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President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This morning we shall begin the general debate. Before I call on the first speaker, I should like to request members to bear in mind the decisions taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, on 22 September 1978, regarding the procedure concerning the general debate, particularly in connexion with the list of speakers, the expression of congratulations after a speech has been delivered, and the exercise of the right of reply.

2. To be more precise, I should like to invite your attention to the recommendation of the Assembly's General Committee contained in paragraph 5 (c) of its first report [A/33/250], which was approved by the General Assembly and which reads as follows:

"Out of consideration for the other speakers and in order to preserve the dignity of the general debate, delegations should refrain from expressing their congratulations in the General Assembly hall after a speech has been delivered."

I request most respectfully the co-operation of representatives in securing compliance with that decision.

3. To facilitate the planning of work the Assembly has decided to close the list of speakers in the general debate on Wednesday, 27 September, at 6 p.m. Representatives wishing to participate in the general debate should therefore give their names to the Secretariat before 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 27 September.

4. I likewise urge delegations to be good enough to provide estimated speaking times as exactly as possible so that we can properly apportion our morning and afternoon work.

5. As President of the Assembly I should like also to appeal to delegations to do all in their power to ensure the presence of their representatives in the hall at the time set

for the opening of each meeting so that the requirement concerning a quorum may be met. I wish to thank delegations in advance for their co-operation.

6. Mr. AZEREDO DA SILVEIRA (Brazil):¹ As I understand it, this year all the Portuguese-speaking countries will speak in their national tongue, which is what I shall be doing myself.

7. Mr. President, the tradition which offers Brazil the privilege of opening the general debate at the United Nations General Assembly gives me this year the very special pleasure of being the first among the speakers to compliment you on your election by acclamation to the presidency of this thirty-third session of the Assembly. Without stressing the strong and traditional ties that bind our two countries, neighbours and sisters, it is for me a source of particular personal satisfaction to see the labours of this main political body of the United Nations entrusted to the skilful and experienced guidance of my Colombian colleague and friend, Indalecio Liévano Aguirre.

8. Nor can I fail to express to Mr. Mojsov our appreciation of the manner in which he accomplished in this past year the task of presiding over the General Assembly during its thirty-second regular session and the unprecedented total of three special sessions.

9. Thirty-three years after the creation of this world Organization we have arrived, as a result of the process of decolonization promoted and accelerated by the United Nations itself, at a membership of 150 States. Solomon Islands now joins the community of nations with full rights, and we bid them welcome.

10. The tradition to which I referred in my opening words gives Brazil not only the privilege but, above all, the responsibility, which falls upon me, of opening this debate, the only one to be held every year at a high political level among the representatives of the international community as a whole, without distinction between the powerful and the weak or the rich and the poor.

11. This is the fifth time I have addressed the General Assembly as the Minister for External Relations of my country. When I spoke in this forum precisely four years ago² as the Foreign Minister of President Ernesto Geisel's Administration, whose work was then beginning, I pointed out that we wished our language in the international field to be plain and straightforward, that we desired frank and

¹ Mr. Azeredo da Silveira spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2238th meeting.

uninhibited communication among the States Members of the United Nations and that we would explore all roads to understanding, for we held the fundamental belief that co-operation is more effective than antagonism and that mutual respect is more creative than the ambition of preponderance. I stressed, further, that we were ready, wherever Brazilian national interest might move us, to look for areas of convergence and zones of coincidence with the interests of other peoples, acting always in pursuance of objectives that were clearly identified and accepted by the Brazilian people.

12. That, in brief, has been the guideline followed by Brazil during these years in its external relations, both bilaterally and multilaterally. And the balance, I believe, is positive. We have greatly increased the areas of co-operation and understanding with our neighbours of the Latin American region, with our overseas neighbours, the sister republics of Africa, and with the other countries of the world. Traditional friendships have been strengthened and new and mutually beneficial friendships have been developed. Zealous for our sovereignty and independence, we have reaffirmed whenever necessary by word and deed our unshakeable adherence to the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, mutual respect and self-determination. And we have lived in peace, always trying to solve with serenity our differences of opinion with, or eventual divergencies, from other nations.

13. We have sought, as far as possible, to break obsolete patterns of international relations and to replace them with more equitable and more balanced arrangements. This has enabled us to open up new diplomatic horizons. And we have thus revealed the true international profile of Brazil, ever sensitive to changes in the world reality.

14. Thus, a solid base has been created on which Brazil can stand in the coming years, a country firmly devoted to the task of promoting its ideals of peace, justice and development in harmony with the other nations of the earth.

15. In that same speech of September 1974, I underlined certain grave problems afflicting the international community which were included in the General Assembly's agenda and which, directly or indirectly, also affected and continue to affect the country I represent. In some of those cases the balance of these last four years has been positive, although still unsatisfactory. In others it was clearly negative.

16. To mention only one of those problems, I then referred, first of all, to the general theme of decolonization and to the inhuman policy of *apartheid*. The past years have brought great rejoicing to Brazil with the independence and admission to the United Nations of all former Portuguese territories in Africa. But our attention is still turned to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, who still seek their self-determination and independence, not to mention other peoples, in other parts of the world, who still remain under the yoke of foreign domination. We anxiously await the occasion, which we hope will come very soon, to welcome to the United Nations the nation of Namibia, free and sovereign at last, with its territorial integrity fully preserved. But our cautious satisfaction with

the apparent progress of that African country towards independence—the object, this year, of the historic ninth special session of the Assembly—is not enough to counter-balance the continued frustration of the expectations of the international community in relation to the self-determination of the people of Zimbabwe and the abolition of the *apartheid* régime.

17. Nor can we be reassured by the relatively unstable peace which prevails over a great part of the world when we observe the persistence of explosive situations and, in some cases, their rapid deterioration. In a world of solidarity and interdependence, there is no peace while there remain focuses of tension, of injustice and of conflict, even when localized.

18. In this sense, the extremely volatile situation in the Middle East gives all of us reason for the most profound concern. The continual resurgence in that region of the mistrust and hostility that have so often marked its turbulent history and, in particular, the tragic events in Lebanon, which caused the convening of the eighth special session of the General Assembly this year—all contribute to create a climate of disquiet and discouragement.

19. The recent negotiations at Camp David are a new element in the search for peace in the region of the Middle East. We await with interest new stages in the process that is now under way, and we are attentively observing the degree of acceptance it is being accorded by the other parties more directly involved in the question, while cherishing the hope that it will be possible to arrive at just and lasting solutions compatible with the principle of the non-acquisition of territory by force, with the principle of the recognition of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, and with the right of all parties to the conflict to survival and self-determination.

20. I cannot avoid making special mention of a problem which increasingly endangers the very existence of mankind. I refer, obviously, to the arms race and, in particular, to the nuclear arms race.

21. The situation today demands decisive action on the part of the international community, which has complacently and for many years contemplated the uncontrolled accumulation, by a few States, of arms of mass destruction and the terrifying and permanent refinement, by those same States, of instruments capable of annihilating human life on earth. The threat to us, to each of us in this room, and to each one of the 150 countries we represent, lies not only in the danger that those weapons may one day be used, but also in the very existence of that weaponry.

22. The spirit of frankness which should inspire this general debate leads me to say that, in this sense, the results of the first special session devoted to disarmament—the tenth special session—which was held in May and June of this year, were disappointing. Although we were conscious of the limitations which would inevitably follow from the realities of power, we nurtured the hope that the special session would be a first step, albeit a modest one, towards the solution of priority problems relating to nuclear weapons.

