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**Address by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam,
Prime Minister of Mauritius**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and Minister of Civil Aviation of Mauritius. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): Mr. President, your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly deserves my sincere congratulations. Your long experience in diplomacy, government and journalism, combined with your knowledge of the United Nations, make you eminently suited to that high office. The delegation of Mauritius assures you of its co-operation in the fulfilment of your mission.

3. We greatly appreciated the excellent work of your distinguished predecessor, Lazar Mojsov, during the thirty-second session and the tenth special session, on disarmament. The dedication and devotion of the Secretary-General and his staff over the last year also deserve our praise. The appointment of Mr. Kenneth Dadzie to the post of Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation is greatly appreciated by all. His long experience in the United Nations and in the service of his country will, I am sure, be of great value to all of us. My delegation also welcomes the admission of Solomon Islands to the great family of the United Nations.

4. Finally, I should like to express my heartfelt sympathy and condolences to the Governments and peoples of those Member States, such as India, Bangladesh and Iran, which have recently been the victims of natural disasters, and to

the Government and people of Kenya in their bereavement on the loss of their great President, Mzee Jomo Kenyatta.

5. My country views with concern the intensifying conflicts among African States on the continent of Africa.

6. The process of "destabilization" of peace and progress there only endangers the frail economies of the newly independent States. Though this serious conflict in Africa is among African States, the role of foreign Powers there is certainly of importance. If there is an opposition of interests among different African countries, it is obvious that there is also, regrettably, the expansionism of certain outside Powers.

7. The background of the conflict in Africa is, I believe, an everlasting desire for recolonization on the part of old or new masters. For us the fundamental problem is that Africa, which is fighting a hard battle against poverty, finds itself in a dependent position in the present world economic order and has no hope of redress in the foreseeable future. There is no projection for world development pointing to a reduction of the gap in production and consumption which separates the rich from the poor in the world.

8. Inequality and dependence mean that our economic structures are organized around the needs of the multinational corporations, and thus the development of national capital is retarded, our pattern of investment distorted and the result is the stagnation of technical development and of the advance of productivity.

9. Debt increases and service payments are becoming a serious burden, thus causing a chronic balance-of-payments problem. A deficit country must deflate, devalue its currency, or borrow. Borrowing solves nothing in the long run. Devaluation neither changes the fact that one is poor nor improves the ability to compete against the rich. And deflation makes sustained expansion impossible. In such a system a country which begins in poverty ends in poverty.

10. These deficiencies in the present world economic order constitute a serious drawback to our development and impose inequality upon us, thus perpetuating suffering and poverty. During the last decade we have begun to understand what the world economic order means for us in Africa. We find it increasingly difficult to accept the prospect of permanent stagnation and deepening poverty. The process of change continues even after independence. Self-assertion and intensified nationalist pressure are already evident in every part of Africa. The developed countries find that they are dependent upon the maintenance of existing economic and political relationships. They need our exports and our labour.

11. The real problem is therefore an opposition of interests between Africa and the developed countries. For evident reasons, African countries want and need basic changes in the present pattern of relationships with the developed countries. The reaction of many developed countries to these desired changes is unfortunately one of diffidence and stiffened resistance. Every African demand, every change of government, every clash, is construed as something sinister. The growing tendency towards foreign intervention is highly dangerous, as it threatens the peace and security of Africa. The recent resolutions and declarations adopted at the fifteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Khartoum from 18 to 22 July 1978, [see A/33/235], highlighted this danger and reaffirmed the right of each African State to choose its own political system and friends.

12. Just as Africa is trapped in an inequitable world economic order, so are the people of southern Africa trapped in *apartheid* and colonialism. The OAU Assembly reaffirmed its support for the liberation struggle in southern Africa and decided to increase its support and assistance to the liberation movements there.

13. My Government fully appreciates the efforts of the five Western Powers of the Security Council and those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, regarding Namibia. We have no doubt that they, in turn, have appreciated the co-operation of the African delegations, as well as that of South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO]. The hope of a peaceful settlement in Namibia is real now, despite recent public statements by South Africa. The efforts of the five Western Powers have borne fruits which may still be green; but with more sustained patience the harvest will be rich. I am satisfied that the Secretary-General, with his wisdom and patience, will find a solution possible after the new Government in South Africa has been nominated.

14. My delegation fully supports the report of the Secretary-General,¹ which is in accordance with the mandate given to him by Security Council resolution 431 (1978) of July 1978. The clarifications and interpretations are now clear. The Security Council should, therefore, in my opinion, be in a position to adopt a draft resolution approving the report of the Secretary-General and to give him a mandate regarding the United Nations Transition Assistance Group.

15. Both the future of Namibia and the authority, as well as the credibility, of the United Nations may today seem to be in jeopardy. However, I am confident that the Security Council and the Secretary-General will know how to take appropriate action and to ensure that Namibia achieves genuine independence and sovereignty.

16. As to the illegal régime in Zimbabwe, it can hardly be expected to last much longer. We can look forward to early independence for its people, who have suffered so much. The internal settlement has proved sterile and has shown

that the process of decolonization, by force or otherwise, is irreversible.

17. The session of the OAU Assembly held at Khartoum in July noted the dangerous and increasingly deteriorating situation in the Middle East. The continued denial of the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination must stop, and Israel must comply with the resolutions of the United Nations General Assembly and Security Council. There can be no peace in the Middle East as long as the Palestinians are denied their legitimate rights.

18. My Government welcomes the efforts of the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, the President of Egypt, Mr. El-Sadat, and the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Begin, to move towards a solution of the Middle East question. We welcome the Camp David accords² as a first positive step in the right direction. We reiterate our view, however, that only the Peace Conference on the Middle East under the auspices of the United Nations and under the co-chairmanship of the United States and the USSR, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, will provide the framework for a just and lasting peace in the region.

19. My Government also welcomes the efforts made by the Government of the Republic of Korea and those of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to achieve, through friendly and constructive negotiations, a solution acceptable to both countries and the international community.

20. Mauritius, as you know, is particularly concerned with events in the Indian Ocean. Recent events in the Horn of Africa and in the western Indian Ocean have stirred considerable anxiety in my country. We have constantly been calling on the great Powers to refrain from increasing their military presence in our region. We should like to see in the near future the convening of a conference of all the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, under the auspices of the United Nations, with the object of finding effective means for ensuring the creation of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean. My Government has already offered Mauritius as the venue of such a Conference.

21. The problem of arms limitation in the Indian Ocean is quite crucial for Mauritius. It is only one aspect, however, of a larger problem about which we are all concerned.

22. Mankind is confronted with an unprecedented threat of self-extinction arising from the massive and competitive accumulation of the most destructive weapons ever produced. The danger of war, including nuclear war, is increasing despite efforts to strengthen international peace and security. Disarmament is no longer an option; it is the only alternative to universal destruction. I have repeatedly stressed the imperative need for such action. The tenth special session of the General Assembly that took place in May and June of this year offered a unique opportunity to achieve this end. Though it had limited success, yet it laid the foundations for an international disarmament strategy

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

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

that aims at general and complete disarmament under effective international control. This, in turn, will strengthen the procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes.

23. The task before the members of the international community is to rise to a different level of understanding of both their rights and duties in international relations and to conduct their policies in conformity with the universal interests of peace, security and development all over the world.

24. In order to strengthen the rule of law and the means for the peaceful settlement of international disputes, I reaffirm the previous proposal of my country to establish a body of the General Assembly for the peaceful settlement of disputes in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations.

25. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and Minister of Civil Aviation of Mauritius for the important statement he has just made.

Address by Mr. Robert D. Muldoon, Prime Minister of New Zealand

26. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister of New Zealand. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency the Right Honourable Robert D. Muldoon and in inviting him to address the General Assembly.

27. Mr. MULDOON (New Zealand): It is my great pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly and to wish you well in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

28. I also extend a special welcome to the newest Member of this Assembly, Solomon Islands, whose application for membership New Zealand was privileged to sponsor. We are neighbours in the South Pacific, members together of the South Pacific Forum and the Commonwealth. In those settings, and now in this one, New Zealand looks forward to a close, warm and co-operative relationship with Solomon Islands.

29. New States enter upon their nationhood today at a difficult time. As an international community we face enormous political and economic problems. If the measure of a healthy civilization is its ability to govern itself, to match its demands to its resources, to manage its technology and its institutions in a sane and rational way, then we are heading for trouble. The problems we face as a global community, as a group of "united nations", are both menacing and daunting: issues of peace or war in many parts of the world, the crippling and dangerous arms race, the risk of nuclear catastrophe by deliberate decision or mischance, the widespread denial of human rights, food shortages, energy problems, population pressures, dwindling non-renewable resources and a whole range of economic ills, including high rates of inflation, unemployment and

protectionism, low levels of investment and unstable commodity markets.

30. It is not altogether surprising that, confronted with these awesome and intractable problems, some countries, in effect, opt out. Consciously or not, they decide to hold on to what they have, to settle for the protection and enjoyment of whatever resources they possess without too much regard for the effects of that policy on others. If, by way of regional or other association, this self-interest can be reinforced, then the wider grouping is pursued, with great emphasis on the value of regional co-operation. The motive in fact is national self-interest, and the manifestations of such groupings are high walls and barriers of one kind or another to keep the world at bay.

31. This is not, in New Zealand's view, the way to deal with the great issues of the day. Self-indulgence and self-interest proved fatal to earlier civilizations; they may well, unchecked, be fatal to ours. The international community, of which the United Nations is the symbol, cannot survive let alone prosper if we, the members of it, withdraw into our shells. The agenda of international problems, however frightening, needs to be addressed by all of us squarely and determinedly, mindful of course of our responsibility for the security and welfare of our own people but mindful also of the needs of the global community. We need, in short, fewer barriers between us, better machinery for consultation in the economic, social and political spheres, and above all the political will to engage in the sort of co-operation which allows us at least to make a start towards correcting the gross social and economic injustices that now prevail.

32. This is not simply an economic issue. If we are to move in a discernible way to cure current ills the issues of national security, of international law, of intergovernmental organization—all the major political issues of the day—are of paramount importance. Solutions to those problems will determine the freedom of States to make the appropriate responses in the economic sphere. Nor is it, as I have pointed out, the concern of just a few States; the problem is an immediate one for all of us.

33. The great Powers, however, have a primary role. Their attitudes to each other condition the environment in which we all live and operate. What the great Powers do, and what they do not do, carry consequences for all of us. We welcome therefore those co-operative arrangements that betoken an effort to contain crises, to co-operate in the avoidance of nuclear war, to reach agreement on arms-control measures, to extend relations over a broad range of social and cultural fronts and to reduce the harshness of the rhetoric between them.

34. It is not, of course, only up to the great Powers. International relations are both intricate and complex and there are opportunities for constructive contributions from the small and middle-sized Powers as well as from the great.

35. These opportunities would be immeasurably enhanced if the smaller States learned to work together. In New Zealand's part of the world, the south Pacific, we are making an effort to do so and we are attempting to build up a sense of partnership in the region. I have just come to

New York from a meeting earlier this month of the South Pacific Forum—a regular conference of the Heads of Government of all the independent and self-governing States of the south Pacific. Among the major topics discussed at the Forum was the enactment of legislation creating a 200-mile exclusive economic zone by the countries of the region. This offers to many of these smaller island States an opportunity, for the first time, to capitalize on what is in some cases their only substantial resource. These Pacific island States, together with New Zealand and Australia, have decided to move at once to set up a Forum fisheries agency to advise their Governments, many of whose scientific resources are slender, on the conservation, utilization and management of the living resources, including highly migratory species, of their 200-mile economic zones. At the same time, they are continuing to explore the question of what kind of long-term regional fisheries arrangements will serve the Pacific best.

36. Another major topic discussed at the Forum was economic development and ways of minimizing the twin evils of protectionism and declining terms of trade. We suffer from these in New Zealand and we understand the difficulties facing developing countries and in particular our south Pacific neighbours, most of whom have an even narrower range of export products and less stable markets than we do. To tackle these problems we have together established an industrial development scheme to provide financial backing and incentives for companies to develop manufacturing industries in the islands. In addition, we are currently reviewing the numerous factors affecting entry of island exports to the New Zealand market. Our bilateral aid programme continues to have its primary focus in the south Pacific and this year 60 per cent of New Zealand's bilateral aid will be directed to the region. In the fields of shipping and civil aviation substantial progress has been made. A regional shipping line started operations in May and the number of direct air services between countries of the region is increasing.

