the enormous contradictions and disparities which still exist between our professions of dedication to peace, justice and prosperity for all peoples on the one hand and our actions in order to achieve those noble aims on the other. Our objective of creating a world in which we share responsibility for each other's welfare continues to be frustrated by the lingering problems of colonialism and racism, by an escalating arms race, and by the ever-growing economic gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots".

32. Decolonization is admittedly in its final stage, but this stage is also the most critical. In southern Africa the problem is compounded by intransigent minority régimes that have instituted racism as a policy in an effort to safeguard their economic interests by the perpetual domination of majorities.

33. In Zimbabwe the prospects for a negotiated settlement, which had been raised by the Anglo-American proposals,<sup>2</sup> have foundered on the duplicity and unreasonableness of Ian Smith and members of his régime. Ghana was willing to give these proposals a chance, even though it had good reason to believe that when the negotiations reached a critical stage Ian Smith would prevaricate in his characteristic fashion and thereby make it inevitable for human lives and property, mostly African, to be destroyed. True to form, he announced his so-called internal settlement agreement on 3 March this year, with a programme for return to a spurious majority rule on 31 December 1978—a window-dressing exercise that leaves wholly intact the entire infrastructure and machinery of racist rule, which, of course, continued with little change: It is not surprising that that agreement failed to gain the concurrence of the Patriotic Front, a force to be reckoned with and one representing far more truly the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe; and without that

concurrence it was doomed to failure. Ghana condemned it in no uncertain terms.

34. The truth is that the aim of Ian Smith in concluding this agreement was to play black Africans against each other in order to retain supremacy in political, social and economic affairs for the racist white minority population of the Territory during the next decade. There was, of course, no intention of giving the Africans any relief from the degradations of economic and political deprivation, or those of racial inequality.

35. It has been the firmly-held view of Ghana that if all members of the international community had really felt so enamoured of universal human rights as was often claimed, Ian Smith's régime would not have survived the past 13 years. It has survived and wreaked extreme havoc upon the lives of the Africans of Zimbabwe because it has received external support and assistance from Members of our very Organization. The Government of Ghana has had occasion in the past to express its concern and displeasure over breaches by some British firms of the United Nations mandatory sanctions imposed on Rhodesia. Once again British firms have, according to world-wide press reports admitted responsibility for deliberate assistance to the régime of Rhodesia, which is, by common consent, not only illegal, but also blatantly racist and brutally oppressive. Ghana again deplores this flagrant connivance and hopes that the United Kingdom Government will ensure that no British firm ever again supports racism and the repression of African peoples through such acts as British Petroleum and the Shell companies have been accused of.

36. It is regrettable that as we debate this question of Zimbabwe Mr. Ian Smith is in the United States. The Government of Ghana hopes that his visit will not lead to a breach of the sanctions imposed by the Security Council. Ghana is of the view that this is not the time to relax the pressure on the Ian Smith régime. It would indeed be tragic if any permanent member of the Security Council seemed to be publicly underwriting South Africa's blatant breaches of the Rhodesian sanctions in order to assist the continued oppression of Zimbabweans by the racist forces of Ian Smith's régime.

37. Ghana will remain opposed to the spurious internal settlement agreement. Accordingly, we shall continue to support sanctions and the armed struggle by the people of Zimbabwe, led by the Patriotic Front, as the only credible alternative measures for early attainment of majority rule.

38. The régime in Namibia is an even greater evil. It presents in an even worse form the worst features of the Rhodesian rebel régime. It is an alien aggressor in illegal occupation of an international territory properly under the care of the United Nations.

39. South Africa must be made to withdraw from Namibia totally. In our view it is a great pity that the Security Council was for so long unable or unwilling to muster enough force to throw the racist régime out of the Territory and that it repeatedly allowed itself to be tricked into inaction by promises, which always proved false, that the *apartheid* régime was about to mend its ways, and by hopes, which were frequently disappointed, that it would prove amenable to reason and negotiation.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

40. Today we find ourselves dealing with yet another of those notorious dodges by which the *apartheid* régime has for years successfully eluded the slow pursuit of our Organization. The Security Council has stayed its hand for 15 months in the hope, which is again proving forlorn, that the peaceful and orderly withdrawal of South Africa can be achieved by negotiations alone.

41. Throughout these negotiations, the *apartheid* régime has patently sought to retain the power to influence improperly the course of events in Namibia. It started by insisting on imposing its own puppets by means of the Turnhalle scheme. Then it insisted on retaining its foothold in Walvis Bay; then on retaining within the Territory throughout the electoral exercise a sizeable military force, together with an armed and notoriously brutal police force maintained at full strength. It pretended to negotiate for a peaceful and orderly withdrawal as long as it saw the prospect of operating those levers of manipulation without any effective check. Now it sees that effective checks are meant to be applied, that the police and military contingents of the United Nations are meant to be deployed in more than mere token strength, and so it reverts once again to its former intransigence, and resorts to a new variation of the Turnhalle farce: to elections, outside United Nations control, from which virtually all are excluded except the marionettes of Turnhalle. The *apartheid* régime has yet again pulled off one of its time-buying stunts. We are now entitled to demand that this stunt should be its last.