23. Aware of the need to ensure the co-operation of all States, particularly of the nuclear Powers, we all agree that the appropriate method of work was to seek solutions by consensus. Nevertheless, we witnessed the blockage even of successively diluted versions of texts that addressed themselves effectively to disarmament. Entire sections dealing with the really urgent problems relating to nuclear weapons were completely suppressed or made ambiguous. The Final Document of the special session [resolution S-10/2] contains serious omissions and confers disproportionate importance upon issues of secondary urgency in the general field of disarmament.

24. Since it was not possible to achieve significant progress on the substantive issues of greater priority and urgency during the special session, it is symptomatic that the main practical results of the Assembly on disarmament lie precisely in the procedural area of machinery for future negotiations and deliberations. Willing to continue contributing, in good faith, to all constructive efforts in that area, we supported the decisions on the new negotiating body and on the new Committee on Disarmament. Within the limits of its possibilities, Brazil will exert every effort to help those bodies to achieve the results urgently required in the field of disarmament, particularly in the field of nuclear disarmament.

25. The obstacles that certain developed countries try to raise against the acquisition by the remaining States of technologies indispensable to development, including nuclear technology for peaceful purposes, are only one area in which some highly industrialized countries, aware of the growing political and economic importance of technology in a world of more and more limited natural resources, systematically try to hinder, restrict or block the access of developing countries to the means which are needed for the promotion of the welfare of their peoples. The situation, which tends only to become more grave, is a source of concern, especially as it fits into the increasingly bleak picture of North-South economic relations, marked in practically all its aspects by a worsening of trends, such as protectionism contrary to the establishment of a more just and equitable international economy.

26. It is to be regretted, in this context, that the lack of political will on the part of a large number of our developed partners continues to block the progress of constructive negotiations. Two weeks ago, the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea held its last meeting in these halls. Nothing would give me more pleasure than to be able to affirm that that session, the latest in a long series, arrived at positive results. Unfortunately such was not the case. During that part of the session which took place in Geneva we had noted some progress on important issues, but the continuation of the work in New York seems to have provoked setbacks and withdrawals, a fact which does not allow us to declare ourselves even modestly satisfied with what was achieved.

27. The prospect of having national legislation on matters under negotiation adopted unilaterally, in direct opposition to resolution 2749 (XXV), which was accepted without dissenting voices, did not contribute to better results. We cannot yet evaluate precisely just how far the consequences of such actions will go, but it is not possible to view them without deep concern. It is worth remembering that the Conference on the Law of the Sea is, in the judgement of many, the most important negotiation since the San Francisco Conference, at which our Charter was established and our Organization was created.

28. Another glaring recent example of this situation was the suspension some days ago of the work of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, known as the Committee of the Whole, a body which, in principle, should have decisive influence on the progress of specific negotiations within the framework of the North-South dialogue.

29. Brazil will always continue to be pledged to the promotion and improvement of international co-operation, but it sees with disenchantment the gradual fading of the hopeful picture that had been sketched as a result of the seventh special session of the General Assembly. This thirty-third session will, consequently, be of crucial importance in determining the direction which the North-South dialogue will take.

30. It is in the light of these facts that we attribute special importance to the development of machinery aimed at filling the gaps in North-South co-operation. With this aim in mind Brazil has put forward and supported efforts to promote, enlarge and intensify horizontal and equitable co-operation among the countries which strive for development. The United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, which took place recently in Buenos Aires, was an important landmark for multilateral efforts in this field.

31. The United Nations is the only universal body with the duty of maintaining international peace and security and simultaneously promoting co-operation for the social and economic development of all peoples. It is an imperfect system, much in need of reform. But, above all, it is a system imperfectly utilized.

32. The Charter of the Organization itself establishes, as the first of its basic principles, that of sovereign equality among all States. But that provision, which should be the foundation of universal co-operation for the solution of the great problems of today's world, is undermined every moment. We do not deny that certain States are immensely more prosperous and more powerful than others. What we cannot continue to accept is that a few States seek to resolve the political and economic destinies of the world, with the United Nations kept on the margin and without regard for the interests of the great majority of its Members. To these latter, participation in the process of making decisions which directly or indirectly will affect their fates can no longer be denied.

33. Mr. FRYDENLUND (Norway): Mr. President, first I should like to congratulate you on your election to your high office. I can assure you of the all-out support of my delegation in your efforts to lead this session of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion.

34. I should like also to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the one hundred and fiftieth State Member of the United Nations, Solomon Islands, to which I extend my congratulations.

35. Major international developments took place on the eve of this General Assembly affecting two of the most dangerous conflict areas in the world: the Middle East and southern Africa. The impact of those events will be a major theme in the present general debate.

36. In this context it is also relevant to discuss the various aspects of the United Nations peace-keeping activities.

37. We are at present confronted with a grave crisis in the world economy. Future prospects have become more uncertain. Within the United Nations this serious situation has a negative impact on the North-South dialogue, in which progress is lacking.

38. The achievements and short-comings of the United Nations are bound to come up for scrutiny at each session of the General Assembly. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/33/1] offers most valuable comments and suggestions on this subject. Particularly, I have in mind the Secretary-General's comments on the role of the United Nations: what the Organization can and ought to do. Rhetoric may create expectations of immediate over-all solutions to intractable issues, but progress is hardly made in such a way. Practical results can be achieved only through a realistic and pragmatic approach. In order to make proper use of the potential inherent in this Organization we must also recognize its limitations.

39. The Secretary-General focuses also on our work patterns and procedures—and rightly so. It is a question that is technical in nature but one that in the modern world will have political implications. The point is well taken by the Secretary-General when he states: "Once having arrived here by jet aircraft, however, the procedures adopted are much the same as they were in 1919" [See A/33/1, sect. X]. We should therefore seriously contemplate how our work patterns can be adjusted to the requirements of today.

40. I will now address myself to the situation we are facing as a result of South Africa's decision to break off further co-operation with the United Nations regarding a peaceful transition to majority rule in Namibia. This step by South Africa has created a new and serious situation in southern Africa. South Africa's decision is an arrogant challenge to world opinion. The United Nations must react against this affront to our persistent efforts in pursuit of the liberation of Namibia. During this session of the General Assembly we must make it understood that the international community cannot accept a solution which does not embrace all political groups, including the South West Africa People's Organization. Norway, for its part, will not recognize an arrangement established on such a basis. Should it become clear that South Africa has irrevocably rejected further co-operation with the United Nations regarding a peaceful settlement in Namibia, new measures must be taken against South Africa.

41. Midway through International Anti-Apartheid Year we cannot but note that South Africa has not changed its policy of racial discrimination and oppression of the black majority of the people. In this situation the world community has, in our opinion, no choice but to increase the pressures against South Africa. An international mobilization against apartheid is imperative. Norway has, together with the other Nordic countries, already implemented certain measures against South Africa on a bilateral basis. We are considering further steps as an expansion of the joint Nordic programme of action against South Africa, which was adopted by the Nordic Foreign Ministers at their meeting in Oslo earlier this year.

42. We are also prepared to lend our support to measures aimed at stepping up the international pressure against South Africa, including mandatory economic sanctions. Through concrete action the international community must demonstrate its solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa in their struggle against racism and *apartheid*.

43. South Africa's position on the question of Namibia may also have negative effects on the possibilities for a negotiated settlement in Zimbabwe. My country shares the view that a settlement in Zimbabwe that does not include the Patriotic Front will not lead to a peaceful transition to majority rule. A solution is possible only if all parties are brought to the negotiating table at the earliest date. We believe also that the United Nations sanctions against the Smith régime must be maintained until a settlement acceptable to all parties concerned has been found.

