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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. VAJPAYEE (India):¹ Mr. President, may I extend to you on behalf of my delegation and myself our warm felicitations on your unanimous election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. Your elevation to this high office is as much a tribute to your diplomatic skill and eminence as it is a recognition of the constructive role played by your country, Colombia, in world affairs.

2. We are glad to welcome on this occasion the Solomon Islands as the one hundred and fiftieth and youngest Member of the United Nations. We have every hope that this newest partner of the family of nations will make a useful contribution to the work of this world body.

3. Enduring peace, the maintenance of which is one of the principal purposes of the Charter of the United Nations, is the age-old aspiration of man. It is one of the abiding yearnings of the common man in all parts of our planet. It is both an elemental urge, like freedom from starvation and want, and the ultimate objective of every society. It is the yardstick with which to measure the excellence of any social organization; a happy society is where peace reigns supreme. That is why the prayers of all, irrespective of religion and belief, end with an invocation to peace.

4. And yet, in spite of centuries of care and nourishment bestowed upon it, world peace still remains a tender plant buffeted by occasional whiffs of cold war, threatened by injustice and inequity, and dwarfed by the indignities that are still heaped by man upon man.

5. Even though the clouds gathering over the international horizon have lifted of late and the process of détente,

which had suffered a set-back, has regained some momentum, the vision of a durable world peace has yet to take firm shape. Since I last stood before this Assembly,² rivalry for spheres of influence has adversely affected some new areas. There is no let-up in the arms race either quantitatively or qualitatively. Disarmament is still a distant goal; and the probability of a nuclear war looms over us like a menacing shadow. Doubts that new alignments are being forged against old adversaries and that preparations are being made to play a new card to outwit the opponents have introduced an unexpected dimension in the international scenario.

6. One of the principal causes of the continuing threat to peace is that world politics, as well as the world economy, are dominated by the interests of a few countries. That is not a new phenomenon; it has its roots in history. The compulsion to gain strategic advantages and the propensity to exploit differences continue to characterize the international climate. Institutions of multilateral militarism are being maintained and the urge to deploy them for sectarian purposes is growing instead of diminishing. Some of those institutions are known to have lost their relevance or usefulness, yet the political courage to bury them is lacking.

7. There is no doubt that the big Powers could do a great deal more to improve the international atmosphere by exemplary behaviour and by displaying greater understanding of each other's legitimate interests, but that understanding must be within the framework of an equitable international order in which smaller and medium-sized countries would enjoy assured peace, equality and justice. Without a genuine acceptance of the principle of peaceful coexistence, the desire to live and let live and the determination to convert cold-war confrontation into competitive co-operation, the process of détente will not show the desired results.

8. Détente is only a first step in creating the climate for finding long-term solutions to problems with a view to achieving durable peace. We welcome the process of détente because of its multiplier effect, if it is pursued in the right spirit. We have therefore been urging its extension to all fields of activity and to all parts of the globe.

9. Each member of this body is endowed with its own national genius and its distinctive national personality and ethos. Each follows its own socio-economic system and has its specific pattern and strategy of development. Any attempts to impose conformity based on ideological and other considerations and to reduce the rich diversity of

¹ Mr. Vajpayee spoke in Hindi. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 18th meeting, paras. 180-250.

nations to a common denominator will not only divest this world of its infinite variety but also pose serious threats to peace.

10. The Charter prohibits the use of force save in self-defence or in the common interest and requires the settlement of disputes by peaceful means, yet nations have resorted to force against each other, quite often aided and abetted from outside, with the consequent dangers of exploitation and domination. We have seen that, while such conflicts may sometimes be brought to an end as a result of external intervention, the cessation of hostilities is seldom followed by genuine peace. The root-cause of the conflict often remains unresolved while the strategic interests of outside parties become deeply entrenched.

11. In the long run, disputes and conflicts can be amicably settled only through mutual understanding and accommodation. By building solid foundations of mutual co-operation, nations can develop a stake in peace, stability and good neighbourliness which will be impervious to the outbursts of momentary differences which are bound to arise from time to time.

12. As recommended in the Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Belgrade in July 1978 [A/33/206, annex I], governments involved in disputes should themselves make every effort to reach a peaceful settlement through bilateral negotiations. Some regional organizations, as well as the United Nations itself, provide mechanisms for conciliation, although their efficacy obviously depends on the spirit, goodwill and mutual accommodation that the parties themselves can show.

13. Peace continues to be endangered also because the resolution of major international disputes has been delayed or neglected for far too long. Differences among nations as among individuals, if not resolved expeditiously, tend to erode trust, which is the basic pre-condition for resolving them.

14. By far the most potent threat to world peace is the continuing arms race, particularly in nuclear armaments. It militates against the fundamental objective of the United Nations "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". The arms race undermines the sovereignty and stability of nations. It goes against such principles of the Charter as refraining from the threat or use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes. It is contrary also to the objective of the international community to establish a New International Economic Order. We must keep reminding ourselves of the relationship between disarmament—which could save up to \$400 billion annually of unproductive expenditure—and development, which is chronically hampered by lack of funds. The contrast is unavoidable and the irony inescapable. There is no greater distortion of resource allocation at the global level than that of those devoted to the arms race.

15. Decades of efforts have yielded only a few arms-limitation measures, such as the prohibition of certain kinds of nuclear tests, the agreement on the limitation of strategic arms and the prohibition of bacteriological weapons.

16. In spite of three rounds of talks on the Indian Ocean between the United States and the Soviet Union, there is no perceptible movement towards the goal of implementing the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. What is ironic is that the littoral countries, which are affected most by the big-Power rivalry in the Ocean, are not directly involved in those talks. We have been told that the talks will be resumed shortly and we trust that this will lead to the speedy elimination of big-Power rivalry and military presence in the Indian Ocean, thereby facilitating the implementation of the General Assembly resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

17. In the field of nuclear disarmament there has been little real progress. That is indeed disturbing because of the threat that nuclear weapons pose to the very survival of mankind. The nature of the current negotiations and their direction are not such as to assure mankind that the probability of a nuclear war will be reduced, even if not removed. We, the non-nuclear-weapon States, are entitled to that assurance, for the right to survival is basic to all other rights. We cannot, therefore, be indifferent to the outcome of the current negotiations. On the contrary, we would expect them to take fully into account the aspirations of the overwhelming majority for peace and security in a world free of weapons of mass destruction.

18. India believes that partial measures such as the creation of zones free of nuclear weapons comprising the nuclear "have-nots" are not likely to generate any genuine feeling of security unless there is, at the same time, significant progress towards nuclear disarmament. Surely, the more urgent task is to reach agreement on measures for the non-use and the phased reduction and elimination of nuclear weapons and on a moratorium on all nuclear tests pending the conclusion of a genuine and non-discriminatory comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. It was with this in view that at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, India took the initiative of submitting two draft resolutions covering these two aspects of disarmament.³

19. The final objective must of course be to bring about general and complete disarmament under effective international control, to which we all subscribed in the historic resolution adopted by the General Assembly in November 1959 [resolution 1378 (XIV)]. It was obvious then as it is obvious now that disarmament should be general in the sense of its universal application and it should be complete in the sense of its covering all weapon systems.

20. We continue to believe that all aspects of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional, are important. Yet, it has been our consistent policy that nuclear disarmament must be given the topmost priority. The foremost task facing humanity is to dismantle and to destroy nuclear weapons. The concept of a security system of which nuclear weapons represent the most dangerous and totally unacceptable component must be abandoned.

21. We must recognize and accept the primary role of the United Nations in this field. It is a matter of great

³ See documents A/S-10/AC.1/L.10 and A/S-10/AC.1/L.11.

satisfaction to us that the special session succeeded in bringing disarmament deliberations and negotiations squarely within the United Nations.

22. It is the considered view of the Government of India that if we are to make progress in moving towards our goal of general and complete disarmament under effective international control, we should implement the following six measures: first, the cessation of the qualitative improvement and development of nuclear weapons, including, in particular, the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty, pending the achievement of which there should be a moratorium on the further testing of nuclear weapons; secondly, the cessation of the production of nuclear weapons and of fissionable material for nuclear purposes; thirdly, the reduction and eventual elimination of existing stockpiles of nuclear weapons within an agreed time-frame; fourthly, the conclusion of a convention on the non-use of nuclear weapons under any circumstances; fifthly, the elimination of all other weapons of mass destruction; and sixthly, the limitation and gradual reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons within the framework of a comprehensive programme of disarmament.

23. Apart from the disarmament problem, there are other major issues of global concern which, if not resolved expeditiously and in a just and fair manner, could tear asunder the fragile fabric of world peace.

24. In the Middle East there are at present some new moves and counter-moves and in the current fluid situation, when the parties themselves are engaged in reassessing developments, it would be premature for us to pronounce any judgement. Suffice it to say that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and the relevant General Assembly resolutions on the Palestine question constitute a principled basis for a comprehensive and lasting peace settlement. We should like to reaffirm in this connexion certain principles that are fundamental for the establishment of enduring peace. These are: the non-acquisition of territory by force and the vacation of Arab and Palestinian territories occupied by Israel since 1967; the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to a nation-State of their own; and the right of all States in the Middle East to exist in security and peace within internationally recognized boundaries.

25. The situation in Lebanon is a source of continuing concern for all of us. Here is an unfortunate country which has fallen prey to the power politics of the Middle East and where at the moment, by a strange twist of fate, Arabs are killing other Arabs, encouraged and assisted by outside forces. There is no doubt in our mind that, first and foremost, national reconciliation in Lebanon must be achieved in order to immunize the country from external pressures. I am glad that the parties concerned have responded positively to the Security Council's call for an immediate cease-fire. It is important that the cease-fire should be scrupulously maintained. I hope that initiatives for a just and honourable reconciliation will be supported by all peace-loving peoples.

26. Although the situation in divided Cyprus has remained peaceful during the past year, chiefly due to the presence of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, there

has been no progress either in regard to the withdrawal of foreign forces or in the search for an agreed basis for the resumption of the intercommunal negotiations. The dimensions of the Cyprus problem, both the external and internal aspects, are such that the problem can be solved by peaceful means provided that the parties concerned recognize the legitimate rights and interests of each other and are willing to display a spirit of mutual accommodation. However, no solution will last unless it respects the unity, sovereignty, territorial integrity, political independence and non-alignment of Cyprus.

27. The Preamble of the Charter reaffirms "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations, large and small". This objective is directly related to the purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security. For peace does not lie in a mere cessation of hostilities or a containment of conflicts, or even in disarmament measures concluded in a general environment of violence, coercion and subjugation. As Gandhiji said: "The way to peace is the way to truth." Truth lies in equality and justice. An individual cannot pursue truth, the highest urge of his soul, unless he is able to exercise his fundamental freedoms and human rights.

28. Nothing is more degrading to human dignity than the practice of discrimination on the ground of race. Similarly, a first step towards ensuring equality among nations is to take the process of decolonization to its logical conclusion.

29. In southern Africa we continue to witness the most pernicious combination of colonial domination and racial discrimination. The minority white régime of South Africa, in a bid to preserve its privileges, has been subjecting the majority population to the worst forms of human degradation, including torture, brutal repression, slavery and the denial of all fundamental freedoms.

30. The United Nations has been seized of this matter since India raised it for the first time in the first session of the General Assembly in 1946.⁴ Since then, the South African Government has openly and flagrantly flouted all United Nations resolutions, decisions and sanctions. It has done so partly because of the supporting defiance of United Nations resolutions by other countries. We must not let our reiteration of opposition to this racist policy become a mere ritual at annual sessions of the General Assembly. The international community cannot evade its responsibility for taking effective measures to liquidate the dehumanizing practice of *apartheid*.

31. With the adoption of Security Council resolution 435 (1978) on 29 September there is some hope that the illegal occupation of Namibia by the South African Government can be ended peacefully. Namibia can emerge as an independent country with majority rule, not through the sham internal settlement whose promotion is sought by the South African régime, but only through full implementation of the Security Council resolution. If the South African Government rejects the plan approved by the

⁴ See document A/149.

Security Council⁵ and reverts to its familiar path of intransigence and defiance of world public opinion, the armed liberation struggle is bound to be intensified. The Security Council would then be fully justified in invoking the application of measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

32. We believe that the present stalemate in Zimbabwe is largely due to the ambivalence of some Powers on the question of the internal settlement.⁶ The only effective way to end the stalemate and perpetuation of the illegal régime of Ian Smith is to transfer power to the elected majority on the basis of "one man, one vote", and an agreed plan for the transition to genuine independence. Meanwhile we should continue the sanctions against the racist régime, widen their scope and apply them more rigorously.

33. Decolonization, the elimination of racism and racial discrimination, and the economic liberation of peoples are essential pre-conditions for securing the fundamental rights of peoples and for the promotion of human dignity and the free exercise of human rights. Equally important is the need for national Governments to assume primary responsibility for safeguarding and promoting the fundamental freedoms of the individual.

34. The historic mandate of the Indian people in favour of fundamental freedoms left no doubt regarding the deep-seated and basic commitment of our people to human values and human rights. We therefore attach great importance to the activities of the United Nations devoted to this important issue of our times.

35. We cannot achieve a durable and just peace until there is a transformation of the very quality and structure of the present world order. Characterized by glaring inequalities and imbalances among nations and the widening chasm between the rich and the poor countries, the existing order works inexorably against the interests of the poorer countries.

36. The prevalence of mass poverty among a sizeable portion of the world's population living in developing countries—as many as 800 million persons—is in large part attributable to the inequities of the present international economic system. Poverty breeds tension, debases human personality and makes a mockery of the achievements of science and technology.

37. Recent developments have shown that basically there is an unwillingness on the part of the major developed countries to begin serious negotiations to restructure the world economic order. The Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, also known as the Committee of the Whole, was expected to be the supreme United Nations body to monitor, supervise and impart momentum to negotiations on major development issues in all United Nations forums. But, almost a year after its creation, it has not even got off the ground. We hope that

following a discussion of this subject in the plenary meetings an agreement will soon be reached enabling the Committee to resume its work on the basis of its original mandate.

38. The developed countries have till now not agreed even to discuss at the international level the question of bringing about structural changes in their economies to achieve optimal utilization of world resources and specifically to facilitate increased imports from developing countries.

39. Some of the developed countries have recently refused even to reiterate their commitment to attaining the target of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] of providing 0.7 per cent of their gross national product as official development assistance to developing countries.

40. There is, on the other hand, a resurgence of protectionism in the developed market-economy countries in the form of an increase in the incidence and scope of selective non-tariff barriers as well as of anti-dumping duties.

41. The measures that the developed countries are prepared to adopt are still in the nature of tinkering with the present world economic order and hesitant *ad hoc* concessions.

42. The developed countries have sought to justify these retrogressive actions as a means of dealing with their admittedly real problems of unemployment and "stagflation". It should, however, be obvious that these short-term and short-sighted measures, apart from having disastrous consequences for the development prospects of the developing countries, are neither conducive to healthy growth of the world economy nor in their own long-term interests. No lasting solution to the malaise afflicting the world economy can be found until a concerted effort is made to provide adequate purchasing power to two-thirds of the world population. It is therefore incumbent upon the developed countries to adopt a global, comprehensive and long-term approach to deal with their present economic problems.