37. These are practical issues—a serious effort on the part of all the regional States to stimulate new thinking and to create greater opportunities for the development of trade and economic advancement in our part of the world. Their purpose, however, goes beyond mere economic considerations. Solutions are vital if democratic processes and political stability are not to be placed in jeopardy.

38. In New Zealand's view, the same sort of co-operative effort—and for the same reasons—is needed in the global arena. As I see it, the world's economy today is distinguished by two rather paradoxical characteristics—its interdependence and its diversity. We have to grapple with both. Take interdependence. I do not question the argument for individual countries fostering a degree of economic self-sufficiency. There are certain skills and certain industries which every country needs to have even when the cost of establishing those skills is, by international standards, high. I believe, however, that most countries, including my own, have far more to gain from participating in the international economy than from standing outside it. Decisions made in the world's major trading nations have a critical effect on the economic well-being and on the development patterns of the more peripheral economies. In the reverse aspect, recent years have shown that the world's major trading

countries also depend, to varying degrees, upon economic events in the less economically powerful countries. Raw material supply is an obvious area. Another is the importance of some developing countries as sources of demand and as areas of investment for the products and capital of the richer nations. There is evidence stretching back over a long period of the economic benefits for richer countries of increasing their imports, particularly of labour-intensive goods, from the newly industrializing countries. For these countries political stability is inseparable from economic stability.

39. If countries are to produce and export those things which their human and material resources and their historic development priorities suggest as logical and economically efficient, they must do so within an international economic environment that allows scope for their diversity. That means an open international trading system. Protectionism must be resisted, especially in the area of agricultural commodity trade, where there is a dangerous disposition among the richer developed countries to apply more restrictive policies than in the industrial commodity area. I recognize that the principles of an open multilateral trading system raise difficult domestic political problems, but economic development is about change and innovation and we need to look at today's problems with our eyes very firmly fixed on the longer term. These wider principles are very much at stake in the current series of the GATT negotiations. Only to the extent they are recognized, and acted upon, will the Tokyo round of negotiations be judged successful.

40. The maintenance of an international trading system is not, by itself, enough. An international economy to which all countries and all people are contributing to the maximum extent possible needs to take account of the diversity of the international economy in another sense too. We need to recognize that there are very different kinds of economies. I do not mean that we should endeavour to come up with a new and sophisticated classification; rather that we should recognize, in the interests of the international economy, as well as in the interests of peace and justice, that some countries will need special assistance on a long-term basis. The world's poorest nations will need special aid and trade measures; so might the land-locked countries and the developing island countries. The aid and trade policies of some countries, including my own, are already taking account of these special requirements, and the more advanced developing countries are following suit. Technical co-operation among developing countries, a concept which the United Nations had done much to promote, has in this last month been the subject of a world conference in Buenos Aires.³ It is a most welcome development and one which exemplifies the sort of practical co-operation I have been advocating.

41. This sense of community, of co-operative partnership, of working together to discuss and solve problems, not only must underpin our aid and trade initiatives; it must be demonstrated also in our treatment of political problems if our systems and institutions are not to become irrelevant.

³ United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978.

There are few people in the world who do not wish for peace. There are even fewer who believe that peace can be secured other than through the co-operation and partnership of the people concerned themselves. Enforced solutions rarely endure. The only sure foundation for the peaceful settlement of disputes is the will of the parties involved to work for reconciliation and peaceful co-operation.

42. This is surely the lesson of what is now happening in the Middle East. New Zealand has no special knowledge of the Middle East question nor would we presume to offer an answer to the tangled web of issues at stake. But it does seem to us that certain fundamental principles need to be accepted if the will to reconcile and co-operate, which has been demonstrated in a dramatic way by the leaders of Egypt and Israel over the past year, is to be turned into a fair and lasting peace. Above all, we believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains the essential elements which should form the basis for a negotiated settlement. But just as our support for Israel's right to exist as a sovereign State within secure and recognized boundaries is fundamental to our approach to the dispute, so we are convinced that the rights of the Palestinians, including the right to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian State if they so desire, must be recognized. It is clear that a settlement which meets these two criteria requires that Israel withdraw from areas occupied in 1967, so as to permit the Palestinians full freedom to exercise their right of self-determination. A Middle East settlement would not only confer inestimable benefits on Israel and its Arab neighbours, but would remove a potential and ever-real danger to world peace. We have therefore been tremendously encouraged by the will for peace and reconciliation displayed at the recent Camp David summit meetings. Early progress in pursuit of the agreements reached at Camp David by the leaders of Egypt and Israel, with the active partnership of the United States, must be our common hope in this Assembly.

43. It is true also that these lessons of co-operation have still to be learned in southern Africa. The history of relationships between black and white in that continent; between those who exercise power and those who, though in an overwhelming majority, have had no say in their destiny, is one of so many opportunities lost to work together in harmony and co-operation. In Namibia recently, it is true, there has been encouraging progress towards independence as a result of the persistent efforts of the five Western members of the Security Council and the front-line African States. It would be tragic if progress were to be held up now by intransigence on the part of any of those involved. It is New Zealand's hope that free elections will be held at the earliest practicable date and that Namibia will soon be able to take its rightful place as a Member of this Organization. New Zealand is anxious to support this process in practical ways. Most recently my Government has contributed substantially to a Commonwealth fund for the education and training of Namibians who will soon be in a position of responsibility in their own country.

44. In Rhodesia it is clear from the increasing scale of the armed conflict that the "internal settlement" introduced in March of this year⁴ has failed to produce the cease-fire that

the Salisbury régime predicted. On the contrary, there has been an escalation of violence, with innocent people as the not infrequent victims. These senseless and tragic killings must be stopped. The only way is through the speedy conclusion of a negotiated settlement. The best hope is for all the elements in Rhodesia and the Patriotic Front to come together in an all-party conference on the basis of the Anglo-American proposals.⁵ This is a course which we urge as the first step towards a cease-fire, the holding of free and fair elections, and ultimate independence for Zimbabwe and its people.

45. Other States, and especially the neighbouring African States, can play a constructive part in creating the climate for a settlement through mediation and diplomatic support. Or they can meddle, as some States far from Africa have chosen to do in various parts of the continent, by encouraging divisions and even by direct intervention. That is a prescription for conflict, not for settlement. We trust that the pattern we have already seen in some African countries will not be repeated elsewhere.

46. Even after peace is established in other parts of southern Africa, the most difficult problem of all will remain in South Africa itself. It is there that a co-operative effort, even a dialogue, is most desperately needed. The institutionalized racism which is *apartheid* offers no hope of a peaceful future for South Africa. It must be abandoned. Change must come. There is no other way. A policy of *apartheid* is not only wrong; it is suicidal. It seeks to impose what cannot be imposed, to deprive people of rights and freedoms that cannot be denied. The delusion of those in power in South Africa that they can succeed in their purpose if they are tough enough and determined enough is a delusion common to Governments which refuse to listen to the voices of those they oppress. Sooner or later those voices make themselves heard and the result is both predictable and destructive. There is still time to avoid that result in South Africa, but not much. New Zealand is and always will be utterly opposed to *apartheid*. We want to see justice and common sense prevail. This is the only way to prevent conflict.

47. Our concern for human rights in southern Africa must not blind us to deprivations that occur elsewhere. New Zealand upholds the principles enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, proclaimed 30 years ago by this General Assembly—among those rights: freedom of movement, the right to leave one's country and to return, the right to a nationality, the right of freedom of opinion and expression. We are concerned when these rights are denied, wherever that denial takes place, and it is shameful that, 30 years on, there are countries, including some who were founder nations of this Organization, who still deny their millions of citizens these basic human rights. How can the international community ignore that?

48. In New Zealand this year the Human Rights Commission Act came into force, establishing a national Commission on Human Rights to deal with complaints of racial, religious or sexual discrimination, in conjunction with the

⁴ See document A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. VII, annex, paras. 38-63.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

Race Relations Act of 1971. This new legislation codifies that respect for human rights which has had a central place in our traditions. We have regarded the two International Covenants on Human Rights as legal documents of substantial value and importance, and have not wished to ratify them merely on the basis of our general attachment to the principles they enunciate. We have now completed a comprehensive review of our legislation and are satisfied that our laws are in compliance with the requirements of the two International Covenants. I am pleased to announce therefore that New Zealand will ratify the International Covenant on Political and Civil Rights, the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide during this session of the General Assembly.

49. I want before I close to turn very briefly to two major issues that have preoccupied the international community, and this Assembly in particular, over the past year—the law of the sea and disarmament.

50. On 1 April of this year New Zealand brought into force its jurisdiction over a 200-mile exclusive economic zone. Some 330 foreign fishing vessels from three countries are now licensed, pursuant to agreements with New Zealand, to catch fish which is surplus to the capacity of the New Zealand fishing industry. The expansion of the New Zealand industry, upon its own initiative and through joint ventures, represents a significant economic opportunity for us.

51. I want to emphasize therefore the importance for New Zealand, and for very many of the small and middle sized countries in the Pacific and elsewhere, of a speedy and successful conclusion to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The adoption of a widely acceptable international convention will give us and many other countries a secure and stable basis upon which to plan and develop the utilization of the resources within the 200-mile zone. It is in no one's interests that the oceans should become a battleground for competing claims and the focus of conflicts over the extraction of resources. Both our national interest and a wider interest in the rule of law and a stable régime for the oceans lead my Government to attach great value to the achievement of a wide-ranging treaty along the lines on which the Conference is now working.

52. In last May and June this Assembly met in its tenth special session in an attempt to stem the arms race and to begin, in a real sense, the process of disarmament. There will be differing views on the success of that session. New Zealand's view is that we have made a small beginning, that the special session has given a modest impetus to the disarmament cause and that the establishment of machinery for discussion and negotiation marks a step forward. We hope that other steps will soon follow, among them the early conclusion of a treaty putting an end to nuclear-weapon testing in all environments. Time is short, but it should still be possible, in New Zealand's view, to present this treaty to this thirty-third regular session of the General Assembly.

53. My Government sees disarmament as among the most urgent requirements of our time. Progress has been slow.

We must do better, not by calling for far-reaching measures that have no hope of acceptance, but by working for and participating in a realistic short-term programme of action which will result in agreements that are balanced, practicable and verifiable. Between now and the next special session, New Zealand will support each and every measure of disarmament that meets these criteria.

54. The world is an increasingly complex place. Within our own societies, and in our international life, there are forces at work that are changing our perceptions, altering our values and demolishing our traditions at a bewildering pace. There are many competing interests to be accommodated, conflicting philosophies and approaches to be reconciled. We can accommodate and reconcile them only by being honest, understanding, straightforward and fair with each other—not only with our friends, for that is relatively easy, but more importantly with those with whom we may disagree. If we can work towards this sense of co-operation and partnership as a world community we can, I believe, if not solve all our problems at least reduce them to a manageable dimension. For its part my Government pledges itself to work with others in this spirit and to this end.

55. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly I thank the Prime Minister of New Zealand for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

56. Mr. JIMENEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, permit me first to express to you the congratulations of our delegation since the General Assembly has with discernment elected you to preside over this session, whose agenda includes subjects for study and decision that are of much importance for the States which make up the United Nations. We are certain that your wisdom and your experience will mean that our common endeavour will prevail, both in the search for just solutions and in the results to which our deliberations lead. It is therefore our hope that, guided by the values you represent, we shall be able, when our work is done, to say that the thirty-third session of the General Assembly made substantial progress and was able to dispel the intangible factors that have halted the advance towards a new policy of understanding and effective decisions in the difficult task imposed on us by the expectations of our times and by the United Nations Charter.

57. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to extend our most cordial congratulations to Solomon Islands on its becoming a Member of this Organization. We are sure it will make a positive contribution towards the building of a better world, a task to which we are all committed.