44. Lately regional or local conflicts in Africa have increasingly added to the tension between the big Powers. This must be avoided not only for the sake of the African countries themselves but also because of the relations between the big Powers. In our opinion conflicts on the African continent must be resolved by the African States themselves, if necessary with assistance from the United Nations.

45. The greatest threat to world peace has for many years been the situation in the Middle East. Today our attention is focused on the Camp David agreements³ and their implementation. Different views have been expressed on these agreements. The Norwegian Government welcomed the initiative of the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, and his efforts in this matter. I would also like to express our hope that the results achieved at Camp David will prove to be a milestone on the road to a lasting peace in the Middle East. I express this hope because we consider inflexible positions to be the greatest threat to peace in the Middle East. It was against this background that the Norwegian Government supported President El-Sadat's bold initiative last fall, an initiative that has now been followed up by the Camp David agreements. We fully realize that the most important problems are still unresolved. It remains to find a way to bring the other parties involved into the peace process. That is a necessary condition for a just, lasting and comprehensive peace.

46. I would hope that the momentum which now may have been created will be utilized so that the peoples of the Middle East, who for years have been the subject of conflict and confrontation, may soon be able to live in peace and freedom. The Norwegian Government remains of the view that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) offer the best foundation for peace in the area.

47. The situation in Lebanon calls for particular attention, in the light of the recent fighting in the country and because the United Nations forces in the south have met with considerable difficulties in the implementation of the mandate given them by the Security Council. The task entrusted to the forces has therefore been only partly fulfilled. We attach decisive importance to the full co-operation of all parties in the implementation of the United Nations mandate and to the restoration of normal and peaceful conditions in the area. We fully support the Security Council decision to renew the mandate of UNIFIL, and we have taken all the necessary steps to continue our participation in the Force.

48. The Nordic Foreign Ministers have recently expressed their support for the efforts of the Lebanese President and Government to preserve the unity, sovereignty and terri-

³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978. For the text, see *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1528.

torial integrity of Lebanon and to re-establish peace and security in the country. We consider this to be of utmost importance also for future development in the Middle East.

49. In a long-term perspective, bridging the widening gap between the rich and the poor countries represents the greatest challenge to the international community. Although the existing social and economic imbalance cannot be redressed overnight, the need for immediate action is imperative. Thus my Government shares the concern of the developing countries over the present impasse in the North-South dialogue. Progress has been slow in coming. Four years after its adoption, the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] remains largely unimplemented. The expectations arising out of the consensus of the seventh special session have not been met. The global economic crisis has been adverse consequences. One main reason for the dismal picture has, however, been an absence of the necessary political will.

50. The most compelling reason for renewed and increased efforts in this field is the intolerable situation of the developing countries themselves, characterized by mass poverty and conditions which represent an affront to human dignity. But in the view of my Government the presence of great unutilized productive capacity in the developed world, on the one hand, and the great unfulfilled needs of the developing countries, on the other, also make a convincing case for the new international economic order.

51. We have witnessed over the last few years a growing acceptance of the concept of global interdependence. Now is the time for concrete action. The proposals submitted during the first session of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, the so-called Committee of the whole, for a massive transfer of resources to the developing countries [see A/33/34, part two] should thus be pursued resolutely. A revitalization of the global economy is in the interest of all countries.

52. My country would like to re-emphasize its support for the Committee of the Whole, which has an important political role to play in the North-South dialogue. It is our sincere hope that the present impasse can be overcome, enabling the Committee to attack the many urgent problems awaiting bold action from the world community through the United Nations.

53. Only through progress on substantive issues can new impetus be given to the North-South dialogue. The reconvening by UNCTAD of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities later this fall is of particular importance. A break-through on the main outstanding issues at that Conference would create a new and positive climate for the North-South dialogue and hold out promise for the future of the Committee of the Whole and for the upcoming fifth session of UNCTAD.

54. It was hardly to be expected that the General Assembly's tenth special session, on disarmament, should be able to provide a final answer to issues which have preoccupied humanity for generations. In spite of different points of view, agreement was, however, reached on a comprehensive programme of action. This may herald a new era in the work towards disarmament. In the years before the next special session our joint task must be to make full use of the momentum thus created so that we may reach the objectives now pointed out for us.

55. The most important direct result of the special session was the strengthening of the international negotiating machinery through the reorganization of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament and the re-establishment of the United Nations Disarmament Commission. We hope that these decisions will lead to broader participation in the work for disarmament by big and small countries, which have a contribution to make in this field.

56. The dangers inherent in the enormous consumption of resources for military armaments are abundantly clear to us all. In this connexion I would draw attention to the expert study on the relationship between disarmament and development which was initiated by the special session. The objectives of this study are to identify concrete measures which may make it possible to arrive at a more rational use of the world's scarce resources and in this way contribute towards eliminating some of the underlying causes of armed conflict.

57. On 10 December this year we shall celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. By their acceptance of this Declaration and the subsequent conventions, the States Members of the United Nations have committed themselves to respect and protect the fundamental human rights of their citizens. However, we must all admit that there is still much to be done to achieve the fulfilment of these commitments.

58. There are also positive developments in the present situation. In his report the Secretary-General points to a distinct improvement in the co-operative efforts of Member States to deal with alleged violations of human rights.

59. In this connexion there is every reason to welcome the fact that the United Nations—with broad support—succeeded in establishing and dispatching to Chile a fact-finding mission to examine the question of missing prisoners. We see this initiative as having ramifications beyond this one country. The decision to send such a fact-finding mission implies that the world community has accepted the principle that violations of human rights by Member States cannot be regarded as an internal matter outside the competence of the United Nations.

60. In its work to promote the international protection of human rights, my Government emphasizes especially the following points of view.

61. We shall work to strengthen the machinery of the United Nations for the protection of human rights. This includes continued support for the proposal to establish a United Nations High Commissioner on Human Rights.

62. We shall work to ensure the establishment of the most consistent and effective procedures possible for dealing with human rights issues in the Commission on Human Rights and in the Human Rights Committee.

63. We shall work to reinforce the view that gross and persistent violations of human rights are the concern of the entire world community. The principle of non-intervention cannot today be seen as constituting any legal obstacle to such violations being dealt with in international forums.

64. We shall put great emphasis on the endeavours to strengthen human rights in the regional context.

65. And we shall attach particular importance to the efforts to combat racism and racial discrimination within

the framework of the United Nations Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, and we hope that this work can be carried out without the introduction of extraneous elements.

66. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea continued its efforts to find agreed formulas on major unresolved issues. During the seventh session the Conference produced new compromise texts on many of the controversial points holding up the final convention. If we are able to maintain the degree of progress shown in Geneva and New York this year, it should be possible to reach solutions on the hard-core issues facing the Conference. We cannot afford to fail, having reached this stage. In this connexion the possibilities of informal, inter-sessional discussions before the Geneva meetings in March and April next year—if conducive to early completion of the treaty—should be explored.

67. At the closing of the seventh session of that Conference opposition was expressed to unilateral legislation affecting the mining of the international sea-bed area. The Norwegian Government shares this concern. This was expressed also in the joint declaration by the Governments of Finland, Sweden and Norway on that occasion.⁴

68. In concluding, I should like to say a few words about the necessity of strengthening the peace-keeping role of the United Nations.