43. This Assembly's call for the ushering in of a new era of international economic relations has given rise to world-wide expectations. We therefore cannot afford the present stalemate in the negotiations between the developed and the developing countries. We must exercise our collective will to continue the onward march towards our common goal. It is necessary: first, to conclude, well before the fifth session of UNCTAD, the ongoing negotiations to establish the common fund, adopting a code of conduct for the transfer of technology to developing countries for the extending of special preferential trade concessions to developing countries within the framework of the multi-lateral trade negotiations; secondly, to arrest the present protectionist trend by strictly adhering to the commitment not to raise fresh barriers, to dismantle existing protectionist barriers and to take positive steps to improve the access of the exports of developing countries to the markets of the developed countries; thirdly, to commence negotiations within a time-bound framework on other key issues having a vital bearing on the restructuring of the inter-

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

⁶ See document A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 58-63.

national economic system, such as concluding a comprehensive series of commodity agreements, ensuring an adequate flow of financial resources on a dependable basis and on the softest of terms and conditions, evolving a multilateral framework for debt renegotiation, reforming the international monetary system, formulating a code of conduct for transnational corporations, and so on; fourthly, to initiate negotiations with a view to adopting an international programme to set in motion an adjustment process in the world economy and to bring about structural changes in the economies of the developed countries geared to utilizing fully the development potentialities of the developing countries; fifthly, to formulate a new international development strategy conceived within the framework of the New International Economic Order embodying a set of consistent and interrelated goals and objectives and commitments to adopt time-bound means of attaining these objectives; and, sixthly, and finally, for the developing countries to go all out to utilize the vast potentialities of mutual co-operation by strengthening existing links and forging new links of economic, commercial and technical collaboration.

44. The negotiations which have been going on for about five years at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea have far-reaching implications for the efforts of the international community to evolve a new world order. While it has been possible to make headway on certain important issues, the main problem, that of establishing a régime for the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed area lying outside the limits of national jurisdiction, remains unsettled. This is mainly due to the persistent hesitation of the major developed countries to recognize fully the legitimate interests of the developing countries in this common heritage of mankind. It is incumbent on all of us to ensure that the work of the Conference comes to a successful conclusion as expeditiously as possible. If, at this critical stage of the work of the Conference, any State adopts unilateral mining legislation, it will seriously affect the future negotiations to the detriment of the interests of the world community as a whole.

45. On all these important issues, the non-aligned nations have always adopted a consistent and principled approach. From a small beginning in 1961, this movement has grown, within the span of two decades, into a mighty force, encompassing almost two-thirds of the countries of the world. The non-aligned movement not only has enabled the newly-independent nations to consolidate their political freedom but has also given them the strength to resist all forms of foreign domination, overt and covert, obvious or subtle. It has thrown its weight in favour of international peace and justice.

46. It is indeed heartening to note that some of the big countries that earlier used to frown upon the movement now recognize its role and its validity. The movement has been able to preserve its unity—despite multitudinous diversities of geography, race, language and religion, differing social and political systems and varying stages of economic development—because of its strict adherence to the principles of the equality of nations, large and small, respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of others, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others.

47. As a signatory of the United Nations Charter and as a founder member of the group of non-aligned nations, India has assiduously tried to conduct its international relations in a manner intended to promote peace, understanding and co-operation throughout the world. India has taken a number of significant initiatives towards stability and peace in the South Asian region. In this we have accorded the highest priority to improving the climate of co-operation with our neighbours. We sincerely hope that our endeavours will ultimately overcome the old suspicions and irritations, thus paving the way to undertaking new ventures of mutual co-operation. With the vast majority of the developing countries we have joined hands in trying to shape a world free of want and injustice.

48. Our policy is to develop bilateral relations with all nations on the basis of the imperative of close economic co-operation and shared ideals. It is our firm belief that the tapestry of world peace can be woven only with the strands of such bilateral relations.

49. We are in favour of an ever-expanding role for the United Nations and of bringing within its purview all issues of universal concern so that it may be instrumental in the promotion of international peace, justice and co-operation. We reaffirm our commitment to making this body a more effective instrument for bringing about a qualitative change in the world situation. We attach great importance to the role of the United Nations as a forum for formulating, negotiating and supervising the implementation of global development strategies. We may not, in the foreseeable future, be able to establish a world government; but we can at least move towards the realization of the goal of one world by devising and implementing, under the aegis of the United Nations, international development plans and programmes—both over-all and for as many sectors of human activity as possible.

50. We must build, on the foundations of the United Nations, a better world for all of us. Modern science and technology have opened up immense opportunities which can either be used for jeopardizing the very future of our planet or be harnessed to bring about progress and prosperity. Instead of wasting our energy on petty squabbles and frittering away our resources on the piling up of arms, we must employ them for wiping every tear from every eye and eliminating every ache from every heart. I trust that in the critical years ahead of us we shall demonstrate our determination, realism and sagacity to realize the dreams of our saints and savants for universal peace based on freedom and justice. I should like to conclude by reciting a quotation from Thiruvalluvar, one of the most famous ancient poet-saints of South India:

"Where there is no terrible famine, no cruel pestilence, no foreign enemy to invade and ravage, where peace always reigns, that is the ideal land."

Hail one world!

51. Mr. WAIYAKI (Kenya): Mr. President, your unanimous election is a great tribute to you personally and to your country, with which Kenya maintains cordial relations. Kenya is proud that a distinguished son of Colombia, a country with which it has strong bonds of friendship and

common aspirations, is to guide the work of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation is most satisfied to work under your enlightened and able leadership, and I should like to assure you of our full co-operation.

52. I wish also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Mojsov of Yugoslavia, who guided the work of the thirty-second session and the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions on Lebanon, Namibia and disarmament, respectively. It was through his vast experience, wisdom and strong sense of duty that so many problems were tackled effectively. We owe him a debt of gratitude for all he did for the United Nations and the world.

Mr. Rodríguez Porth (El Salvador), Vice-President, took the Chair.

53. We wish to express our sincere appreciation to the distinguished and untiring Secretary-General and his staff for their devotion to duty and loyalty to the Organization; they have our full support in their endeavour to execute the decisions and resolutions of this Organization.

54. My delegation would also wish to congratulate Solomon Islands on its independence and on joining the community of free and sovereign States. We welcome it most sincerely as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of this Organization.

55. At this point, I would like to take a few moments to convey to this session the warm appreciation and gratitude of Mzee's family, of my President, His Excellency Mr. Daniel Arap Moi and the entire Kenyan people for the immense tributes paid to the founding Father of the Kenya nation, His Excellency Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, who passed away on 22 August 1978. In his passing away, Kenya lost not only its liberator but also its guiding light for the period since independence. We are keenly aware that, as an unyielding fighter for freedom, justice and human dignity, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta was loved by many people of the world outside Kenya's borders. While for us in Kenya the loss of the Father of our Nation has been irreparable, we are heartened by the knowledge that our grief and sorrow were shared by so many people in the world. To the many heads of State and Government, as well as leaders of delegations, who came personally to pay their last respects in Nairobi, we are truly grateful. We are equally grateful to the many thousands from all parts of the globe who sent their messages of sympathy. Not least, we are grateful to the many United Nations institutions and conferences which paid glowing tribute to our departed leader. All these expressions of sympathy have given us great comfort and hope, renewed strength and confidence in our determination to continue the policies which our great leader had laid down for us. We thank you all.

56. Since the founding of the United Nations and the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples notable developments have taken place in this field. Seventy formerly colonial countries have attained independence and have taken their rightful place among the free nations of the world. We applaud the efforts and achievements of the

Organization. In spite of these achievements of the Organization, however, there remain a number of dependent Territories whose peoples are still struggling for their independence and self-determination. The administering Powers in these Territories have an obligation to speed up the process of decolonization with a view to ending this sorry chapter of history.

57. In recent years there have been many instances where external forces have made efforts to bring about annexation and fragmentation of Territories either before or after independence. These influences must be strongly condemned inasmuch as they obstruct the progress to self-determination of peoples. We urge the United Nations to stand firmly for the maintenance for each and every country of territorial borders as at the time of independence.

58. We once again call the attention of the United Nations to southern Africa, where the white racist minority régimes scandalously continue to defy United Nations resolutions and continue to deprive the black people of the region of the right to enjoy basic human rights. In all walks of life, the black people in South Africa have no say in the conduct of human affairs affecting them. Their demands for social, economic and political changes for the benefit of all the people of the region, designed to put all on an equal footing regardless of racial background, are ruthlessly suppressed. Meanwhile measures are designed and implemented for the forceful exploitation of their human and natural resources. These inhuman practices have constituted a source of tension in the region for a long time and the patience of the oppressed majority has been stretched to breaking-point. Thus the stage has been set for a grave threat to peace and security, with all the consequences which would ensue from a definite breach of international peace and security.

59. Although the international community has recognized the dangers accompanying the racial policies of these régimes, recognition alone has not proved to be a sufficient deterrent to the threat to international peace and security. To avoid the dangers, we consider the provisions contained in the Programme of Action adopted by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia,⁷ and the Declaration adopted by the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*,⁸ and approved by the thirty-second session of the General Assembly [resolutions 32/41 and 32/105], as having the force to change the course of events in southern Africa. They must be fully and faithfully implemented by all of us if peaceful change is to come. It is, however, our view that the execution of these action programmes has fallen far short of expectation and thus been unable adequately to shake the conscience of the racist régimes in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. My delegation wishes to reaffirm Kenya's pledge fully to observe and unswervingly implement these action programmes as best as our capabilities will permit.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

⁸ See *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2 and corrigendum), chap. X.

60. Referring specifically to South Africa, the institutionalized and deliberate practice of *apartheid* continues unabated. The racist régime continues further to intensify the application of its instruments of racial discrimination, segregation, separation, repression, oppression and suppression to the disadvantage of the black people of South Africa. Programmes are continually being implemented for the unending exploitation of their human and natural resources. The effectiveness of the instruments is constantly increased by the use of the weapons of terror, police brutality and intimidation, all deployed under the sanction of law. These brutal and inhuman methods are used whenever the régime can create or find its own opportunities for a show of force. The oppressed and suppressed black African people are the victims, who suffer for no other reason than that of being black people and opponents of the internationally condemned system of institutionalized racism and racial discrimination. To ensure its own survival, the régime continues wantonly to maim, imprison and murder innocent black people of South Africa and all opponents of *apartheid*. Its history is drenched with innocent blood and the humiliation of the black people, whose only crime is to demand their basic and inalienable rights to dignity and equality. My delegation, representing a people who fought a bloody and bitter struggle for the freedom and independence of our own country, is deeply concerned over the barbarity of the South African racist régime and over the economic encouragement it receives to maintain its oppressive systems. We note with the gravest concern that some countries still maintain economic, military and other links with the racist régime of South Africa in spite of their being party to Security Council resolution 418 (1977) of 4 November 1977. We appeal to them to reconsider their position and without any reservations to adopt measures which would contribute meaningfully towards the total isolation of the racist régime and the eradication of *apartheid*.

61. We cannot allow ourselves to be deceived by the moves mooted by the racist régime to remove petty *apartheid* in public places. The régime maintains repressive policies based on the stereotyped dogma of racial superiority, in complete disregard of the principle of human equality as enshrined in the United Nations Charter. Thus, we consider such moves as clandestine endeavours to compromise our people's struggle for the attainment of full human equality both in principle and in practice. The racist Pretoria régime must be told in the most unequivocal terms that no such spurious device will serve to divert the movement to achieve freedom and dignity. Instead of its fruitless and persistent efforts to entrench and broaden *apartheid*, it ought to take full measures to preserve human dignity in freedom for each and all. It is only in this way that the Pretoria régime can build peace and create confidence among the people of South Africa, the rest of Africa and elsewhere, and avoid confrontation.

62. The reported preparedness of South Africa to explode a nuclear device is a matter over which we have expressed serious concern. Africa had warned against giving South Africa any technological assistance in the field of nuclear weapons, but its warnings have unfortunately not been heeded. Similarly, Africa had warned against assistance being given to South Africa to arm itself to an extent that is obviously dangerous to peace and security in the region. All

previous pretensions that these arms were being given for the defence needs of South Africa have all along been unconvincing. South Africa wants to use nuclear capability and its huge arsenal of armaments to intimidate and carry out aggression against black African States and the freedom fighters of Azania. South Africa's possession and use of these weapons will not, however, deter the African fight for freedom, dignity and equality.

63. In view of the unremitting misery and deprivation inflicted upon our people in South Africa, and considering the ruthlessness of the racist régime and its scandalous defiance of the international community, Kenya is resolved to continue its support of the liberation movements of South Africa in every way within its abilities and calls upon all others to do the same until South Africa abandons the inhuman practice and policies based on *apartheid*.

64. The United Nations has for many years now been seized of the question of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. After a protracted and bitter struggle by the liberation movement, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and the efforts of this body with the assistance and intervention of a group of five Western countries, it appeared that the South African régime was at last prepared to accept reality and to co-operate with the United Nations in ensuring the speedy and unimpeded transfer of power to the people of Namibia. With patience and understanding, as well as determination and foresight, members of the Security Council worked long hours, culminating in the adoption of resolutions 431 (1978) and 432 (1978) and, previously, resolution 385 (1976). I should like in particular to commend the leaders of SWAPO for having agreed, in spite of their reservations and warnings about the doubtful intentions of the South African Government, to go along with the United Nations in its efforts to organize a realistic programme for the introduction of independence in Namibia. During all these discussions, there has been evidence that the racist régime of South Africa had not entirely accepted the inevitable course of history and the impossibility of stopping the march of the Namibian people to independence. The continued registration of voters in Namibia by the Pretoria régime and their being forced to join the puppet Democratic Turnhalle Alliance; the illegal and fraudulent registering of Angolan defectors as voters in Namibia; the insistence by the régime that it retain its armed forces and police to supervise the transfer of power; the refusal to allow free pre-election political activity under supervision of the United Nations representative—all these were clear signs that the South African régime was not ready and willing to facilitate the course of orderly achievement of independence in Namibia.

65. The decision by Vorster to announce in his resignation speech that South Africa intended to "go it alone" in implementing an unacceptable and fake transfer of power in Namibia has come as a big disappointment to all of us. While it has set the clock back, this decision has also proved conclusively the impossibility of any honest and honourable dealings with the racist régime. In addition, it has proved that the racist régime, ignoring the bitter suffering which will inevitably be caused to the Namibian people, has chosen the path of armed confrontation to the end. In its obduracy and in total defiance and disregard of the United

Nations and the entire international community, the South African Government has now decided to follow a path which will only lead to further bloodshed and an increase in the threat to international peace. We the Members of the United Nations must now decide—firmly and unequivocally—whether we shall condone or tolerate this dangerous and arrogant attitude in spite of the real threat it poses to international peace.

66. Is the United Nations totally impotent and incapable of dealing with this recurrent defiance by the South African régime? Will international opinion and the genuine efforts of various Member States to introduce rational thinking in South Africa continue to be so casually and callously trampled on by a minority régime, which uses crude brute force to sustain itself in power? And for how long shall we continue to allow this racist clique to use the lives of the African people of Namibia as a pawn in its political game?

67. My delegation is convinced that the South African régime would not have found it so easy to defy the wishes of this body were it not for the tacit support it gets from all those Members which continue to provide it with support in technology, investments and commerce. We are convinced that the régime will always treat the decisions of this body with disrespect, as long as it believes that the application of total sanctions will not be supported by all the Members of the United Nations. It is therefore our view that the time has now come when we must all agree to the need for full mandatory sanctions against South Africa. Any more talking and adopting ineffective resolutions will only serve to highlight the weakness and impotence of this body to deal with a situation which clearly threatens peace and stability in the world today.