58. The history of the Dominican Republic has been characterized by heroic deeds in the defence of liberty. In this difficult task, this is part of the contribution that American independence has made to the principles of democracy. Up to now we have been guided by and have followed those guidelines.

59. We cannot say that after 1844, when the Dominican Republic came into being as a free and independent State through the brave actions of a few, we have not had to rise up again because of the interference to which our national sovereignty was subjected. To these incidents must be added the fact of our political turbulence, which generated the implacable scourge of internal revolutions. Nevertheless, the ideals upheld with sacrifice and selflessness by the founders of the Republic remain in essence intact within the evolution of our political thinking.

60. Another historic fact is that a new Government, one that emerged as a result of universal suffrage in the Dominican Republic, is represented at this thirty-third session.

61. All born in that land therefore rejoice that after almost a century, in compliance with the constitutionality that justified the coming into being of the Republic, a President elected by sovereign legal processes has transmitted public powers to his legitimate successor. This is the example we give of compliance with rules of law and our people's constant aspiration to exercise independence.

62. On 16 August of this year, in compliance with the people's will and the constitutional rules in force, His Excellency Don Antonio Guzmán assumed the responsibilities of the President of all Dominicans. On that memorable occasion the highest official of our nation clearly and precisely gave us the guidelines of his Government. I cannot fail to mention those which refer to compliance with the general principles of public international law: respect for the sanctity of international treaties and conventions and for the rules governing the United Nations and its subsidiary bodies, as well as respect for the Organization of American States [OAS], from which is derived the legal system of our region and its organic institutions and, in general, the interdependence of States; regional and world-wide solidarity; co-operation and peaceful coexistence, as one of the most effective means of maintaining peace and eliminating the scourge of war.

63. To that is added the conviction of the President that international relations must be conducted within the framework of equality and mutual respect; that peaceful procedures must be followed for the settlement of disputes and international controversies; that social progress and the economic development of peoples are indivisible and that from this is derived the natural obligation of the developed nations, and particularly the industrialized nations, to give financial and technological assistance to the developing countries so as to eradicate the economic inequalities that are the cause of international tensions and conflicts.

64. The Government of the Dominican Republic also has its interest directed towards the third world, the non-aligned countries and, furthermore, all those with which we have not yet established normal relations. The Government is paying particular attention to solutions that will bring about greater closeness in accordance with the fact of the interdependence of States. Finally, it advocates the reaffirmation of the democratic system characterized by the principle that sovereignty resides in the people, from which it follows in our times that political pluralism must be a

genuine expression of that sovereign power guaranteed by the right to vote.

65. To all nations represented here I transmit, through their delegations, this message from the Government of the Dominican Republic, which is now entering upon a new cycle of conceptual evolution and perspectives for exemplary progress with the support of legitimate institutions and prompted by an unwavering will to serve the most sacred public interest and the aspirations of all Dominicans.

66. All countries on earth should join the United Nations in celebrating at the highest level the thirtieth anniversary of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. One of the most solemn and constructive ways to celebrate the occasion would be to establish educational programmes incorporating at least progressive ideas on the subject, which must be related to humanistic disciplines later to be received in university centres. If this were to lead to specialization and dissemination schemes, the time would come when what we call Utopia, in which man himself would be the possessor of international human rights, would be transformed from a dream into a universal reality.

67. We are convinced that human rights represent the genuine and common heritage of mankind and, because it is indivisible and one of solidarity, violations in one country have repercussions in others.

68. For that reason, and because we shall be celebrating yet another anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, I cannot fail to mention the intention of the Head of State of the Dominican Republic strictly to apply in our country the precepts and rules enshrined in those rights in the Dominican Republic as the principal obligation of the State. And in order to ensure strict respect for these rights, a draft of a law setting up a court of constitutional guarantees is to be submitted to the National Congress.

69. I must now refer specifically to the fact that, within the context of the vigorous policy of the defence of human rights, the National Congress of my country has just approved a law granting general amnesty to persons imprisoned for political acts related to political breaches of the peace or political motives, and even those for which the legal description is doubtful.

70. We share the view that it is urgent to study the relationship that may exist between civil and political rights and economic, social and cultural rights, and that Governments must advocate these investigations which are so important for making progress on a subject that is causing concern in areas in conflict. For similar reasons, we share the view that we must define distinctive types of breaches which by their nature constitute violations of human rights.

71. We also believe that it is desirable that the system of imprisonment for political crimes and breaches of the peace in their three distinctive aspects should be made more humane so that the applicable punishments shall take into account the recommendations of modern criminology.

72. We are convinced that human rights are profoundly rooted in the Four Freedoms formulated by President

Roosevelt in 1941 before the Congress of the United States of America, when the repercussions of the world conflagration was being felt in all parts of the world.

73. That instrument advocates freedom of speech and expression; freedom of every man to worship God; freedom from hunger and freedom to live free from poverty, which presumes economic assistance guaranteeing the right to live for all the inhabitants of the earth; and freedom from fear, which would obviously mean a world review of armaments so that no nation would be able indiscriminately to stockpile arms with the risk of unleashing the scourge of war with catastrophic results.

74. The mobilization of the world conscience so as to make human rights effective, which has lately been making itself felt with admirable impetus, therefore gives rise to a new source of wisdom and of humanity in the formulation of those Four Freedoms.

75. The delegation of the Dominican Republic to the seventh regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS, which was held at Grenada from 14 to 22 June 1977, maintained a position consistent with that of the Government of the United States of America on the subject, which is to be found in inter-American instruments and also forms part of the structures of this world Organization.

76. Peace, that noble aspiration of the human spirit, which has not yet been fully attained, must be the fundamental goal of all Governments on earth, particularly today when the statistics of international specialized agencies forecast more than 6 billion inhabitants of the globe at the end of the present century. And it is logical to think that, unless traditional methods are changed—methods which have proved ineffective to ensure survival and education for mankind today—it will be difficult to face the grave problems of the future in a world becoming smaller in space and in resources.

77. It is up to all nations, and particularly those responsible for the balance of power, to overcome differences of frontiers and ideologies so that, in solidarity, they will find definite solutions to the lack of education, food and housing, problems which increasingly weigh on the destiny of man. To this end it is essential to consolidate universal peace, that divine gift which man has denied himself and for which this Organization has always striven since it came into being in 1945, representing in sum mankind's greatest ideals.

78. The Head of State of the Dominican Republic is particularly interested in making the economy more dynamic so as to increase the well-being of the entire population, and to attain that objective he intends to broaden the domestic market and firmly to promote exports so as to create demand for our national products. And yet all these domestic efforts intended to bring about a healthy economy, mobilize local resources, capitalize the State enterprises, stimulate the agricultural sector and improve public services require international conditions which will not have a negative effect on the efforts which our Government intends to make in the next four years.

79. Along the same line of thinking we must recall the need to be able to rely upon stable prices for sugar at the world level. Sudden fluctuations in the price of this product in the free market have caused enormous harm to countries which have considerable exportable surpluses. Our Government therefore urges that all countries which signed the International Sugar Agreement, 1977, but which have not yet ratified it to proceed to do so in order to create stability and order in the market.

80. In broadening the basis of international co-operation in every field among the great Powers and relatively less developed countries it is necessary to reach agreement on multinational financial and economic matters and to give effect to that agreement as soon as possible. This must no longer be delayed. It is totally impossible to maintain international relations on a basis of constructive international co-operation which will be broader and more open to all States Members of the United Nations as long as we have no world food authority to deal with the basic problems of feeding the world's population. In Latin American countries, according to ECLA data, 110 million people live in a state of acute poverty. We can no longer escape the need to create an international organization which would give scientific and technological guidelines to all countries, particularly the less developed.

81. A fund for the stabilization of raw materials prices, which has so often been discussed in UNCTAD but still has not come into being, can no longer await agreements for financing for the benefit of both rich and poor countries alike because of the degree of interdependence of the international economy. Many decisions are yet to be taken at a world level for the stabilization of trade relations, for the joint exploitation of the resources of the sea, for a more just and equitable distribution of the financial burden for development, and for the formulation of policies to achieve international monetary stability and to prevent serious fluctuations in the balance of payments such as have occurred recently, and for the adoption of many other measures which could give an impetus for mankind to bring about a better world under the rule of peace and peaceful coexistence.

82. The Dominican Republic condemns the use of violence wherever it occurs, because this is one of the major obstacles preventing the world of today from being able to live in peace, which is the ultimate goal of the United Nations.

83. For these reasons we praise the studies made by the competent international organizations to outlaw, in so far as is humanly possible, that enemy of peace and of human progress.

84. Those convictions have led my country to welcome with pleasure the efforts made during the Bonn Economic Summit Conference in July to implement the anti-piracy Convention adopted at The Hague in 1970⁶ and to provide procedures for imposing sanctions on countries which refuse to try or extradite air pirates or to return hijacked aircraft.

⁶ Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft, signed at The Hague on 16 December 1970.

85. We also favour finding more effective methods to discourage the taking of hostages, which is so often an attack on innocent persons, since this evil is on the increase, as is clear from the events which have so disturbed the international community.

86. We also favour a truce in international tensions which could pave the way to the solution of problems which exist in areas of conflict such as the Middle East. For that conflict, new, correct and honourable guidelines seem to have been found on a footing of equality and mutual respect, to dispel distrust and bring about renewed goodwill, without which understanding among men and nations is not possible.

87. The dilemma in which we find ourselves leads us to recall a similar situation of conflict in the Republic of France, when Talleyrand, having been recalled for consultation after his dismissal, replied to the words of the Great Corsican, "Negotiate, while you can still negotiate."

88. In brief, those are the guidelines of the international policy of my country on the grave problems afflicting the States which compose this world Organization. This represents the thinking of His Excellency the President of the Republic, Mr. Antonio Guzmán.

89. On this occasion, more than on any other we can speak with the firmness given to peoples by their consciousness of what is true, genuine and just. With the election to the presidency of the Republic of His Excellency Mr. Antonio Guzmán, and with the peaceful transfer of presidential power, the time has come when, for the good of the democratic world and for our own good, the Dominican Republic must definitively be considered as a State where representative democracy really prevails.

90. Mr. VRHOVEC (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, may I first cordially congratulate you on your election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. The Yugoslav delegation, and I personally, are gratified to be able to address our congratulations to you, an outstanding statesman and diplomat and a prominent representative of friendly Colombia, with which Yugoslavia has fruitful and close co-operation.

91. I am happy to be able to welcome in our midst the representatives of the new Member State, Solomon Islands, by whose admission our Organization has taken one more step closer to the realization of the principle of universality embodied in the Charter of the United Nations.

92. It is a cause of satisfaction to my country that full credit has been given to the representative of Yugoslavia, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, for the way in which he presided over the General Assembly at a significant period of its activity, with one regular session and three special sessions devoted to very important questions of international life.

93. The agenda of the current session of our Assembly includes important problems affecting international peace and security, as well as issues concerning long-term questions of the development of the world in which we live. Regular sessions provide us with an opportunity to give

additional stimulus to our joint efforts to work more resolutely for the solution of the problems facing us.

94. This is all the more important since our session is taking place at a time of further deepening of the general crisis in the existing system of international political and economic relations; at a time of stagnation in the process of relaxation of tensions; at the time of an unabated arms race, an aggravation of existing crises and the strengthening of attempts to impose new forms of domination and interference in the internal affairs of independent States.

95. Our hope and our firm belief that the difficulties of our time can be successfully overcome are based on the tremendously increased determination of peoples and countries to fight for their independence and free development and to contribute to the establishment of a new system of international relations founded on freedom, equality, interdependence and justice. Guided by these noble aspirations, the non-aligned countries, which represent the greater part of the membership of the world Organization, gathered this summer at their ministerial Conference in Belgrade,⁷ the capital of my country, in order to make their voice still stronger and to render their actions for the achievement of these objectives still more determined.

96. The Belgrade Conference attracted the attention of the world public precisely because it strengthened and further elaborated all the basic principles and the role and orientation of the policy of non-alignment as an independent, non-bloc world factor actively involved in the struggle for new international relations.