69. The United Nations involvement in Lebanon is an example of an extremely difficult situation which could be solved only through the help of this Organization. In Namibia a strong United Nations presence during the transition period represents more than ever the only alternative to a violent solution. Thus, there are indications that the United Nations peace-keeping role is becoming increasingly important.

70. The most obvious task, and the one that is perhaps easiest to accomplish, is to strengthen the existing United Nations machinery for peace-keeping operations. Here, several measures should be considered.

71. First, we may reinforce United Nations preparedness by means of stand-by forces which may swiftly be deployed when the need arises. Norway and the other Nordic countries have long had such stand-by forces specially earmarked for United Nations service.

72. Secondly, we must find adequate solutions to the problem of financing. States Members of the United Nations have a collective responsibility for strengthening the Organization's capacity to undertake the functions provided for in the Charter. Consequently, these States also have a collective responsibility for the financing of the United Nations peace-keeping operations. The notion that the costs of a United Nations operation should be borne by the parties directly involved or by the so-called guilty parties is untenable. This very view would, if accepted, result in no one being able to afford to ask the United

Nations for help. It is also untenable because, in practice, it puts the financial responsibility on the troop-contributing countries.

73. Thirdly, we must also give the Secretary-General increased powers to handle the day-to-day problems which arise for the United Nations forces in the field. This will of course have to be done within the terms of reference laid down by the Security Council.

74. The United Nations today can assist in a number of ways in reaching peaceful solutions to conflicts between States. It is for the States Members of the world Organization to make better use of these possibilities.

75. As a consequence such measures will strengthen the capability of the United Nations to prevent the use of force in international conflicts, and thereby a climate of confidence will emerge. Such a development in its turn could be conducive to disarmament, to strengthening the United Nations also in other fields and to enabling the world Organization to play its full role in the creation of a more secure and just world order.

76. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a great pleasure for me to extend to you my warmest congratulations on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in performing the task of this high office and assure you that my country's delegation will, as it has always done, take a positive and productive part in the work of the Assembly in order to achieve the aims it stands for.

77. I am also pleased to express our appreciation of the efforts made by your predecessor, Mr. Mojsov, to bring to a successful conclusion the debate on many of the international issues dealt with by the General Assembly during its last session.

78. In the name of my Government, the delegation of the Iraqi Republic is happy to welcome the State of Solomon Islands as a new Member of the United Nations. In extending our warmest congratulations to it on winning its freedom and independence, we hope that it will contribute, together with the countries of the third world, to the laying down of foundations of security, peace and progress in the world.

79. The Iraqi people and the political leadership of the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party are following with great interest the development of world events and their impact on the aspirations of peoples to peace and security and the achievement of progress and well-being for all. I should like to review with the Assembly in all frankness our understanding in Iraq of the present international situation and our assessment of it, so that we may, with other honest people, shed light on the negative aspects which impede the maintenance of peace and democracy in the world, in the hope that we may also succeed in diagnosing their causes.

80. We are bitterly disappointed at seeing before us so many artificially created causes of the increase of international tension and conflict. These manifestations are among the most distinctive features that have, particularly

⁴ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IX (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.3), 109th plenary meeting.

in the past year, dominated international relations to such an extent that they have heightened tension among the centres of polarization, sharpened the aggressive intent of colonial forces and hardened their opposition to peoples' aspirations to freedom and progress, thus thwarting their hopes for security and stability throughout the world and frustrating their efforts to build a new order of international relations based on equality and mutual respect for sovereignty.

81. During recent years the world has witnessed many cases of flagrant injustice, tyranny and the violation of justice by the imperialist forces, which have always pretended to be concerned with security and peace and claimed to have respect for the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations and the protection of human rights. However, events have proved that the pretentious calls of the imperialist forces are no more than hollow claims and meaningless words, as they have given no proof of their seriousness or sincerity. They have disregarded United Nations resolutions and never endeavoured to implement them or to rid international relations of manifestations of tyranny, subjugation and inequality. Historically, these manifestations have proved to be a product of the same imperialism, which views international issues in such a way as to secure its own ends, always at the expense of the poor and oppressed nations.

82. What accentuates our feeling of disappointment is the fact that such cases of injustice do not actually seem to help to promote political consciousness among peoples or move them enough to support the legitimate struggle of others. The imperialist forces are doing their utmost to tame international public opinion so that ultimately their policies may be implicitly accepted, together with all their pretexts for domination, oppression, escalation of armaments and disruption of governments. All this is achieved through the material strength and powerful mass media at their disposal.

83. Whereas it was hoped that the United Nations would become a deterrent for aggression, injustice and domination and an effective instrument responsive to the hopes and aspirations of the peoples for peace and justice through the implementation of its resolutions, the world Organization has largely failed in performing its role and defending the principles of its Charter. It has also failed to implement most of its resolutions, particularly those which are of great importance and of direct bearing on the interests of nations. It has turned out to be a mere instrument for moral influence rather than an effective means of establishing a new order of world relations as it was originally conceived.

84. Examples of flagrant violations of justice which mark international relations are numerous and fraught with danger for future peace and progress in the world. Undoubtedly, the most distinctive of these are the practices of racism and *apartheid*. The imperialists were the first to call for a "divide and rule" policy; they were the first to sow the seeds of racism. By that policy they guaranteed their superiority over the indigenous populations of the colonies and spread their economic domination. They used as pretexts the "civilizing" of backward peoples, the maintenance of balance of power, or the satisfaction of the

requirements of world strategy, whichever was appropriate, all for the sake of actually preserving the laws and regulations which granted them a superior status, installed them as guardians of other peoples and gave them a free hand in the plunder of wealth and in the practice of exploitation as well as the perpetuation of colonization.

85. While some of them pretend to have sympathy with the struggles of peoples against racism and *apartheid*, they do not hesitate to develop and strengthen their relations with racist régimes in various political, economic, diplomatic, military, informational and cultural spheres, as well as in the sphere of atomic collaboration and nuclear know-how. Furthermore, they refrain from acceding to such international instruments adopted under United Nations auspices, as the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of *Apartheid* [resolution 3068 (XXVIII)], and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights [resolution 2200 A (XXI)], using for this purpose a variety of false "legal" arguments.

86. The imperialists are doing everything to justify their continued relations with the racist régimes and their huge economic investments in their countries.

87. Many United Nations Members may recall that the United States Congress only recently considered lifting the economic embargo imposed on racist Rhodesia. It is a well-known fact that this ban was imposed in accordance with a binding resolution adopted by the Security Council under Chapter VII of the Charter because of the continued imperialist and racist policy which was and still is pursued by Ian Smith's régime against the people of Zimbabwe, who struggle courageously to achieve freedom and independence and who make great sacrifices to that end. It is also a well-known fact that certain Western Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council have vetoed a suggestion that economic sanctions be imposed on the racist régime in South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter, because the monopolies and multinational corporations of those Powers oppose the ban and are, through racism, actively enhancing their interests and strengthening their investments which constitute the backbone of the economies of the racist régimes. There are some who confirm the existence of a connexion and co-operation between the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the Pretoria régime in a number of spheres.

88. It is deeply regrettable that the group of nine Western countries and a number of its supporters should have taken a negative stand in the world Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, which was held under United Nations auspices in Geneva last August. That stand was taken because the Conference condemned the existing and developing relations between the Zionist entity and the racist régime in South Africa. The nine Western countries and some of their allies protested against this condemnation, declaring their non-compliance with the resultant decisions of the Conference, and withdrew from its closing meeting. Prior to that they had threatened to walk out if the final declaration contained any reference to the Palestinian people and to the tragedy whereby that people has been prevented from exercising its right to self-determination on its own soil, and whereby hundreds of

thousands of its children have been uprooted, prevented from returning to their homeland and subjected to various practices of racial discrimination, with the result that they are denied their basic human rights.