42. In its resolution 435 (1978) of 29 September 1978 the Security Council approved the Secretary-General's plan<sup>3</sup> for the implementation of the proposals for free and fair elections in Namibia, and the withdrawal of South Africa from the illegally occupied Territory. In the same resolution, the Security Council called upon South Africa forthwith to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the implementation of his plan of action. If by 23 October South Africa still rejects the plan or refuses to co-operate, then there would be no justification, we maintain, for delaying any further the action which is long overdue under Chapter VII of the Charter. The Government of Ghana demands that in that case oil sanctions and, indeed, the full range of sanctions under Chapter VII, be applied against *apartheid*, until they undermine the basis of its resistance. We call for nothing less, for the simple reason that it is high time.

43. The Pretoria régime should be made to see very clearly that it would be much better, from the point of view of its own interests, if the Secretary-General's plan were put into operation. In this connexion I am happy to announce my Government's willingness to offer a contingent of military and police forces for the proposed peace-keeping operations in Namibia.

44. Walvis Bay is inextricably linked by geographical, economic, cultural and ethnic bonds with the rest of Namibian territory. It would be ludicrous to expect that an independent Namibia would be willing to have its littoral and its coastal waters threatened by such a hostile military presence as that of South Africa. Its external trade, as well

as its fishing industries, would be under the menace and control of a hostile and racist neighbour. Ghana will therefore fully support the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] in its bid to ensure that Walvis Bay remains an integral part of an independent Namibia.

45. In this regard we welcome Security Council resolution 432 (1978) of 27 July 1978. We propose that this Organization should tolerate no move by the *apartheid* régime to make that decision yet another excuse for reneging on its acceptance of the proposals negotiated with SWAPO and the five Western Powers<sup>4</sup> for effecting its long overdue withdrawal from the Territory. And we further urge that the crucial decisions taken at the recent ninth special session of the General Assembly on Namibia [see resolution S-9/2] should guide the final negotiations for Namibia's independence. In this exercise, it would be vital to ensure that the programme for that independence will be one that has the unqualified support of SWAPO, not one dictated by South Africa.

46. Of all the problems posed by colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism in Africa, none is more pernicious and dangerous than *apartheid*, the official policy of South Africa. Decades of international condemnation of this policy have not succeeded in persuading the racists of South Africa of the wisdom of dismantling it. The resolutions and exhortations of both the Security Council and this General Assembly have not succeeded in convincing South Africa that only by upholding human rights and human dignity can all of us hope to create the conditions in which a peaceful and harmonious world community can thrive. South Africa even exported this dangerous *apartheid* policy from its own territory to Namibia and Zimbabwe in a vain attempt to preserve the last remaining bastion of white supremacy and privilege.

47. It is encouraging that after the persistent frustrations of the past decades the Security Council and this entire Organization have begun to see *apartheid* as not only a matter of concern to black Africa, but as something closely linked to the peace and security of the whole world. My Government welcomes the mandatory arms embargo the Security Council imposed last year on South Africa in its resolution 418 (1977), though it has come rather late. But South Africa, with the active assistance of countries operating under the predominant principle of the profit motive, has been granted licences, which are still operative, to produce or assemble locally most of its arms and war equipment. That Security Council resolution did not go far enough. Ghana accepted it only as a first step. We have therefore called upon the Security Council to take another positive step by imposing a total oil embargo against that intransigent régime and to maintain that embargo until it abandons the policy of *apartheid* or until majority rule is attained in South Africa. Such a move would reflect the clearly expressed feelings of the vast majority of this Assembly, since all of us have at one time or another declared ourselves firmly opposed to the policies of *apartheid*. Here, then, is the opportunity for us all to demonstrate our sincerity.

48. Ghana will defend the sovereign right of any country in Africa, or anywhere else for that matter, to resort to any

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/12775.

measures, including legitimate invitations to friendly foreign countries, in order to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity against external attack in accordance with Article 52 of the Charter. The fact remains, however, that recourse to foreign military assistance may often carry with it potential dangers to the sovereignty and peace not only of the recipient country but also of its neighbours.

49. Recent interventions in Africa appear to have been in the right direction where they contributed to reinforcing the cardinal principle of both this Organization and the Organization of African Unity [OAU] concerning the inviolability of territorial boundaries assumed at independence. Care should, however, be taken lest Africa thereby becomes a new fertile ground for the cold-war rivalries of the 1950s and early 1960s.

50. In the wake of the very bold steps taken last year, one may have expected that a significant improvement would by now be in view in the Middle East situation. Unfortunately, while some progress has been made, this has not been so, and the situation has been further complicated by the tragic conflict in Lebanon. Even without the present Lebanese crisis, the explosive and dangerous situation in the Middle East would require all the skill of which this Organization is capable, with a view to finding a just and lasting solution. It is, however, encouraging that after 30 years of intermittent warfare and constant hostility, some signs are becoming manifest of the real peace and security which the people of the region need.

51. To keep these glimmers of hope alive, Ghana urges that a final solution be sought in the provisions of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which have been invoked in several subsequent resolutions of both the Security Council and the General Assembly. The recognition of the right of all the States at present in the area to peace and security within recognized boundaries is a vital principle from which it would be unwise to deviate. For the same reasons, we still hold the firm conviction that the Palestinians should be granted the right to self-determination including the option to establish a viable, independent State. In our view, until all these conditions are met, a permanent peace in the Middle East will continue to be an illusion.

52. May I at this point express the appreciation of the Government and people of Ghana for the indefatigable efforts made by President Carter of the United States to help in the search for a solution to the Middle East problem. If the peace initiatives and the meetings at Camp David have not produced a dramatic and final result, one would hope that the agreement reached has at least contributed to a better understanding of the fears and concerns of some of the contestants and laid a foundation for more productive future negotiations for a settlement.