97. Having this in mind, the Conference adopted positions on all the important and burning issues of contemporary international relations. It underlined the importance of the actions of non-aligned countries within the United Nations and their readiness to co-operate, particularly with the other developing countries and with all those favouring the general application of the principles of active and peaceful coexistence.

98. The Conference also firmly rejected all attempts to divide the non-aligned countries on political, ideological and other grounds. It also adopted specific recommendations for the peaceful settlement of disputes between non-aligned countries. It charted the political course for the preparation of the forthcoming important meetings of non-aligned countries, including their summit conferences. The final acts of the Conference have been circulated as a document of the General Assembly [A/33/206], and we believe that they will be studied with due attention.

99. Opening the Conference, President Tito emphasized that:

"World stability has been discussed for years now as wholly dependent on a balance of power and fear, and bloc accommodation. At the same time, however, we have been witness to persisting instability, as the end result of precisely these premises." [*Ibid.*, p. 150.]

⁷ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978.

100. This has impelled us to seek and construct another approach, based on a different logic, towards the realities of our world, and this has been embodied in the policy of non-alignment. This policy has asserted itself with such moral and political force that it "has imparted positive elements of stability to an anxious and disturbed world" [*ibid.*]. Precisely for this reason it was able to assert itself as a real and in fact the only possible alternative to the existing systems of privileges, monopolies and dependence.

101. This was even more strongly underlined in the stand taken at the Belgrade Conference that the struggle against the old and the new evils of our world, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, against all forms of foreign domination and interference, and the fight against political and economic hegemonism and all forms of subjugation, must be waged at the same time as the struggle for the realization of a different vision of the world in which the system of life will not be based on bloc divisions, even if it were possible to achieve a so-called balance of bloc forces and interests.

102. This applies primarily to our concept of the character and substance of détente, that is, of the process of relaxation of tensions in the world, to which we attach such great importance.

103. Détente is today in a state of serious stagnation, particularly with regard to relations among the great Powers, and it is also plagued with some new cold war elements. We must see how to set in motion again its positive trends, since without détente there are no real prerequisites for a more effective elimination of the main hotbeds of crisis in the world.

Mr. Muganga (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.

104. Of course, we must be aware of the fact that, no matter how important relations among the great Powers may be, détente must not be directed solely towards mutual accommodation among blocs and their mutual coexistence. Détente must become universal. It must encompass all regions and all aspects of international life. It must not amount to a conservation of existing conditions of dependence and the *status quo*, but must be a means of promoting movement towards peace, independence and social progress with the active and equal participation and responsibility of all the members of the world community. Our Organization, by its efforts and deliberations, can greatly stimulate such a direction of détente.

105. Within the context of the weighty subjects on the agenda of our session, my delegation considers that we should at present devote particular attention to action for the final liquidation of colonialism in all parts of the world. Colonialism is an anachronism of the past which is desperately maintaining itself owing to the continued existence of bloc-motivated strategic needs and the interests of international monopolies which are tied to the remaining régimes in southern Africa.

106. The racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia are aware of this situation. That is why they take advantage so widely of the insufficient effectiveness of the world

Organization in adopting necessary decisions and its lack of determination in implementing the existing ones.

107. The case of Namibia provides all of us with an instructive example. As a result of the liberation struggle of the people of Namibia and the solidarity of the international community developments took a positive turn. Precisely when this could lead to a genuine solution, the South African racist Government raised new obstructions, with the intention of turning the clock back.

108. My delegation wishes to call the attention of this Assembly to the fact that such obstruction, accompanied by the perpetration of brutal crimes and genocide against the African population and the undertaking of aggressive actions against sovereign African States, particularly the front-line States, by the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia will continue as long as the world community and our Organization do not apply the necessary measures against those régimes more consistently and resolutely.

109. Racism and *apartheid* have been condemned by the United Nations as a crime against humanity and a threat to peace and security in the world, and yet the embargo on the supply of arms to South Africa, and economic and other sanctions against Rhodesia are, regrettably, not being consistently implemented by all.

110. We should once again reaffirm our clearly defined policy and pledge our full support and assistance to peoples fighting for the elimination of those racist régimes and for their national liberation. We must lend full support to and recognize all the legitimate rights of the liberation movements of SWAPO in Namibia and the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe. There can be no genuine and lasting achievement of independence and transfer of power to the African majority without the participation of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front.

111. We believe, in particular, that the plan envisaged for Namibia, including the sending of peace-keeping forces of the United Nations to ensure a peaceful and just process for the gaining of independence, should be brought to completion resolutely and without delay. My Government is prepared to lend its full support to this, deeply convinced that it is a positive step towards the final liquidation of racism and *apartheid* in South Africa and Rhodesia, the attainment of independence by the people of Zimbabwe and the securing of stability and peace in that sensitive area of the African continent.

112. In the tolerance shown of the insolent challenges and manoeuvres of the racist régimes the African countries rightly see new neo-colonial aspirations and tendencies towards the recolonization of certain African regions. We, the United Nations, must not close our eyes to this fact.

113. The failure to settle these and other crises in Africa will result in new grave disturbances in international relations and will open new areas for the rivalry and conflicts of foreign interests and confrontations. Precisely for that reason, we consider the role played by the OAU in African affairs to be very important. For this the OAU deserves the full support of the United Nations.

114. The Middle East crisis is also one of the most dangerous focal points of a possible world conflict. This is primarily a consequence of the stubborn persistence of Israel in pursuing an aggressive policy against neighbouring Arab countries, its denial of the national rights of the Palestinian people and its refusal to implement the relevant resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

115. Aware of the gravity of the problem with which we are confronted there, as well as of the need to do everything to prevent a further deterioration of the dangerous state of crisis and find ways conducive to a just and peaceful solution, we wish to welcome and support all efforts that genuinely tend towards achieving those aims.

116. We must also be quite realistic, however, in assessing all the elements of the existing crisis and carefully appraise which steps bring us closer to and which possibly take us further away from a just and lasting solution. We are deeply convinced that all peace initiatives must keep that in mind and must be evaluated precisely from that standpoint.

117. As a consequent concept of the spirit and letter of the resolutions adopted by the United Nations as well as positions determined at a number of conferences of the non-aligned countries, a comprehensive and lasting settlement of the Middle East crisis must embody three fundamental principles: first, the complete withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied during the 1967 war; secondly, the exercise by the Palestinian people of its inalienable national right to self-determination and the establishment of its own independent State and recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and thirdly, the right of all countries and peoples of the region to security and independent development.

118. We believe that only the steps taken in accordance with the aforementioned principles and aimed at their full implementation will be likely to lead to a comprehensive, lasting and peaceful settlement of the crisis and ensure peace and stability in that region.

119. Now I should like to refer to our thinking and positions on the Cyprus crisis and the question of Korea. The prolongation of the Cyprus crisis, which deprives an independent country of its right to full sovereignty, alerts us also to the existence of a constant threat to peace in that part of the world. We are convinced that a way out can be found only through a consistent and comprehensive implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), which contains all the necessary elements and measures for the settlement of this crisis. We think that this should be achieved by refraining from actions amounting to interference and pressure from outside, by constructive dialogue between the two communities and, in particular, by the United Nations playing a more active role in implementing its resolutions.

120. We should not forget for a single moment that the continued maintenance of the division of Korea is one of the potential sources of a wider international conflict. We must, therefore, lend clear and constant support to the just aspirations of the people of Korea for peaceful reunifica-

tion, without outside interference, and welcome in that sense the concrete and constructive steps of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea towards that goal.

121. One of the most important questions in the life of the world community is the problem of disarmament. It was debated at length at the recent tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was convened on the initiative of the non-aligned countries.

122. Although the results of that session do not give us cause for excessive optimism, we are nevertheless convinced that it is quite realistic to say that that session was important as it expressed the definite resolve of our Organization to deal with this question directly and actively in the future as well. What we adopted there constitutes a good starting-point for our future efforts in this domain. That applies in the first place to the general principles involving the primary responsibility and central role of the United Nations.

123. The decision to reaffirm the inalienable right of all States, without discrimination, to develop, acquire, and use nuclear technology for peaceful purposes with a view to promoting their own economic and social development [*see resolution S-10/2, para. 36*], is of great significance. This decision is all the more important as tendencies to maintain the existing nuclear monopoly are still very much present. Reconciling ourselves to the strengthening of such monopoly would lead to a widening of the already dangerous gap between the developing and the developed countries, which would strengthen technological colonialism, create new grounds for instability in the world and engender new dangerous tensions in international relations. It is important now to implement as effectively as possible the decisions we have taken and to ensure that the organs we have formed should start functioning as soon as possible.

124. The tenth special session failed to find positive solutions to some key problems, such as the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons or the giving of guarantees to countries which have renounced those weapons that such weapons will not be used against them. We consider that without this commitment the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons cannot fulfil the purpose for which it was intended.

125. The outstanding questions of the liquidation of foreign military bases and the concrete establishment of zones of peace and co-operation in various parts of the world have also remained unresolved. And, most important, it seems to us that the efforts of the world Organization in this sphere should be aimed at overcoming the present trend towards negotiations concerned with balancing armaments and at finally setting in motion the genuine process of disarmament.

126. Because of existing resistance, motivated by bloc interests, it has not been possible to adopt more than provisions of principle on the subject of zones of peace and co-operation. To our mind, these provisions of principle should apply wholly to the region of the Mediterranean. That has been endorsed by the majority of Mediterranean countries. These provisions must provide a basis for the future efforts of Mediterranean countries and their deter-

mination to ensure, in the spirit of the decisions of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, stable peace, security and progress in the Mediterranean through the co-operation of all the countries of the region on a basis of equality.

127. Within the framework of our efforts to strengthen security in the world we attach great importance to the promotion of confidence among peoples and States. Confidence can be promoted in various ways, *inter alia* through the establishment of zones of peace and co-operation and nuclear-weapon-free zones; by refraining from military manoeuvres along borders and their use to exert pressure on other countries; by the outlawing of terrorist organizations and their activities against other States; and by refraining from hostile propaganda.

128. Terrorism is a form of international crime which is deliberately directed against the independence and free and peaceful life of peoples and countries. It is a form of indirect aggression and an instrument of destabilization of the internal systems of sovereign States with a view to imposing alien ideological and political systems on them and destroying the independence of those countries.

129. We are convinced that all the members of the world community must bear equal responsibility for an energetic and constant struggle against this crime.

130. We wish to draw attention, in particular, to the danger arising out of the existence of double standards in the approach to terrorism, according to which one type of terrorism is treated as a crime and another as a form of political opposition, and to the attempts made to discredit as terrorism national liberation struggles against foreign domination. It is clear that purely ideological criteria and remnants of cold war concepts about two worlds, or endeavours to maintain colonial relations, lie behind such attitudes.

131. Just because of the existence of such double standards regarding terrorist groups, we wish to call the Assembly's attention to the fact that the draft international convention against the taking of hostages, which is before the General Assembly [item 120], should be construed as indicating a readiness to apply the same criteria to all kinds of acts of international terrorism, and to combat them resolutely and in the same way.

132. Permit me to refer to an important question for the world community, that of human rights, which has given rise to deep controversies and, regrettably, has become the object of frequent manipulations inspired by various ideological concepts, and to draw attention to the positions adopted by the conference of Minister of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned countries, held recently in Belgrade.

133. Proceeding from the principles of the United Nations, the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Conference pointed out that the issue of human rights cannot be isolated from its national, economic and social context. This position is inspired by the conviction that the freedom of the individual is inseparable from the freedom of the people, and that the human rights and the

fundamental freedoms of the individual and of the people are inseparable.

134. Only thus can the rights of the individual and of the people and their free and all-round development be genuinely promoted. This should be a component part of the political and economic emancipation of peoples and of the struggle for the democratization of international relations.

135. My country, profoundly convinced that political systems must serve the human person, and not vice versa, accords a very high priority to the question of human rights. Therefore, we wish to draw attention once again to the importance of the initiative of the non-aligned countries concerning the elaboration and adoption of an integral and comprehensive approach to human rights.