89. At the level of international economic relations, a quick review of the figures used by the United Nations in this connexion will expose imperialist exploitation and its responsibility for the inhuman conditions in which the peoples of the third world are living. Seventy per cent of the world's population lives in the third world, yet the gross income of the third world (including that of the oil-producing countries) does not exceed 30 per cent of the world's income. In 1975 the industrial production of the third world did not exceed 10.3 per cent of the world's industrial production. Seven hundred and fifty million people in the third world are living below the subsistence level defined by the International Bank, that is with a *per capita* income of less than \$75 a year. Half of the third-world's population has not received any education, while two thirds of its children can find no room in schools. In addition to those who are starving, more than 1 billion people are suffering from chronic undernourishment.

90. This situation is worsening from year to year. Thus, the third world's exports in 1960 represented 21.4 per cent of the world's over-all exports. Their decline continued until they represented only 18.1 per cent in 1973. The natural consequence of this is the continuous, and even increasing, deficit in the balance of payments of the developing countries, which hinders the development required.

91. All this is not a matter of bad luck. Backwardness and progress, riches and poverty are basic elements of the international economic structure, which was built by the European and American capitalists and which they try very hard to maintain. It is imperialism which has forced the third world to be a market for Western products and has imposed on it one single function, namely the exportation of raw materials.

92. Therefore, it is not surprising that raw materials form the main part of the third world's exports: 81.5 per cent in 1961 and 75.4 per cent in 1972. In certain countries, especially those producing oil, that figure may rise to 100 per cent. This painful fact is linked to another one, namely, that 75.2 per cent of the West's industrial need for raw materials is met from the third world.

93. Here, too, the inequity of the world's economic conditions is evident. The prices of raw materials are low and do not match the rise in the prices of manufactured goods imported by the developing countries from the industrialized West. The deterioration in terms of trade at the expense of the developing countries continued in the 1950s and the 1960s. In other words, with the fall of the old colonial system, the situation in the countries producing raw materials worsened more and more as neo-colonialism tended basically to reduce the prices of raw materials and to deplete the natural wealth of developing countries. No one can deny any longer that the sources of many raw materials are liable to exhaustion by the end of this century if they continue to be drained at the present rate.

94. The capitalist Powers have persistently resisted raising the prices of raw materials. Moreover, demand in the world raw-materials market is dominated by a few multinational corporations of great economic experience. On the other hand, the developing countries enter the market individually and are unable to affect selling prices.

95. In addition, the capitalist industrialized countries do not hesitate to continue raising the prices of commodities produced in the West. The truth about inflation and its importation into the developing countries is common knowledge. United Nations figures reveal that from 1968 to June 1974 the rise in the prices of goods imported from the industrialized West by the developing world was about 224.4 per cent.

96. Principles of justice demand that the imperialist Powers, more than any other, be bound to offer to the countries aspiring to development part of the national wealth that once belonged to them and was plundered when it was easily and readily available to satisfy the greed of foreign exploiters. We notice with surprise that the industrialized Powers have not complied with the General Assembly's resolution calling upon them to allocate 0.7 per cent of their gross national product for development aid [resolution 2626 (XX)]. For example, the United States cut down this percentage from 0.53 in 1960 to 0.49 in 1965, and then to 0.21 in 1974. It is quite obvious that a large part of this aid is designed to be used as an instrument for imposing particular stands on certain countries. Another part of this aid, needless to say, is of an aggressive military nature. It is sufficient in this connexion to recall that the largest share of this aid goes to the Zionist entity.

97. The reactionary circles in the industrialized West have launched a campaign against the States members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], alleging that they are not contributing adequately towards the development of the third-world countries. Suffice it to mention here that the aid provided by the OPEC States in 1974 was 8.2 per cent of their gross national product and 12.1 per cent of their oil revenues. We are looking forward to making further contributions, so necessary for the distribution of development more evenly throughout the world.

98. This bleak picture of international economic relations cannot but forebode the gravest dangers, because these relations are neither just nor equal. It is the duty of the third-world States, the socialist States and the progressive forces in the capitalist West to struggle together to establish a new world economic order on foundations that are more balanced and just.

99. Iraq has adhered to a consistent policy with regard to the Palestinian question based on the principles of international law and the United Nations Charter. The Zionist entity has been established in Palestine as a result of the collusion of world Zionist forces with Western imperialism for the fulfilment of the aim of zionism—namely, the ingathering of the world's Jews and the building of their purely Jewish State. Though such action was incompatible with the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arabs, the actual owners of the land of Palestine, Western imperialist forces ignored the existence of Arabs in Palestine and

facilitated the plot of Zionist settlement colonialization in order to consolidate the imperialist presence in Arab countries, safeguard Western economic interests and plunder the national wealth of the Arab nation.

100. The whole Arab nation, and the Palestinian people in particular, have resisted the Zionist invasion of Palestine. To this end, the Palestinian people have made the biggest material and human sacrifices. In this connexion, I should like to mention the 1936 revolution, during which the Palestinians, who then numbered 1 million, had more than 5,000 killed and 15,000 injured.

101. With the recession of the imperialist influence in the General Assembly of the United Nations and with the understanding by world public opinion of the truth about the Palestinian question and what is being committed by Zionists and imperialist Powers in Palestine, the General Assembly was able in 1974 to adopt its well-known resolution 3236 (XXIX) recognizing the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and their right to self-determination on their land. Meanwhile, the Zionist entity has adopted a negative and hostile attitude towards the majority of United Nations resolutions. It has so far ignored more than 220 resolutions adopted by the United Nations and its agencies. It is worth mentioning here that the admission to United Nations membership of the Zionist entity was made conditional on its acceptance of resolution 194 (III) of 1948, which provides in paragraph 11 for the return of the Palestinian refugees to their homeland. This was ignored by the Tel Aviv racist régime, which also refused to allow members of the United Nations Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories to fulfil their task.

102. As an idea, a movement and a State, zionism has in actual practice embodied a racist, colonialist and expansionist model. Zionist thought, which calls for Jewish exclusivity and purity, stresses the necessity of dissociating Jews from any society they live in and rejects a Jew's loyalty to any but the Zionist State.

103. To establish this "State", zionism has persisted in its endeavours to induce the Jews of the world to emigrate to Palestine and to empty that country of its Arab population, depriving them of their rights by a variety of methods which are a mixture of deception and terror. After the emergence of the "State", zionism centred its racism and arrogance on Arab Palestinians, Christians and Moslems alike, enforcing a series of laws and measures aimed at driving them out, dispossessing them of their land and preventing their return. Witness, for example, the 1950 Law of Return, the Absentee Property Law and the Emergency Law. The Zionist repressive system ensures that Arab inhabitants will always be treated as third-class citizens.

104. Establishing itself as a "State", zionism adopted an expansionist policy. It is remarkable that it is only in this Zionist "State" that basic laws do not draw any fixed border lines for the land, but leave that to the material and military capability of the Zionists. So in 1948 the area of the Zionist entity expanded by 50 per cent over that originally allocated to it by the United Nations partition resolution [resolution 181 (II)]. With the 1956 aggression

against Egypt and, later, the 1967 aggression, the territories occupied by the Zionist entity became three times as large as those already occupied.

