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CONTENTS

	Page
Address by Mr. William R. Tolbert, President of the Republic of Liberia	171
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. van der Klaauw (Netherlands)	175
Speech by Mr. Malfatti (Italy)	179
Speech by Mr. Kusumaatmadja (Indonesia)	182
Speech by Mr. Chřoupek (Czechoslovakia)	186
Speech by Mr. Corner (New Zealand)	191
Speech by Mr. Pastor (Argentina)	194

President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
 (United Republic of Tanzania)

*Address by Mr. William R. Tolbert,
 President of the Republic of Liberia*

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear an address by His Excellency Mr. William R. Tolbert, President of the Republic of Liberia and current chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. William R. Tolbert, President of the Republic of Liberia and current Chairman of the OAU, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. TOLBERT (Liberia): Five years hence a century will have elapsed since Africa stood defenceless before the Powers at Berlin. The very nations that had then long plundered Africa's treasures and snatched its children into slavery were declaring that even in his African homeland the African would not be free. Injustice and indignity would be visited upon the African within Africa, the only place on earth which is his home. At that very time, there had stood undaunted, though defied, for 37 years, the symbol of Africa's invincible soul, the torch of Africa's vindication, the flame of Africa's resurgency, the Republic of Liberia, materially weak but spiritually strong.

3. Alas, the years have fleetingly gone by, and today, on behalf of 49 African sovereignties, comprising nearly one third of this Assembly, a Liberian President appears here endeavouring, humbly yet with pride, to speak not of vengeance but of victory, not of power but of justice, not of confrontation but of reconciliation, not of conflict but of accommodation, not of self-centered action and protectionism but of genuine co-operation for global advancement. We have come to speak not of domination but of development, not of divisiveness but of unity, not of hoarding but of sharing, not of hate but of love, not of human exploitation but of human rights, not of war but of peace.

4. What better evidence could be adduced that Africa

is fast gaining its rightful place in the forefront of human affairs? In the span of less than a century since 1884—to which I have referred—Africa has made substantive advances from the throes of servitude to frontiers of significance; from the depths of exploitation into the councils of human uplift. This new emergence, however, is seen by Africans not so much as the attainment of an inheritance long denied but as a relished opportunity and challenge for a great continent, the cradle of human civilization and of human life itself, to rise from slumber and swiftly make its uniquely African contribution to international relations in a troubled world.

5. Our sense of the historic significance of Africa's role in world affairs in these times is further heightened, Sir, by your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. You are, Sir, one of Africa's most outstanding and proven sons of ability. Hailing from the gallant and freedom-loving sister State of the United Republic of Tanzania, both you and your country stand in the forefront of the as yet unfinished task of African liberation, unity and development. On the battlefields of southern Africa where the war for liberation goes on, Tanzania's well-known and constructive efforts place it at the front lines of global freedom and justice. In the halls of international diplomacy and debate, no less than in the realm of constructive ideas and pragmatic action, Tanzania's statesmanship and diplomacy have championed the African cause. All of these reasons, coupled with your personal attributes of experience and knowledge, energy and affability, make us confident that you will guide the work of this session of the Assembly to fruitful and significant conclusions.

6. We should also like to express appreciation to Mr. Liévano of the Republic of Colombia for the successful manner in which he presided over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

7. We welcome the State of Saint Lucia as the one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations. In admitting Saint Lucia to membership, the United Nations has thus moved one step further towards the achievement of its goal of universality.

8. Since the close of the thirty-third session, the African continent has been buffeted by muffled winds of mourning, in the home-going of two of its stalwart sons: Houari Boumediène, the President of the People's Republic of Algeria, and Antonio Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. President Neto was a heroic freedom fighter upon the last frontier of African independence, while President Boumediène stood valiantly among the pioneers of African and third-world emancipation, both political and economic. Their voices will be sorely missed in the honoured councils of our time, but we trust that their souls will rest within the hallowed cloisters of eternal bliss.

9. Liberia had the honour this past July of being host to the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in our capital city of Monrovia. As is now their annual custom, the leaders of Africa, motivated by a prevailing sense of unity and solidarity, were able to meet as brothers in a congenial atmosphere to tackle the momentous problems of Africa. The many far-reaching decisions taken in Monrovia [see A/34/552] are fresh illustrations of Africa's firm commitment to improving the lives of its peoples and of the sincere efforts being made by Africa to explore all reasonable and viable paths to inter-African co-operation, world security and peace.

10. Africa is resolved at this time, more than ever before, to accelerate the gains already made by African countries in the social and economic development fields. Many of the issues which are to be discussed during this session of the General Assembly bear directly on matters before the OAU. Unfortunately, too many of those issues before this Assembly for many years have remained unresolved. For example, nearly two decades after the General Assembly's resolution on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)], the question of decolonization, especially in southern Africa, remains unsettled.

11. In the field of disarmament, the arms race between the super-Powers goes on unchecked. Moreover, and most regrettably, an increasingly high level of expenditure on arms continues to be made by almost all countries, including poor countries, whose meagre resources should be used productively to improve the living standards of their people. This trade in the merchandise of death is being pursued most vigorously by countries which, even as they derive great profits particularly in the most volatile and explosive regions of the world, continue to preach peace, whose champion they acclaim themselves to be.

12. A third example is the area of economic development where, in spite of two development decades declared by this great Organization, the development aid programmes of rich countries, numerous studies, and strategies for development, the rich countries are getting richer while more and more of the poor ones are perishing.

13. Against this gloomy background the annual convening of the General Assembly presents the opportunity for all Members of this Organization—which now embraces most nations of the world—to meet peacefully, and through calm and consistent debate, and through reasonable proposals, endeavour to evolve a better world for all mankind.

14. While the vast majority of the world's population lives in ignorance, disease and poverty, the endless output of flowery speeches and wordy resolutions at the United Nations and other international forums have brought but little relief to afflicted humanity. Can the voices of so many go unheard for so long by the ears of so few?