68. It is incumbent upon all Members of this body—now more than ever before—to afford SWAPO every assistance to continue the struggle. As time goes on the South African racist régime will be bound to succumb or be forcibly eliminated from African soil. There is no good reason whatsoever why the whites of South Africa should continue to see themselves as a special gift to Africa and to flout world opinion with impunity.

69. For the past 13 years the problem of Zimbabwe has continued to constitute a crisis of the most serious dimensions. All efforts to overcome the problem through negotiations have failed and have been replaced by expressions of hope for another effort. It has become the practice of the illegal régime to create conditions which deceive the world into continuing to hope that a peaceful solution may be in sight, while it feverishly tries to strengthen its hold on power. In our view, there is nothing to negotiate about concerning the independence of Zimbabwe other than the modalities for the transfer of power.

70. We have recently noted pronouncements that the rebel Ian Smith was prepared to accept majority rule in Zimbabwe. Hopes ran high that at last a solution might be at hand. What has transpired has been the so-called internal settlement reached between the white racists under Ian Smith and a handful of African opportunists. The "settlement"—if it can be called that—has failed to bring about a cease-fire. Kenya rejected and will continue to reject the internal settlement arrangements as being unworkable and

fruitless. A properly constituted conference in which all the liberation movements of Zimbabwe are free to participate would have been the answer, but this will become impossible with martial law in operation.

71. Recent information reaching us indicates that the partners in the internal settlement are at loggerheads with one another. Ian Smith is reported to be seeking avenues to revert to the Anglo-American proposals,⁹ which he refused not so long ago, while the other partners are divided over the question of the Patriotic Front, whose involvement in a future conference to decide on the destiny of Zimbabwe is, in our view, essential. The Anglo-American proposals are a suitable basis for further negotiations. As far as those proposals go, Kenya accepts them as a matter of principle, but the proposals should not provide a reduction in the ultimate responsibility of the administering Power to ensure a rapid and complete transfer of power to the black majority of Zimbabwe. Our position on this issue has always been clear. We have stated on many occasions that Ian Smith cannot be trusted. He and his white racist followers must be forced out of power if a peaceful settlement is ever to be achieved. Until he goes, and as long as he continues to deter progress towards Zimbabwe's freedom, Kenya will continue to support the armed struggle and the strict application of sanctions against the rebel colony.

72. My country is very concerned about the pressure which is now building up in some quarters for the recognition of the so-called internal settlement which would lead to further pressure for the lifting of United Nations sanctions against the illegal Rhodesian régime. While Africa and the world as a whole have all along been aware of the breaches by some Member States of the mandatory sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, it has been our hope that there exists an adequate consensus that the illegal régime of Ian Smith must never be given any signs of recognition. In this connexion, we have noted with dismay and disbelief the admission of Ian Smith to the United States, which is in violation of the mandatory sanctions. This is an action which completely undermines the spirit and resolutions of the United Nations and the cause of liberation in southern Africa. It therefore calls for the strongest objection from this body.

73. We thus appeal to all peace-loving countries to increase their material and moral support to the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe led by the Patriotic Front until genuine prospects for majority rule in Zimbabwe can be realized. At the same time, we urge all Member States to implement strictly the sanctions against Rhodesia and leave no room for sanction-breakers. Similarly, we urge the international community to support in all ways possible those neighbouring African States whose economies are suffering due to their strict compliance with and implementation of the relevant United Nations sanctions against Rhodesia.

74. Turning now to the Middle East region, it is saddening to note that no acceptable solution to the problems of the area have been found. The tensions in the region continue

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

to threaten international peace and security. Hopes that had been raised at the beginning of the year for peace in the area have been severely shaken by the events which have taken place in Lebanon.

75. Kenya has expressed publicly on several occasions its views that peace in that area can be achieved subject to fulfilment of the following three conditions: first, the right of all States in the region to live in peace and within secure and recognized boundaries in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973); secondly, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab lands occupied since the 1967 war; and thirdly, the recognition of the human rights of the Palestinians as a people and their right to a homeland of their own. Kenya believes further that, if everyone in the area took measures to respect this august body and desist from doing anything calculated to weaken it, such as ignoring its resolutions, progress towards a peaceful settlement could be achieved and justice for all would be in sight. Failure to so act will certainly lead to a conflagration that could easily engulf the whole world.

76. We believe that no peaceful settlement in the region is possible, however, without the full involvement and participation of the Palestinians on an equal basis with all the other parties concerned. I take this opportunity to appeal to all, including those most concerned with the problem, not to obstruct any chances for a peaceful settlement that could bring enormous advantages to all the people of the Middle East and the rest of the world.

77. Turning to the question of Cyprus, Kenya is of the view that the people of Cyprus are capable of resolving their own problems peacefully if external interference is removed. We therefore call for the resumption of the intercommunal talks. We continue, as we have done before, to uphold and call for respect for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus. We urge the people of Cyprus to bury their sectional interests for the benefit of the entire population of Cyprus and to stand firmly united in rejecting external interference in the internal affairs of the Republic of Cyprus. We further call upon all nations to condemn most strongly any interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus.

78. A growing challenge has been building up over the question of declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. At the same time, very little progress has been made by the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean set up by resolution 2992 (XXVII) of 15 December 1972 owing to the reluctance of a number of major Powers to participate in the projected conference on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. The escalation and expansion of great-Power military and naval presence in the Indian Ocean is a flagrant disregard of the fears and sentiments expressed by all the littoral States that have solemnly declared they would like the Indian Ocean to be designated for all time as a zone of peace free of great-Power rivalry. Recalling that Kenya was a sponsor of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean,¹⁰ my delegation wishes once again to call on all States to respect this solemn Declaration and to ask those that have bases in

the zone to remove them so that the peace-loving peoples of the region can pursue their development efforts without fear of intimidation and possible nuclear warfare.

79. The harnessing of nuclear energy constitutes a technological advance which presents both fears and hopes for the future. Nuclear technology properly used can bring about rapid improvements in the living conditions of mankind everywhere. But if used recklessly and wantonly it can spell a catastrophe capable of exterminating all that lives. We who do not have nuclear energy believe that nuclear technology should be made available to all for peaceful purposes and under strict safeguards. We object to the notion that the knowledge remain a preserve and a monopoly of those who have it today.

80. On the question of disarmament we are pleased that the tenth special session, the first that the United Nations devoted entirely to disarmament, was held earlier this year. This session should be looked upon as a unique opportunity to take a step along the difficult road to the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament. There is need for more than mere recognition of the continuing nature of the disarmament process. Recognition must be supported by actions and follow-up meetings to review and monitor progress and failure. Otherwise, the special session's impact will be quickly lost. Kenya therefore welcomes the idea of convening another special session on disarmament in 1981.

81. Let it be said again that the already excessively high level of armaments and the continuing international arms race represent an enormous overspending for destructive purposes. In absolute terms the arms race has reached absurd and ridiculous dimensions. It is not justifiable for the international community to continue pouring billions of dollars into an industry whose aim is the development of the most sophisticated machinery of destruction, while more than half of the world goes hungry and lives without decent shelter. The time has now come when the fruits of human intelligence should be used for more constructive purposes, with a view to improving the quality of life for all mankind.

82. While we do recognize that immediately meaningful disarmament negotiations depend primarily on the improvement of relations between East and West, we also believe that concrete progress in international disarmament negotiations presupposes international détente. However, while détente has had, and could have, an important effect in relaxing international tensions, we are greatly concerned that political détente has not been accompanied by corresponding measures of disarmament and military disengagement. Instead international détente is being undermined by the momentum of the technological development, the refinement of armaments and the deployment of new weapons.

83. We are all agreed that nuclear weapons constitute the major threat to our world today. Kenya is against the proliferation of nuclear weapons and we should like to appeal to all Governments to support efforts towards halting the dangerous process of nuclear proliferation. Successful efforts to create a fool-proof non-proliferation régime presupposes a will to co-operate on the part of the nuclear-weapon States, which have heavy responsibilities.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-sixth Session, Annexes*, agenda items 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 98, document A/8584, paras. 5 and 10.

Many of us who have voluntarily renounced any right to acquire nuclear weapons under the terms of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] are, however, interested in the potential benefits of the peaceful applications of nuclear energy. We do not believe that the peaceful application of nuclear energy automatically leads to the proliferation of nuclear weapons so long as all States, nuclear and non-nuclear, agree strictly to observe the safeguards laid down by the IAEA. We strongly appeal to the nuclear-weapon States, as well as the developed countries which possess sophisticated civilian nuclear technology to implement article IV of the non-proliferation Treaty.

84. Having given up our right to acquire nuclear weapons, we believe that we have every right to demand that the efforts to stop horizontal nuclear proliferation should be matched by equal efforts on the part of the nuclear-weapon States themselves to stop vertical proliferation. We cannot be convinced of the sincerity of the nuclear-weapon States as long as their actions in the increasingly sophisticated use of nuclear energy for war do not conform with their frequent protestations of willingness to decelerate and subsequently to halt the nuclear-arms race altogether.

85. I would now like to refer briefly to another subject of paramount importance to my country, namely, the ongoing negotiations on the law of the sea. The seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was held in Geneva from 28 March to 19 May 1978 and the resumed seventh session was held in New York from 21 August to 15 September 1978.

86. The Kenya delegation to the seventh session, as well as our delegation to the previous sessions, has played an active and constructive role in a genuine endeavour to arrive at a convention that is generally acceptable to all parties. The first part of the seventh session, held in Geneva, was, in the view of my country, the most fruitful session of the Conference since its commencement. The compromise formula on the system of exploration and exploitation of the international sea-bed resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction,¹¹ arrived at after very intensive and difficult negotiations, clearly represents a major breakthrough in the Conference.

87. The broad framework agreed on for the financial arrangements relating to contracts concluded between the authority and contractors and the financing of both the authority and the enterprise¹² also marks a significant advance in the work of the Conference. We believe the figures suggested by the Chairman of Negotiating Group II on financial arrangements are both fair and equitable.

88. Although there are a number of outstanding issues for which satisfactory solutions have not been found, Kenya believes that, judging by the very significant progress so far made, a real possibility now exists of arriving at a generally acceptable convention at the next session of the Conference. Kenya will go to the next session with an open

mind, prepared to proceed in the spirit of compromise in the earnest hope that all other delegations will do likewise.

89. It is therefore not surprising that there was strong resistance on the part of most delegations to reopening the issues dealt with in the compromise formula during the recent resumed session held in New York this summer. We strongly believe that the compromise formula represents the basic minimum the developing countries will accept if the parallel system of exploration and exploitation that has been accepted is to be of any benefit to them. The developed countries must accept the Geneva compromise if they are at all serious in their often expressed desire for a negotiated convention.

90. On the other hand the Kenya Government is very concerned about the spate of unilateral legislation for the exploitation of deep sea-bed minerals currently in the process of preparation in a number of countries. Kenya is of the view that such proposed national laws are completely illegal since they represent an attempt to misappropriate resources which were unanimously declared to be the common heritage of mankind in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV). It is also cynical that such laws should be under consideration when the Conference is on the threshold of adopting a generally acceptable international convention. The countries concerned should be aware that they will bear full responsibility for the chaos and the breakdown of the negotiations which may well result if the proposed unilateral laws are enacted. In such a situation each country would have no option but to protect its interests in the best manner open to it. The short-term gains the developed countries hope to achieve through unilateral legislation will be far outweighed by the risks that would ensue from the chaos into which such areas as territorial seas, straits, scientific research and freedom of navigation would be plunged.

91. My Government has followed with keen interest the work being done by the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Organization, in which we have actively participated. While conceding that the United Nations Charter was a very carefully drafted document which has on the whole worked well, we are of the view that the changed circumstances in the world since the founding of the United Nations some 33 years ago make a review of its Charter not only desirable but necessary.

92. One area in which, in Kenya's view, the Charter requires review is that concerning the power of veto. The world economic and political balance and priorities have shifted substantially in the 33 years that have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations. The membership of the Organization has greatly increased. We therefore strongly feel that the distribution of the power of veto should be reviewed with a view to making it reflect the changed situation in the world. Africa should also have the power of veto.

93. Another area that Kenya feels needs serious consideration is the strengthening of the role of the Security Council as a peace-maker and a peace-keeper. The primary responsibility of the Security Council under the Charter is the maintenance of peace and security.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. X (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.4), document A/CONF.62/RCNG/2.

¹² *Ibid.*

94. While we are fully aware, and are appreciative, of the role played by the Security Council in averting major armed conflicts, we note that there have been a number of lesser wars and armed conflicts which the Security Council has not been able to prevent or stop. The Special Committee on the Charter should seriously consider how to make the Security Council much more effective in its extremely important and noble role of ridding mankind of the scourge of wars and armed conflicts.

95. Recently the United Nations Conference on Succession of States in Respect of Treaties was reconvened pursuant to General Assembly resolution 32/47 of 8 December 1977, and adopted yet another Vienna Convention, the Convention on Succession of States in Respect of Treaties.¹³ Kenya fully participated in both sessions of the Conference and congratulates the Conference on the successful execution of its mandate. In our view the Convention, which was worked out from a draft text prepared over many years by the International Law Commission is a balanced one and should commend itself to all States Members of the Organization.

96. For our part, we are studying the Convention with a view to taking steps to becoming a party thereto in the near future. In this respect we are gratified to note that 15 States are required to ratify the Convention so that it may generally enter into force, and we feel that is a reasonable figure which should facilitate its early entry into force. We therefore hope that States will find it possible to ratify the Convention without undue delay.

97. I should like now to turn to other pressing issues which my delegation feels are just as important as those already discussed and which require urgent attention and solutions in the interests of justice, equity and peace in the world.

98. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, attended by Government representatives at the highest political levels, emphasized the realities of our interdependence and solemnly and unanimously adopted new guidelines and principles which were to govern our future international economic relationships. We all recognized then that the time for pious expressions of international economic solidarity was definitely over and that words had to give way to a tangible demonstration of this interdependence and our common destiny. Consequently the General Assembly unanimously adopted both a Declaration and a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], an order which would be based on equity, justice, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and genuine co-operation among all States.

99. Four years have passed, and it is indeed sad to note that very little progress has been achieved on this matter of vital importance. Indeed, I should like to put on record here the strong concern of the Kenya Government at the slow pace at which the decisions of that milestone sixth special session of the General Assembly are being implemented. The progress of the negotiations in the various

United Nations and other international forums towards the achievement of the New International Economic Order has been very disappointing.

100. Despite the solemn commitments entered into at the fourth session of UNCTAD in 1976 with respect to the establishment of an Integrated Programme for Commodities,¹⁴ no substantive agreements have so far been reached on its establishment. Although the UNCTAD *Ad Hoc* Intergovernmental Committee for the Integrated Programme for Commodities has so far met five times and the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities twice, significant conceptual differences still exist on the basic issues and principles involved in the setting up of such a programme.

101. On the industrialization front, most of the key recommendations contained in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development Co-operation¹⁵ concerning the strengthening of the industrial capacity of the developing countries are still being held up by the fact that the international community has not as yet agreed on the transformation of UNIDO into a specialized agency. As we are all aware, the developing countries have on several occasions urged that UNIDO should be transformed into a specialized agency so that it may better perform the duties it was created to carry out, namely, to accelerate the industrialization of developing countries.