105. United Nations resolution 3379 (XXX), condemning zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination, proves a fact that has been a source of suffering for the Palestinian people. The attempts made by certain Western and imperialist circles to contain that resolution reconfirm the alliance between racist zionism and Western imperialism, which is of the same nature as the alliance between those circles and the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

106. When we Arabs express such fears regarding the Zionist entity and the Zionist movement, we do so as a result of long and bitter experience, which has convinced us that zionism is an aggressive movement unable to content itself with a just and real peace. It is a movement that seeks to impose surrender on the peoples of the region by advanced military means. To maintain its military superiority, the Zionist entity began an over-all militarization of Zionist society and the development of the arms industry to such an extent that it has now become one of the few places in the world where arms production is in certain respects in excess of its own needs. Consequently, it exports arms to many countries. Besides, this entity gets from the United States, through various ways, all that it cannot afford to produce. American military aid to Tel Aviv for this year is estimated at \$1 billion, in addition to financial aid of \$785 million through the external aid programme. It is now an open secret that Tel Aviv is trying to possess an arsenal of nuclear weapons. The refusal of the Zionist entity to sign the Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is but a confirmation of this fact. May I in this connexion refer to the study submitted by our delegation during the special session on disarmament.⁵

107. Ever since 1973 the world has been hearing of diplomatic efforts made by American and other circles for bringing about a so-called "peace settlement of the Middle East crisis". Now, five years later, a pause for critical contemplation is in order.

108. First, I should like to emphasize that our people, having suffered from social and economic backwardness for centuries, badly needs a real peace that will avail it of the opportunities for construction and progress. Before Zionist aggression was forced upon us, our people, with all its various communities and minorities, used to live in perfect peace and harmony.

109. Any settlement which fails to deal with the crux of the question, which is precisely the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to exercise its inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination on its national soil, will remain completely unrealistic, and the chances of success will be very slim indeed.

110. The political developments of the attempts at the so-called comprehensive settlement seem to form a negative graph which is steadily getting further away from the heart of the problem. This may be explained by the fact that

⁵ See document A/S-10/AC.1/3.

Security Council resolution 242 (1967) has been adopted as a basis for settlement. But after a careful consideration we note that this resolution is actually silent on the Palestinian people and its inalienable national rights.

111. When some of the circles concerned acclaimed Washington's so-called shift towards recognizing the Palestinian element as one of the main elements in the Middle East question, we found that the United States actual concept of the Palestinian role did not in practice mean enabling it to exercise its right to self-determination.

112. Moreover, to the United States administration the fate of the occupied Palestinian territories in the event of an Israeli withdrawal is no longer a Palestinian concern, let alone an Arab one. It will be a matter subject to Israeli approval. Furthermore, to Washington, an Israeli withdrawal no longer means a complete withdrawal in accordance with the principle of the inadmissibility of acquisition of territories by force. In keeping with the Israeli position, the American attitude has gone so far as to deprive the Palestinians of the right to choose their own representatives. Whatever rights are left to the Palestinians have also been parceled into periods over a long number of years during which—nay, even after which—Zionist occupation would be allowed to continue.

113. In return for the concessions made at the expense of the Palestinians and their just cause, Zionist intransigence is mounting and the Arab area is being driven into more political disruption and chaos. The Zionist entity has even allowed itself to embark on military intervention in Lebanon, thus obstructing the implementation of further United Nations resolutions and threatening the existence of a united and independent Lebanon.

114. Any settlement based on the aforesaid grounds is in fact a call for the liquidation of Palestinian existence. The results of the Camp David meetings confirmed this trend, and went even further by calling for a separate settlement between the racist régime of Tel Aviv and the Sadat régime. On the Palestinian level, the conference ignored the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-determination as set forth in United Nations General Assembly resolutions.

115. The Camp David accords denied the Palestinians unity and sovereignty over their territory, and divided them into inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza, on the one hand, and refugees, on the other.

116. The inhabitants of the West Bank and Gaza were accorded only so-called self-rule, with elements alien to the Palestinians. Furthermore, the Zionist entity would maintain permanent forces of occupation in the area and all the affairs of the area would be subject to Zionist governmental approval. The rest of the Palestinian people, who number almost 2 million, were, according to the conference, mere refugees, and their future was left to be decided later by Begin and Sadat, in contravention of their right to return to their land. In addition, the conference remained silent on the future of occupied Arab Jerusalem and the Golan.

117. The Camp David agreements constitute the framework for a humiliating capitulation treaty, to which no

people could agree. Iraq, as a part of the Arab nation, emphatically rejects it. In our statements before this Assembly we have already stressed a number of principles and measures which we still regard as indispensable for a discussion of the question of Palestine and the Middle East situation.

118. First, the Zionist entity occupies territories belonging to three Arab States in violation of all international rules and customs and of many United Nations resolutions, the most important of them being that on the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by invasion of force. Consequently, the United Nations and its Members should assume their responsibility and bring about the immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal of Zionist forces from all the occupied territories without giving the occupying Power any political advantage, as otherwise it would be rewarding the aggressor for its aggression.

119. Secondly, the United Nations constitutes the natural and proper framework for the discussion of the Palestinian question in the presence of the representatives of the Palestinian people, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). The attempt made by certain parties to frustrate the resolution of the world Organization and to settle the issue unilaterally through conferences will not help the search for a just and lasting peace.

120. Thirdly, any material and, in particular, military support to Tel Aviv's racist régime would certainly increase the tension and prolong the conflict in the Arab region, which in turn would constitute a threat to international peace and security. The danger of the spread of nuclear weapons in the Middle East is no longer just imaginary. Various kinds of available evidence and information confirm Tel Aviv's intention to acquire and use those weapons. It is also necessary to take speedy and serious steps to stop the increasing military and nuclear collaboration between Tel Aviv and Pretoria. The draft resolution on military and nuclear co-operation between Tel Aviv and Pretoria submitted to the special session on disarmament⁶ would be suitable as a basis for a resolution to be adopted by the General Assembly at its current session.

121. Fourthly, the occupied Arab territories are subject to a series of military, economic and social measures aimed at consolidating Zionist existence and creating a demographic reality which paves the way for the annexation of those territories. We call upon the United Nations and its specialized agencies to pay full attention to these dangerous manifestations and to prevent their escalation by drawing up economic, cultural and health programmes that would support the Arab population in their occupied territories. In this regard we stress the necessity of enabling UNRWA to perform its task without curtailing its obligations.

122. Fifthly, the other aspect of Zionist practices in the occupied Arab territories is embodied in the continuance of Zionist immigration. Encouragement of immigration into Palestine by world Zionism and the latter's activities in that regard carry within them a twofold danger: the need for

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Annexes*, agenda items 9, 10, 11 and 12, document A/S-10/23, paras. 10-11.

more land and consequently more expansion, which would lead to further wars, and the perpetuation of the displacement of the Palestinian people. We believe that the General Assembly should take the initiative in discussing this issue and adopting the necessary deterrent measures.