15. Africa has the largest number of the world's poor countries, and many millions of our peoples live in abject poverty at a level of human subsistence which is

an affront to the dignity of man. In Africa and other parts of our one world can the needs of so many remain unmet for so long?

16. Numerous programmes already being implemented by the United Nations deserve the fullest praise; but the many unresolved items on its agenda for development must remain priority action issues. Concurrently, the OAU believes that through unified and concerted effort within our own regional organization, and through productive alliances with other regions of the third world we who are, let it be said—"the wretched of the earth"—can achieve true economic and social progress.

17. The establishment of the New International Economic Order is essential if the have-nots of this world are to have their just share of the immense endowments that a bounteous God has intended for distribution throughout the earth. Accordingly, the OAU will work even more vigorously in concert with the non-aligned group and other regional organizations, towards the implementation of the programme of action for the establishment of a more just and equitable world society.

18. Justly and equitably, the wealth of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe belongs to the peoples of those States. Yet Africans who make up the vast majority of the populations there cannot enjoy their own land with dignity, nor can they even enjoy fair recompense for the fruits of their labour. Racism rules supreme, and the abhorrent policy of *apartheid* continues unabated.

19. The daily violation of the rights of human beings in southern Africa on account of race is a direct slap in the face of the nations of Africa, in particular, and a demeaning affront to this lofty Organization, whose moral and legal obligations to defend oppressed peoples everywhere cry out for discharge.

20. How long will the conscience of decent, civilized mankind allow racism and *apartheid* to remain a blot on our age? The arrogant racist régime in South Africa falsely believes that dissensions among African States, some of which South Africa itself stirs up, and the problems faced by our nations in the area of economic development will prevent Africa from liberating all Africans throughout the continent. Let the racists live with their misbeliefs, but Africa will not renege on its promise and its duty to the peoples of southern Africa. While the racists persist in their mischief, Africa will not rest until all of Africa stands tall in the sunlight of freedom.

21. The patience of Africa has worn thin, but Africa shall win. Good will triumph over evil! Right will conquer wrong! Victory is certain!

22. Africa is grateful for the stand taken and the support given by many nations of the world in the struggle against *apartheid* and racism. We anxiously await the day when all who articulate their disagreement with South Africa by pronouncements will courageously match their words with consistent deeds.

23. Motivated thus, we would urge the international community duly to recognize the need for increased assistance to the brave front-line States, which have

greatly suffered and continue to bear heavy sacrifices in the struggle to free southern Africa from colonialism and racism. The front-line States, like other developing countries, must use their meagre resources not only to shoulder the inescapable responsibility of their own economic development, but to support the noble liberation struggle. Because of the hardships which they bear from the fury and onslaught of racist assaults, these brave and heroic States should be given as much moral and material aid as the world community can provide.

24. We realize that no State—least of all a non-African State—is compelled to aid the front-line States. At the same time, Africa feels that the acts of no country should give evidence of collusion with the racist régime of Pretoria. It is our fervent hope that all States Members of the United Nations should consider it morally wrong to co-operate in any way with South Africa, thus aiding in the perpetuation of the horrors of *apartheid*. None, indeed, preaching democracy and the right of the individual to liberty and the pursuit of happiness as a way of life should give support in any form to the evils as are endemic in the diabolical *apartheid* system.

25. But even if Africa must fight alone—and may God grant that this will not be the case!—we will not relent until, in His appointed time and with our combined strength, we shall demolish the vile structure of *apartheid*.

26. At the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Monrovia, Africa called once again for a complete oil and arms embargo and for other economic sanctions to be imposed on South Africa. The nuclear collaboration between South Africa and some Western Powers was deplored, and a strong demand was made that such collaboration should cease forthwith. The making of nuclear weapons available to desperate bands of racists is a most serious threat to world peace and security, and deserves the most urgent attention of this Organization.

27. In brazen defiance of the resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council, Pretoria continues its delaying tactics in the implementation of the United Nations plan for the independence of the international Territory of Namibia with the aim of establishing there a puppet régime. Such continued defiance, in our view, has left the Security Council with no alternative but to force an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, by invoking enforcement measures against South Africa as provided for under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. We therefore call upon the Security Council to convene as soon as possible for this purpose.

28. That the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people is well established in resolutions of this body. It is therefore necessary that we continue to give increased material support to SWAPO in the struggle which it fearlessly spearheads by armed struggle and by negotiation for Namibia's freedom. The economic and moral support already given by the international community and the significant support given by the United Nations to the people of Namibia are greatly appreciated by all members of the OAU. Such support will continue to be required until every inch of Namibia, including Walvis Bay, is free.

29. If the new initiatives reportedly being undertaken by the five Western Powers hasten Namibia's peaceful transition to genuine independence, their efforts will merit our immense gratitude.

30. The events which have transpired in Zimbabwe, particularly the installation of a Government there headed by Bishop Muzorewa, have not deluded the OAU, nor should any other nation in good faith believe that the Muzorewa régime was freely and fairly elected by a majority of the populace.

31. The OAU unreservedly condemns the puppet Muzorewa régime and its view remains unchanged that Rhodesia is still a colony of the United Kingdom, in rebellion against the Crown. The OAU has called upon all of its member States to refrain from recognizing the Muzorewa régime, and any attempt at recognition of the illegal minority régime of Rhodesia by any member of the international community would be considered an act of hostility against Africa.

32. Meanwhile, the economic sanctions levied by the United Nations against Rhodesia must be maintained, for the lifting of those sanctions by any nation would be tantamount to recognition of the puppet régime.

33. In recognizing the Patriotic Front as the sole legitimate and authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe, the OAU reaffirmed the legitimacy of the armed struggle waged by the Patriotic Front, called for its intensification and resolved to increase political, material and financial assistance to the Patriotic Front. This was the united stand of Africa taken at Monrovia.