102. On monetary issues, the international community has not yet agreed on the reforms required in the international monetary system in order to meet the needs of the developing countries for a better distribution of international monetary benefits, including a more equitable distribution of international liquidity and a full part in the decision-making machinery of the IMF. As regards the transfer of resources, all the developed countries have not yet given an unqualified commitment to increase their official development assistance to attain the target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product by 1980. The only concrete, positive developments in the monetary field have been the recent announcements by the Governments of Sweden, Canada and the United Kingdom cancelling the official debts of the least developed among the developing countries. We welcome that step and should like to urge other developed countries to follow this noble example. Action is, however, still pending on the reorganization of the entire debt system, including renegotiation of existing debts, so as to give it a more developmental and less commercial orientation.

103. As regards the transfer of technology, the Intergovernmental Group of Experts who were charged with the preparation of an international code of conduct on transfer of technology have so far had six sessions in Geneva. Nevertheless, substantial differences still exist between the different groups on key issues, such as the questions of guarantees, the responsibilities or obligations of parties,

¹⁴ 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).

¹⁵ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

¹³ See document A/CONF.80/32.

national regulation of the transfer of technology and the applicable law and procedures in the settlement of disputes.

104. The scenario is indeed discouraging. While we move from one conference to another, the social and economic conditions of the people in many developing countries, especially in the continent of Africa, continue to deteriorate rapidly. Millions of human beings in Africa, Asia and Latin America are today living in subhuman conditions, waiting for the international community to do something concrete to alleviate their misery, hunger and economic deprivation. Many of our economies are in fact declining to unacceptable levels with each day that passes without any action being taken in those critical fields.

105. The constructive spirit and the favourable climate which prevailed towards the end of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly and also at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi, had raised great hopes for the peoples of the developing countries. The successful conclusions of those meetings and the comprehensive resolutions which were adopted had indeed led us to believe that at last there existed an opportunity for the international community to resolve effectively issues which had been the subject of discussions and confrontations for over two decades.

106. Unfortunately, given the pace and nature of the ongoing negotiations for the establishment of the New International Economic Order, it would appear that we still have not crossed that philosophical threshold which we had hoped we would have crossed when the development of the poor nations is considered an essential element in the sustained development of the world economy and where the interests of both rich and poor nations are regarded as complementary and compatible rather than as conflicting and irreconcilable. We are not demanding a massive redistribution of past income and wealth—in fact if all the demands are added up they do not exceed about one per cent of the gross national product of the rich nations. What we are asking for is simply a redistribution of future growth opportunities. How can the international community continue to expect the developing countries to acquiesce in the prolongation of an irrational economic system, which is in itself the greatest constraint on our development and on the physical and cultural well-being of our peoples?

107. While expressing our increasing disappointment and frustration at the lack of progress in the evolution of a more meaningful international economic order, may I unequivocally state here that we have not given up hope, and are not going to do so, and that we intend to continue to press our case, though success may not be wholly achieved in the coming year. But we still believe in the justice of our cause and are sincerely convinced that the developed world has the ability to resolve the prevailing international economic problems, given a little more political will and determination on its part. In our view, what is really required if the current negotiations between the rich and poor nations are to succeed is a political vision that is inspired by the promise of the future and not clouded, as it is at present, by past controversies and by the desire to cling to the short-term privileges of the present.

108. I said there was hope. May I conclude my remarks on a happier note.

109. My delegation would like to express appreciation to the Secretary-General for his supporting and co-ordinating role in organizing the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, recently held in Buenos Aires. That was the most practical demonstration on a global scale that the countries of the developing world are prepared to seek areas where they can co-operate and maximize the use of their own resources for their mutual benefit, rather than always looking to the developed countries for assistance.

110. We urge that the Plan of Action adopted at the Conference¹⁶ should be adopted by this Assembly and that the United Nations system as well as the developed countries, individually and collectively, should support the developing countries in their search for ways and means by which they can assist themselves.

111. At the regional level, the Kenya Government would like to thank ECA for the very good work it has done, and continues to do, with regard to the creation of a preferential trade area for 17 countries of the eastern and southern African subregion. My Government has fully participated at all the preparatory meetings and will continue to contribute fully at all future meetings to see the ideas and ideals currently being discussed at those meetings turn into reality. It is our hope that the international community, and in particular the developed countries and those in a position to do so, will give technical, financial and other assistance to the new group of countries being formed. Such assistance will be particularly needed in the field of joint industrial projects for the subregion, where large amounts of capital and technical know-how, beyond our capacities, will be required.

112. Mr. MYINT MAUNG (Burma): I should like at the outset to convey to Mr. Liévano through you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on his election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, and to assure him of our full co-operation in the discharge of the responsibilities of his high office. We are confident that under his able guidance we can look forward to a successful conclusion to our deliberations.

113. We owe a special debt of thanks to our outgoing President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for the outstanding skill with which he presided over the deliberations of the last regular session, as well as the three very important special sessions of the General Assembly held during the year.

114. We are also happy to take this opportunity to offer our felicitations and friendly greetings to the delegation of Solomon Islands, whose members have taken their place among us for the first time. The addition of each new Member State is an advance along the path to the universality of this Organization.

115. The United Nations was founded a little over three decades ago with 51 Member States. Today it is nearly three times larger in size and symbolizes the conscious

¹⁶ *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11), chap. I.

theme of the universal brotherhood of man. To come to the General Assembly each year is to sense the growth of the world community and the continuity of the process towards the betterment of human relationships. The importance of the United Nations is thus underlined as a focus and framework within which the conflicting interests of States may find a degree of order and harmony.

116. This optimism becomes somewhat dimmed when we reflect on the current course of international developments. Much has happened in the period since we met in the Assembly last year and we cannot fail to notice some very disquieting features that dominate the international scene today.

117. As everyone knows, there have been major shifts in world political alignments, and international relationships have reached a disturbing degree of complexity. These relationships are markedly worsening in the highly important area of relations among major Powers. As a consequence, the struggle for strategic strongholds and spheres of influence has once again come to the fore, with a growing tendency towards extraregional intervention, notably in the regions of Africa and Asia. This imperils the national independence and peaceful development of smaller and lesser nations. It is also evident that long-standing areas of crisis have become aggravated, and dormant disputes and enmities have surfaced into local armed conflicts.

118. These adverse trends in the international setting do not augur well for peace and security. So long as no effective solution can yet be devised for the major contentious issues which are besetting nations, they will continue to place a heavy strain on our present-day world.

119. The principal problems to which the General Assembly will be directing its mind are not new, but are nearly as old as the United Nations itself. We refer here to the situation in the Middle East, the problems of southern Africa, the question of disarmament and the problems of world economic relations. For the first time in several years, we note that there is some visible indication that more headway is being made on these questions.

120. The Middle East continues to command world attention. Some unexpected impulses have brought about a new tempo in peace initiatives, which have the merit of breaching for the first time the emotional barriers set up in the region. On the other hand, the needs and interests of many nations within and around the Middle East are greatly compounded. It appears, therefore, that a viable solution would be difficult to attain, unless it be the result of a collective approach and be comprehensive in nature.

121. The delegation of Burma supports the view that the United Nations provides the most acceptable framework within which all parties should seek a solution to the Middle East problem. Clear guidelines have already been formulated in relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. A sound basis exists in Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which rightly calls for the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from Arab territories occupied in 1967. It also calls for the termination of the state of belligerency and the recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a State.

122. The delegation of Burma considers that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem does not depend on the principles of the above resolution alone. Such a settlement also requires a solution of the Palestine question, which in turn means recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to an independent State.

123. Africa today constitutes the focus of international action. The area is one of crisis in which local conflicts tend to become prone to extraregional intervention, with all the elements of power-bloc rivalry. Such exercise of political pressure can only increase the range and level of tension in Africa and obstruct the United Nations ideal of international peace and security.

124. In southern Africa the process of decolonization has entered a new phase. In Namibia the continuing struggle of the liberation movements and the active support of the United Nations have led to the point where the illegal minority racist régime in power can no longer deny the Territory's right to become free and independent.

125. For Namibia the year 1978 marks a historic point in its march to independent statehood. In pursuance of its resolution 385 (1976), the Security Council has recently decided to take practical measures for the independence of Namibia at the earliest possible date. However, even at this last stage, the South African régime in power continues to hamper the process by trying to impose conditions on United Nations efforts.

126. The delegation of Burma stands by the United Nations position that South Africa's occupation of Namibia is illegal and that SWAPO is the authentic liberation movement of the Namibian people. We fully support the Security Council's call in its resolution 431 (1978) for free elections in Namibia under the supervision and control of the United Nations, and we agree that Namibia's territorial integrity and unity should be assured through the reintegration of Walvis Bay within its territory.

127. The present situation in Zimbabwe is one of mounting unrest and violence. Considerable efforts have been invested both inside and outside the United Nations to bring about a negotiated internationally acceptable settlement based on the transfer of power to the majority which would rule. But the illegal racist régime in power has ignored world public opinion in its unilateral action of imposing a deceptive internal settlement.

128. The delegation of Burma considers that there can be no lasting solution unless all nationalist leaders, including the leaders of the Patriotic Front, are involved in the transition to majority rule. Burma has associated itself with all Security Council decisions concerning the complete severance of all political and economic relations with the illegal racist minority régime.

129. Burma has also faithfully implemented all United Nations decisions on South Africa, where there is as yet no sign of turning away from the basic policy of *apartheid*, which is institutionalized racial discrimination. Instead, massive reprisals have been taken against those who oppose *apartheid*. Burma severed all trade relations with South Africa in 1962. This year the necessary official action has

been taken in application of the Security Council's mandatory arms embargo against that country.

130. The delegation of Burma firmly reiterates its support for the struggle of the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe for independence under majority rule as well as the struggle of the people of South Africa against *apartheid* and the policy of racism

131. There are two sets of comments which the delegation of Burma would like to make as we reflect on the problems of disarmament.

132. The world's major problem today is the urgency of halting the arms race and initiating the process of disarmament. Since the end of the Second World War the central issue of world concern has been the possibility of general nuclear war and the vital importance to human survival of avoiding such a tragedy. But this world-wide anxiety has been heightened over more than three decades by an unabated nuclear-arms race. The tremendous cost of the arms race and the range and destructive power of the weapons systems that have been devised are bewildering to the human mind. The futility and wastefulness of this becomes even clearer when we consider the fact that the opponents already have the capacity to destroy each other and even an over-kill capacity. Moreover, with every advance in the scientific and technological development of strategic weapons the process of negotiation on arms control and disarmament becomes increasingly complex and difficult. The fact is that the armaments race has become one of the greatest scourges of humanity and constitutes an obstacle to the improvement of the world's political relations and its economic development. Unless we can achieve some early steps to halt and reverse the arms race, the ultimate objective of ensuring general and complete disarmament may recede further and prove elusive for ever. Today the overriding imperative is to explore every avenue and method to bring the principal nuclear Powers into a binding agreement and a solemn undertaking to assure the international community that a nuclear confrontation will not take place.

133. This year's tenth special session of the General Assembly, on disarmament, provided a forum for the world community to demonstrate its awareness of and concern at the unprecedented level and intensity of the arms race and the potential danger it poses for the security of mankind. The Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] provides an integrated and universal strategy for disarmament that enjoys the widest international acceptance known to date. Although it is the product of compromise and accommodation, the Final Document is a positive step forward. The United Nations, as the most representative and universal forum of today, has been brought into closer association with world disarmament processes. This marks a new departure in disarmament negotiations.

134. The task before the international community now is to translate into reality the principles and objectives embodied in the Final Document. The highest priority has been given to nuclear disarmament, and the principal nuclear Powers have a special responsibility to lead the way. If those Powers could take positive steps to halt and reverse the nuclear-arms race, that would imply a change in their

attitudes and policies and would significantly affect future developments in the field of disarmament. Progress or the lack of progress in disarmament measures depends very much on the international behaviour of the principal nuclear Powers.

135. As everyone knows, the world economy is in a state of flux and remains unpredictable. Economists the world over seem to be in a dilemma over what steps should be taken to overcome the immediate pressures of world-wide inflation and monetary instability, declining growth rates, the increasing burden of debt on many countries, growing protectionism and the deteriorating balance in international trade and payments. No one has yet come forward with a viable solution to these problems.

136. The latent instability and the frequent recurrent crises in the world economy more than ever indicate that the present international economic system no longer serves the compelling demands of the times. In view of the reality of the existence of fundamental and structural defects in the present system, it is imperative to restructure the world economy in order to resolve the inequalities and imbalances in international economic relations.

137. The establishment of the New International Economic Order cannot be delayed any longer. If we indulge too much in the luxury of elaborating details and means of achieving that goal, there is the danger that we may lose sight of the objective itself. Above all, what is required in the initial stage is political will on the part of those who can contribute much to the realization of the New International Economic Order.

138. We are all aware of the growing interdependence of the international economy. The economies of both the developed and the developing world are becoming highly interdependent. Yet the world economy lacks an effective mechanism for mutual co-operation and benefit. The North-South dialogue, conducted with the main objective of setting up a just and equitable economic order, has resulted in a stalemate. The concerted action and strategy of the industrially developed countries to solve the world's basic economic issues have thus far produced few significant results. The Second United Nations Development Decade is coming to a close, but the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the 1970s have hardly been fulfilled.

139. We welcome the General Assembly's decision to convene a special session in 1980 to assess the progress made in the various forums of the United Nations system, to realize the establishment of the New International Economic Order and to take appropriate action for the promotion of development and international economic co-operation, including the adoption of a new international development strategy for the 1980s.

140. There can be no doubt that the transformation of the world economic system is already well on the way towards a greater measure of equality in the life of nations in an interdependent world. Although at present it would seem that nothing of particular importance has happened that might be conducive to the solution of the major problems that confront the developing countries and the entire

international community, the most cogent fact is the growth of an awareness of the need for concerted action in all sectors of economic life. This, we believe, opens up a hopeful prospect that the international community may be able to come up with negotiable answers, new attitudes and new decisions leading towards the establishment of the New International Economic Order which we all seek to create.

141. The delegation of Burma believes that the deliberations we shall have during this session of the General Assembly will lead to a better appreciation of the problems which confront the international community and the measures required to solve them. We very much hope that our efforts and deliberations will be fruitful and of benefit to all Members of the United Nations.

142. Mr. DONALDSON (Trinidad and Tobago): It is with great pleasure that I extend to Mr. Liévano, on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago and on my own behalf, sincere congratulations and best wishes on his election as President of this thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation feels sure that under his wise and efficient guidance the arduous tasks facing this Assembly will be tackled with confidence and positive assurance of success.

143. I should like at this time through you, Sir, to extend to Mr. Mojsov our gratitude for his expert and competent handling of the proceedings at the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly and at the special sessions of the General Assembly over the past year.

144. My delegation wishes to put on record once more its deep appreciation for the work done by our Secretary-General in directing the efforts of the United Nations, particularly in his recent quests for peace in the world, frustrated and thwarted though they have been in some areas by the rabid racism that is synonymous with *apartheid*.

145. In closing these words of greeting, it is with a feeling of immense satisfaction that I join with others who have warmly welcomed Solomon Islands to this family of nations. It remains the confirmed view of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago that, notwithstanding the sometimes seemingly insuperable barriers that stand in the way of co-operation between sovereign States, the United Nations continues to provide a stable and acceptable medium for conducting the relations of Member States.

146. As members of this community of nations, we have both a duty and an obligation to co-operate with one another. This co-operation, in our view, must be founded on four basic and fundamental imperatives. These are: the political will to co-operate; the genuine acceptance of the need to eradicate poverty and enhance the quality of life of the peoples of all countries; the conviction that world peace and the security of all States are necessary prerequisites for optimizing the value of the limited resources of our planet; and the non-exclusion of any State from this international forum and the many benefits which derive from participation therein.