123. We call for the following action at the international level: first, the condemnation of all operations and the use or threat of force by the big Powers against third-world countries which nationalize foreign monopolies or which try to achieve fairer prices for their raw materials, and affirmation of the right of every State to nationalize foreign companies which extract or invest in its raw materials; secondly, the establishment of producer unions for every kind of raw material or group of similar raw materials extracted by third-world countries similar to OPEC, which, by ignoring the existing economic and social policies of its members, has emphasized the possibility of the necessary unity among third-world countries and consequently achieved for the first time relatively just prices; thirdly, the drawing up of practical formulas to link the prices of raw materials exported by third-world countries to those of the industrialized or manufactured products of the capitalist West; fourthly, the achievement of serious progress in the North-South dialogue on the basis of the resolutions of the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly on the development of raw materials and other General Assembly resolutions, in particular those of the sixth and seventh special sessions; fifthly, affirmation of the need to support the armed struggle of the militant peoples and consolidate the legitimacy of their struggle and to provide material and moral support to the liberation movements of the world, in this connexion calling for the implementation of United Nations resolutions relating to decolonization, the eradication of racial discrimination and the exercise by peoples of their right to self-determination; sixthly, strict control of the military embargo against racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia and prevention of the supply to them of weapons, ammunition and military expertise, particularly nuclear expertise, and the elimination of the danger of the use of mercenaries and support for the reactionary régimes; seventhly, affirmation of the need for participation by all United Nations States Members in all international agreements aimed at eradicating racial discrimination and segregation and for the application of the numerous resolutions adopted throughout the years to ensure the liquidation of those evils.

124. Mr. SONODA (Japan):⁷ On behalf of the Government of Japan, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. Under your distinguished leadership, the current session of this Assembly will surely be most fruitful.

125. I should also like to express my deepest respect toward Mr. Mojsov, the former President, for his having led both the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly and the special sessions of the General Assembly, particularly that devoted to disarmament, to their successful conclusions.

⁷ Mr. Sonoda spoke in Japanese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

126. I should like at the same time to express my heartfelt respect to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for expending such dedicated efforts for the realization of the goals of the United Nations.

127. I am also taking this opportunity to express my heartfelt welcome to Solomon Islands, our friend in the South Pacific, on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations. Henceforth, my country looks forward to deepening its co-operation with Solomon Islands both within the United Nations framework and in our bilateral relations.

128. It is by no means an exaggeration to state that the international community today stands at a cross-roads: will it be able to take firm steps in the direction of securing a lasting peace and prosperity, or will it tread the road of confusion and instability?

129. For some years now, the world economy has been faced with such difficult problems as recession and inflation, and the rise of protectionism threatens to jeopardize the entire structure of free trade.

130. The developing countries have been particularly strongly affected by this continuing stagnation of the world economy, and are experiencing extreme difficulties in furthering their economic and social development.

131. In a number of regions—notably in the Middle East and Africa—bitter confrontations and tensions continue.

132. In the midst of this situation, the world's stockpile of arms has been increasing steadily, and negotiations for nuclear and other disarmament measures have proceeded languidly and with little noticeable progress.

133. The plight of refugees and the hijacking of aircraft—humanitarian and social problems that transcend national boundaries—continue unabated.

134. Finally, the prospects concerning the availability of natural resources and energy do not allow for any optimism.

135. These problems are grave ones, having a decisive influence upon the future of mankind, and their resolution is a common task imposed upon all of us.

136. I am convinced that now all countries of the world must strive for the resolution of these problems in a spirit of harmony and solidarity, and must take firm steps toward the building of a new order for the world community, in which all countries may share equally in peace and prosperity. I believe that thus to bring about a bright outlook for the future of mankind as we face the twenty-first century is the responsibility of all of us living in the twentieth.

137. Japan itself is fully aware of the responsibility which it bears as an advanced industrialized country in Asia, and it intends to co-operate to the fullest extent of its ability in the creation of this new order.

138. The first thing which my country can do in the field of international co-operation is actively to employ its economic strength for the sake of the stability and prosperity of the international community. As I stated in some detail at the special session on disarmament,⁸ my country maintains as its fundamental policy the pursuit of peace and the refusal to become a military Power. For precisely that reason, I feel that it is particularly necessary that my country should use its economic strength for the stability and prosperity of the international community.

139. To that end, my country is not only voluntarily co-operating in international efforts to guarantee the stable expansion of the world economy, but also devoting all its strength to contributing actively to the development of the developing countries and to improving their peoples' welfare.

140. In the first place, my country has set itself the highest target for real economic growth among the developed countries and is implementing vigorous expansionary measures—centering upon the expansion of domestic demand—in order to attain that target. This is a policy which, by encouraging imports to my country, will contribute to the stable expansion of the world economy as a whole.

141. Furthermore, in order to suppress the rise of protectionism, as well as to maintain and strengthen the structure of free trade, Japan intends, in co-operation with the other countries concerned, to expend still greater efforts to produce a successful conclusion to the Tokyo round of multilateral trade negotiations.

142. As regards the problem of the expansion of trade with the developing nations in particular, I wish first to point out that Japan's imports from these countries are increasing annually, and that in 1977 the total of such imports reached some \$40 billion, or 56 per cent of our total imports.

143. Each year Japan has improved its generalized system of preferences; during the last fiscal year, for example, we effected approximately a 1.8-fold increase in the ceiling of its preferential quotas. We are also striving within the framework of the Tokyo round for a further reduction of trade barriers.

144. The question of commodities, and particularly, the establishment of a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities⁹, is one of the central issues in the context of what we refer to as the North-South problem. At the recent Bonn Economic Summit Conference of the major industrialized countries, Prime Minister Fukuda of Japan laid particular stress upon the importance of the Common Fund. As a result, the meeting agreed to pursue actively the negotiations on a Common Fund to a successful conclusion. I feel that a Common

Fund should be established at an early date, and wish to exert my every effort for such a successful conclusion at the resumed session of the Negotiating Conference scheduled for this November.

145. May I add that my country is actively participating in international commodity agreements; at the end of last year, for example, we signed the new International Sugar Agreement, and we have already pledged to contribute up to 7 billion yen to the buffer stock of the Fifth International Tin Agreement.

146. Together with the trade measures of the sort I have just discussed, the quantitative increase and qualitative improvement of development assistance are extremely important when we talk about co-operation directed toward the developing countries.

147. Quantity-wise, my country has recently decided upon a vigorous expansion of our financial assistance to the developing countries, the target being to double our official development assistance within three years.

148. With regard to the quality of our assistance, moreover, we are not only striving to increase our grant aid and to improve the terms and conditions of our loans, but have also established the fundamental policy of untying our aid so as to ensure the most efficient use of the development funds we provide; this policy is already being implemented.

149. Furthermore, more than one third of Japan's official development assistance is extended through international organizations—including the International Development Association and the regional development banks—and it is our intention actively to promote this form of assistance.

150. As regards the debt problems of poorer developing countries, Japan, in conformity with the resolution adopted last March by the United Nations Trade and Development Board [see A/33/15, part two, annex I, resolution 16S (S-IX)], has decided to extend in principle new grant assistance as a measure which will, in substance, be equivalent to the cancellation of the annual debt-servicing obligations of its least developed debtors or to a reduction in the obligations of its debtors which have been most seriously affected by the oil crisis.

151. As I have stated thus far, Japan places great importance upon making a positive contribution to the development of the developing countries through the improvement of the trade environment and the provision of development funds; and it is expending the maximum possible effort to this end.

152. In May of next year the fifth session of UNCTAD will be held in Manila. Furthermore, it is planned that in 1980 we will convene a special session of the General Assembly devoted to economic questions; in the meantime the Committee of the Whole, that is, the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, has already begun functioning with the aim of considering North-South problems from an over-all point of view. Japan is resolved to devote its every effort to the dynamic building, through these forums, of a just and equitable international economic order.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting.

⁹ 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, sect. A.