136. In this connexion we also devote particular attention to the provision in the Declaration of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries concerning the need for strict respect for the rights of ethnic and religious minorities [see A/33/206, annex I, para. 156]. We believe that the nation that constitutes the majority is responsible for the realization of the rights of the national minority, as it is difficult to imagine a majority enjoying genuine freedom if it has not ensured the same freedom to the national minority.

137. For my country, this is a very important principle, both because of the federal and multinational character of our community, in which all nations and all nationalities enjoy optimal and equal conditions for their free national development, and because of our strong belief that national minorities, provided they enjoy all the necessary rights, can be one of the most valuable links between countries and peoples, and can foster confidence between them.

138. I am convinced that there is no particular need to demonstrate the uncertainties that are engendered by attempts to maintain old relations of inequality, privilege and exploitation in international economic relations. This system of relations is in a state of absolute crisis, and we witness, at the same time, a complete standstill in negotiations on problems whose solution would bring about a radical and indispensable change in international economic relations.

139. It seems to us that, owing to selfishness and a lack of readiness to grasp the core of the problem, no real dialogue has yet been established between the most developed and the developing countries, as a result of which no progress has been achieved with regard to the solution of a single substantive question. Owing to such obstruction, the first year's work of the Committee on the new international economic order⁸ has ended in complete failure. It is not possible to endorse the thesis that this was due to differences of interpretation concerning the character and scope of its mandate.

140. The least we should do, confronted as we are by this critical situation, is to create by joint efforts, at this session,

⁸ Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174.

conditions for the normal functioning of the Committee on the new international economic order within the framework of its mandate.

141. We believe that the Committee will be able to continue its work by the beginning of next year and that it will be in a position to make its concrete contribution to negotiations on the most important issues which are under way, and thus ensure a favourable political atmosphere for preparations for the new international development strategy and the successful outcome of the fifth session of UNCTAD and of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.

142. The establishment of the new international economic order has become the primary task of the international community. Closing our eyes to this reality not only would exacerbate the existing crisis in economic relations, but would inject new and dangerous disruptions and crises into political relations in the world and, in the final analysis, jeopardize international peace and security.

143. Our vision of new international political and economic relations and their realization calls for a decisive role to be played by the United Nations. The non-aligned countries have always considered that the strengthening of the effectiveness of the United Nations is one of the essential tasks of the international community. For their part, they have made a key contribution to the realization of this process, particularly with respect to the elaboration of universally acceptable platforms for the solving of crises and the elimination of sources of conflict, the establishment of the new international economic order, the elaboration of a programme of general and complete disarmament and the removal of the danger of armed conflicts.

144. We must firmly oppose the growing tendency to withdraw substantive problems from our Organization and to by-pass the United Nations in solving them, and to work for the most effective implementation of its decisions and resolutions.

145. We still live in conditions characterized by contradictions and bloc divisions that are tearing our world apart and pushing it into new confrontations; but, on the other hand, we live in an epoch of ever-greater interdependence that compels us to co-operate in the struggle for peace, equal rights, security and progress in the world.

146. Imbued with a sense of the greatest responsibility towards our own peoples and towards mankind as a whole, we can ensure that this thirty-third session of the General Assembly will prove to be a successful step on the long road leading us to the realization of the noble principles and purposes enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. It is precisely in this light that we view the great commitment of all of us, the great responsibility and important role of our Organization.

147. Mr. HUQ (Bangladesh): I bring this Assembly the warm greetings of the people of Bangladesh. My delegation deems it a high honour to have the opportunity of participating in the deliberations of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly of the United Nations and to share

with other representatives our thoughts on some of the challenging problems facing the world community.

148. It is with special pleasure that I extend to Ambassador Liévano our warmest congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly. It gives my delegation particular satisfaction to work under the wise guidance of a representative of Colombia, a nation with which Bangladesh has many close ties, not the least of which are our common hopes and aspirations as members of the developing world. We have no doubt that the qualities of leadership and the wealth of wide-ranging experience that he brings to bear on his high office will be of immense value to this Assembly in achieving some concrete and fruitful results during the term of his office. We assure him our fullest co-operation.

149. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, deserves our sincere appreciation of his continuing efforts to serve the world community. The dedication and impartiality with which he has pursued the objectives and ideals of this Organization have evoked the admiration of all, including the people of Bangladesh.

150. Bangladesh warmly welcomes the admission of the sovereign and independent State of Solomon Islands as the one hundred and fiftieth Member of the United Nations. It was a great honour for Bangladesh to join in sponsoring the draft resolution leading to its admission to membership. Bangladesh looks forward to working with Solomon Islands in close co-operation.

151. Bangladesh mourns with the rest of the world the death of two outstanding personalities. Pope Paul VI enjoyed world-wide respect and esteem for the great concern that he showed for moral and human values and also the contribution he made in promoting understanding, tolerance and peace among peoples of the world. President Mzee Jomo Kenyatta, a great leader and statesman, symbolized the spirit of resurgence in new Africa. The examples of courage, sacrifice and vision that he set as a freedom fighter and a nation-builder will remain a source of inspiration for generations to come.

152. As we survey the crowded agenda before this session we are acutely conscious of the crucial issues before the world community: how to safeguard peace and resolve smouldering conflicts by peaceful and just means; how to achieve a disarmed world free from interference and spheres of influence; how to accelerate social and economic development, redress gaping disparities and move rapidly to a more stable and equitable international economic order; how to ensure world-wide respect for basic human rights—economic, social and political; how to promote the fundamental right of self-determination and genuine independence; and, finally, how to foster recognition and respect for the rule of law and universal norms of conduct.

153. For 33 years the United Nations has been grappling with those problems in their varying forms and aspects. Implicit in the search for their solution is the conviction that peace is indivisible. While the awareness grew that humanity did not necessarily share a single approach to this search, it was also recognized that peace through intimidation or peace through purchase was ephemeral. If there is

any theme to which we in Bangladesh are wedded it is the basic one that only peace through justice can endure.

154. For over three decades the United Nations has sought to manage the unprecedented changes in the political, military, economic, social and technological circumstances of our planet. This period has seen the thawing of the cold war, the dismantling of colonial empires, innovative efforts to contain potential and existing conflicts and pioneering initiatives to meet a vast array of global problems ranging from problems of population, industrialization and trade; to the status of women, an order for the world seas and the utilization of scarce water resources. The most important challenge, however, lies ahead: how to harness and consolidate the willingness of nations to serve the long-term interests of all humanity and uphold man's positive and nobler goals.

155. It is to that high ideal that the Government of Bangladesh is firmly committed. We believe that the United Nations constitutes a vital catalyst in the evolution of a new awareness in the international community. In early years the dominant influence governing international relations stemmed from the tension between the great Powers. Today that has been eroded and in its place has emerged the equally disturbing phenomenon of unequal relations among States posing a threat to peace, security and progress. Today, the United Nations is also vitally concerned in forging that necessary instrument of co-operation capable of harmonizing the national policies of 150 States. The challenge lies now in achieving that amalgam between national and international interests so that they may coincide, rather than conflict, in the larger interests of all mankind and in the undoubted recognition of their interdependence.

156. For Bangladesh, this process of evolution has a crucial significance. Our commitment to the United Nations goes far beyond the mere formalization of the sovereign independent status inherent in our admission to United Nations membership. Adherence to the principles and obligations of the United Nations Charter is enshrined in our Constitution, and around it we have developed the fabric of our foreign policy. We cannot overlook the fact that the United Nations benefits the developing nations most of all, for the essential motive force of the Organization is safeguarding the interests of those countries through the generation of a greater sense of collective responsibility and the strengthening of collective capacity to deal with world problems. It is therefore imperative that the developing countries have an effective voice in the decision-making organs of the United Nations.

157. Another corner-stone of Bangladesh policy is its strict adherence to the principles of non-alignment. Bangladesh lays special emphasis on freedom from subjugation and exploitation, however subtle their form, the right of peoples to govern their own national destiny without pressure, intimidation or interference, the freedom to retain independence of judgement and, above all, the fostering of peaceful coexistence among all nations irrespective of differences of ideologies or socio-economic systems. The end objective is the creation of an environment of peace in which people could harness all available resources to combat the scourges of poverty, hunger, disease and

illiteracy, so that economic freedom could be secured without sacrificing political freedom and economic growth could be achieved without jeopardizing social justice.

158. It is in the broad context of these principles that we turn now to some of the specific issues on our agenda, particularly those which have a special bearing on international peace and security and, hence, call for urgent global co-operation.

159. Despite several peace initiatives taken during the year, the international political situation continues to remain disquieting with many more crisis spots appearing on the political horizon than was the case a year ago.

160. The Middle East continues to remain an explosive area of tension. If there is any substance to peace with justice, then three cardinal precepts must be recognized and enforced. No country can be permitted to enjoy the fruits of aggression. Secondly, no people can be denied their inalienable right to their homeland. Thirdly, no country can be allowed to embark on a policy of conquest and expansion through force to alter the political, demographic and cultural character of territories so occupied. There can thus be no lasting peace in the Middle East without Israel's withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories, including the Holy City of Jerusalem, and the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to establish a State of their own in consonance with the resolutions of the United Nations.

161. Bangladesh views with deep distress and dismay the fact that southern Africa still continues to bleed under the repressive rule of racist minority régimes. We express our total solidarity with the brave African people and reaffirm our full and unequivocal support of their heroic and legitimate struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania for independence and the immediate transfer of power to the true representatives of the majority people. Bangladesh believes that independence in these last remaining bastions of colonialism can and must be achieved without concessions to the principles already embodied in the resolution of the United Nations.

162. The task of finding a workable balance between national fears, suspicions and preoccupations on the one hand and the long-term interests of the world community on the other is clearly contingent on the pace of progress towards disarmament.

163. The non-aligned movement can take justifiable pride that its overriding concern and incentives on this critical issue were to lead to the first historic special session of the General Assembly devoted exclusively to disarmament, and to the adoption by that session of a consensus document [resolution S-10/2] in spite of ingrained difficulties and deeply entrenched positions. It is difficult to measure the achievements of that historic session in terms of any tangible progress towards the limitation or reduction of arms. Nevertheless, the most important success was a moral one—the initiation of a process of continuing dialogue and the acceptance of a comprehensive approach towards determining the essentials of a new strategy for disarmament—a strategy setting out goals and priorities governing future negotiations within a prescribed frame-

work. Of crucial importance were the agreements of the machinery for such negotiations, particularly through the improvement of the United Nations deliberative and negotiating bodies on disarmament.

164. Bangladesh's position on these issues is clear and unequivocal. Our endeavours must be directed along two parallel fronts: the first would aim at a warless world through a series of comprehensive measures not merely for the stabilization of armaments but for the substantive reduction and elimination of such arms through a phased programme with the ultimate goal of general and complete disarmament; the second would involve simultaneous progress towards an adequate system of world security to fill the void—a system based on the rule of law and on the collective responsibility of all nations for maintaining peace, renouncing the use of force and settling disputes through peaceful means. We believe that increasing and overriding attention must be devoted to strengthening the capacity of the United Nations in this direction, particularly through the effective implementation of the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter.

165. Bangladesh has been unflinching in its efforts to promote peace and stability in the South Asian region through the creation of a climate of trust, understanding and co-operation on the basis of mutual respect for sovereign equality and non-interference in one another's internal affairs. Progress made in this direction is demonstrated by, first, the agreement with India on the 25-year old problem of sharing the Ganges waters; secondly, the agreement with India and Nepal on the use of the overland route through India between Nepal and Bangladesh; and thirdly, the agreement with Burma on the repatriation of the Burmese refugees. These agreements reflect the statesmanship of the leaders of these countries and their faith in the principle of peaceful settlement of all problems. Our friendly relations with our other neighbours in the region—Pakistan, Sri Lanka, Afghanistan and Bhutan—continue to grow in strength.

166. We have always considered Bangladesh as a bridge between South and South-East Asia and have sought by all means to strengthen the traditional ties of friendship and co-operation between Bangladesh and the countries of South and South-East Asia and the Pacific.