147. In full recognition and awareness of that fourth imperative—the need to universalize the United Nations—

my delegation hopes that the day will soon be here when together we can rejoice as we welcome those peoples still struggling in southern Africa and elsewhere for their dignity and independence. We had dared to hope that we could have already welcomed to our Assembly Namibia and Zimbabwe; but good faith is not the hallmark of the racists in southern Africa.

148. Into what sort of international community are we welcoming new Member States? What hopes for the future can we share with them? How well have our opportunities been used through the auspices of this Organization to create a better human environment for all our peoples?

149. The record for 1977-1978 is bleak and cheerless; the augury for the coming year most unpropitious. The matters which will be reviewed in this short statement were with us during the thirty-second session; from statements made to this Assembly, it would appear that this thirty-third session is not likely to be the occasion for universal understanding or for a greater sense of political commitment to meaningful co-operation between developed and developing countries. Rather, there seems to be an explicit desire on the part of some to perpetuate systems of injustice that have enabled the economically strong to develop and maintain an inequitable position of privilege over the economically weak.

150. It is to the field of economic co-operation that I should like first of all to turn my attention, since it is here that relations between the developed and the developing countries have become decidedly polarized. In fact, it is mainly in economic terms that the divisions between the North and the South have any tangible quality and it is precisely in these matters that resistance to meaningful co-operation has been most pronounced.

151. Much hope has been pinned on the successful outcome of the discussions in UNCTAD on the Integrated Programme for Commodities. My delegation notes with regret that the deadline which was established under UNCTAD resolution 93 (IV) has not been met and it appears that the negotiations on the common fund will suffer interminable delays. The direction which consideration of this fund seems to be taking, moreover, suggests that developing countries will not succeed in establishing a new régime for commodities which goes beyond the mere setting up of market regulatory mechanisms that now typify international commodity agreements. This would indeed be a retrograde step.

152. It has been clearly demonstrated during the course of the discussions on both the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the common fund that excellent opportunities exist through the commodity trade for co-operation to the benefit of both the developed and the developing countries. It was hoped that self-interest, at least, could motivate the developed countries to see their way clear to co-operating more fully in this sphere of economic endeavour.

153. The multilateral trade negotiations, too, have given cause for serious concern to those developing countries that have been following the deliberations. It is with regret that my delegation records its dissatisfaction at the failure of the

developed countries to accept the principle of non-reciprocity for the granting of trade concessions between the developed and all developing countries. Developed countries appear reluctant to accept the fact that the current imbalance in the share of world trade between North and South militates against economic growth in developing regions and consequently acts as a serious impediment to the expansion of world trade. Here again is another area in which the self-interest of developed countries over the long-term should make them more responsive to the requests for short-term concessions to all developing countries.

154 Shipping is also a matter for concern. Discussions in this field have given little reason to my Government and to others in the developing world to hope for an accommodation which would enable a more meaningful share of world shipping tonnages to be allocated to developing countries.

155. It is the view of my Government that the circumstances where developing countries own 61 per cent of the bulk cargo but a mere 5 per cent of the shipping tonnage cannot be allowed to persist. Equity demands that there be a more reasonable share in the market in bulk cargo, both liquid and dry; that international lending institutions adopt more flexible attitudes to financing the purchase of ships by developing countries; and that developed countries lend their support to the pooling of resources to enable developing countries to purchase or construct ships and thereby facilitate the transfer to developing countries of a greater share of world shipping.

156. Co-operation on matters relating to the marine environment presents as many difficulties as those already outlined—if not more.

157. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago must record its considered objection to tendencies developing within the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea which, if allowed to continue to their logical conclusion, would result in a modern-day manifestation of the attitudes and assumptions that ushered in the colonial era, with the attendant conquest, appropriation and exploitation of regions considered distant, undiscovered territories.

158. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago recognizes as law that the sea-bed and its resources beyond national jurisdiction constitute mankind's common patrimony. The exploitation of these resources today must not be guided by unbridled opportunism and unprincipled greed. In this regard, unilateral legislative measures must be abhorred. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago holds that unilateral legislation relating to sea-bed resources beyond national jurisdiction can have no validity whatsoever in international law; that activities conducted under such legislation have no legal status; and that States, persons or entities indulging in such illegal practices cannot acquire any rights to the area exploited or its resources.

159. Unilateral legislation would be contrary to the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*], which was adopted without dissent and which established the

sea-bed and its resources as the common heritage of mankind. Consequently, such unilateral exploitation and appropriation of the resources would constitute illegal acts. These acts would violate the moratorium on sea-bed exploration and exploitation established by General Assembly resolution 2574 D (XXIV).

160. Some industrialized countries have argued against this concept of the sea-bed as the common heritage of mankind and are seeking to frustrate the goals of co-operation by proposing unilateral legislation which they claim would give certain rights to their agents. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago must insist that the Declaration of Principles contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV) was declaratory of existing law. Neither analogy nor inference can be regarded as a source of law. Hence the freedom of the high seas cannot be extended to give nor interpreted as giving licence to a few to exploit minerals beyond national jurisdiction. Moreover, it appears that the reluctance on the part of some industrialized countries to undertake the meaningful transfer of technology is, regrettably, linked to their desire to press on with unilateral sea-bed mining operations, without reference to the international authority.

161. The many areas of non-co-operation I have alluded to notwithstanding, my delegation continues to look forward with optimism to the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, which is scheduled to take place in August 1979. Members will recall that it was recommended at the twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly that science and technology should be used as an instrument to stimulate development, thereby reducing international inequalities and providing the basis for self-reliance [*see resolution 3281 (XXIX), art. 13*]. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago continues to view this Conference as the vehicle to provide, by way of action-oriented programmes, concrete solutions to the problems of the transfer and application of science and technology within the framework of the New International Economic Order. It must be reiterated here that developing countries should be given access to already existing knowledge in the field of science and technology and that access to science and technology on fair and reasonable terms should be a vital component of the New International Economic Order.

162. We have for the past two years been engaged in the process of analysis and review. The time is now ripe for the translation of our research findings into specific objectives. For this, the political will of countries—large and small—is needed.

163. The 1977 Arusha symposium on science and technology for development¹⁷ emphasized that the application of science and technology to development should have as its main purpose the attainment of the goals and aspirations of a society and the satisfaction of its basic needs. The symposium pronounced upon the need for indigenous development of science and technology as an integral part of national culture. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, in its programme for national development, has

¹⁷ Intergovernmental Meeting of African Experts on Aspects of Technology, held in Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 3 to 8 October 1977.

stressed the role of science and technology in the social and economic development of the country.

164. The imbalance between the countries that have advanced technology and those that have not has contributed to the dominance of the former and the dependency of the latter. We contend that the gap must be bridged and that self-reliance rather than continued dependency must be the essential feature in our socio-economic development. Regional and international co-operation would be meaningless if this were not achieved.

165. The United Nations through its agencies has a vital part to play in promoting the necessary co-operation among developing countries in this area, so that traditional and new technologies can be shared. Soon the Conference on Science and Technology for Development will have taken place, and the international community ought therefore to focus attention now on modalities for bringing about the technological transformation of the third world. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago, while recognizing the contribution which UNCTAD is making in the comprehensive programme of action for the strengthening of the technological capability of developing countries, is of the view that this process should be strengthened and receive the necessary assistance and co-operation from other agencies within the United Nations family.

166. This leads me to a consideration of the entire concept of the New International Economic Order. Much has been said, by way of criticism, of the aspirations of developing countries for a new order. Any overview of the history of international economic relations forces us to conclude that the old order has indeed not changed. That old order, where built-in imbalances inevitably led to chaos, confusion and strife, must now give way to the New International Economic Order.

167. The New International Economic Order must be regarded as a system in which there exists a more equitable sharing of the material, technological, social and other benefits of the human environment. To achieve this, it is absolutely essential that all countries share equitably in decision-making processes; for, in the final analysis, it is the right to share in the decisions that affect us that marks the difference between free men and those not yet free, between the third world and other worlds.

168. The various measures identified by the international community as being necessary to bring the New International Economic Order into being have all suffered set-backs, owing to lack of co-operation or reluctance on the part of the few to make concessions for the benefit of all. It is clear that greater attention must be devoted to the sensitive areas of the relationships between all countries with a view to redressing the imbalance which now prevails. While comparative advantage was enjoyed in most areas of production by the developed countries, developing countries were lectured on the virtues of free trade. When requests were made for reservation of what developing countries considered to be an equitable share of world industrial production—that is, 25 per cent, a mere quarter, by the end of the century—the response was that interference with the free-market system was not only political anathema but also represented gross economic inefficiency.

169. Today, however, third-world countries, by developing resource-based industries and utilizing their abundant supplies of labour, are beginning, through the acquisition of modern technology, to achieve a competitive edge in an increasing number of areas of economic activity. Unemployment, which is still a dominant feature of the economies of developing countries, is now also common in some developed countries, which have resorted to protectionism rather than to measures which would be less injurious to the interests of developing countries and, indeed, to world trade generally.

170. Further, efforts on the part of developing countries to diversify into light manufacturing industries such as textile, foot-wear and electronics and into areas such as steel, aluminium and motor vehicles, have been frustrated through the institution of so-called orderly market arrangements and voluntary market restraints.

171. So far I have sought to underline the degree of importance which my delegation attaches to the role which better access to markets for exports from developing countries must play in the context of the New International Economic Order.

172. There are, to be sure, other serious problems relating to international economic co-operation. One of these problems is the vexed question of present-day indiscipline in international economic management in which floating exchange rates, and in particular the extent of the depreciation of the value of the major currencies in which most of world trade is financed, deprive developing countries and others of an ever-increasing proportion of their hard-earned export revenues. This is clearly unjust and my delegation takes heart from the recent assurances given with respect to the strengthening of the major trading currency and the creation of a more stable international monetary climate.

173. In this context, is it too much to hope that the developed countries will see their way clear to allowing developing countries access to their financial markets for development financing on concessionary terms? I should like to lend my voice in support of those who argue that such a policy would act as a catalyst for economic growth and would at the same time help the developed countries emerge from their present sluggishness without the fear of inflation.

174. In this review of international economic relations, I have illustrated the type of world community that exists today. If the picture I have painted appears to be gloomy, then I hope that I may be excused for making a brief comment on the international political situation, which, though not without hope, is no less gloomy.

175. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago is seriously concerned over the pressures which have been brought to bear on the Government of Belize to cede its national territory as the price of securing its independence. The Government of Belize has quite properly rejected this attempt to destroy its territorial integrity. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago reaffirms its support for the just aspirations of the people of Belize for self-determination and independence in accordance with the Charter of the

United Nations and resolution 1514 (XV), and for the recognition of its territorial integrity. We would urge the parties, in keeping with General Assembly resolutions, to continue their negotiations so that a solution embodying the noble ideals of the United Nations Charter will be found.

176. My delegation continues to affirm its support for the principles enshrined in Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) on the Middle East question and to hold the view that due recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination is crucial to a just settlement of the issue.

177. The situation in southern Africa remains grave, and nations of the world continue to be alarmed by the resistance of those régimes to the cries of the conscience of mankind.

178. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago condemns the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia for its unprovoked attacks on Mozambique and Zambia in a vain attempt to coerce the two Governments and their peoples into abandoning their support for the peoples of Zimbabwe in their valiant struggle for freedom and independence.

179. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago welcomes the endorsement by the Security Council in its resolution 431 (1978) of the proposal by the five Western States for implementation of Security Council resolution 385 (1976) in respect of the accession of Namibia to independence.

180. The Government of Trinidad and Tobago continues in the international community to deplore the existence of the inhuman régime of *apartheid* in South Africa and endorses requests to the Security Council to impose economic sanctions on South Africa. It is only through decisive and direct action that the flow of investments, goods—including petroleum and petroleum products—and other essentials can be stemmed, and that this régime, which violates every basic human right, may be brought to heel. Since 11 October has been designated the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners, I have today despatched to the Chairman of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* a message reaffirming the support of the Government of Trinidad and Tobago for all measures adopted by the United Nations for the total eradication of the crime of *apartheid*.

181. In conclusion, may I express the hope that this thirty-third session of the General Assembly would end with all countries showing evidence of greater commitment to the principles on which this Organization was built. The international community, this family of nations, should not await the strife that leads to armed conflict and bloodshed to redress the injustices that plague our planet and divide the peoples of the world.

182. We cannot await the end of the decade to start applying remedies to situations which continue to deteriorate. The New International Economic Order cannot be accomplished by decree or resolution. Every day that passes brings suffering to the majority of peoples of the earth, and the list of grievances is long. Every day people suffer because of ignorance; people die for want of food or proper

nutrition; people die for lack of health services; and all this takes place mainly in the region which is being euphemistically described as the third world.

183. Our historic responsibility is to take positive measures to redress present social and economic injustices and to improve the quality of life of all peoples. The time to act is now and at this thirty-third session we must seize the time.

184. Mr. CHARLES (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): May I first of all, on behalf of the Haitian delegation, most warmly congratulate Mr. Liévano of Colombia on his election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. His presence here to guide these important deliberations is both a guarantee of their success and an eloquent testimony to the esteem which he enjoys at world level. His colleagues in Latin America are proud of the tribute thus paid to the entire region. The Government and people of Haiti, who were privileged to welcome Mr. Liévano to Port-au-Prince on the occasion of the signing of an agreement delimiting the maritime borders between our two countries, are fully confident of the auspicious guidance which he will give to our debate.

185. I should like also to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Liévano's eminent predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, for the remarkable way in which he guided the work of the thirty-second session.

186. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we should like to extend our compliments and our feelings of gratitude and deep appreciation for his enlightening report on the work of the Organization [A/33/1], in which he stressed the problems which had been of concern to the Organization during the past year. Those problems are both numerous and highly complex. Some of them are extremely serious and call for prompt solution if world peace, already harshly put to the test, is not to be irreversibly jeopardized; hence the need to redouble efforts in order to eliminate the hotbeds of tension which endanger the very survival of mankind. In order to achieve that aim, all the members of the community of nations, aware of their common destiny, should resolutely commit themselves to seeking, in the light of the goals and objectives of the Charter, the means to achieve the establishment of a world governed not by relations of power but rather by the ideals of justice, brotherhood and universal solidarity. That task would be relatively easy to achieve provided there is willingness to use the United Nations machinery and agree to live on the basis of its laws.

187. Unfortunately, the international situation at the present time reveals a reality which does not give rise to optimism. In fact, some regions of the world are still subjected to colonial domination and other forms of oppression while others experience only a precarious peace, often interrupted by outbreaks of violence. While considerable sums are devoted to the arms race, which threatens the very existence of our planet, millions of human beings, forming that great army of those "forgotten by God", languish in the most abject poverty. Meanwhile, the gap between rich and poor countries becomes wider, despite various international attempts to improve the situation.

188. It is therefore not surprising that bitterness is widespread and bears the seeds of conflict. The incompatibility of the different interests at stake is in evidence whenever antagonists meet. On many occasions the intervention, *in extremis*, of international organizations, including the United Nations, has been necessary to avert what was often an almost fatal development, while certain sectors, which have already forgotten the lessons of history, compel mankind to survive by its wits, despite the fact that the danger of a world conflagration of catastrophic dimensions remains undiminished. It is in that hardly reassuring context that my delegation wishes to make its contribution to the work of this session.

189. First of all, the Republic of Haiti wishes to reiterate its attachment to the ideals which prevailed at the establishment of the United Nations, of which we are one of the founding Members. Haiti reaffirms its total commitment to the principles of equality of all individuals and peoples and their right to self-determination.