53. My delegation had expected that at this year's General Assembly session, we would be able to express our relief at seeing some hopes of a solution to the Cyprus crisis. Instead, we find ourselves in the position of having to express once again our deep regret that practically no progress has been made on the Cyprus problem since the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. The contestants in the dispute still insist on maintaining the

positions which have produced the stalemate responsible for the continued occupation of Cyprus—an independent, sovereign and non-aligned country—by foreign forces, with terrible consequences for the Cypriot people.

54. In the view of my delegation, a solution to the Cyprus problem must include the withdrawal of all foreign troops from that island. That might be coupled with an undertaking by all States to respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. That is the position of both the non-aligned countries and of this Organization. We should be able to enforce it. In the meantime we shall continue to urge all those directly involved to do all they can to remove the causes of tension in the area in order to enable the people of Cyprus to live in peace and harmony in a united country.

55. Our annual review of the international situation provides an opportunity to renew our faith in the principles and purposes spelled out in the United Nations Charter and to commit ourselves anew to working for the attainment of a world in which mankind's ultimate objective of peace and security can be achieved. Disarmament has always been one of the corner-stones of Ghana's foreign policy. In a world where poverty is so pervasive that over 450 million human beings are going virtually without food every day, the arms race alone consumes the incredible amount of \$450 billion each year, that is, about \$1.25 billion each day. That military expenditure is equivalent to about two fifths of the combined gross domestic product of all third-world countries and twice the size of the combined gross domestic product of all countries in Africa. In contrast to this huge sum of money, the 24-member Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development was able to grant only a meagre \$14 billion as official development assistance.

56. It is very sad to note that for every dollar spent on development, we also spend more than \$36 to destroy that very development and the people who are expected to benefit therefrom.

57. These huge expenditures, incurred for the sole purpose of destroying property and human lives, have brought neither the purveyors nor the buyers any nearer to the peace and security they seek; but this has not yet been recognized as the very reason for abandoning such expenditures. Some of the more powerful Members of this Organization, including the founders, have become so dependent upon exports of arms for balancing their external payments that they seem incapable of discouraging, or refraining from fomenting, disputes and armed conflicts among lesser contestants, particularly in the developing world. There are always those who proffer or rush in arms at the least sign of trouble.

58. Among themselves, those Powers continue the arms race in order to maintain a balance of fear. Caught up in the defence of rival political, economic and social systems, each entertains a dread of domination by the other, and this obsessive fear has become the propelling force for the acquisition of more sophisticated and more devastating means of destroying each other and possibly everything else in the process. This exercise is now engulfing the less powerful countries, which have become targets in a scramble for client-States. It is vital that suspicions and



unnecessary competition and rivalry, especially in the nuclear field, should stop if we are to have the peace and security in which harmony and human development can survive.

59. It is in these disturbing circumstances that my delegation has noted with interest reports that there is the possibility of reaching an agreement in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks by the end of this year. The recent tenth special session devoted to disarmament, did not provide a major break-through for general and complete disarmament. However, the Declaration and Programme of Action and the machinery for negotiating disarmament [*resolution S-12/2, sects. II, III and IV*] were in themselves significant achievements for the world body. That special session, in our view, also served as a sort of preparatory session for the proposed world conference on disarmament. Another agreement at the Talks would be a good omen for that conference. My delegation, therefore, would urge the negotiators to do their best to come to an early agreement.

60. If the international political situation does not give us any cause for joy, the international economic situation is even more dismal.

61. After very difficult negotiations, at its seventh special session the General Assembly produced guidelines [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] for implementing the ideas contained in the Declaration and Programme of Action which had been adopted at the sixth special session in May 1974 on the New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. That was in September 1975. Three years have since gone by without any important advance in the exercise of restructuring the world economy. Instead, there has been a steady increase in the concentration of economic power in the hands of the developed countries, while hunger and poverty threaten to become a permanent condition in the developing countries. The demand of the developing world for a full and equal partnership in world economic activity has continued to be frustrated by a glaring lack of political will on the part of many developed countries.

62. My delegation views with profound dismay the increasing number of protectionist measures taken by the developed countries in an attempt to nullify the steady progress of developing countries in a few manufacturing industries. Those measures will only succeed in aggravating our balance-of-payments problems. It is inevitable that developing countries will be producing manufactured goods in increasing quantities as time goes on. It would therefore be an act of greater realism for the developed countries to accept that eventuality and assist instead of fight us. World stability and security demand that we should all co-operate to improve our relationships and prevent unnecessary hardships for each other.

63. My delegation must also express its deep disappointment at the lack of progress on the multilateral trade negotiations and on the establishment of the common fund to finance the Integrated Programme for Commodities.<sup>5</sup> My delegation is convinced that the principles underlying

the Integrated Programme for Commodities provide the only credible basis on which to correct the chronic and growing imbalances that exist between prices of raw materials and those of industrial products. It therefore remains our fervent hope that each of us will reconsider its respective position and begin to work more seriously, so that the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole, may be able to resume its work of advancing the New International Economic Order and provide a solid basis for the strategy for the third United Nations development decade.

64. A vital area of concern to Ghana is the present efforts of the international community to restructure the legal régime governing the uses of the oceans. The principles and rules of law which governed the oceans in the last century must be reviewed to meet the new challenges of our time occasioned by new problems arising from the technological and economic development over the last decade.

65. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is undoubtedly one of the most important events of our time. Admittedly it has so far made very slow progress, but that is not unexpected having regard to the complexity of the issues involved and the varied, conflicting nature of the interests of all States represented at the Conference.

66. The seemingly slow progress and protracted negotiations should not, however, mean that the importance of the Conference to the international community is discounted. The significance of the Conference as a means of redressing the economic imbalance between developed and developing countries by ensuring equitable distribution and management of the resources of the seas cannot be over-emphasized.

67. For those reasons, we have no doubt whatsoever that the international community stands to lose a great deal if our efforts in fashioning a new code of conduct for the seas are frustrated by certain nations. Indeed, we are very much concerned at the move towards unilateral legislation relating to the exploitation of the resources of the deep sea-bed being enacted or contemplated in several industrialized countries. It is unfortunate that those measures should be contemplated when the Conference has advanced considerably. We appeal to all nations to desist from such action, in the interest of peace and tranquillity. The concept of common heritage cannot be meaningful if areas beyond national jurisdiction are subjected to the unilateral action of States. It is our considered opinion that the appropriation of the common heritage fundamentally undermines the spirit of General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV), to the principles of which all States have subscribed without reservation.

68. We must all resolve now to desist from unilateral appropriation of the resources of the common heritage. Such measures would prejudice negotiations and frustrate our quest for peace. Indeed the consequences would be far-reaching. It is our fervent hope that the appeal of the Group of 77 to developed countries to exercise restraint will be heeded.

69. We cannot expect all the problems that confront this Organization and the international community to be

<sup>5</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).

resolved at this session or the next. It should be possible, however, to eradicate without further delay and by all means at our disposal all the remaining pockets of colonialism and racism, all the principal traces of that reprehensible desire to keep a section of our society in a permanently inferior position, in defiance of the concept of the brotherhood of man to which we all profess commitment. Indeed, those are not the only pressing tasks before us. Disarmament—the need to eliminate our penchant for killing each other—continues to elude our efforts; and the urge to deny equitable distribution of the enormous wealth of this world presents another set of intractable problems. These, and others of the same kind, are difficult assignments requiring great patience and persistent effort. But if all goes well, and if we all apply ourselves well enough to the task, this session may turn out to be the last in which major problems of racism are dealt with. Let us ensure that that is so, and we shall have taken a significant stride forward.

70. Mr. DAYAN (Israel): Mr. President, permit me to join the representatives who have spoken before me in this general debate by offering you the congratulations of the delegation of Israel on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that you will guide this session with fairness and wisdom.

71. It is my pleasure also to congratulate Solomon Islands on its independence and admission to the United Nations.

72. As we reflect upon the work of the United Nations over the past year one undertaking stands out above all others: it is the noble attempt to reach an agreement on disarmament, to divert precious resources to improving the lot of the common man.

73. In the Middle East we recently witnessed an unprecedented escalation in the quantity of weapons purchased by the Arab States, amounting to \$11 billion in orders since the beginning of 1977. Indeed, over the past five years the arms agreements signed by those States mean that they have outstripped both the countries members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the countries members of the Warsaw Pact Organization in the ratio of their arms build-up.

74. Israel is prepared to play its part in the reduction of the arms race and it remains ready to enter into agreements on arms limitation with all States in the Middle East. There is no doubt, however, that the appropriate way to bring about an arms reduction in the Middle East is through peace treaties which would include limitations on armaments within their framework. Indeed, the mere transformation from a state of war to one of peace will move the States involved to dedicate their resources to economic development rather than military aims.

75. Terrorist groups continue to threaten the lives of innocent men, women and children in different parts of the world. Once again it must be emphasized that terrorism could be virtually eliminated if certain countries did not continue to provide arms, training and refuge to its practitioners. Yet we are gratified that States which once stood helplessly by have begun to assert themselves.

Mention should be made, for example, of the Federal Republic of Germany's rescue operation in Mogadishu and of the joint statement on international terrorism of the Heads of State or Government at the recent Bonn Economic Summit Conference,<sup>6</sup> wherein they recognized the need for immediate action to cease all flights to and from a country which refuses to extradite or prosecute hijackers of aircraft. It is only through such concerted and effective action that the world can be freed from organized terrorism.

76. In the field of human rights no State should ignore a violation of human rights wherever it may occur in the world.

77. Israel continues to follow closely the situation of Jews in the Soviet Union. We welcome the recent increase in the number of exit visas issued, although a large number of Jews are still denied the elementary human rights to emigrate. In addition, administrative obstacles and arbitrary restrictions still threaten the social and economic livelihood and personal freedom of Jews seeking to emigrate.

78. We have been particularly concerned by the harsh prison sentences passed this year on Jews whose only crime is their desire to rejoin their families in Israel—Grigorij Goldstein, Iosif Begun, Ida Nudel, Vladimir Slepak, Simon Shnirman and Anatoly Scharansky. Those sentences caused bitter protest and indignation throughout the world. The Soviet Union should release these and other prisoners of conscience and allow those who want to emigrate to Israel and rejoin their families to do so.

79. We cannot be silent in the face of the increasing incitement of feeling against and defamation of the State of Israel and the Jewish people, their religion, culture and national movement, manifested day after day in the official Soviet media. Those anti-Semitic attacks, unprecedented in their intensity, may have most dangerous consequences. In this regard it must be noted that the Soviet authorities still do not permit Jews to practise their ancient traditions and culture, and in fact take severe measures against Jews who wish to do so. We appeal to the Soviet Union to allow Jewish culture to be expressed freely.