167. Internally, Bangladesh is passing through an important phase of political and economic transition. The first presidential election was held in June this year on the basis of universal adult suffrage. The elections to the local bodies were held earlier and the elections to the National Parliament are scheduled to be held this coming December. The 19-point programme of President Ziaur Rahman envisages far-reaching political, administrative and economic reforms. The reorganization of the administrative and services structures is now under way with a view to gearing them for economic and social development. The two-year approach plan for economic and social development is also now under implementation and will be followed by a five-year plan within the frame of a 20-year perspective plan. Top priority has been assigned to achieving economic self-sufficiency through increasing agricultural production, rural development and population control. A

key development strategy is to decentralize the planning machinery and generate the self-reliant efforts of the people through their direct participation in the formulation and implementation of development plans at local levels. A nation-wide campaign has been mounted for the mobilization and harnessing of the country's vast human resources for productive efforts.

168. Bangladesh's experiences in the field of development, however, indicate certain constraints embedded in global factors which call for closer co-operation among the nations of the world.

169. It has now become more abundantly clear than ever before that the problems of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy that plague the developing countries cannot be effectively resolved as long as those countries remain shackled to an economic order built during colonial times and oriented essentially to subserve the colonial system of production and trade. The existing economic system is both unjust and outdated. It is stifling the growth of the developing countries of the third world and impeding their progress in attaining their development potential by denying them fair access to world resources, world markets and world trade. It deprives them of a fair opportunity of deploying their vast manpower for productive employment. It continues to widen the inequalities between the rich and the poor nations.

170. The iniquitous character of this system and the grotesque distortions it produces in the growth pattern will be evident from the following illustrative facts. First, despite the development efforts extending over two decades and a half, the world population living in absolute and abject poverty has risen to 800 million and constitutes 40 per cent of the 2 billion population of developing countries, according to a recent World Bank report. Secondly, for 1 billion of the world's population the annual *per capita* income remains as low as \$US 150 in terms of 1976 prices—which will be much less in real terms—compared to the *per capita* income of over \$US 6,000 for the population of the industrialized countries. Thirdly, the share of developing countries in world industrial production, which was a mere 8 per cent before, has now declined to 7 per cent. Fourthly, the debt liability of the low-income countries rose to 200 per cent of their export earnings in 1976 and the total external indebtedness of developing countries today stands at \$US 220 billion. Fifthly, ironically enough, the international assistance programme under the existing scheme of things also has a colonial flavour inasmuch as it is resulting in a net outflow of resources from the poor to the rich countries.

171. Prisoners of this anachronistic economic system, the industrially rich countries are being increasingly driven to protectionism through tariff and non-tariff barriers in their agonizing struggle against inflation, recession and unemployment, with its deleterious effect on the quality of life of their people.

172. The existing world economic order is, therefore, clearly unsuited to contemporary world needs. It is detrimental to the interests of both the poor and the rich countries. The restructuring of the existing economic system is, therefore, an imperative in the global interest,

since the search for peace and political stability is intimately bound up with the settlement of the crucial economic issues of our time.

173. It cannot be overstressed that the new international economic order aims at raising the quality of life of the peoples all over the world; its aim is certainly not to undermine the quality of life in the rich countries. To say this, however, is not the same as equating the quality of life with a life-style based on wasteful consumption, the predatory depletion of non-renewable resources, the pollution of the human environment and the creation of an ecological imbalance.

174. Despite two decades of persistent endeavour through dialogue and negotiation and the adoption of such significant instruments of co-operation as the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and the consensus achieved at the seventh special session of the General Assembly [resolution 3362 (S-VII)], only inconsequential progress has been made in meeting the crucial needs of the third world. Burgeoning hopes for a settlement engendered by the historic North-South dialogue have now all but receded on virtually every front, first in the 18-month long negotiations in Paris and subsequently in their resumption through the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. Wide divergences continue to be reflected as between the pronouncements and actions of developed countries.

Mr. Liévano (Colombia) resumed the Chair.

175. In renewing our commitment to the establishment of a just and new international economic order, we in Bangladesh have a vision for the future. It is a vision which embraces all nations. It is a vision of a world free of hunger, disease and illiteracy, a world free of fear. We believe that we can achieve such a world in this century. But this can come about only if all of us work in concert and with determination towards this goal. If we believe that peace is indivisible, we have to bear in mind that peace and prosperity are also indivisible. It has become more essential than ever before that the world community collectively prepare for the future and commit itself to a rational use of world resources, keeping in view the priorities on a global basis.

176. What, then, are some of these priorities for the future? First, Bangladesh believes that a cardinal imperative is to ensure that sovereignty and genuine freedom of action should not be compromised by external interference from any source whatsoever. Secondly, we must together carry the unfinished revolution forward so that the great majority of people may emerge from bondage into freedom, from exploitation to economic emancipation, and from dependence to self-reliance. Thirdly, we must seek the integration of all nations into the decision-making process. No society, whether national or international, can ignore even its weakest link without affecting its cohesion. Fourthly, we must work for the consolidation of our unity and mutual co-operation, not merely by the affirmation of

principles, but also by meaningful and practical programmes of action and the will to translate them into reality. Finally, it is our collective task to use our combined national power so as to create and not to destroy, to enter into dialogue and not confrontation, to build peace and to abjure war, and to advance human welfare instead of aggravating human suffering.

177. Bangladesh believes that, among the essential elements that need to be incorporated in any future plan for the evolution of a new world order, specific attention must be devoted to the following factors. We believe that these factors are particularly relevant to the formulation of the international strategy for the third United Nations development decade.

178. The first is scrupulous respect for the rule of law and the non-use of force in international relations, and non-interference in the internal affairs of other nations.

179. The second is strict adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter by all Member States, and the observance of the resolutions of the United Nations.

180. Thirdly, basic human needs must be satisfied in the comprehensive sense through the eradication of poverty, hunger, disease and illiteracy, and the highest priority must be assigned to this task for concerted action by the international community.

181. Fourthly, developing countries must strengthen their capacity for greater self-reliance, both individual and collective, not only in terms of self-sufficiency but with a view to broader diversification of resource use and as part of an integrated strategy to secure the transfer of resources and technology. The results of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held recently in Buenos Aires, cannot be over-emphasized in this connexion.

182. Fifthly, the wasteful use of resources, including the mounting expenditure on armaments, must be eliminated and such resources must be diverted to developing countries for productive investments.

183. Sixthly, international policy governing the transfer of financial resources must be redefined with particular attention paid to the needs of the least developed countries and the most seriously affected developing countries. Crucial priority must be assigned to resolving the problem of the third world's accumulated debt; among other things by rescheduling existing liabilities and by tying debt repayment to real resource transfers and the conversion of outstanding debts into grants.

184. The seventh factor is the need to find ways and means to improve the export-earning potential of developing countries through their own efforts and through the expansion of trade with each other as well as by giving them greater access to the markets of developed countries through the progressive liberalization of tariff and non-tariff barriers. Of primary importance is the stabilization of their earnings from the sale of raw materials by means of commodity agreements and the establishment of a common

fund. Equally important is the need to strengthen the arrangements for financing the balance-of-payments difficulties of the least developed countries by granting less rigorous terms and helping them to meet long-term trends, and particularly through the solution of structural problems. Finally, an important activity in this field is the facilitating of the growth and diversification of their export trade in manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

185. The eighth factor is the application of science and technology, which also lies at the root of the developmental process. The proper training of personnel to identify, select and manage future technology, the building of institutions adapted to indigenous technology and the transfer of appropriate technological processes are crucial priorities in this field. Of particular importance will be the preparations for and the holding of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, scheduled for 1979.

186. Ninthly, there is the vital need to harness and mobilize the vast human resources of the developing countries for productive use, thus generating more employment and more production of goods and services to be shared by the world community and thereby enriching the quality of life of people throughout the world.

187. Tenthly, socio-economic structures must be transformed, with particular stress on agrarian and rural development, the distribution of wealth and the means of production through greater decentralization at the grass-roots level to ensure the democratization of the political and economic decision-making power and the promotion of self-management and local leadership.

188. In the eleventh place, adequate emphasis must be placed on the role and status of women and on their full participation in national development and in the decision-making process.

189. Twelfth, there is a need to increase the availability of and access to food-stuffs through appropriate structural transformation and technological innovation. While the creation of the International Fund for Agricultural Development has been a remarkable achievement in the provision of necessary assistance to increase production, an area of major significance is the attainment of food security through the establishment of world-wide food and grain reserves, which could be tapped at times of sudden production short-falls and price increases.

190. In the thirteenth place, international co-operation must be strengthened to prevent and alleviate natural calamities. The United Nations should explore the possibility of converting the Office of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator into a full-fledged international disaster relief agency.

191. Finally, the fourteenth factor is the expansion of international co-operation in the field of energy resources through both policy measures and institutional arrangements.

192. In reaffirming our support for and commitment to the United Nations Bangladesh has submitted itself as a

candidate for election as one of the non-permanent members of the Security Council. We have done so in all humility and in the belief not only that the United Nations serves the interests of the developing countries but also that the latter have a conscious duty and a responsibility to contribute to the furtherance of its objectives. We also believe that the fundamental principle of sovereign equality stipulates that all countries be given equal opportunity to be represented in the organs of the United Nations.

193. On this occasion Bangladesh reiterates its most genuine desire to participate constructively in the process of forging true co-operation and understanding, to maintain the most open and fruitful relations with all nations of the world and to strive together in the common task of ensuring for all countries—small as well as large, poor as well as rich—peace, security and progress based on the principles of freedom, justice and equality.

194. Mr. MALMIERCA (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): While this United Nations General Assembly session is being held a number of conflicts have attracted the attention of the peoples of the world.

195. An African poet once said that there is something ominous about silence. Today we cannot, and do not wish to, remain silent about the situation confronting the worthy people of Nicaragua, the legendary homeland of Augusto César Sandino, who was called the glorious "General of Free Men". It was Sandino who once told the United States imperialists:

"Then come and kill us in our land; I await you at the head of my soldier patriots, and we do not care how many of you there are. But understand this: if that happens, our blood will stain the white dome of the famous White House, that den of criminal plans."

196. Striving to attain political power, inspired by Sandino's example to open up new avenues to a different and better future, fighting from improvised barricades thrown up in the cities and from entrenched columns in the wild mountains, the Nicaraguan revolutionaries have pushed the dictator Somoza and his régime to the verge of collapse using hunting rifles, side arms and home-made bombs.

197. The scientific analysis of social processes shows that when an idea becomes a part of mass consciousness it is transformed into a powerful material force and that when the people decide to throw off the yoke that oppresses them, nothing can stop them.

198. Somoza has resorted to every type of repression in an effort to crush the popular uprising. He has trampled upon human rights, violated public liberties and enthroned barbarity and genocide, and has even used groups of mercenaries, among them Vietnamese and Cuban counter-revolutionaries recruited in a number of countries, particularly the United States and certain Central American States.

199. This situation has created a real source of possible attacks by the Somoza régime against neighbouring States, as has already occurred with the bombing of Costa Rican territory, which has endangered peace throughout the area.

200. Our Assembly should denounce the Somoza régime as a monster that has emerged under the generous shadow of the Yankee occupation and reject the credentials of the delegation from that dictator, who is repudiated by his people and by all progressive mankind; it should condemn the use of mercenary groups sent to crush the struggle of the Nicaraguan people, and condemn all military or economic assistance to the tyrannical régime in Managua.

201. The Middle East is another focal point of crisis on the international scene. If we believe what the great press of the capitalist world says, we can assume that advances towards peace in the Middle East have been made, but if, instead, we look at what has happened in recent months we shall be forced to admit that the reality is quite different.

202. At the last regular session of the General Assembly we stated that "the allies of Tel Aviv and other reactionaries seek by their diplomatic and military manoeuvres to ignore the rights of the Palestinian people . . .".⁹ Those manoeuvres have been deviously expressed in the dubious results of the Camp David meetings, which pretend that the Arab States follow the downward path of unprincipled concessions to the enemy even to the point of betraying the Arab peoples—as the Arab States of the Front for Steadfastness, other Arab Governments and the Palestine Liberation Organization have charged.