190. In that spirit our delegation warmly welcomes Solomon Islands to our Organization. We are convinced that this new State will make its contribution to the search for solutions which are of concern to it.

191. However, while the accession of Solomon Islands to the ranks of independent and sovereign nations has filled us with joy, we strongly deplore the fact that the backward forces of colonialism have not yet made it possible for the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, Azania, Belize, the Western Sahara and East Timor to take their place among us.

192. In the case of Namibia, which South Africa has occupied illegally since 1966 in defiance of world public opinion and of the many United Nations resolutions, this Organization has reached an impasse, faced with the refusal of the Pretoria régime to co-operate in implementing the most recent decisions of the Security Council concerning the process which is to lead to independence.

193. By deciding to implement its own independence plan, South Africa has revealed its sinister design to deny the Namibian people the fruit of many years of sacrifice and heroic struggle. In this connexion we should like to recall the reservations expressed by our delegation during the ninth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on the question of Namibia, that the proposal of the five Western countries might not lead to genuine independence, since it allowed for the participation in the electoral process of the South African Administration and army instead of requiring their unconditional withdrawal.¹⁸

194. Today, the facts tend to vindicate us. It is difficult for us to understand how the Security Council has seen fit to recognize any rôle for South Africa in Namibia when an earlier decision had relieved it of its responsibilities towards that Territory.

195. Is it not up to SWAPO, recognized by the United Nations itself as "the sole and authentic representative of

the Namibian people," to organize the elections? We would reply to that question in the affirmative, because we feel that if SWAPO has been able to lead the Namibian people in its struggle, it should also be in a position to do so at the time of reconstruction. It is now up to the five Western Powers to take the initiative required to compel South Africa to respect their proposal. We are convinced that, taking into account the close ties between them and the South African régime, they are in a better position than any other party to induce it to submit to the wishes of the international community.

196. Would not a solution have been found to the Namibian problem if the five Powers had followed the course indicated by the majority of Member States when they called for the adoption of the sanctions that the circumstances require? Now that they seem to be short of expedients, it is to be hoped they will be able to shoulder their responsibility.

197. With respect to Walvis Bay, my Government has often indicated that the independence of Namibia would be but illusory if it were to remain a South African colonial enclave. We thus reaffirm that Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia and most forcefully condemn any attempt to annex that territory.

198. The same applies to Zimbabwe, where the white minority, unable to realize that it has been outdated by a revolutionary context, attempts at all costs to preserve the colonial *status quo*. In a desperate effort it resorts to all types of strategies to maintain and preserve its social, political and economic privileges. The most recent case is the so-called internal settlement, the most harmful consequence of which has been to break the unity so needed by the people of Zimbabwe to undertake the task of building their common homeland.

199. Aware of its own colonial experience, the Republic of Haiti categorically rejects and condemns this so-called internal settlement between Ian Smith and a few disloyal sons of Zimbabwe. Haiti strongly opposes this shameful political compromise aimed at destroying the deepest aspirations of an entire people. In order that a genuine majority Government may be established in that Territory, we recognize and support the Patriotic Front, the legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe and the only party qualified to take power on its behalf. We call for the strengthening of economic sanctions, the violations of which we strongly condemn, violations which have been committed by those who support racism, colonialism and *apartheid*.

200. There is no doubt that one of the most urgent tasks of our Organization is the elimination of the odious system of *apartheid*, which is an affront to all mankind.

201. Aggressive by its very nature, that system endangers peace and security in the entire southern part of the African continent. It is a continuing threat to all neighbouring African countries, whose territorial integrity is violated at will. That system, because of its imperialist and expansionist designs, has always been and remains the main obstacle to a peaceful solution of the problems both of Namibia and of Zimbabwe.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Ninth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, para. 99.

202. Because of this situation, the international community must endeavour to achieve the total and immediate elimination of racism, colonialism and *apartheid* from the African continent, sparing no effort to isolate South Africa and to give its strongest support to the liberation movements.

203. We hope that humanitarian concerns will triumph over petty national interests and make it possible for the Western States which have been strong defenders of the *apartheid* régime to make common cause with the international community in combating the brutal oppression and genocide perpetrated against the black population.

204. Equally critical is the situation of the peoples of Belize, Western Sahara and East Timor. In those three cases the colonial Power has decided to withdraw, thus opening the way for independence.

205. However, contrary to general expectations, difficulties arising from colonization itself have led to certain claims which have obstructed the exercise by the peoples of those Territories of their right to self-determination. We unquestionably deplore such a situation, but at the same time express our hope that in their wisdom the countries concerned, with which we maintain friendly relations, will realize that it would be immoral to redress one injustice by creating another. We are all familiar with the ills of colonialism and with how much harm it has caused to the majority of the peoples represented here. Yet, must we not recognize that we cannot in every case revive doubts about all the injustices and all the abuses to which this party and that have fallen victim during colonial domination? If we were not to realize that we might run the risk of ourselves becoming like the colonial Power. It is always possible to speak of territorial claims. Yet it should never be lost from sight that in those claimed territories there are people which, like all other people, also have a right to self-determination. Since that right is one and indivisible, it is the responsibility of the United Nations to safeguard its implementation in keeping with the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.

206. A focal point of our concern is the Middle East conflict, which for 30 years has defied all solution. My delegation feels that the solution should be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and on the following principles: the non-acquisition of territories by force; the withdrawal by Israel from Arab territories occupied since 1967; respect for the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of all States in the region, including Israel.

207. It goes without saying that any solution of this conflict, in order to be just and viable, must take into account the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to a homeland and their right to live as a sovereign and independent people in the well-being and tranquillity of a reformed homeland.

208. But, as simple and valid as these principles may seem, they have not been implemented because passions continue to be heightened and because dialogue has not replaced confrontation.

209. However, last month the world was given new hope upon hearing that the difficult negotiations at Camp David had led to an improvement in Israeli-Egyptian relations with a promise of the forthcoming signature of a peace treaty between the two antagonists. We should like at this time to congratulate all those who contributed in any capacity towards making possible these results, which certainly will prove to be a decisive turning-point in the search for peace in that part of the world. We hope that, like Egypt and Israel, the other countries concerned will soon make their contributions to a definitive settlement of the conflict.

210. But should not this settlement include also the situation in Lebanon, which despite the praiseworthy efforts of the Secretary-General of our Organization, has not been resolved? Lebanon remains ravaged by war, and every day persons are killed in that war. Lebanon, a peaceful country *par excellence*, has been caught in a whirlwind of violence. We must at least acknowledge that Lebanon has been the victim of a state of affairs which it did not create and which neither United Nations resolutions nor the Arab peace force have managed to eliminate. My delegation expresses its solidarity with the people of Lebanon and hopes that in the near future they will find peace again and that their brothers will be reunited. That will not be possible until all foreign forces have withdrawn from the country and until the forces of the United Nations alone are responsible for the maintenance of peace until the situation is normalized.

211. In the case of Cyprus, we deeply regret that no notable progress has been achieved so far. The Republic of Haiti, always faithful to respect for the principles of independence, sovereignty and the territorial integrity of States, and non-intervention and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, deplores the continued presence of foreign troops on the territory of the Republic of Cyprus. An end must be put to all foreign interference in the internal affairs of that country so that the two communities may without restrictions begin dialogue that will lead to reconciliation and the reconstruction of their homeland.

212. One of the most important items on this session's agenda is that of disarmament. It is of paramount importance for all nations, large or small, and for the very survival of our world. That is why almost the entire international community, aware of the danger to mankind of the arms race, has stated that it is in favour of general and complete disarmament, which alone can guarantee the security of all.

213. When I spoke from this very rostrum during the tenth special session, on disarmament,¹⁹ I had the opportunity to demonstrate how the quantitative increase or perfecting of armaments by a State, far from contributing to that State's security, produces the opposite effect. The reason for that is that the State against which one arms to guarantee security reacts accordingly, and this sets off a chain reaction. We thus become prisoners of a dead-end competition to the detriment of meeting the vital needs of mankind, because the arms race absorbs sizeable human as well as material resources that are diverted from the process

of producing goods and services. What is even more disturbing is that an ever larger number of developing countries have succumbed to this contagion and are participating substantially in it, relegating to second place their plans for economic and social development, plans which could reduce, if not eliminate, the illiteracy, poverty, diseases of all kinds and ignorance from which their populations are suffering.

214. There is no doubt that the progress of science and technology in the field of the production of new weapons, weapons that are more deadly and more destructive, increases the danger of armed confrontation, which in the nuclear age would prove disastrous.

215. Thus it is urgent for us to take all necessary measures at the international level to create conditions conducive to the achievement of the objective to which we all aspire, general and complete disarmament. These measures underlie the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], which my delegation fully supports. We remain firmly convinced that without the strengthening of international security the achievement of general and complete disarmament would be illusory.

216. We are celebrating this year the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This is an opportunity for all to renew our respect for and defence of the basic rights laid down in that Declaration and to co-operate at the regional and international levels to guarantee their promotion.

217. My delegation has noted with satisfaction from the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization that during the past year there was a marked improvement in the efforts at co-operation between Member States to settle certain problems arising from allegations of violation of human rights. It hopes to see that co-operation increase to the benefit of peace and of the progress of peoples.

218. Haiti, which was born of struggles for human rights, wishes to participate in this co-operation. We wish to make our contribution at the international, regional and national levels, and in fact we do so.

219. At the international level we endorse the initiative of the non-aligned and other countries "to elaborate and adopt an integral and comprehensive approach to human rights as a matter of great significance for ensuring the dignity of the individual and for peace, security and international co-operation on the basis of equality" [see A/33/206, annex I, para. 155].

220. We also wish to work closely with the bodies of the United Nations whose responsibility it is to promote and to safeguard these rights. It is in that context that we intend to adhere to the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol.

221. At the regional level, we have ratified the American Convention on Human Rights, and last month we received a visit from the Inter-American Commission of Human Rights, which was to report on progress achieved in this field. The Republic of Haiti also supports the establishment

of an inter-American court of human rights, and in the very near future we shall appoint our candidates for elections to be held for the establishment of that court.

222. At the national level, a vast and carefully prepared programme of promotion of human rights has been established. This programme includes measures of legal reform aimed at a better distribution of justice within the framework of the normalization of all aspects of our national life.

223. This is an irreversible process to which His Excellency Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier has committed his prestige through his statement to the nation of 2 January 1978, in which he said:

"I shall unceasingly proclaim my unshakeable attachment to the principles of democratization and liberalization, which must be allowed to reach the most distant areas of our country in order to engender a true renaissance."

224. However, my Government, to which the development of the human person is the end-all objective of its political activity, considers that this rebirth will be possible only if economic and social rights receive equal attention. That is why the Haitian Government has sought to work out a genuine economic development programme and economic growth expressed not only in terms of *per capita* income but also in terms of an improvement in the standard and quality of life of the people. The development we seek involves over-all growth of the human being, intended to affect every Haitian as part of his national heritage. This is a noble task requiring the mobilization of all the material and human resources in our country. Unfortunately, its success does not depend on our national contribution alone, and our efforts may well fail unless deep-rooted changes in the international economic order are effected.

225. These changes should take the form of a clear improvement in the terms of trade, with trade being made less vulnerable to market conditions. In the first place, we are unduly dependent upon the flow of exports, because any reduction in the rate of demand, either in volume or in value, threatens the entire economic balance of the country. When prices tend to decline or to go up for the commodities we export or to decline to a lesser extent for the commodities we import, the percentage of our imports necessarily drops even if we are able to increase our rate of exports. This is because inflation and the deterioration of export income and a constant deficit in our balance of payments lead to a devaluation of our currency and a limitation of the intake of the products we urgently need.

226. This situation of price instability affects not only our foreign-exchange income but also our customs receipts. Haiti, as a country that produces raw materials, directly feels the harmful effects of economic crises in the economically advanced countries and because of this is unable to finance its development programme at a constant pace and at the same time to meet all its international obligations.

227. That is why we are prepared to support any formula likely to resolve the problem of the external indebtedness of countries such as ours. The foreign exchange now

allocated for the payment of these debts would considerably help towards increasing our rate of imports, towards a better functioning of our public administration and towards the implementation of our development programme.

228. To all these problems we must add the fact that a considerable part of our meagre foreign exchange must be devoted to meeting our energy needs, a situation which also handicaps our development capacity. Because of this, despite the conscientious efforts of my Government and the will of our people to use our basic resources to improve our situation, we are constantly faced with difficulties engendered by the international order.

229. We must now see to what extent the industrialized countries will co-operate with the United Nations to tackle these basic problems, the solution of which is in their hands. It is clear that international action should be directed towards the areas which tend to engulf the economies of the developing countries. Otherwise the attempts of these countries to develop their economies to satisfactory levels will continue to churn in the vicious circle of the present order.

230. Thus, my delegation considers it indispensable that a more just international economic order be established, an order more in keeping with the relations of interdependence which exist between the developed and the developing countries. The industrialized countries should endeavour to make this a reality, despite the difficult international economic situation. An important step in this process would be the concluding of an agreement on commodities and on the indebtedness of the developing countries. Moreover, a programme for the transfer of technology would establish a rational basis for true co-operation.

231. Another area where the industrialized countries should demonstrate a spirit of understanding and co-operation is that of the law of the sea. My Government feels that the time has come for a serious and constructive dialogue which will make it possible for all parties concerned to make the necessary compromises, without which it is impossible for the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to achieve its objectives.

232. We have just outlined the most urgent problems we shall have to face during this session. These problems are not new. Most of them even inspired the establishment of our Organization.

233. The fact that we have not yet achieved the desired success and that mankind continues to be frustrated in its valid aspirations for lack of solutions is simply because our approach to these problems has not been the best. My delegation feels that we have not applied all our imagination and all our skill to building a world in keeping with the dreams of the authors of our Charter.

234. We are convinced that mankind cannot afford a third world war, nor can it afford the confrontations of the 1960s or the uncertainties of the 1970s. The challenge facing us is the eternal question: how can we manage to live in peace? How can we manage to transform this world into

a place of coexistence and genuine co-operation? Is it not time for a new period of reconciliation, a new era, not of psychological or verbal warfare, but one in which mankind as a whole will resolutely tackle the scourges which threaten its very existence? It is self-evident that the United Nations should be the centre for efforts to achieve the realization of that dream and that all nations, large or small, should bring their wisdom, their energy and their devotion to bear in order to bring this about.

235. Our destiny is in our own hands. Let us do all in our power to forge it in the best interests of us all, under the dual sign of peace and universal progress. Let us make this thirty-third session the starting-point for this collective task.

236. Mr. ALLADAYE (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Allow me first of all to convey to you, Sir, the cordial congratulations of the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin on the occasion of your outstanding election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. My country is glad to see you in charge of the work of the Assembly this year. By elevating you to this high office, the Assembly has sought to pay tribute to your eminent self, but at the same time it has paid a tribute to your country, the Republic of Colombia, a country which has always played a dynamic role, not just within the Latin American sphere, but also in the context of the countries of the world which are resolutely committed to the sacred battle for the establishment of the new international economic order. My delegation is convinced that under your wise and far-sighted leadership the work of this session will be crowned with success.