34. Notwithstanding this, Africa has never closed the doors to a peaceful resolution of the Zimbabwean problem. That is why the nine-point plan on Zimbabwe adopted by the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka from 1 to 7 August [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15], offered some encouragement to Africa. We are following with consuming interest the constitutional talks now under way in London, which have brought to the conference table the principal parties to the Zimbabwean problem. It is our fervent hope that a constitution and the appropriate modalities acceptable to all the parties concerned will emerge from the talks, so that Zimbabwe may accede to genuine independence with majority rule.

35. Regarding the grave danger to international peace and security inherent in the Middle East crisis, Africa reaffirmed in Monrovia its unrelenting support and unswerving commitment to the struggle of the Palestinian people for the full realization and exercise of all of their national rights.

36. In pledging its full support and determination to continue to work for a lasting and just peace in the Middle East, Africa, speaking in Monrovia, condemned all partial agreements and treaties which violate the recognized rights of the Palestinian people and contradict the principles of just and comprehensive solutions to the Middle East problem.

37. If current peace initiatives in the Middle East are to lead to a comprehensive, just and durable settlement, it would seem imperative, in our view, that the

framework of negotiation be expanded to include the Palestinian people, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. For the Palestinian people alone are entitled to speak for themselves, and their participation is indispensable to the success of any peace initiative in the Middle East.

38. The right of the State of Israel to exist must be respected by all, including the Palestinian people. At the same time, we must equally insist on full recognition and respect for the national rights of the Palestinian people by the State of Israel, especially their right to self-determination and a State of their own. Israel must withdraw from all occupied Arab territories. In this connexion, the establishment of settlements on Arab lands and the continued bombing of southern Lebanon by Israel, so destructive of innocent human lives, can only destroy the atmosphere required for a much desired peace and aggravate an already explosive situation.

39. In this, our one world, each human being has an inalienable right of return to a land he can call his home. That being true, each nation must remain safe and secure within its internationally recognized borders, from threats and terror, from intimidations and territorial violations.

40. In furtherance of reconciliation and accommodation in the Middle East, it is our earnest hope that fears will yield to confidence, misgivings to goodwill and conflict to peaceful coexistence.

41. In this spirit, Liberia appeals to all nations of the world to join in enhancing the process of peace in the Middle East, to the end that a comprehensive settlement of the existing conflict can be achieved.

42. As we insist that self-determination be applied to all peoples, we are challenged by the dangerous contentions in Western Sahara. Following mediation in this matter, and on the basis of the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara, the so-called committee of five wise men, the OAU decided in Monrovia that a proper atmosphere for peace should be created in the area through a general and immediate cease-fire, and that the right to self-determination be given the people of the Western Sahara in a general and free referendum which would enable them to choose either total independence or the maintenance of the *status quo* [see A/34/552, pp. 90-91].

43. Having fully assumed its responsibility in this matter, Africa, through the committee of wise men, is continuing its initiatives towards securing the peaceful implementation of that decision. In this process, the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the internationally recognized borders of Mauritania must be respected.

44. Protracted disputes regarding self-determination, to which the people of the Western Sahara are entitled, only unnecessarily postpone more urgent problems of development, which the people of that area must tackle.

45. Violent political turbulence and foreign interferences in South-East Asia and other parts of the world have for too long prevented the upward thrust for progress and development. They have also led to the mass

exodus of people from their countries. The flagrant and blatant abuse of the dignity and rights of men, women and children across the globe is clearly an abominable evil because it dislocates and destroys the most important resource of our planet.

46. For us in Africa, where there are now more than 4 million refugees, this problem has reached crisis proportions. We therefore address an urgent appeal to the international community for increased assistance to meet this alarming need of our 4 million refugees.

47. Full respect for human rights should be an absolute imperative in our times. An essential rationale of the United Nations is that its activities should lead to the enjoyment by all peoples of their human rights—civic, political, economic, social and cultural.

48. Africa subscribes to the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. It was in this spirit that the sixteenth session of the OAU Assembly authorized the preparation of a preliminary draft of an African charter on human rights which would provide for the establishment of bodies to promote and protect human rights in Africa.

49. Our commitment to human rights is further evidenced by the fact that, upon the invitation of the Government of Liberia, and in accordance with a request of this Assembly, the Secretary-General of the United Nations organized at Monrovia, from 10 to 21 September, the United Nations Seminar on the Establishment of Regional Commissions on Human Rights with Special Reference to Africa. That seminar adopted a proposal for the establishment of an African commission on human rights. That Commission will conduct studies and research on African issues in the field of human rights; it will examine and assess the occurrence of alleged violations; and it will make reports and will propose for consideration legislation related to the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedom. We shall give the closest attention to these important and constructive proposals, which, in our judgment, will bring us much nearer to our goal of a commission on human rights for Africa, established by Africans and consisting of Africans.

50. Africa desires peace; and we shall never hesitate to do all that is within our power to bring all African disputes to a peaceful settlement in the spirit of conciliation and accommodation. Peace and tranquillity must be established in Africa so that the mighty energies of a vibrant and resourceful people may be focused upon their social and economic development. The OAU is committed to a more important role in the process of human progress in Africa. This course is the more imperative because a large number of African and third-world countries continue to experience a decline in their balance of trade and export earnings, while their indebtedness and the cost of imports, especially energy, dramatically rise. These conditions greatly obstruct development goals and objectives.

51. During the past few years, intense negotiations have been held to establish a more equitable international order. Sadly, some nations of great power, wealth and influence do not seem desirous of ushering in such a new economic order.

52. Consequently, their actions have frustrated de-

veloping countries in the North-South dialogue, at the fifth session of UNCTAD, and at other world conferences, including the long-drawn-out Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

53. Comprising nearly three quarters of our planet, the oceans are our last great frontier of untapped resources for an expanding human family. It is most unfortunate to note again that negotiations since 1958 to bring order and equity to their exploration and exploitation have still not ended. We therefore urge all nations to show every degree of accommodation and bring that historic Conference, now nearing completion, to a successful conclusion.

54. This year, once again, the issues involving the realization of the New International Economic Order are an important part of the Assembly's agenda. Several resolutions of acknowledgment have been adopted, but mere acknowledgment by developed countries is of only limited relevance to the immensity of problems with which developing nations are faced. The implementation of resolutions already adopted and the adoption and implementation of additional and more meaningful resolutions this year are essential to the economic survival of most nations of the third world.