80. We also deeply regret that the Syrian Government continues to violate the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other relevant international conventions by refusing to permit its Jewish citizens to leave and be reunited with their relatives residing in other lands.

81. One of the most important trends in world politics today remains the determined aspiration of the new and under-developed nations to take their place in the international political and economic arena. Being a developing nation itself, Israel strongly identifies with the aspirations of nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America to transform their political independence into a full and equal economic partnership with the older-established nations of the world.

82. To that end the North-South dialogue, with its guidelines on the transfer of resources, marks an important

<sup>6</sup> See *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 29, pp. 1308-1309.



beginning, and the Government of Israel appreciates the efforts of the United Nations and its agencies in encouraging this process. My Government particularly welcomes the results of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries in Buenos Aires, where Israel proposed a voluntary agreement for the exchange of technical assistance among developing countries. Israel has been co-operating for more than 30 years with other developing nations in fields such as irrigation techniques, seed production, desalination, solar energy and the agricultural development of arid and semi-arid zones. We view the expansion of such co-operative efforts as vital if the serious food shortages that still exist in so much of the world are to be overcome.

83. A year ago I addressed this Assembly<sup>7</sup> on the prospects of launching a peace process in the Middle East. Today I have the satisfaction of being able to address the General Assembly on the new and positive developments that have taken place recently.

84. As all members of the Assembly know, a few weeks ago at Camp David two framework agreements<sup>8</sup> were signed by President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel and witnessed by President Jimmy Carter of the United States of America. Within a very few days from now negotiations will start between Israel and Egypt for the conclusion of a peace treaty between them.

85. It is my hope that these negotiations will be successful and that before the year is out we shall witness the beginning of a new era in the Middle East. It is our desire that the peace process should eventually embrace the other States that are our neighbours—Jordan, Lebanon and Syria—so that we may achieve a comprehensive settlement in the area.

86. The gratitude of my country goes out to President Jimmy Carter, whose devoted efforts have made the Camp David developments possible. When this achievement ends with an Israeli-Egyptian peace treaty, President Carter's name will be recorded in history as that of a great peacemaker.

87. I also wish to express my country's deep appreciation to President Anwar El-Sadat of the Arab Republic of Egypt for his wisdom and faith. His visit to Jerusalem in November 1977 turned a new page. He decided to enter into negotiations with Israel, to recognize Israel and to make peace with Israel. This change in policy ushered in a historic change in the relations between Egypt and Israel. The previous policy based on the "three Nos" of Khartoum 1967<sup>9</sup>—no negotiations, no recognition and no peace with Israel—prevented any progress towards a peace settlement.

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 27th meeting, paras. 154-212.

<sup>8</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. For the texts, see *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1528.

<sup>9</sup> Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government, held at Khartoum from 29 August to 1 September 1967.

88. Now the road to peace lies open. The warm reception accorded to President El-Sadat by the people and Government of Israel constituted an acknowledgement of this change in the Egyptian policy. A new era of peace, for which Israel has been longing since its establishment, has started. Prime Minister Begin's courage and leadership were a decisive factor. Without his readiness and ability to assume responsibility for very painful decisions, the achievements reached at Camp David would not have been conceivable.

89. Not only since the founding of the State of Israel but since the very beginning of the Zionist movement our dream has always been of a Middle East in which Jew and Arab would live in harmony and co-operation for the mutual advantage of both peoples.

90. The Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel is a step in this direction. It provides for a withdrawal of Israeli armed forces and civilian population from Sinai; for the establishment of normal relations between the two countries, including diplomatic, economic and cultural relations, and full recognition; the termination of economic boycotts and of barriers to the free movement of goods and people, and mutual protection of citizens by due process of law. It also stipulates that there shall be free passage of Israeli ships through the Gulf of Suez and the Suez Canal, and that the Straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Aqaba are international waterways to be open to all nations for navigation and overflight.

91. In view of the several wars launched by our neighbours, we are conscious of our security needs. Therefore, in addition to the establishment of normal relations between the two States, there will be security arrangements concerning the limitation of armaments and forces in the different areas on the basis of reciprocity.

92. Moreover, the framework for the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel also provides for the stationing of United Nations forces at Sham el Sheikh to ensure freedom of passage through the Straits of Tiran. Similarly, there is a provision for their being stationed in northern Sinai, thus creating a "buffer zone" between the forces stationed in El-Arish and those in Gaza. These forces will not be removed unless such removal is approved by the Security Council of the United Nations. It should be noted here that in recent years the United Nations forces in the Middle East have played a constructive role with the framework of the various agreed arrangements in the region.

93. It has never been the wish of Israel to exercise control over the lives and activities of the Arab inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza.

94. We want to live as equals with the Arab inhabitants of those areas. We want to live with them, not to replace them; but at the same time we do not regard ourselves as foreigners in those areas. The Israeli settlements in Judaea and Samaria and in the Gaza district are there as of right. It is inconceivable to us that Jews should be prohibited from settling and living in Judaea and Samaria, which are the heart of our homeland.