237. Mr. President, you are the successor to one of the most distinguished Presidents of the Assembly, Mr. Lázár Mójsov, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to whom my delegation offers its admiration and esteem for the remarkable way in which he conducted the work of the thirty-second session, and for the unflagging spirit he showed at the eighth, ninth and tenth special sessions of this Assembly. The results achieved by those sessions might not appear to amount to very much, but that in no way detracts from the merits and the qualities of this statesman, who is known for his tact and perspicacity. We would now be congratulating Mr. Mójsov on the positive results achieved during his term of office, were it not for the discreet but extremely effective and praiseworthy assistance he received from our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. My delegation yet again wishes to pay a tribute to the outstanding qualities of the chief officer of this Organization, and his dedication to the cause of the noble ideals of international peace and security. We are convinced that, with him, this Organization will continue to make positive progress towards the realization of the noble objectives which it has set itself, and will do so thanks to the support of each and every one of us.

238. My country, the People's Republic of Benin, warmly welcomes the accession of Solomon Islands to full national sovereignty and its admission to the United Nations. My delegation assures the representatives of this new State of its active solidarity and brotherly co-operation.

239. We find ourselves today meeting once again in this forum to express our hopes for a better future. We are meeting here again to seek through the growing awareness of the peoples of the whole world—and more particularly the awareness of the exploited and oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America—just solutions to the numerous problems confronting mankind at the present time. The decisions that we take here and the challenges with which we will be confronted involve not only the immediate future of the exploited and oppressed peoples of the world, who are refusing to remain eternally passive in their status of outcasts and refusing to be excluded from the march of progress, but also the future of the generations to come and the future of our children, who will have to continue the task of promoting the cause of the human person, the cause of peace and justice, and all the noble ideals which form the very purpose of the existence of this Organization.

240. The problems confronting the international community are numerous and complex. But some of these problems, by their scope and their importance, are co-extensive with certain others and are viewed by our peoples as being of particular relevance. This is true, for example, of the problem of international peace and security.

241. It is without question a platitude to affirm that the peoples of the world want peace, a peace which would make possible their development and the satisfaction of their legitimate aspirations. It is equally banal to say that the peoples of the world desire security. The quest for peace and security has always been in fact at the very core of the concern of the peoples of the world as a whole. The Government of the People's Republic of Benin, faithful to the legitimate aspirations of its people, struggles resolutely and consistently for the establishment of effective peace and security among all the nations of the globe and makes available its militant and unreserved support for all concrete initiatives taken in this sphere by friendly countries. The People's Republic of Benin supports the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, and the first review session in Belgrade, and regards their results as of great importance in the quest for international peace and security. It salutes the countries and organizations which promoted those conferences and congratulates in particular the Soviet Union and the socialist countries for the decisive role which they have played in the success and in the results which have been achieved. Thanks to the efforts of those countries and the forces of progress in the world at large, a measure of détente has come about in relations between socialist and capitalist countries. This is certainly an important contribution to the cause of international peace and security, and a major new factor in international relations.

242. None the less, to be quite truthful my delegation must say that in order to achieve the desired effectiveness and take into account the true problems of the present time, those agreements must be extended to all regions of the world, and their content applied to the whole of the international community.

243. Peace, like security, is a fundamental aspiration common to all the peoples of the world which, both in its conception and its realization, cannot be split up into

sectors. There will be peace and security for all peoples or for none. Here more than in any other area we must show great vigilance to ensure that our laborious efforts to attain an objective so close to the hearts of our peoples will not be surreptitiously and dishonestly used by some for their own purposes, against our peoples and, in the last resort, against international peace and security.

244. We must be quite aware that, even considered in a partial sense, peace today has nothing but friends but some of those who speak most loudly about it do not always have the purest of intentions. Otherwise, how is it possible that, while everyone talks about international peace and security, the yearning of the African peoples for peace and security is being thwarted in the most brutal and, indeed, the most official manner by the diabolical undertakings, the subversive manoeuvres and the repeated and manifold forms of aggression committed by certain Western capitalist Powers, which openly oppose peace and security for the African peoples?

245. How is it possible that, at a time when everyone talks about international peace and security, the leaders of those countries at the very highest level openly make threats of reprisals and of colonial reconquest against the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America which oppose their exploitation and *diktat*, and indeed actually carry out those threats?

246. We very much fear that behind these professions of faith and sweet words the imperialist Power really see in the agreements signed at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe at Helsinki and the limited détente achieved in Europe as nothing more than a long-dreamed-of opportunity for them to free themselves of the European front in order to concentrate all their military, economic and financial might against our defenceless countries.

247. Everyone is aware that the dominant fact of the international situation today is the exacerbation at a critical level of the contradictions between international imperialism, with its record of exploitation, and the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, who have been oppressed and plundered, between the camp of the forces of liberation and progress and the camp of oppression and man's exploitation of man.

248. Throughout the world today, the dominant and irreversible trend of the struggle of the peoples is towards revolution. In Asia, in Latin America and, more particularly, in Africa, the situation is characterized by the struggle of countries and peoples to break the chains of imperialist domination, to put an end once and for all to reactionary social and economic structures inherited from colonialism and neo-colonialism and to take their destiny into their own hands.

249. From being exploited, alienated and mere chattels, the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have now become enlightened and active participants in world history. That is why the liberation movements in the various parts of the world are struggling to snatch their confiscated national independence and sovereignty from the claws of the colonial Powers. That is why the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America are resolutely struggling to snatch their

pilfered natural resources from the grasp of the great capitalist monopolies. That is why the working classes of the capitalist countries are struggling to overthrow the bourgeoisie and to eliminate the unjust system of exploitation practised at their expense. That is why the revolutionary storm is blowing ever stronger each day causing disarray in the imperialist circles of the world.

250. Faced with this irresistible surge of the struggle of the peoples for their liberation and independence, international imperialism, finding itself hard pressed, now aims at our countries certain criminal designs involving armed aggression, the physical elimination of political leaders, the destabilization of progressive régimes in order to recover their lost positions, to gag our peoples and quietly to pursue the plundering of our natural resources.

251. In the People's Republic of Benin, the continuous and impetuous development of our democratic and popular revolution and the brilliant victories won by the militant and hard-working people of Benin on all fronts of the struggle, especially since the proclamation of 30 November 1974 of its choice of scientific socialism as the path of development, has constantly given rise to the fury and rage of international imperialism.

252. Our fundamental objective is the complete and final elimination of the material and ideological bases of imperialism in our country with a view to its liberation from foreign domination and all forms of exploitation, oppression and alienation, in order to construct in the People's Republic of Benin a prosperous and independent national economy and a socialist society in which it will be good for all citizens, both men and women, of Benin to live, relying on their own strength.

253. It is our firm determination to attain these noble objectives, which accounts for all the plots and attacks on the part of reactionary forces, both local and international, plots and attacks which reached their pinnacle with the ignoble imperialist armed aggression of which our country, our people and the revolution were the victims on Sunday, 16 January 1977.

254. Condemning armed imperialist aggression in its resolutions 404 (1977), 405 (1977) and 419 (1977), the Security Council invited the international community to contribute to making good the damages suffered by our country. The Secretary-General's report, which appeared on 29 September in document S/12873²⁰ gives an account of the favourable and positive reactions of the international community with regard to the appeal made at that time by the Security Council.

255. This is a fitting occasion on which to renew our sincere thanks to all the States and international organizations which have been unstinting in their support during these painful events.

256. We are surprised that certain States which without any doubt play a major role on the international political scene and which unequivocally declare their concern for the

maintenance of peace and security throughout the world did not feel any obligation to contribute towards compensating the People's Republic of Benin for the damages it suffered, although they recognized and condemned that ignominious and criminal act against a sovereign State as a flagrant violation of the sovereignty of an independent country and a grave threat to international peace and security. At any rate, taking into account the gravity of this iniquitous act and the danger which it represents for the independent African countries, the African Heads of State and Government at the fifteenth ordinary session of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] roundly condemned the armed imperialist aggression committed against my country, as well as those who had planned, organized, financed and carried it out.

257. The people of Benin is not suffering from "aggressionitis". No, far from it; the people of Benin is not obsessed with the fear of aggression.

258. The question of imperialist aggression and policies of war and colonial reconquest is not something peculiar to my country. It concerns all the progressive countries wishing to affirm their sovereignty and national independence.

259. Imperialist aggression and the implementation of policies of war and colonial reconquest today constitute a real danger to international peace and security.

260. If it wishes to remain consistent with its own declarations, the international community is not entitled to remain indifferent to this important problem.

261. International imperialism in its essence and objectives has remained true to form. It is not prepared to yield on any of the countless interests which it has dishonestly arrogated to itself at the expense of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. It obstinately insists on maintaining its domination over the world and continuing with the shameless plunder of our wealth, and any desire for genuine independence immediately brings intervention on its part. Thus numerous threats of aggression still hover over our countries, which only aspire to peace and security so that the pressing objectives of their economic and social development can be attained. My country, the People's Republic of Benin, is one of those countries.

262. In the implementation of the policy of war and colonial reconquest of international imperialism, certain African Heads of State are playing a role which is particularly harmful and prejudicial to peace and security in Africa. There is one among them who is personally most hostile to the peace and security of the people of Benin.

263. Indeed, when at Khartoum, in the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, the Heads of State of the OAU adopted a resolution vigorously condemning the armed imperialist aggression which had been cynically perpetrated against my country, the People's Republic of Benin, as well as those who had planned, organized, financed and carried it out; when at Khartoum the Heads of State of the OAU resolutely condemned all threats of imperialist aggression which weigh so dangerously on the sister Republic of Sao Tome and Principe; when at Khartoum the Council of

²⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*.

Ministers of the OAU took the historic decision to expel from the Assembly the representatives of Bob Denard—this adventure-seeking mercenary well known in Africa and the world, this international outlaw who in a still recent past was the sole and genuine master of the Comoros—when at the Assembly of the Heads of State of the OAU at Khartoum the question of the base, cowardly and barbaric armed aggression of colonial reconquest against my country, the People's Republic of Benin, was discussed and firmly condemned, international imperialism, with the culpable complicity of that puppet African Head of State, decided to launch a new criminal assault in its senseless dream to destabilize at all costs our revolutionary régime and put an end to the revolution of the people of Benin. Thus, after the crushing defeat of the vile aggressors on 16 January 1977, a particularly bloody and murderous man-hunt was unleashed on 21 July 1978 against my compatriots, throughout the country and on the express order of this African Head of State.

264. This African Head of State has thereby incurred grave historical responsibility by violating more than once the fundamental principles of human rights so dear to all of us, principles which are contained in the Charters of the OAU and the United Nations.

265. That is why, on behalf of the peaceful industrious and militant people of Benin as a whole and its democratic popular revolution, we appeal in this Assembly to all States Members of the United Nations and all the peoples of the world which desire peace, justice, dignity and social progress to bear witness to our words.

266. The OAU and the United Nations, as well as history, have recognized and recorded the sole responsibility of that African Head of State for these criminal and inhumane acts of plunder and the systematic looting of property, rapes, murders, humiliations and extortions of all sorts against thousands of men, women and children of Benin who were living in peace and working together with the people of that brother country and who were torn away from their work and gagged, pushed along and led away like cattle and left in concentration camps without food or care in abominable hygienic conditions and at the mercy of the weather. What is more, it was in those conditions that on 5 August 1978, upon the personal instructions of that African Head of State, his country's soldiers opened fire in cold blood on a crowd of innocent victims, again causing several dead and wounded.

267. The criminal decision on the expulsion of Benin citizens taken by that puppet African Head of State and his imperialist masters fits nicely into their policy of aggression and destabilization of the régimes of progressive countries of our great and beautiful African continent.

268. However, in the face of the increasingly aggressive behaviour of its enemies from within and outside, the people of Benin have closed ranks so as to move more resolutely towards socialist development.

269. My country, the People's Republic of Benin, can but renew here before this Assembly the expression of its satisfaction at the historic decision of the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-first session at Khartoum

to expel from the Conference the representatives of Bob Denard, that well-known French mercenary and adventurer.

270. No one today has any doubt that Bob Denard, this knave well known to the peoples of Zaire, Nigeria, the Sudan and Angola, was the infamous Colonel Bourgeaud of Cotonou. This professional perpetrator of mass crimes has now been reported as having left Moroni for an unknown destination, after having, of course, completed his crime. Towards what country and towards the murder of which African or other people are the dark forces which manipulate this dangerous adventurer soon to be steering him? And what kind of international peace and security will result?

271. All of these facts eloquently prove that the imperialist policy of colonial reconquest is not mere empty words. International imperialism shrinks from nothing in its attempt once again to endanger the independence of numerous African States and the most effective and least compromising way for them to achieve their diabolical aims is the use of mercenaries. The peoples of the world must courageously denounce those Powers which come here and talk profusely of international peace and security, the need to leave Africa to the Africans, of non-interference in the affairs of independent African States, but at the same time step up their policy of aggression and brute force in Africa.

272. The people of Benin, its Government and progressive party, the Party of the Popular Revolution of Benin, headed by our distinguished militant comrade, President Kerekou, have clearly understood all these fine honeyed words of imperialism which is so arrogant in its exploitation and oppression. The Benin people, its Government and party have understood now that international imperialism will continue with repeated plots and acts of aggression against our national democratic and popular revolution and it will not resign itself to the crushing defeat which it suffered in our country on 16 January 1977. The Benin people, its Government and party, have perfectly well understood that, in order to thwart the subversive designs of international imperialism and to free itself completely from foreign rule, the continuous strengthening of the unity and solidarity of the peoples of the world who cherish peace and liberty is indispensable. This is why, on the initiative of our progressive party, the Party of the Popular Revolution of Benin, a week of solidarity with the peoples and countries which are struggling for their national liberation and the International Conference on Mercenaries were organized at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978 to celebrate the first anniversary of 16 January 1977, on which date our people crushed the imperialist aggression against it.

273. Forty or so delegations representing democratic countries, parties and organizations took an active part in these events. The delegations worked without interruption in an atmosphere of cordial friendship and drafted a number of important documents including the Declaration of Cotonou²¹ and a general declaration on the use of mercenaries.²² These documents are a positive contribution

²¹ *Ibid.*, Supplement for January, February and March 1978, document S/12557.

²² *Ibid.*

to the problem of the maintenance of international peace and security and as such they have been published as official documents of the Security Council.

274. The peoples of the world that are the victims of humiliation, harassment and aggression by international imperialism, those peoples whose national resources have been systematically looted by capitalist monopolies, must abide strictly by the spirit of Cotonou. They must unite and organize themselves increasingly over a broad front in order to oppose imperialism's policy of war and intervention and must by deeds require imperialism not only to recognize the rights of peoples to self-determination and to the choice of the economic and social system they prefer, but also to abolish the use of mercenaries in the world, in other words to respect international peace and security.

275. Total decolonization of the territories still under colonial rule is also an essential prerequisite for the preservation of international peace and security. The imperialist Powers which pursue their policy of war, aggression and provocation are quite well aware of this, so much so that they spare no effort to prevent the real decolonization of countries still under colonial rule.

276. That is why those imperialist Powers give massive financial, economic, political and military support to the minority colonialist, racist and Fascist régimes of southern Africa with a view to keeping under their control the immense wealth of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

277. These territories under colonial and foreign rule are the main bridge-head of international imperialism in Africa today. Their total liberation and the ending of the oppression and exploitation suffered by the African populations of southern Africa is a matter of grave concern for the imperialist Powers, which still cling to their selfish and dishonest interests. Everything, including armed violence, has been set in motion in order to thwart the legitimate aspirations of the people of these territories to independence, sovereignty, peace and security in the land of their forefathers. The decolonization of Namibia and Zimbabwe are thus two matters of very special concern to imperialism and for a very good reason. The strategy of the imperialist Powers, confronted as they are with the inevitability of the liberation and independence of these Territories is now to use every stratagem to put in their own puppets and set up fake neo-colonial régimes wholly dedicated to the defence of imperialist interests. This is the aim of the numerous plans for so-called "peaceful negotiation" being rigged up here and there today in connexion with Namibia and Rhodesia and which, to the accompaniment of great diplomatic proclamations, are being forced down the throat of the international community.