55. The scope of these resolutions must range from commodities to currency stability, from indebtedness to energy. With rich nations staggering under the pressures of escalating energy costs and poor nations being crushed under the increasing weight of declining demand and spiralling product prices, the world community must come to grips with the growing energy crisis. We must work speedily towards the convening of a world energy conference to energize in newer ways our globally strangled economies.

56. At the same time, we of the third world must translate our interdependence into productive actions, into regional and interregional projects, to the end that we may become self-reliant. The OAU, therefore, once again has fully committed itself to the resolutions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly calling for the advent of a New International Economic Order relevant to our very existence.

57. At the OAU Assembly in Monrovia, Africa resolved upon a co-operative course of coexistence, and adopted the Monrovia Declaration of Commitment [A/34/552, pp. 78-80] for collective self-reliance and interdependent socio-economic development. An extraordinary Assembly of Heads of State and Government is scheduled to convene in Lagos, Nigeria, to tackle the subject of African economic development, highlighting regional and subregional development projects.

58. Also emerging from the OAU Assembly in Monrovia was the adoption of a Strategy for Economic Development in Africa [*ibid.*, pp. 16-18], affirming the establishment of an African Economic Community and other recommendations contained in the report of the ECA-OAU Colloquium on Perspectives of Development and Economic Growth in Africa up to the Year 2000, which was held in Monrovia earlier this year. The sixteenth session of the OAU Assembly recommended that the General Assembly of the United Nations con-

sider this strategy as an integral part of the international strategy for the third United Nations development decade.

59. Africa is counting on the continuing support of the United Nations and its specialized agencies for the implementation of this strategy.

60. May I here pay a most deserved tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his continuing dedication to international peace and justice, for his conscientious efforts to make the institutional machinery of the United Nations more responsive to the needs of a growing international community and for his productive attention to the aspirations of the African peoples. His unswerving commitment to the objectives of the United Nations and his concern about the welfare of peoples everywhere were again demonstrated by his presence at the recent Monrovia OAU Assembly, as well as in other parts of Africa, and his visits to South-East Asia, Europe, the Caribbean and other regions of our one world during the course of the year. We extend to him our heartfelt commendation and pledge our fullest support and co-operation as he untiringly endeavours to bring to fruition the lofty goals of this world body.

61. Five years hence, as the centenary of the Conference on Berlin arrives, all in Africa will be confronting yet more dramatically together the challenge of a new age of African development. That challenge will not be met on the drawing-boards of any single nation, or by the perimeters of ideological influence; it will not be met through oppression or through subversion.

62. Neither armaments nor animosities will serve; nor will complexes, selfishness or prejudice. Rather, mankind must measure its varied resources and merge its vibrant energies through unity and solidarity among nations; through accommodation and reconciliation; through co-operation and alliances for progress; through the practice of love and the pursuit of peace and prosperity, for the building of a more wholesome functioning world society.

63. May Almighty God—the merciful Allah—prosper the works of the United Nations and bring unity and peace to our one world.

64. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Excellency Mr. William R. Tolbert, the President of the Republic of Liberia and the current Chairman of the OAU, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

65. Mr. van der KLAUW (Netherlands): Mr. President, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, it is for me a particular honour to congratulate you upon your election to the Presidency of this Assembly. Close and warm indeed, Sir, are the bonds of friendship and co-operation between our two countries. I personally recall in particular the visit of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands to the United Republic of Tanzania. I salute through you, Mr. President, one of the great leading countries of Africa.

66. Forty years after the beginning of the Second World War, it is fitting to reflect on the past and to draw lessons for the future. When last week I visited Poland, the first victim of that war, I was deeply struck by the memories of the past but also by the opportunities for the future. It is fitting to remember war and aggression, the massive violation of fundamental human rights, the destruction of democratic institutions, the immense human suffering and the economic and social disruption. Let us not forget the collapse of the League of Nations, which failed because of its lack of universality and because its Members lacked the courage and political will to use it as a tool for peace.

67. In 1945, nations united "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights. Do the nations of today remember the lessons of the past? Much has been achieved. A new world conflagration has, so far, been avoided. Colonialism is virtually abolished. The world possesses the universal system of the United Nations with its invaluable network of organizations for economic and technical co-operation. Universal standards and obligations have made the protection and promotion of human rights, anywhere in the world, a matter of public debate and of direct national and international concern. Technological revolution and world-wide communication have made the world physically one.

68. These are indeed no mean achievements; and yet, that same technological revolution has failed to break the vicious circle of economic backwardness and mass poverty. Bitter regional conflicts persist and threaten world peace. Universally accepted codes of human rights are apparently unable to prevent massive and widespread violations of those rights. Although in some areas progress has been made, the Secretary-General is right in presenting, in his report on the work of the Organization, a picture of "uncertainty, tension and conflict" [see A/34/I, sec. I].

69. My friend and colleague, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland, yesterday expounded the views of the nine members of the European Communities on the main problems and issues with which the General Assembly will be confronted [8th meeting, paras. 2-53]. The tone and the contents of his statement have shown that political co-operation among the nine continues to gain in scope and in depth. This is a matter of satisfaction for the Netherlands Government. I am convinced that the Europe of the nine members—and soon, it is to be hoped, of twelve—inspired by its democratic principles and institutions, can and must play an increasingly active and constructive role in the United Nations, in political and economic, as well as humanitarian matters.

70. Now, as Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, I wish to address myself, in a realistic approach, to some key issues, keeping in mind the following premises: first, the ideals of democracy based on the political, economic and social rights of the individual human being; and secondly, the relationship between political, economic and humanitarian issues. And from these two premises I wish to speak about human rights, about refugees and the situation in South-East Asia, about southern Africa, about the Middle East, and about development and disarmament. And in each of these issues the human, political and economic

factors are intimately linked; each will require new, realistic approaches.

Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.

71. I shall speak first about human rights. The spiritual and material well-being and happiness of man must be the first and principal objective of our individual and collective efforts. Every violation of human rights affects, and sometimes destroys, the happiness and well-being of individual human beings. Massive and persistent violations of human rights can seriously affect peace and security and, conversely, conflict and war lead to the suppression of basic rights. There is a relationship between the denial of human rights and economic and social backwardness. Development co-operation can be a tool to promote human rights. The realization of this relationship has led to a process of rethinking and self-examination in our Organization with regard to its work for human rights and fundamental freedoms, and the over-all analysis undertaken by the Commission on Human Rights has resulted in a number of significant recommendations being adopted by the Economic and Social Council. These recommendations will strengthen the capacity of the Commission on Human Rights and of its Sub-Commission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities more effectively to perform their functions, with the continued and active support of the non-governmental organizations.

72. I feel grateful for the confidence the Council has shown towards my country in electing it a member of the Commission on Human Rights. We shall measure up to that confidence.

73. My Government regards the promotion of human rights as an essential part of its foreign policy. Four months ago, I submitted to the Netherlands Parliament a memorandum entitled "Foreign Policy and Human Rights". I did so, together with my colleague the Minister for Development Co-operation, because we recognize the link between human rights policy and development policy. Parliament will shortly hold public hearings on the memorandum, thereby demonstrating the concern in the Netherlands with human rights.

74. The United Nations plays a crucial role in the struggle for world-wide respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. Its achievements in establishing objectives, guidelines and norms in this field have ushered in a new era of international relations. Situations and events in the sphere of human rights, wherever or in what country, have become matters of legitimate international concern and action. More work in standard-setting is to be done, and I refer, for example, to the need for further action in promoting the equality of men and women in society. The conference on this subject, to be held in Copenhagen next year, will be of great significance. This Assembly should finalize the draft Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women [see A/34/60] and should encourage further work on the issues of religious intolerance and capital punishment.

75. But while the United Nations has made progress in setting standards regarding human rights, we have been less successful in translating those standards into actual practice. The Secretary-General is right.

Member States must face up to their responsibilities. Reports about grave and massive violations of human rights continue to reach us from a number of countries—reports about large-scale detention, torture, and the disappearance and physical liquidation of political opponents, as well as reports about religious intolerance, forced expulsions and atrocities committed against entire sectors of the population. It is true that some repressive régimes have disappeared, but we are still witness to cruelty and intolerance in various parts of the world.

76. We, the United Nations, cannot be indifferent to this. We must do our utmost to achieve and to maintain minimum standards of human decency.

77. One of the consequences of the disregard for human rights is the continuing flow of refugees. This year we saw an explosive increase in the number of refugees in South-East Asia. I welcomed the initiative of the Secretary-General in inviting representatives of a great number of Member States to meet with him in Geneva in July at the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, to discuss ways and means of alleviating that problem. I agree, by the way, with the Secretary-General and my colleague from Norway, Mr. Frydenlund, that that Meeting was a good example of how the United Nations system could effectively deal with limited international issues. On behalf of my Government, I reaffirm our resolve to co-operate in the efforts, under the guidance of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, to provide help to those who have fled their country.

78. I wish to underline the principles that demand respect for the rights of individual human beings and provide a firm basis for the orderly conduct of relations between States.

79. The recognition and observance of these principles constitute a prerequisite for any permanent solution. Any breach of the principles of asylum and *non-refoulement* would constitute a setback for internationally accepted humanitarian standards. However, the present difficult situation in the South-East Asian region cannot be solved by the countries of first asylum alone. The Geneva Meeting rightly stressed the common responsibility of the whole international community to seek durable solutions both to the immediate and to the underlying problems. The readiness to strive for adequate transitional resettlement facilities, for resettlement in third countries and for long-term development assistance in creating better living conditions for all the people in the area should help to overcome the present intolerable situation. I want to make a special appeal to the authorities of the countries of origin of refugees and, in particular, to Viet Nam and Kampuchea, to live up to their basic responsibilities. Nobody should be forced to leave his country because of fear or because conditions have been made so unbearable that he can no longer stay.

80. The situation in South-East Asia is only part of the world-wide refugee problem. Other regions equally demand our attention. I have deep respect for the valuable efforts made by many countries to overcome the refugee problem in their regions, as demonstrated, in particular, at the Conference on the Situation of Refugees in Africa, held at Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, from 7 to 17 May.

81. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Poul Hartling, and to the members of his staff. If the present situation would require strengthening the Office of the High Commissioner, I should invite the Secretary-General to present proposals to that effect for the present session of the Assembly to act upon.

82. Of immediate concern is the appalling situation in Kampuchea. Hundreds of thousands of children, women and men are threatened with starvation and death. A whole people is on the verge of disintegration. I do not wish to make a judgement on the political situation. Regardless of who is in power or authority, aid must be given without delay. The Netherlands is ready to join in. This Assembly should forthwith and unanimously urge all concerned to adopt all measures to make immediate relief possible.

83. While immediate relief of human suffering must have priority, the world should be aware of the underlying and interrelated economic and political problems in South-East Asia. In his report [A/34/13], the Secretary-General states that the situation could become a threat to world peace. The primary responsibility for averting such a threat and for the economic and social reconstruction of the area rests with the countries of Indo-China themselves. But the great Powers also carry a heavy responsibility for peace in the area. The surrounding countries belonging to the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] are rightly concerned with the situation. I wish to pay a tribute to their joint efforts for unity and regional stability in South-East Asia.

84. However, the international community should not stand aside. The countries of the region should be given a new perspective for peace and development through international co-operation. We have available the instruments for economic and social reconstruction and development. Let us use the possibilities of the Mekong Committee, of ESCAP, and of the Asian Development Bank. The Netherlands is prepared, with others, and provided that the political conditions are favourable, to assist in the long-term development of the region.