95. We maintain our army positions in those areas in order to ensure the security of the population of Israel, the majority of whom live in the Mediterranean coastal area. The Israeli forces are there in order to protect Israel and not in order to interfere in the lives of the Arab inhabitants. Under the agreement for the Framework for Peace in the Middle East, the Israeli military government and its civilian administration will be withdrawn from those areas once a self-governing authority is freely elected by their inhabitants. The Israeli defence forces will be redeployed in those areas and maintained for security purposes. The final status of Judaea, Samaria and Gaza and their relationship with their neighbours will be negotiated during a period of five years following the establishment of the self-governing authority.

96. One of the subjects that will be discussed between the parties will undoubtedly be the question concerning Jerusalem. For us, the city of Jerusalem is the one and only eternal capital of Israel. We have not, and we shall never have, any other capital city, whether or not others recognize it as such. This eternal city is holy to three religions—Judaism, Christianity and Islam. However, our connexion with it is not just religious, but derives from the totality of Jewish national history. Jerusalem is the heart and soul of the Jewish people. It is now united once again, as it should be, free and open for all to come and go. All religious communities should be in complete control of their own holy places and of their own religious life, and all should enjoy the rights of free worship. The inhabitants of the city should live together in harmony with a representative municipal council supervising all essential functions. We have resolved never again to compromise the unity of Jerusalem, and it is our hope that other peoples will share our position.

97. It was agreed at Camp David that a peace settlement in the Middle East should be based on resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) of the United Nations Security Council. Resolution 242 (1967) is a carefully worked out set of principles establishing a framework of peace to be negotiated among the contending States. It makes clear that the final borders must be negotiated bilaterally among the States concerned.

98. Let us hope that all those whose co-operation is essential in obtaining peace in the Middle East will not short-sightedly remain outside the peace process. We have to find agreed and appropriate ways for Jews and Arabs to live together in equality, trust and mutual respect.

99. Mr. KARGOUGOU (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure to hail your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of our Assembly. Upper Volta particularly welcomes the fact that it is the representative of a friendly country, Colombia, who is guiding our work. You are the son of a continent whose destiny is akin to that of Africa. Therefore, we are both bound to fight in solidarity against under-development and for peace and justice. My delegation assures you of its full collaboration, especially as we place our trust in your personal qualities.

100. Allow me on behalf of the delegation of Upper Volta to congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for

the outstanding way in which he guided the work of the regular and special sessions of the last year.

101. I would be remiss if I forgot all those whose daily efforts contribute to the smooth functioning of our Organization.

102. It is only right to recognize the leading role played by our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his various assistants. May I again assure him of our entire trust, and congratulate him most cordially for his ceaseless efforts in favour of the poorer countries.

103. We also congratulate Solomon Islands on its admission to membership in our Organization. We have no doubt that that young State will make a valuable contribution in the quest for peace and international security.

104. The 30 years from 1948 to 1978, the space of a generation, should have sufficed for man to make changes commensurate with his genius. Our Universal Declaration of Human Rights is surely a huge profession of faith. It is the creed of those who, having lived through the worst horrors that man has ever inflicted on man, had the moral strength to proclaim that man is still the only value. As for the means of restoring humanity's battered dignity, those who signed the Declaration in 1948 relied on the genius of their fellowman and the will of Governments.

105. We all know what the situation was, and what it is now.

106. While fantastic scientific progress each passing day demonstrates anew the intelligence of our species and its capacity to progress beyond the realm of what is conceivable, exasperating inequalities make us doubt the possibility of satisfying the requirements set forth in the Declaration of Human Rights.

107. Upper Volta, which endorses the principles of that Declaration in the preamble to its Constitution of 28 November 1977, also makes it its main preoccupation, not in order to be in the fashion but because the people of Upper Volta are profoundly committed to the ideals of freedom, dignity and justice.

108. What some have called the "Upper Volta experiment" is nothing but an attempt by an entire people to achieve its own idea of happiness by its own means and by actions of its choice. Our experiment is a struggle for freedom, since it enshrines respect for man in his physical, moral and intellectual integrity. Our experiment, under the enlightened guidance of General Aboubakar Sangoulé Lamizana, the President of the Republic, is a struggle for the dignity of our proud, hard-working people, with whom, however, nature has not been lavish. Our experiment is, finally, a daily struggle for justice—justice which is emblazoned in our motto and in our hearts, justice for our peoples and for the peoples of the whole world. This is well known by our partners in the United Nations, who have followed our militant efforts for the establishment of an international order based on equity and justice.

109. It is in the name of these principles that we reject attempts at denial of the human person, especially when they are accompanied by violence.

110. Aerial hijacking and international terrorism, to quote but these two phenomena, have been able to make their appearance in recent years as simultaneous products of a world of interdependence and of a society of rapid communication. We cannot but be anxious given their ever-increasing scale. We are entitled to ask ourselves why the international community seems nonplussed, even defenceless, in the face of these acts of violence. Perhaps the universal conscience, revolted to the very core by their effect, is not sufficiently abreast of the causes.

111. Indeed it seems urgent to ask that the international community and in particular our Organization strive to find equitable solutions to the problems which are at the basis of this violence.

112. In Upper Volta we place our faith in man. That is why we wage relentless war against such outmoded concepts as racial discrimination and its most ignoble manifestation, *apartheid*.