203. There is no acknowledgment of the fact that Israel, with the ever-present help of its allies, chiefly the United States, continues to occupy territory belonging to the Arab States of Egypt, Jordan and Syria. There is equally stubborn refusal to allow the Palestinian people to satisfy their most basic national rights. The fact that Israeli troops recently launched a new act of aggression by driving deep into Lebanon and occupying part of its territory for a time, fiercely repressing progressive forces and attacking the Palestinian refugee camps, is completely overlooked. That act of war took place at a time when every effort was being made to make the world believe that peace was at hand.

204. The truth, which cannot be brushed aside by defeatist statements or agreements, is that, when Israel was faced with the undeniable existence of the Palestine nation and the determination of its representatives to struggle for their infringed rights, it chose to practise genocide against that people.

205. The history of diplomacy has recognized peace by treaty. The history of the people will recognize peace by conscience. There is no peace of conscience when the principles of those who died fighting for a social ideal are betrayed. One does not have to be a prophet to know that accounts will be settled some day, and not exactly on the Day of Judgement.

206. Representatives should ask themselves whether the Tel Aviv Government could take this action without the material and moral support of the United States Government.

207. The struggle of the Arab peoples is important for all the countries of the world. It is not admissible for an

aggressive, expansionist State to establish the borders it wants or deprive an entire nation of its legitimate rights by means of war.

208. There will be no just and lasting peace in the Middle East, nor can the international community accept pseudo-solutions that do not respect the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine, including the right to establish their own State and the right to self-determination; nor will there be real peace until the territories occupied in 1967 are returned unconditionally to the Arab States.

209. Cuba pledges its firmest support to the cause of the Arab peoples and especially to the cause of the long-suffering Palestinian people, whose only legitimate representative is the Palestine Liberation Organization, as has been recognized by this Assembly, the movement of non-aligned countries, the League of Arab States, the OAU and especially the Palestinian people itself.

210. Mr. President, before continuing, I should like, on behalf of the Cuban delegation, to congratulate you on your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. Colombia and Cuba are linked by a close fellowship of history and culture. The close relations that have always linked our fraternal peoples have been strengthened since you became Minister for Foreign Affairs of your country, and they are being extended daily to our mutual benefit. We are certain that in the weeks ahead you will skilfully guide the work of this Assembly and we pledge the support of the Cuban representatives in this task.

211. The October Revolution, a social product emerging from the class struggle of contemporary society, marked the start of the genuine crisis of capitalism and opened the wellspring of the struggle of the colonial peoples against imperialism. The world has changed profoundly since then.

212. The international balance of power today is nothing like that which existed in 1920, when the Soviets were alone, surrounded by a hostile world. The balance of power is not even comparable with that in the 1950s or at the beginning of the 1960s. Today, the struggle of the peoples, particularly in the socialist camp, headed by the Soviet Union, has inclined the balance towards the cause of peace, independence and progress. This change in the correlation of forces and this tendency that favours peace are evident within the United Nations itself in the community of interests between the socialist countries and the underdeveloped countries, which has made possible a fruitful period of major definition and decision, particularly in the struggle against colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism and *apartheid* and for the establishment of a new international economic order.

213. As a product of that world correlation and an immediate result of the long internal struggles and difficult battles for national liberation, new independent States have emerged, founded on principles of fraternal and disinterested support. But where are those peoples who have experienced the long darkness of colonial exploitation—without hospitals or doctors, without schools or teachers, without industrial development—and who are prisoners of the dependent relationships they have inherited to find that support?

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 19th meeting, para. 275.

214. Only a social revolution that eliminates the internal structures blocking the productive forces, combined with unconditional outside support based on principles of justice and internationalist solidarity, can help those peoples to move towards a new, full life. Imperialism is not the natural ally of the peoples in their aim to achieve independent development. Its so-called assistance, generally in the form of loans, is one of the mechanisms it has created to pull its own economy out of a state of permanent structural crisis.

215. Colonial and neo-colonial relations are the source of under-development, poverty and ignorance.

216. Cuba urges that colonialism be ended once and for all through the exercise of the right of peoples to self-determination and independence.

217. We therefore energetically support the independence of the Saharan people and the people of Belize. The territorial integrity of the latter people is being threatened by the pro-imperialist régime in Guatemala, with the support of the transnational corporations.

218. During the last two years the United States Government has pressured and threatened the Member States of this international Organization, demanding that the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples suspend its debate and any decision affecting the colonial case of Puerto Rico. Nevertheless, on 12 September, following two weeks of intensive work, that Committee approved a resolution calling upon the United States to transfer all power to the people of that territory so that they might exercise full sovereignty in freely determining their own future [see A/33/23/Rev.1, chap. I, para. 73]. The United States Government was completely isolated. Representatives of all the political forces in Puerto Rico attended the meetings of the Special Committee and not one of them failed to recognize the colonial status of that territory.

219. Cuba will continue to uphold the pertinent decisions of the Conference of the non-aligned countries¹⁰ and the mandate that stems from our history of struggle shared with the Puerto Rican people to support their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

220. The imperialist Powers and the reactionary Governments of other countries are creating new pacts which threaten the security of peaceful States that are engaged in the immense task of building happiness for their peoples.

221. We refer first of all to the heroic people of Viet Nam, whose defeat of imperialist aggression in Indo-China was a decisive contribution to the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism. When the war was over the Vietnamese people dedicated themselves to carrying out President Ho Chi Minh's expressed will that a Viet Nam 10 times more beautiful should be built on the ruins left by the war, in which indiscriminate and criminally massive use had been made of all kinds of weapons except nuclear arms. At the

same time, the Vietnamese Government proceeded rapidly to the normalization of relations with all its neighbours, in an effort to bring peace, neutrality and progress to South-East Asia.

222. However, the Chinese Government leadership, wishing to please its Western allies and leaving no doubts about its anti-progressive and anti-socialist militancy and its dreams of hegemony and expansion in Asia, is now threatening heroic Viet Nam. The Peking leadership is acting in flagrant alliance with United States imperialism and with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO].

223. In Latin America, the Chinese leadership's best friend is the Fascist junta of Pinochet. In Africa, it takes an active part in the aggression against Angola and expresses its solidarity with the threats levelled against the revolutions of Ethiopia and Yemen. In Asia, it seeks to impose its chauvinistic dictates on Viet Nam and other countries. Finally, it works actively against the extension of international détente, the halting of the arms race and the protection of the world from the threat of war.

224. Cuba believes that the immoral policy of the new Chinese mandarins should be energetically rejected.

225. We believe also that it is just and necessary for this Assembly to support the independence and territorial integrity of Namibia and Zimbabwe and we reiterate here that Cuba supports the legitimate representatives of those people, the Patriotic front and SWAPO and that, as President Fidel Castro stated in his speech at the International Conference of Solidarity with the Struggle of the African and Arab Peoples against Imperialism and Reaction,¹¹ Cuba does not oppose any peaceful negotiation that would solve the problems of both cases, so long as such negotiation is just and is accepted by the legitimate representatives of those peoples and by the African States supporting them.

226. Indeed, the very forces that have obliged the fighters of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front to resort to arms provide all kinds of assistance to the régimes of Smith and Vorster and benefit from the exploitation of the black peoples of southern Africa. It is precisely the determination of the patriots of those countries to keep on fighting until victory is won that has forced the racist régimes and their NATO allies to seek peaceful, negotiated solutions.

227. It should be recalled that the United Nations recently published a list of companies that have violated the embargo declared against the racist régimes,¹² and it is highly significant that more than 500 of the 593 Western companies mentioned in the list are British and American. It is therefore absolutely necessary to remain vigilant concerning any attempt to evade the liberation aims of the fighters of the Patriotic Front and SWAPO by replacing the present white racists with another régime which would perpetuate the criminal exploitation to which those peoples are subjected and block the institution of régimes that

¹⁰ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Belgrade from 25 to 30 July 1978 (see document A/33/206).

¹¹ Held at Addis Ababa from 14 to 17 September 1978.

¹² See document D/CN.4/Sub.2/415.

represent the majorities, the black peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe.

228. We believe that the decisions this Assembly adopts should leave Pretoria and Salisbury in no doubt concerning the international community's determination to put an end to racism and colonialism in southern Africa. We support full independence and territorial integrity for Zimbabwe and Namibia. We urge that Pretoria be further isolated and we support the patriots confronting that régime.

229. The recent decision of the South African régime announcing the implementation of its own plan for so-called independence for Namibia proves how strongly South Africa believes it can count on the support of its most important commercial partners and providers of arms and military and nuclear technology. In fact everything seems to indicate that the imperialists regard with veiled pleasure the fact that the authorities of Pretoria are trying to impose a neo-colonial régime upon Namibia.

230. We consider that the moment has come for the Security Council to approve sanctions capable of bringing about the economic, military and political isolation of South Africa and for SWAPO to receive every assistance it requires in order to continue its armed struggle in favour of Namibia's independence, the only alternative left open for the Namibian patriots in view of the attitude of South Africa and the Western Powers.

231. We also condemn the incursions by Rhodesia into the Republic of Mozambique, and we stress Cuba's support for the valiant people of Mozambique, who will not take a backward step, despite these acts of aggression. We believe that this Assembly should call upon all Member States to offer Mozambique and the other front-line States all necessary assistance to meet successfully the actions of the Pretoria and Salisbury régimes.

232. We also alert this Assembly to the intentions of the forces of imperialism and reaction in regard to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, a strong bulwark of democracy, freedom and progress in the Arabian peninsula. We send the Yemeni revolutionaries a warm message of identification and solidarity.

233. We support the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor and Argentina's legitimate aspiration to recover the Malvinas Islands.

234. We demand the complete, unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops remaining in Cyprus in flagrant violation of the sovereign rights of that country and we call for complete respect for its independence and territorial integrity.

235. We call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops and *matériel* from South Korea and for the dissolution of the United Nations Command. We support the just demands of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea aimed at attaining those objectives.

236. We salute the successes achieved by the people of Panama in their long, courageous and heroic struggle to obtain full sovereignty over all their territory.

237. We reiterate our demand that foreign air, naval and military bases in Guam, the Philippines, the Indian Ocean, Malta, Cyprus, Panama, Puerto Rico and Guantánamo—to mention but a few—be dismantled. This would make a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security.

238. We support the heroic struggle being waged by the people of Chile for their freedom and against the policy of unemployment, poverty, repression and surrender of the country's resources to the transnational companies that helped the Fascist junta seize power. We are confident that the Chilean people will emerge victorious over fascism.

239. Much speculation has been voiced over the status of and prospects for our relations with the United States. Cuba can negotiate these relations, but never on the basis of abandoning any of our principles. The prerequisite for any negotiation must be that the United States lift its unjust and unilateral blockade of Cuba and end all its hostile acts and attacks. We cannot have discussions on the basis of force and blackmail; it is not possible to conduct a dialogue with a dagger in the chest. We cannot say when such a discussion will be possible, but it is certain that the Cuban people's right to determine their own future in freedom and sovereignty, to take a specific position in international conflicts and to act in solidarity with the peoples struggling for freedom and independence can never be questioned; that our people will win their right to exercise sovereignty over all our territory; and that the Yankee troops that now illegally occupy a part of our island will have to withdraw.

240. Part of the booty the United States obtained when it intervened in Cuba's war for independence from colonial domination was the territory that it usurped and that is occupied to this day by the naval base in Guantánamo. The military Government of occupation imposed upon the Cubans the concession of that part of our fatherland, in spite of the strong opposition of our people.

241. Over 70 years have elapsed and the United States military presence still continues in the naval base of Guantánamo, a truly colonial enclave in our land. The Government and the people of Cuba strongly voice their demand for the restitution of the territory occupied by that base.

242. This Assembly is meeting after an interval of a year in which the most aggressive forces of imperialism, supported by reactionaries of all types, have tried to prevent the strengthening of détente and push the world back to the days of the cold war, stepping up the arms race and blocking the progress to and consolidation of national independence by the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America and their struggle for economic and social development based on just and equal international relations.

243. In the months since the thirty-second session a series of international conferences have also taken place, including three special sessions of the General Assembly, the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the World Conference to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination, the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing

Countries and the Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries.