85. Systematic negation of fundamental human rights is also the crucial issue in southern Africa.

86. The position of principle of the Netherlands remains unchanged. We condemn and reject *apartheid*. If South Africa fails to change its fundamental policies, further pressure by the international community, including sanctions, will be inevitable. South African control over Namibia must come to an end. The democratic process towards independence under international control must forthwith be pursued and completed. Zimbabwe must achieve independence under democratic majority control. So long as majority rule does not exist, the sanctions against the illegal régime must be strictly applied.

87. The Netherlands welcomes the Lusaka agreement on the future of Zimbabwe [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] and urges all the parties concerned to grasp what may be the last opportunity to avoid further bloodshed and chaos in Southern Rhodesia and, unavoidably, in the surrounding States. I therefore fervently hope that the Rhodesia Constitutional Confer-

ence convened by the United Kingdom Government in London will be successful.

88. The abhorrent policy of *apartheid* remains the crucial problem in South Africa. I recognize that fundamental change is difficult and painful, but *apartheid* must be brought to an end. Of late, new voices of reason and change have been heard in South Africa. I want to make it very clear that the Netherlands remains convinced of the need for continued political, moral and, where effective, economic pressure. Yet I believe that those new voices ought to be listened to and encouraged. While there is still time and hope, we must not close the door, as long as by not doing so we can contribute to the radical changes which alone can save South Africa from chaos and ultimate disaster.

89. My colleague from Ireland has stated the position of the nine States members of the European Community on the Middle East and has fully reflected the position of the Netherlands.

90. In the political and military complexities of the situation in the Middle East, none of us should forget the fate, the anxieties and the suffering of the people. Thirty years of conflict and war have brought untold suffering to the peoples of the Middle East. None of us should forget the sufferings and anxieties of the men and women of Israel, or the sufferings and the yearnings of the Palestinian people and the bloodshed caused by all acts of violence.

91. Developments during the past year have led us to believe that there is new hope of finding a solution to the Arab-Israeli conflict that is so tragically dividing the peoples, the men and women of the Middle East, and which continues to constitute a threat to world peace. In this International Year of the Child what deeper yearning can there be than for new hope and a new future for the children of the Middle East?

92. As one of the countries participating in UNIFIL, the Netherlands finds itself directly involved in the peace-keeping efforts in the Middle East. I strongly endorse what the Secretary-General states in his report on the work of the Organization on the essential task of conflict control which UNIFIL has performed and is performing in one of the most sensitive and explosive parts of the world [see A/34/1, sect. III]. Indeed, to withdraw the Force would be an almost certainly disastrous experiment which nobody would seriously advocate. I emphatically repeat the appeal made by the representative of the Netherlands in the Security Council¹ and made through bilateral and other channels to all parties concerned fully to respect the vital peace-keeping tasks of UNIFIL and to avoid any joint action which might prevent the Force from carrying out its mandate. I join in the urgent appeals to maintain the present truce in southern Lebanon.

93. I have always been deeply convinced of the need for effective peace-keeping machinery. Some of the problems encountered by UNIFIL and other peace-keeping forces of the United Nations are due to the persisting lack of agreement on rules and effective machinery for peace-keeping operations. The United Nations is in serious difficulty on account of the financing of current operations. Last year, the nine members

of the Community submitted constructive proposals on peace-keeping operations,² which unfortunately did not meet with unanimous support. The UNIFIL experience confirms the necessity of pursuing our efforts to agree on practical ground rules, procedures and machinery for United Nations peace-keeping operations.

94. Development co-operation is an essential element of a foreign policy directed towards peace, security and an equitable distribution of wealth and prosperity in the world. This requires special attention and persistent policies for the strengthening of the structural position of developing countries in the world economy as well as continued efforts to fight mass poverty. Peace and security can eventually not be maintained in a world in which the majority of countries and people are politically independent but continue to remain in a position of economic dependence and poverty. Sustained prosperity in the North will, in the long run, not be possible without promoting the prosperity and the demand in the South through large-scale transfers of resources, open world trade and equitable distribution of raw materials, sources of energy and wealth. That is the purpose of development co-operation. But there is more involved than economics; and that is the relevance of human rights and development. There is growing recognition, and I quote from the Secretary-General's report

“... that there is a human right to development, that respect for human rights can create a climate in which people are inspired to greater efforts for development, and that human rights considerations must feature as essential components in the integrated approach to development...”. [See A/34/1, sect. VII.]

It was in that spirit that the Netherlands granted aid to Nicaragua and Uganda immediately after the disappearance of their oppressive régimes.

95. The Netherlands will continue its active development co-operation policy, both through the promotion of structural change in world economic relations and through specific national and international policies directed to combat mass poverty. Notwithstanding serious budgetary difficulties we shall maintain for next year a level of official development expenditure of more than 0.8 per cent of our gross national product.

96. My Government has received with great interest the proposal of the Group of 77 to launch a new round of global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development [A/34/34, part III, annex I] as a new and important initiative designed to give further impetus to the North-South dialogue. It is significant that the developing countries have proposed to include energy as one of the major issues to be dealt with in this new round of negotiations because it is obvious that questions of supply and demand of energy, including its price, of energy conservation and of new and renewable sources of energy are issues of vital importance for the future of world economy. The proposals of the Group of 77 raise difficult and important questions of substance, institutions and procedure. It is particularly important that such a new round of negotiations should not hamper or interrupt ongoing negotiations in various forums. The Netherlands stands ready to discuss and negotiate these questions and all the

¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2148th meeting.*

² See document A/SPC/33/L.19.

implications of the proposal in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174. Simultaneously, work on the strategy must be pursued.

97. Disarmament is perhaps the most vital question of human rights because in this nuclear age the survival of mankind itself is at stake.

98. The possible proliferation of nuclear explosive capability should for all of us be a matter of utmost concern. Proliferation will destabilize regional and international security and will make nuclear disarmament between existing nuclear-weapon States even more difficult to achieve. The most important barrier against the spread of nuclear weapons is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. More than 100 States have become parties to this international instrument, some of them recently. Other countries and in particular those most advanced in developing a nuclear capability must overcome their reluctance to join the non-proliferation Treaty.