113. The Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination which we proclaimed five years ago [*resolution 3057 (XXVIII)*] runs the risk of being the greatest failure of our Organization unless we are determined to implement the repressive measures which are called for and to use some of the means provided for in our Charter. The year 1978, which marks the mid-decade and which we call "International Anti-Apartheid Year", must not come to a close without the international community chalking up even a slight victory against the Pretoria régime

114. The best opportunity would be for us to find a solution to the Namibian problem.

115. The patience of our Organization has been taxed with regard to that Territory. The subtle facets of the problem require caution if its ideal of peace is to be achieved. Unfortunately the other side has never been equal to its responsibilities. The declaration of the racist, Vorster, dated 20 September last, is proof that South Africa only understands the language of violence. For our part we have followed with the greatest interest, although without any illusions, the efforts of the five Western Powers, members of the Security Council, in their desperate attempts to persuade South Africa to accept the inevitable independence of Namibia in dignity.

116. The ninth special session, which we devoted to the question of Namibia, was an occasion to spell out in no uncertain terms the condition of accession of that Territory to international sovereignty. Six months later, those conditions still remain valid. Namibia, an international Territory under the direct responsibility of the United Nations, cannot be liberated in violation of the sacred principles of our Organization. To spare the South African usurper any longer would cause us to endorse the annexation of Walvis Bay on the one hand and to consecrate the introduction of *apartheid* in Namibia on the other. We must therefore decide whether we want to make Namibia yet another Bantustan or a sovereign State that we would be proud to welcome as a full-fledged Member of our Organization. Upper Volta for its part, welcomes resolution 435 (1978), adopted by the Security Council on 29 September 1978,

and requests the international community to face up to its responsibilities, all its responsibilities.

117. It is interesting to note the similar methods used by the racists of Pretoria and Salisbury. From hoodwinking to sharp practices, from vain promises to frauds made into a system of Government, the Ian Smith régime has nothing to learn from that of Pretoria.

118. Today it is clear for everybody including the friends of Salisbury that the so-called internal settlement was simply aimed at perpetuating the domination of the white minority at the risk of imperilling the very existence of that community.

119. The agreements dividing the people of Zimbabwe soon showed their limitations because they even failed to conceal the rivalries which tear asunder those who subscribed to them.

120. The failure of the biracial Government of Salisbury and the exacerbation of tension in the subregion should be enough to convince the racist Ian Smith that the salvation of Rhodesia and the white minority lies in majority rule.

121. The peril to international peace caused by these discredited régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury is one of the principal concerns of my Government. Africa in general and Upper Volta in particular require guarantees. Our concern is that our development should be accomplished in an uninterrupted way without the threat of world conflagration which we know is inevitable as long as certain pockets of tension persist especially on the African continent and in the Middle East.

122. That is why my country, Upper Volta, follows with the greatest of attention and the keenest interest the efforts for peace being deployed on the Middle East question.

123. My Government will be among those who welcome any hope of peace in the region, on the condition, nevertheless, that they do not carry the seeds of their own destruction. For that, the partners should make sure that they do not trample underfoot the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

124. Several events have occurred over this year which, whatever their importance and their impact on the policies of nations, have scarcely eased the lot of peoples still enslaved by poverty. Nevertheless the rich countries are over-equipped. They have bought more armaments; they have proliferated their sovereign enterprises of the most wasteful kind. As an example world military expenditure has increased from \$245 billion in 1973 to more than \$500 billion at the present time.

125. What is to be done? Only international co-operation based on a dynamic, genuine solidarity can save our civilization from the scourges of hunger, malnutrition, disease and ignorance.

126. The initiative of our Organization to hold the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries was an opportunity to stress once again the seriousness of the international economic situa-



tion. The fact that mankind is divided into two very unequal camps is something to which we are now accustomed, since it is so true that the disparities in development stem from the very nature of things. But for the international conscience to stand by helplessly as it witnesses the growing gap between the rich and poor is both disconcerting and revolting. It is no secret to anyone in this hall that of 4 billion inhabitants on our planet, 800 million only, that is to say one fifth of the world population, are free from material worries. The rest, that is to say more than 3 billion men, still live in deprivation or even utter poverty.

127. Last year I had an opportunity in this same forum<sup>10</sup> to advocate on behalf of my country, Upper Volta, the definition of a new international morality.

128. The present situation does not lead me to think that my proposal is obsolete. In no way would I claim to invent the definition but I believe that the President of the United States Mr. Jimmy Carter has already emphasized one of the crucial points by taking up the challenge of human rights.

129. That is certainly a gigantic undertaking, on which, however, depends the very survival of the whole of mankind, because it is only the people, when they have an opportunity to think and to have their say, who can dispel the countless threats which torment our world today.

130. Indeed, the atmosphere generally prevailing is one of merciless rivalry, economic and commercial competition and ideological confrontation, which allows no time for humanistic feelings and still less for consideration of the individual rights of human beings and citizens.

131. Fortunately, nations with a tradition of generosity in the conception of human rights and freedom know how to escape from the threat of this gangrene and do not hesitate to use all their moral authority to secure respect for this moral imperative.

132. In an infinitely more modest context, and without presuming to lecture anyone, Upper Volta also has resolutely committed itself to this course, which is certainly difficult and full of pitfalls but which in the long run should further improve the flattering image others already have of us.

133. Our task, however, is made particularly arduous because of certain objective situations which limit the impact and the results of our efforts.

134. There is, first of all, that circumstance, which is a more or less interdependent phenomenon, of desertification and drought, which for the past eight years now has kept the countries of the Sahelian region in a state of permanent anguish. The world's public has been sensitized to this tragedy and has already responded in active and effective solidarity, but a valid solution can be sought only through a certain number of medium-term and long-term actions.