244. In analysing the international situation we cannot fail to refer to the critical situation at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea after having held seven sessions. Its success or failure will determine whether a régime of law that will benefit world peace will prevail or whether there will be anarchy, with its unforeseeable consequences. This topic is, therefore, of vital interest to the developing countries; which, with the establishment of a new law of the sea, would make the first real gain in their just struggle for a new international economic order.

245. Only through an international régime will the community of nations be able to prevent the unrestricted exploitation of those resources by the imperialist consortiums seriously harming the inland producers of minerals similar to those found in the sea-bed and guarantee that the benefits obtained from their exploitation will provide resources for the countries that are relatively less developed.

246. Cuba wishes explicitly to state its firm support for the energetic protest formulated by the Group of 77 in the session of the Conference on the Law of the Sea that was concluded recently, expressing opposition to the bills being considered by the United States and other countries that will pave the way for the large consortia to exploit those resources unilaterally. At the same time it emphasizes the responsibility that weighs on all countries—especially the large capitalist Powers—to help to overcome the present deadlock in the Conference.

247. If we can draw any conclusion from what has happened in the last few months, it is first of all that there is duplicity in the foreign policy of the imperialists, who use their diplomatic activities to hide attempts to maintain their neo-colonial rule where it still persists, supporting racist and expansionist reactionary régimes such as those of South Africa and Israel, and to maintain intact the system of international economic relations that favours the exploitation by their consortia of the riches of the so-called third-world countries.

248. Suffice it to recall what happened while the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, was being held. While in this building the vast majority of the representatives of Member States sincerely and insistently tried to find solutions that would slow down the arms race and use the money thus saved to benefit all humanity, strengthening the international peace and security that all people seek, at the same time the NATO Heads of State met in Washington to adopt the most costly programme of military expenditure ever approved by that aggressive military pact. Where is the imperialists' real policy shown—in the New York disarmament negotiations or in the boost given the arms race in NATO?

249. Moreover, it is important to emphasize that the relative success of the special session, which created conditions favourable for continuing efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament, the goal of all progressive forces, was a victory for the non-aligned countries which requested the special session, for the countries of the

socialist community, which gave it their support and for all the other States which worked with dedication in the special session.

250. Allow me to reiterate that Cuba strongly urges the attainment of that goal and that we support the prompt calling of a world disarmament conference and the conclusion of the negotiations to reach partial agreements on such matters as the elimination of chemical weapons, the prohibition of all nuclear weapon testing and a ban on the use of force in international relations. In that regard we salute the proposals presented by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

251. Also while the special session was being held many extremely aggressive, slanderous statements were made against Cuba for its fulfilment of its international obligations to help the peoples of Angola and Ethiopia. A whole campaign of lies was orchestrated to try to accuse Cuba of having participated in the events which took place in the Shaba Province in Zaire, but the truth prevailed and it was further proved that it had all been a means to justify intervention by NATO forces.

252. On 14 September, President Fidel Castro said:

"The imperialists and their reactionary servants oppose Cuba's presence in Africa

"We could answer them with the words of several African Heads of State, who have said that there are no Cubans in Africa who have not been asked to come by an independent State exercising its sovereignty to defend a just cause."

253. Following the defeat of the attack made on the people of Angola by the racist régime of South Africa everything possible has been done to prevent the peoples of Africa and the Middle East from consolidating their independence, to hold back all demonstrations of solidarity with them and to try to divide them. Forces of intervention have even been sent, in an attempt to recolonize Africa, and all possibilities for military confrontation between the countries in the area have been enhanced.

254. The enemies of the people seek to destroy the organizations established to strengthen their solidarity; an example is provided by the efforts made recently on the international level to divide, weaken and destroy the movement of non-aligned countries. We can state, however, that those efforts have failed; the members of the movement are now more united and their presence in the struggle is more active because they have reached basic solutions that respond to the true interests of the people in every one of the main conflicts on the international scene today.

255. Clearly the imperialist forces have been unable to obtain a favourable balance. The revolutions of Angola and Ethiopia have been consolidated, the front-line countries maintain their unswerving support for the national liberation movements that are fighting against racism, and no force can deter the moral and material solidarity and aid given those peoples. The failure of all the manoeuvres to sabotage the last OAU Assembly of Heads of State and

Government and the Conference of the foreign ministers of non-aligned countries is evidence of a deep awareness that international solidarity is particularly significant in the current struggles of the African and Arab peoples.

256. Four years ago at its sixth special session the General Assembly adopted a Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)], initiating a phase of intense negotiations in the economic field in which the developing countries felt confident that their minimum demands for obtaining access to economic development would be met. Without fear of being called pessimistic we can say that the results obtained since that Declaration was adopted have been frustrating. The situation of the non-oil-producing developing countries has become steadily worse. Foreign debts have risen, balance-of-payments problems have increased and purchasing power and access to Western industrialized markets have declined.

257. The developing countries have not obtained a single concession on any of the basic demands made to the developed countries that control economic relations in the developing world. Instead of a reduction in customs and trade barriers to provide entry to capitalist markets, there has been an increase. The current blockade of my country is perhaps a typical example of the kind of commercial discrimination that is employed; the prices of manufactured goods, of machinery and of agricultural and industrial products which the developing world imports in order to turn out finished goods, continue to rise and the prejudicial relationship between those prices and what the developing world is paid for the exploitation of its natural resources remains unaltered. The crisis of the monetary system—especially the crisis facing the United States dollar which is its base—has caused even greater damage to the economy of the under-developed world.

258. Unfortunately, it seems that no serious effort is being made to change this situation. The recent failure of the committee of the whole created by the General Assembly by its resolution 32/174 demonstrates that it takes just one country blindly set on maintaining its privileges to block the mechanism established by the vote of the overwhelming majority of Member States of the United Nations.

259. We believe that it is necessary to continue demanding discussion, debate and negotiation within the United Nations and that any attempt to find solutions outside this universal body will only constitute delaying tactics like those employed in Paris in the so-called North-South dialogue. We also believe that the developing world should continue to do everything possible to extend the ties of economic co-operation among the under-developed countries and between them and the industrialized countries that do not exploit the existing unjust and unequal international economic relations. Mechanisms such as the Latin American Economic System must continue to be supported as a step towards increasingly closer co-operation among our peoples.

260. International bodies must facilitate this process of co-operation and act with initiative and boldness in doing so. Cuba hopes, and will do everything possible to see to it, that progress is made during this session towards providing

the committee of the whole, as a negotiating body, with the status and the authority to satisfy the just demands presented by the developing countries.

261. My comrades and I come from a small island that is no more than a dot on the world map. Ours is not a rich country; it does not have any great energy resources. Before the revolution that triumphed in January 1959, it was known only for its rum, cigars and music. Today it is much more than that, because a country's worth is measured not in square kilometres and millions of inhabitants but rather by the morale of its people and their struggles.

262. It is on that small island, placed like a key at the entrance to the Gulf of Mexico, that the Heads of State and Government of the members of the movement of non-aligned countries will meet next September. Cuba is making enthusiastic and careful preparations to welcome the representatives of the 86 States Members of the movement of non-aligned countries and to provide for all their needs at the sixth Conference.

263. The upcoming summit Conference of non-aligned countries, the first to be held in Latin America, will help to strengthen the principles on which the movement was founded, and its aspirations to affirm the independence and sovereignty of the peoples and their right to independent development.

264. Our President, Comrade Fidel Castro, said on the twenty-fifth anniversary of the attack on the Moncada Barracks:

"The world revolutionary movement has made tremendous progress in the present century. Its forces grow; its ranks increase; its experience is enriched. The betrayal by, and the insanity, weakness and blindness of, those whose vanity, arrogance, stupidity, *petit bourgeois* attitudes, chauvinism and opportunism kept them from following the luminous path of the Revolution will never hold back mankind's victorious march.

"Mankind will not return to the past; peace will be preserved; the people will march forward in progress, and nothing and no one can stop them."

265. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on the representatives of Nicaragua and Somalia, in that order, as they have asked to exercise their right of reply.

266. As members will recall, at the 4th plenary meeting the Assembly agreed that statements made in exercise of the right of reply would be limited to 10 minutes. It is rather late now, and I am sure that representatives will understand my request for co-operation in heeding this time-limit and in making their remarks as brief as possible.

267. Mr. MONTIEL ARGÜELLO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Nicaragua was not surprised at the words we heard from the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, coming as they did from the representative of a country whose international actions have been characterized by the most total disregard for the principle of non-intervention. That principle is one of the

fundamental pillars of this Organization, and Cuba has violated it frequently by intervening not just in various Latin American nations but also in nations on other continents.

268. Moreover, Cuba's ill will towards my country, because we uphold different ideologies, is well known. Cuba talks a lot about ideological pluralism but does little to apply it in practice. It has instead provided military training and arms to persons wishing to subvert order in my country.

269. What is really striking is that the Government of Cuba should dare to charge the Government of Nicaragua with the crime of genocide: it was precisely the Government of Cuba, when it assumed power, which shot thousands of its opponents and has been holding many other thousands in gaol ever since that remote date. In contrast, the Government of Nicaragua has done nothing more than use public force in order to maintain constitutional order against terrorist subversion.

270. The Government of Nicaragua is a democratic Government and believes that it is for the majority, through popular elections, to designate those that should represent it. The fact that Cuba follows a different system does not entitle it to criticize us.

271. The Government of Nicaragua respects human rights and believes in the promotion of those rights at the international level. Indeed, we have invited the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to visit the territory of Nicaragua next week. Cuba cannot make any such claims.

272. In conclusion, let me say again that Nicaragua rejects as totally baseless the statements made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Cuba, who has been trying to distort the facts, presenting as a struggle for freedom something which is nothing but another manifestation of international terrorism.

273. Mr. YUSUF (Somalia): The Castro representative who spoke from this rostrum earlier today grossly distorted facts about Africa and wrongly projected the role that the régime he represents has been obliged to play. In this connexion, I should like to reserve the right of my delegation to speak at a later stage. For the time being, I should like to make the following remarks.

274. First and foremost, I should like to state that African problems are for Africans to solve. Whatever differences there are between any two African countries, the OAU has the power and mechanism to settle them. Nobody has given

Cuba or its forces the power to interfere in the internal affairs of Africa. Its presence in Africa is solely as a proxy for the furtherance of the new international colonial order.

275. As we all know, Cuba is a small and backward island of fewer than 8 million poverty-stricken inhabitants; it is a Caribbean island far from Africa which lives from hand to mouth from the meagre income it makes from tobacco and sugar. Yet we hear that such a country has over 50,000 mercenaries in Africa and is planning to send more. Today Cuba is actively engaged in meddling in the affairs of that unfortunate continent. Africa is really unfortunate: Africans have been sold as slaves, we have been colonized, exploited and decimated. In less than a generation since the political liberation of that continent we are seeing Cuba as the main architect of the new international colonial order. How shameful! What a disgrace!

276. The question which comes to one's mind is how Cuba, such a poor island, can afford to send thousands of mercenaries across continents. How does Cuba train, equip and maintain those mercenaries? What, then, is Cuba? The answer is very simple. It is beyond any doubt a mercenary State which has opted to employ all its resources for the advancement of the expansionist designs of a super-Power. It has accepted the role of proxy in the continuing super-Power struggle. It is a State which is trading in the blood of its sons who are dying in areas they do not know and in conflicts they do not understand. In short, the architect of the new colonial order, Cuba, by involving itself in this complex and sophisticated struggle of the super-Powers, has been reduced to a prisoner of its wrongdoing and naïveté. It is a State which has deliberately betrayed its non-alignment obligations and placed itself at the centre of the super-Power struggle without knowing the rules of the game.

277. The representative of the Cuban régime comes here projecting himself as the hero of the day because Cuban mercenaries, by roaring in MIG aeroplanes, rolling in T-54 tanks and operating mortars called "Stalin organs", are engaging in the mass destruction of African people. How shameful, for neither the weapons nor the designs they are implementing are theirs. The truth is that, like all other former colonial Powers, the Castro régime will be shown the way out of our continent, in humiliation and disgrace.

278. The Castro representative used an African proverb in opening his statement. I should like to use another African proverb which is more applicable to him. It is: "Do not tell a man holding a burning piece of wood to let it fall; he will do so without your telling him."

The meeting rose at 6.55 p.m.