278. Namibia, a Territory adjacent to the racist bastion of oppression and exploitation, South Africa, is the subject of a plan for a settlement of this sort.

279. My delegation wishes to reaffirm that the famous so-called Western plan for the settlement of the Namibian question²³ would never have seen the light of day at all had

it not been for the long armed struggle of the Namibian people under the far-sighted leadership of its revolutionary vanguard, SWAPO, and without the concessions and serious compromises made by the leaders of SWAPO.

280. We therefore wish to express our concern at the results to be expected from the present set-up which is designed solely to encourage an alleged internal solution where everything is being done to facilitate the task of the Pretoria régime, which has already rigged the electoral rolls so as to permit the placing in office of a bogus régime which would set up a nice *cordon sanitaire*, as it were, for the racist bastion of southern Africa. The Namibian people, in our opinion, must recover their full independence and enjoy the integrity of their territory, including Walvis Bay.

281. In Southern Rhodesia the masquerade of the imperialist Powers who support the régime of the devious Mr. Smith has now reached its peak, all the attempts to break the united activity of the Patriotic Front and the front-line countries, for the benefit of the internal settlement, having literally failed.

282. Ever since the so-called rebellion of that British colony, despite all the assurances we were given here, the Western Powers—and particularly the United Kingdom, the administering Power—have done nothing but openly violate the mandatory sanctions imposed by our Organization on the illegal Smith régime.

283. The recent scandal of the breach of the sanctions discovered in the United Kingdom is one more proof of the immoral nature of Western policies in southern Africa.

284. The People's Republic of Benin will continue to support the policy defined and defended by the Patriotic Front for the total liberation of Zimbabwe. The internal settlement concluded on 3 March 1978 is entirely bogus. It is a gross attempt to fool everyone. We condemn and oppose it because it is designed not, as some would have us believe, to create an independent Zimbabwe, but simply to set up a neo-colonial régime dedicated to international imperialism.

285. The People's Republic of Benin appeals to all peoples that cherish peace and justice to give diplomatic and material aid to the Patriotic Front in the armed struggle that must lead to the total independence of Zimbabwe.

286. In Western Sahara international imperialism gives financial and economic support, and support in the form of the most sophisticated military equipment, to the Moroccan annexationists and expansionists, with their insane dream of preventing the Saharan people by all means, including genocide, from exercising their legitimate right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty.

287. Yet the Frente POLISARIO,²⁴ in deciding on a unilateral cease-fire on the Mauritanian front after the recent political changes in that country, a decision confirmed by the recent Congress of the Frente POLISARIO, has proved to the world that its people want only to have

²³ Ibid., Supplement for April, May and June 1978, document S/12636.

²⁴ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro.

peace and to live in complete harmony with all the peoples of the region.

288. The People's Republic of Benin reaffirms its complete support for the just cause of the Saharan people, and supports the resolutions of the Third Congress of the Frente POLISARIO calling for the total liberation of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic from the claws of international imperialism and its Moroccan puppets.

289. The Middle East is also a region in which, in order to endanger peace and security there, imperialism is doing its best to spread disorder and terror.

290. The People's Republic of Benin unequivocally reaffirms the right of the Palestinian people to life, independence and national sovereignty. The twin policy of the imperialist Powers, to stifle and eliminate Palestinian resistance, makes it necessary for this Organization to remain vigilant in order to thwart all the Machiavellian delaying tactics and the attempts at division cynically carried out by imperialism so that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East will not take place with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO].

291. My delegation reaffirms that the Palestinian problem is the very core of the question of the Middle East, and that no just and lasting solution can be found unless this painful problem is settled with the effective participation of the PLO.

292. Recently a great deal of ink and a great deal of hot air have been expended on the subject of human rights. Human rights are the right to life, freedom, work, well-being and dignity. It is paradoxical that it is precisely those who would pass themselves off as the champions and most ardent defenders of those rights that are the first to deny them to others.

293. What countries give economic, military and political support to the Fascist régimes of Latin America, the racist régimes of Africa and the puppet régimes of Asia?

294. How can one talk of human rights and at the same time ally oneself with Pinochet, Vorster, and Park Chung Hee?

295. How can one talk of human rights and permit on one's own soil the recruitment, training and financing of mercenaries, these specialists in mass crimes?

296. How can one talk of human rights and refuse to the peoples the right to self-determination?

297. How can one talk of human rights and stubbornly oppose the principle of the sovereignty of States over their natural resources?

298. How can one talk of human rights and firmly support the odious system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination?

299. To establish the rights to life, freedom, dignity, work and human well-being, it is necessary to put an end to the odious system of the exploitation of man by man.

300. Young people and students from all over the world, who represent mankind's future, have well understood this question. That is why at the Eleventh Festival of Youth and Students held in Havana, in the free land of Cuba, in July this year, they accused and rightly condemned imperialism as being responsible for all the evils afflicting mankind. That is why they rightly proclaimed that the struggle for a new international economic order was an integral part of the anti-imperialist struggle, of the struggle for independence and national sovereignty.

301. The forces of exploitation and domination are today becoming increasingly aware of the danger of destruction hanging over them in the shape of the struggles for liberation of the peoples. That is why they are increasing their brutality and violence, allying themselves with reactionary forces in all countries, maintaining military bases and recruiting mercenaries. That is why the oppressed countries and peoples must resolve the contradictions that must inevitably arise between them and unite in the common struggle against the common enemy.

302. The forces of exploitation and oppression are allying themselves in all spheres with the forces of reaction throughout the world. The forces of progress, democracy and the well-being of the people must also unite and help each other, giving each other mutual support.

303. That is why we wish to declare aloud our militant gratitude to all the friendly countries whose internationalist aid constitutes a powerful factor in the development and consolidation of the national liberation struggle.

304. For the triumph of real peace and security for all the peoples of the world, my country, the People's Republic of Benin, firmly and resolutely supports the just struggle of the Korean people for the independence and peaceful reunification of their country. The puppet clique of Park Chung Hee must put an end to its policy of fascism and terror in the South of the country and stop its acts of provocation against the North. Foreign troops and arms must be completely removed.

305. The People's Republic of Benin firmly and resolutely supports the just struggle of the heroic peoples of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos for the strengthening of their sovereignty and their national reconstruction.

306. The People's Republic of Benin firmly and resolutely supports the courageous struggle for national independence and sovereignty waged by the peoples of East Timor, the South Moluccas and Belize.

307. The People's Republic of Benin firmly and resolutely supports the revolutionary national liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

308. The People's Republic of Benin firmly and resolutely supports the revolutionary struggle waged by the peoples of the Front-line countries in southern Africa—Angola, Mozambique, Botswana, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zambia.

309. The People's Republic of Benin firmly and resolutely supports the struggle of the peoples of Latin America against fascism and terror.

310. Some 30 years ago the nations of the world, having seen the horrible, spectacular destruction of the Second World War, decided to create the United Nations as a centre for the permanent search for harmony, for the cause of peace and international security and the development of man.

311. Since then, however, many of the countries which at the time were most enthusiastic about the establishment of the United Nations and seemed most interested in its noble objectives, appear to have forgotten even the meaning of gratuitous armed violence, humiliation and misery unjustly inflicted on a people. They appear to have forgotten even the meaning of justice, liberty and the dignity of man. Impelled by their sordid designs and pursuing their petty mercantile interests and dreams of power, they have today become the champions of the repression of peoples who seek peace and freedom. They have become the champions of oppression and the robbing of the hard-working masses and inflexible and merciless executioners arrogantly inflicting on defenceless peoples precisely those things which the world had fought from 1939 to 1945 to spare itself. We are profoundly dedicated to international peace and security and we are convinced that the shortest way to achieve it is not by war but by the simple restoration of justice for the benefit of the legion of the oppressed.

312. All the States represented in this Assembly, particularly those which still aspire to control and exploit others, must at last realize the meaning of true international peace and security and act accordingly to establish it. Those Powers which talk so much about peace and security in their own countries must put an end to their policies of war and plunder in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

313. The militant, hard-working people of Benin, who seek to build in their own country an independent, prosperous national economy and construct a socialist society, are ready to work in harmony with all the nations of the world for the triumph of the noble ideals of this Organization: peace, security and justice. They are ripe for the revolution. The struggle continues.

314. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the PLO wishes to speak in order to respond to a statement made yesterday morning. On the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, and in accordance with the precedent established at the 29th plenary meeting of the thirty-second session, I shall now call upon him.

315. The representative of the United States of America wishes to speak on a point of order.

316. Mr. PETREE (United States of America): The views of my delegation on the propriety of giving the floor to non-Member delegations to reply to statements made during the general debate are well known. We do not believe that the interests of the Organization are served by such a practice. Further, we regret that the ruling by the President of the thirty-first session of the General As-

sembly, which served the Organization well for two years, has not been applied with the rigour and understanding that would have best served the interests of the Organization.

317. We consequently record our strong reservations as to the propriety of affording the PLO an opportunity to reply to a statement that never mentioned it.

318. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 71 of the rules of procedure, the President of the General Assembly must immediately decide on a point of order raised by a representative.

319. Mr. FALL (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Forgive me, Mr. President, but I do not feel it is necessary to put anything to a vote. The representative of the United States of America has expressed reservations. That is his delegation's right. But those reservations should not demand any vote or any decision by the Assembly. The reservations are the reservations of the United States. If any other delegation wishes to express reservations, it has the right to do so, but the Assembly should base itself on precedents set, and the representative of the PLO should be allowed to speak.

320. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with rule 71 of the rules of procedure, the President of the General Assembly must immediately decide on a point of order raised by a representative.

321. The representative of the United States did not, in his statement, appeal against the decision of the President. Accordingly, I shall adhere to my intention to call upon the representative of the PLO.

322. The remarks of the representative of the United States will, of course, appear in the records of this plenary meeting.

323. I now call on the representative of the PLO.

324. Mr. EL-DAJANI (Palestine Liberation Organization) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Since this is the first time that my delegation has addressed the General Assembly I should like, on behalf of the PLO, the legitimate representative of the people of Palestine, to express to you, Sir, our congratulations on your election as President of this session.

325. I should like also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for all his efforts and express the faith we have in international solidarity. I shall now read in English my reply to the Israeli statement [26th meeting].

[The speaker continued in English.]

326. Liberation, independence and self-determination define the age we live in. They are the ideals that move men and women, and they have inspired the principles upon which this Assembly deliberates and acts. For those of us emerging from a colonial past, these principles are realities that give our history sense and purpose. As the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian Arab people, the PLO speaks for these principles as principles that apply rightly to the people of Palestine.

327. And yet, yesterday's speech by the Israeli Foreign Minister, a spokesman for a racist, Zionist movement, made no mention whatever of the very people acknowledged by the world to be the crux of the so-called Middle East conflict. This was a remarkable omission, and it should not pass unnoticed. Having constructed a State upon the ruins of Arab Palestine, having militarily occupied thousands more acres of Palestinian territory since 1967, having waged unceasing war upon our people, destroyed their homes, persecuted them and negated their political life on their own territory, he completed that process yesterday by not even verbally acknowledging the existence of the people of Palestine and by announcing the annexation of Jerusalem and by referring to what was left of Palestine as the heart of his homeland. We submit that not only does this rudely insult reality, it aggressively challenges the world body itself.

328. In this context, then, it would seem to be an impertinence also to speak of peace or a peace process. The results of the Camp David meetings, it is claimed, are to bring peace to our area and a solution to the problem of the Palestinian people. Is it not unusual that our voice, the voice of the Palestinian people, should not have been heard in those deliberations? Of what other people can it be said that not only is their self-determination denied them, but their inalienable right to speak of and for themselves is usurped by others?

329. We have been resolute in our yearning for peace. There are numerous United Nations resolutions, overwhelmingly supported by the world community, reaffirming our right to self-determination, to repatriation, to the end of the occupation of our lands. We have wholeheartedly supported these resolutions, of course, but we have gone further, when our National Council decided to establish an independent sovereign State on any part of liberated Palestine. We have said that the end of military occupation and illegal settlements would ensure our acceptance of peace. And still, despite all this—paid for in the daily suffering of our people, in exile, under occupation, subject to Israeli State terrorism and racial discrimination—we are told in the terms of the Camp David agreements²⁵ that not only would there be no end to military occupation, but that our very identity as Palestinians would be reduced to the status of mere "Arab inhabitants". Instead of a sovereign State, we are offered something between a bantustan and an Indian reservation.

330. Moreover, we cannot accept that Arab Jerusalem, an integral part of our national existence for centuries, should fall victim to a policy of narrow exclusivism and immoral annexation. The Palestinian vision of Jerusalem is of a city sacred to the three great monotheistic religions, but a captive to no one of them. We seek its restoration to our sovereignty and to the benefit of world ecumenism.

331. Here we must also mention that, by insisting on Jewish emigration from the Soviet Union, the Israeli Foreign Minister, while he speaks in his own way about

human rights, forgets a number of things. He forgets that his Government deports thousands of Palestinians. He forgets, too, that he wants to admit into Palestine Russian citizens with no actual connexion with Palestine at the expense of people who were forcibly made to leave there only a few years ago. He forgets, too, that he cannot simply override United Nations resolutions guaranteeing the right of Palestinians to return to their homes.

332. But, above all, we wish to state that the Palestinian Arab people is one people, and is one in fighting the indignities and humiliations heaped upon it. We will struggle until our inalienable rights are achieved. We are determined on this course because, until our place in the peace process is fully respected, peace cannot and will not be possible. Our positions are based on every universal human right as spelled out in the Charter, as well as in the principles stated by prophets, seers, and statesmen.

333. Yet there is great talk in the United States of new hopes for peace generated by the Camp David agreements. The Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Vance, has expressed the hope that the Palestinian people would seize this historic opportunity. If we cannot share in these hopes, it is because the United States has not sought our views and still does not recognize our right to speak for ourselves through our own representatives—a fact that has been clearly noted in almost all the statements made in this forum, including those made by the West European countries. The Camp David agreements commit the 2 million Palestinians who do not live on the West Bank and Gaza to perpetual exile. They divide Arab from Arab, people from people. The Camp David meetings have reignited strife and violence in Lebanon. They have torn justice away from peace and by so doing threaten the very possibility of peace—any kind of peace—at all. We cannot but reject all of this about Camp David and we reaffirm here and now that no one can speak on behalf of the Palestinian people but their sole and legitimate representative, namely, the PLO. Therefore, we call again upon all peace-loving nations to adhere to the principles and resolutions adopted by this Assembly, which would serve as a fair basis for the achievement of a comprehensive peace.

334. The PLO, encouraged by the unwavering support of the Arabs, the non-aligned countries, members of the Islamic Conference and the socialist countries, is determined to maintain its militant struggles—political, diplomatic and armed—until it attains and exercises its inalienable rights.

335. There is no peace without the Palestinians, represented by the PLO.

[The speaker continued in Arabic (interpretation from Arabic).]

336. Let all our efforts be concerted to free each colonial country and to achieve peace based on justice in the land of peace. Despite all the difficulties that we encounter, we must remain hopeful of the future, for liberation is the spirit of our age and that no racist imperialist movement can succeed by running counter to history.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

²⁵ 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.