99. The non-proliferation régime must be strengthened. Our goal must be to achieve consensus on a new set of rules in the field of international co-operation for the peaceful use of nuclear energy, including assured supply, while avoiding the risks of proliferation. Both the International Nuclear Fuel Cycle Evaluation and the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons are vital in achieving such a new consensus.

100. Cessation of the nuclear arms race between existing nuclear-weapon Powers is a prerequisite for effective non-proliferation. The second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] is a vital stepping-stone towards that goal. The early ratification of the agreement reached³ is of great importance. Negotiations for the third SALT agreement should then start as soon as possible. The conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty has become a matter of the greatest urgency in view of the first Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. A renewed failure of the Powers concerned at long last to conclude that treaty would badly affect the outcome of that Conference. Negative nuclear security assurances for non-nuclear-weapon States which have forsworn the nuclear option as well as the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in appropriate regions are other matters of vital importance for securing a new consensus on non-proliferation and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. I must express particular and serious concern with the situation and recent developments in this respect in south Asia. We have received repeated assurances from both India and Pakistan on the peaceful nature of their nuclear programmes. While understanding their economic need for energy, I would urge and invite the two countries to confirm these assurances by becoming parties to the non-proliferation Treaty or by agreeing on all the necessary safeguard and guarantee measures which would eventually turn south Asia into a zone free of nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices.

101. Next to non-proliferation, the issue of the con-

³ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

ventional arms race requires high priority in the United Nations. The process of disarmament would be jeopardized, peace could be endangered, if we fail to agree on international measures to control the increasing export of conventional arms to many countries and regions in the world. Here, third-world countries bear the same responsibilities as the industrialized world.

102. All the issues I have dealt with have in common the interrelationship of political, economic and humanitarian factors. They also have in common the need for effective, world-wide institutions. I was impressed by what I may call the passionate plea of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in his report, for strengthening the United Nations and for safeguarding the integrity of the international civil service [see A/34/I, sect. XI]. He raises the question whether the United Nations, in its present stage of development, would be able to deal with a dramatic threat to international peace and security. I come back to my starting point—40 years after the Second World War. The year 1979 is not 1939 but let us never forget the fatal consequences for the world of the collapse of the League of Nations when it failed precisely to meet that threat to peace and security. The only answer to Mr. Waldheim's plea is the resolve of this Assembly never to forget the horrors and the lessons of the past and to use and strengthen the United Nations, the only worldwide organization we have, to save our children and succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

103. Mr. Malfatti (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): May I convey to the President my warmest congratulations on your election, which is proof of the esteem and appreciation with which the United Republic of Tanzania is justly regarded throughout the world for the efficiency and realism which distinguish its contribution to international affairs.

104. President Nyerere's visit to Rome last July confirmed our view of a country and of a continent which are more and more actively involved in the solution of those problems to which so much of our future is linked.

105. While I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Liévano Aguirre, I am sure that under Mr. Salim's presidency, the firmness and efficiency of which we have already begun to appreciate, this General Assembly will constitute again the most important occasion of the year for assessing the results of our efforts over the last 12 months, for courageously facing our failures, and for seeking new paths of co-operation between our peoples. Indeed, all of us will again be faced with a great responsibility during the debates of this session.

106. The United Nations can only be what we ourselves, the peoples of the earth, want it to be. It depends solely on us whether it will continue to be a forum for a free and frank discussion of ideas, or whether it will degenerate into an arena of conflicts where the logic of preconceived ideas prevails over a thoughtful review of our respective positions.

107. Italy welcomes the admission of Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations as a new step towards the ultimate goal of the universality of the Organization and looks forward to fruitful co-operation with this new Member.

108. If we can assert that effective progress has been made along the difficult road of understanding between peoples, no small part of the credit is due to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and to the way in which he has dealt with the serious developments which, this year too, have caused grave concern to mankind.

109. The activities described in the Secretary-General's report to this session of the General Assembly on the work of the Organization [A/34/1] are evidence of an effort which has never wavered in the face of difficulties. Apart from the measure of success of individual initiatives, these activities remain the best indication of the vitality and validity of the United Nations, especially at a time when mankind is becoming more and more aware of a common future and is now faced more than ever with political and economic problems of such a scale that they can only be solved at the world level. Italy is well aware of this global interdependence which confronts every country more and more often with problems which cannot be solved merely by a bilateral approach.

110. For these reasons, Italy's foreign policy has always been inspired by the ideals of an increasingly broad international co-operation which has found its expression in Italy's participation in the intensive and fruitful efforts of the United Nations on behalf of peace and the advancement of peoples. In the same spirit, Italy is committed to the construction of the European Community, which is in the process of being enlarged to include Greece, Spain and Portugal. This Community—the European Community—must continue to develop on a world scale its action of solidarity and peace, with the primary goal of helping to establish a fairer balance in the social and economic situation of the peoples of the world. In the construction of Europe the participation of the peoples in the institutional and representational machinery is of vital importance and for this reason I wish to draw attention to the recent election by direct, universal suffrage of the European Parliament. Similarly, our participation in the Atlantic Alliance as an essential regional factor for security and peace is another basic element in Italian foreign policy.

111. Since Italy's participation in international affairs is based on the principles of the United Nations Charter, the Italian Government has never failed to voice its concern at the persistence throughout the world of serious centres of tension and dangerous factors of destabilization.

112. An analysis of the world situation, this year again, reveals that in many—too many—countries of the world the factors of destabilization have not been reduced or shown any tendency to decrease.

113. Italy firmly supports and considers as essential the efforts of the United Nations aimed at détente and disarmament. However, these efforts can be effectively pursued only within an over-all context where centres of tension are eliminated.

114. The maintenance of international peace and stability is, I repeat, a collective responsibility, even if this goal must be sought primarily through the effective participation in the processes of normalization by all the parties involved in the various crises.