135. In this respect one may and should recall the action now being taken in liaison with the Permanent Inter-State

Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel [CILSS]. That action, on the basis of the "compendium" adopted by the conference of the Heads of State of the Sahelian countries, which met at Ouagadougou in 1973, consists in the medium-term planning of studies and projects to propose a weather warning system, to establish a regional plan to mobilize action in the event of future droughts, to supervise the shipment of means of assistance by road and to establish a regional pasture rehabilitation plan.

136. On a longer-term basis, CILSS intends to develop a global development strategy to prevent a repetition of such a calamity, by laying the emphasis on the control of weather factors, reafforestation, hydro-agricultural management, training and research.

137. The current Chairman of CILSS explained here, on 22 September [4th meeting], the action taken for the rehabilitation of the Sahel and drew the attention of the international community to the immense tasks which remained to be carried out. Upper Volta, where headquarters of CILSS and the regional office of the United Nations Sahelian Office are situated, fully endorses that statement and would like to avail itself of this opportunity to pay a particular tribute to the President of the Gambia for his tireless efforts. However, it would perhaps be conceivable for the United Nations to launch, in parallel, a "decade of the tree", which would promote the necessary sensitivity concerning that aspect of the problems of the Sahel, and at the same time to establish an appropriate framework for decisive action to be carried out by people of goodwill who are waiting only to be called upon to act.

138. However, beyond this crisis situation which prevails in the Sahelian countries we must emphasize the problems of food and water which affect our world. Indeed, as was appropriately emphasized by the United Nations Conference on Desertification,<sup>11</sup> only an ecological readjustment on a world scale can assist us in facing the world food shortage.

139. For the developing countries, where the situation is most alarming, that deficit is caused by two decisive factors. First, there is the decline in world cereal production. According to FAO statistics 26 developing countries at present suffer serious food shortages. Those countries, whose total population amounts to 250 million inhabitants, are located in Africa and South-East Asia. Most of them belong to the group of least developed countries. Since 1970, the food production of the developing countries has risen at the rate of 1.5 per cent per year compared with 3 per cent per year in the industrialized countries, while the population of the third world has grown at twice the rate of that of the rich countries. Further, there is the reduction in international aid. It is estimated that in 1976 agricultural aid granted by the rich countries to the poorer countries declined by 9 per cent in real terms. The effect of that is obviously a lowering in the standard of living. Whereas at the beginning of the present decade, that is to say in 1971, it was estimated that 400 million people suffered from malnutrition, today that figure has risen to 455 million. Without going into the details of it, that observation starkly reveals the tragedy which traumatizes four fifths of

<sup>10</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 29th meeting, paras. 45-87.

<sup>11</sup> See document A/CONF.74/36

mankind. To ensure the daily subsistence needs of 3 billion people subjected to deprivation and to preserve future generations from the psychosis of hunger seems to us the primary task of the international community. Apart from the fact that food aid serves to alleviate the chronic undernourishment and malnutrition of particularly vulnerable people, such as the aged and mothers and children, it also meets the pressing needs created by natural disasters. The countries of the Sahel, members of CILSS, have in their time been able to appreciate the benefits of international assistance in this field. Let us also recognize that this form of aid also helps the balance of payments of developing countries since it lowers the cost of imports in that sector. According to FAO statistics, the cereal import needs of 49 developing countries, the least advanced, which have priority from the point of food needs, amount this year to 21 million tons. At the same time, the cost of cereals imports in all developing countries rose from \$4 billion in 1972 to some \$13 billion in 1976. In view of these observations, I am sure the Assembly will agree with me that we must establish bases for genuine world food security. That concept could be reflected in the initial stage, to help in meeting the needs of the most needy, by the establishment of buffer stocks, the regulatory rule of which would make it possible to cope with changing needs. From the structural point of view, FAO, which has already done so much, would play a supervisory role and the WFP would carry out the regulatory function. Such a proposal, if it were to be implemented through a strict methodology, would have the triple advantage of at all times compensating for the food shortages of the needy countries, restraining the rise of food prices, and encouraging farmers not to lower their production.

140. However, these are only expedients, at least as regards the particular situation of my country and the other countries in the Sahel. The true long-term solution

lies in large-scale ventures to provide irrigated land, because we are convinced that water is one of the primary factors of life—hence the importance of the water problem. The treatises drafted for the United Nations Conference on Water,<sup>12</sup> bear witness to the great potential of the third world's water resources. The rivers of Asia, South America and Africa are the principal rivers of the world, because of their volume and their exploitability. The only remaining problem is to apply a rational policy of water control. The most serious studies show that Africa and Asia can become the granaries of the world, as long as the necessary financing, material and technology are made available to them. That is why we appeal once again to the solidarity of the nations gathered here to bring about an improvement in aid policies. To this end, we must redefine and draw up a system of global co-operation for a world that will be no longer a world of donors and recipients but one of interdependence based on equality of rights among partners. For never has the international community been so aware of the interdependence that links the rich and the poor countries in the same destiny, that of establishing a just and lasting peace through the final solution of the greatest scourge of our time—under-development.

141. To paraphrase an illustrious, now departed, pioneer of peace, Upper Volta expects that in the field of international solidarity every man will do his duty. That duty is, as it was 33 years ago, to safeguard man and ensure his daily survival; that duty is, as it was 33 years ago, to safeguard peace.

*The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.*

<sup>12</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Water, held at Mar del Plata, from 14 to 25 March 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.II.A.12).