153. The fact that at present tensions and confrontations continue in several regions of the world, and that at times we even witness the outbreak of armed conflicts, is an extremely serious problem for the world community. Every one of these tensions and confrontations has the potential of directly affecting the peace and stability of the entire world. It is, moreover, a most deplorable fact that in these regions the funds and technology which could otherwise be utilized for development purposes are channelled into the unproductive purpose of expanding armaments. I strongly hope that in order to relax the tensions and eliminate confrontations in such areas, all countries concerned will make much greater efforts in a spirit of self-restraint.

154. From this standpoint, I feel deep anxiety over the continuation of the confrontation and tension in the Middle East. The conditions surrounding the Middle East problem are at present highly complex and fluid. In the midst of this situation, a number of dramatic initiatives are being undertaken in order to bring about peace in the Middle East. In particular, my country highly values the courageous decision of those who brought about the three-country summit meetings at Camp David, which we strongly hope will lead to the realization of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

155. The guiding principles for peace in the Middle East remain unchanged. It is necessary that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) be fully implemented, and that the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to self-determination, be recognized, respected and implemented in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations.

156. Turning to the situation in southern Africa, I find it most encouraging that, despite the confrontation and tension springing from racial discrimination and minority rule, international efforts to achieve Namibia's independence by peaceful means continue to be pursued. In this connexion, it is most deplorable that, notwithstanding these international efforts, on 20 September the Government of the Republic of South Africa announced its intention to carry out the elections on its own. Japan earnestly hopes that the Government of South Africa will again realign itself with these joint international efforts. Japan strongly hopes that, in accordance with the Secretary-General's report to the Security Council,¹⁰ United Nations activities to bring about Namibia's peaceful transition to independence will soon be set in motion. My country intends actively to participate in the envisaged United Nations operation. In the transitional period before independence, my country intends to direct its co-operative efforts into participating in the supervision and control of fair and free elections which will constitute the nucleus of the United Nations operation, and in providing materiel and equipment in support of the operation. Once independence is achieved, Japan will be willing to co-operate as much as possible in the nation-building of Namibia.

157. In Southern Rhodesia, the fact that the resistance by the white minority régime still drags on is deplorable in the extreme. Until an internationally recognized Government of

Zimbabwe has been born, it is the intention of my country fully to respect the economic sanctions imposed by the United Nations, and to co-operate in international efforts to achieve a peaceful solution for this problem.

158. The continuation of racial discrimination in South Africa is something which must be vigorously condemned; and Japan strongly demands that the Government of South Africa strive to eliminate such discrimination. Until it does so, my country will continue to have no diplomatic relations with South Africa, to refuse to co-operate with South Africa in the field of nuclear development, and to prohibit direct investment in that country. That Japan does not offer any form whatsoever of military co-operation with that country follows naturally from our fundamental position as a peace-loving nation.

159. In Asia, confrontation and tension persist on the Korean peninsula. My own country is deeply interested in the peace and stability of the peninsula so close to us, and it is our strong hope that the two parties concerned, the North and the South, will reopen their dialogue without delay and that genuine peace and stability will be established in this region. My country wishes, therefore, to co-operate with other interested countries in creating an international environment conducive to this end.

160. The peace and stability of South-East Asia is also of great concern to Japan. In this sense, it is indeed regrettable that new confrontation and conflict have broken out on the Indo-China peninsula. My country earnestly hopes that through the self-restraint and efforts of the parties concerned, peace and stability in this region will be restored and progress can be made in the economic and social development of the countries involved.

161. Along with the effort peacefully to resolve tension and confrontation between States, international efforts for disarmament are extremely important. The fact that, this May, at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, the first in the history of the United Nations to be devoted solely to disarmament, an international agreement laying down guidelines for the furtherance of disarmament [*resolution S-10/2*] was adopted by a consensus of all Member States is an event still fresh in our memories. Taking the agreement of this special session as our new point of departure, we must strengthen still further our concrete efforts to promote disarmament, with nuclear disarmament receiving our primary attention. I should therefore like to address an appeal to the various countries concerned, beginning with the nuclear-weapon States, for their special efforts in this regard.

162. The problem of human rights is taken up within the United Nations from a variety of angles. My own country wishes actively to support the effort to guarantee fundamental human rights in a form which, at a minimum, protects the most fundamental human dignity of all individuals. This past spring, I signed the International Covenants on Human Rights, and they are currently before the Japanese Diet with a view to their early ratification.

163. We are today faced with grave humanitarian issues which must be tackled by the entire international community—the problems of refugees and of aerial hijacking.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

164. The refugee problem is one which not only includes the threat of breeding new tension and confrontation between States, but is also, in its fundamental sense, a humanitarian problem. From this viewpoint Japan has each year increased its contribution to UNRWA. In Asia, moreover, Japan is endeavouring to aid the refugees of Indo-China by means of, among other things, a special contribution of \$10 million in addition to its previous contributions to the special programme of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. We have also extended our support through the High Commissioner to the refugees who have come about along the border between Burma and Bangladesh.

165. The hijacking of aircraft, through which suffering is brought to large numbers of innocent passengers, is an act which is impermissible on humanitarian grounds. In order to prevent hijacking, it is essential that all nations should co-operate. To this end, my country took the initiative at last year's session of the General Assembly in the formation of a consensus on the resolution on international co-operation for the prevention of hijacking [*resolution 32/8*], and in co-operation with other interested countries, is continuing its efforts to urge all countries to become parties to the three conventions concerning the safety of civil aviation. From this same viewpoint, moreover, Japan hopes that all nations will align themselves with the import of the statement on air hijacking which was adopted last July at the Bonn Economic Summit Conference of the major industrialized countries.¹¹

166. It is the intention of my country to continue to co-operate actively in efforts to resolve these humanitarian and social problems of our international community.

167. Finally, we have the extremely serious problems of how we should effectively employ the energy resources which are indispensable for human existence, and of how we shall secure them far into the future. When one considers that existing energy resources are finite, it is clear that this is a major issue whose solution is necessary even for those countries that currently possess these resources, and that in that sense it is the common problem of every country in the world.

¹¹ See "International Terrorism: Joint Statement, July 17, 1978", *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, vol. 14, No. 29, pp. 1308-1309.

168. From that viewpoint I am convinced that it is important to promote the peaceful uses of atomic energy in a form compatible with the prevention of the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

169. Furthermore it is vital that research and development be furthered through international co-operation in order to promote the more efficient use of existing energy sources and the development of new sources—including renewable energy.

170. My country intends to co-operate actively in international efforts in these fields, and is further determined to join its efforts with those of the developing countries in the field of energy development.

171. As I noted at the beginning of my remarks, the world community today faces such extraordinarily difficult problems that it may truly be said to be at a historic cross-roads. Thus far I have stated my beliefs concerning what we must do in such a situation if we are to bring about a bright outlook for man's future as we move toward the twenty-first century.

172. Relationships of mutual interdependence among nations transcend differences in social system, size, or stage of development, and are deepening at an increasingly rapid pace. The peace of one nation is inseparable from that of the world as a whole, and the prosperity of one nation cannot be built except upon the prosperity of the world. There can, therefore, no longer be such a thing as the peace or the prosperity of but one nation alone. What is expected of all nations in a world such as this is that they should join their wisdom in determining what each of them must do for the sake of coexistence and mutual prosperity. What is expected is that, regardless of whether countries are large or small, regardless of whether their positions are strong or weak, and regardless of whether they are developed or developing, each of them should, in proportion to its ability, act from a global standpoint.

173. I firmly believe that if all countries act on the basis of this awareness then surely we shall resolve the difficult problems with which we are faced, and will create a brighter future for mankind in the next century.

174. My country pledges to devote its every effort to making an active contribution to this common undertaking of mankind.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.