115. With regard to specific problems and the crises we are now facing, I should like to recall the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ireland in his capacity as the President-in-Office of the Council of Ministers of the European Community. Thus the General Assembly has heard in outline form the principles on which, in the view of the nine members of the Community, must be based all efforts to solve the serious problems of peace in the Middle East, that of the implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians, as well as that of the security of Israel and the problem of Jerusalem and that of the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon.

116. Italy is convinced that the peaceful settlement we all desire can be achieved only if these basic principles are applied by all the parties to the negotiation for a comprehensive solution. This applies equally to the PLO, which for quite a long time Italy has recognized as an important political force of the Palestinian people.

117. Still with regard to the Middle East situation, Italy decided last July to participate directly in one of the most important peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. It accepted the Secretary-General's invitation to place a helicopter unit at the disposal of the United Nations Force in southern Lebanon. This practical contribution, an expression of Italy's determination to help in a gradual solution of the problems of a geographical area with which it has so many historical and cultural ties, is proof of our full confidence in the role of the United Nations in the Middle East and of the United Nations peace-keeping forces deployed in that area. Therefore we consider it necessary above all to work so as to prevent the tragic tensions in Lebanon from leading to increasingly uncontrollable developments.

118. In the vital area of the Mediterranean, Italy continues to follow with legitimate and natural interest the prospects for a normalization of the situation in the Republic of Cyprus and for a peaceful and mutually beneficial coexistence between the two communities on the island. We have every hope that positive results will be achieved through the tenacious efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim.

119. On the African continent, along with such positive developments as the return of some countries to democratic forms of government and the attainment of higher standards in the protection and promotion of human rights, we note with concern the persistence of tensions which are encouraged by the presence of foreign military forces and whose implications appear increasingly serious and unforeseeable.

120. Italy firmly condemns the institutionalized violation of the rights of the majority of the South African people which is embodied in the *apartheid* system, and it also condemns the political and economic régime based on this system. In this context, with regard to the problem of Zimbabwe, we support the negotiating efforts now taking place at the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in London for the peaceful and rapid attainment of an internationally accepted independence for the territory. Should these efforts, like those for Namibia, fail, the stability of the region, détente in general and the guarantees of the rights of the peoples concerned would be seriously endangered.

121. Crises and tensions which have degenerated into

armed confrontations have sown the seeds of destabilization in the whole region of South-East Asia. They involve fundamental principles of international coexistence and have at the same time brought further sufferings to those martyred peoples.

122. Faced with the tragic situation of the refugees from the Indo-Chinese peninsula, Italy has felt in duty bound to participate actively in the practical implementation of the internationally agreed operations designed to relieve the sufferings of those forced to abandon their native land and their homes. Thus, last July, three units of the Italian navy participated in those seas in the rescue operations of the Indo-Chinese refugees, whom we are helping to resettle in Italian society in a spirit of increasingly close humanitarian co-operation with the programmes of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

123. The international Meeting convened last July in Geneva by the Secretary-General of the United Nations to discuss the humanitarian aspects of the problem of the Indo-Chinese refugees has yielded positive results. The fact that such a large number of countries participated in those discussions constituted an eloquent expression of the extent to which international solidarity may contribute to the relief of human suffering. However, even though efforts have been made to reduce the burden on the countries of first asylum, the final solution of the problem of the South-East Asian refugees still seems, unfortunately, to be far off. This will require persistent efforts by the international community and, above all, the will of all those directly and indirectly concerned to tackle on the political level the basic problems of that area.

124. We have followed with profound sympathy the long sufferings of the Nicaraguan people in liberating themselves from dictatorship, whose overthrow Italy has welcomed with satisfaction. It is the duty of the entire international community to endeavor to give concrete proof of its solidarity with that grievously stricken people. This effort must take the form of a programme of economic and social aid, to which Italy has already made its contribution. At the same time, we reiterate the hope already expressed by the Organization of American States and by the European Community in the Declaration on Nicaragua of 29 June that the situation in that country will develop along democratic and pluralistic lines.

125. With regard to Latin America, the same ideals of freedom and democracy, in which the Italian people firmly believe and which have always inspired the actions of their Government, prompt us to welcome with satisfaction the progress of other countries towards forms of representative democracy and lead us to hope for a new era of co-operation and progress, which will certainly be among the objectives of the next General Assembly of the Organization of American States at La Paz.

126. Italy's confidence in the process of détente is inspired by, and has as its ultimate objective, the recognition of the worth and dignity of the human being, which the Charter of the United Nations affirms in its very Preamble.

127. Indeed only a process of détente and disarmament, conducted with conviction and pursued with loy-

alty, can pave the way for a broader dialogue between peoples on the question of human rights, overcome the resistance to more advanced and general forms of international protection and gradually release vast resources so that all human rights, without distinctions or hierarchies as between civil and political rights or economic, social and cultural rights, are fully achieved.

128. If, however, we ask ourselves whether and to what extent we have witnessed during the course of the year further prospects of effective progress in the recognition of human rights within each State and in the international protection of these same rights, the reply is not yet satisfactory, and in many instances it is definitely unsatisfactory, with serious political implications which vary in importance in the different cases.

129. With regard to the international protection of human rights, we cannot help observing that, this year again, many hopes have been dashed by the rigid application of the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Italy maintains that the application of this principle in the field of human rights admits, and indeed requires, a certain degree of flexibility.

130. In this respect may I recall that Italy has accepted all the optional provisions of the international conventions on human rights, including those concerning communications submitted by States in regard to violations of human rights.

131. In Europe the strengthening of security and co-operation has found at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and in the follow-up conferences appropriate forums to begin a dialogue which, we hope, will at the meeting in Madrid next year, further promote the creation of conditions of stability and trust in relations between States and between individuals.

132. After the solemn signing of the Final Act of that Conference at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, the process set in motion by the Conference has resulted in a growing number of meetings at various levels, among which the Madrid meeting may, through the efforts of all the signatory States, represent a new and important stage along the path of détente. In close collaboration with the other members of the European Community, Italy is preparing for this meeting in an open and constructive spirit.

133. Italy's commitment to peace and détente is also reflected in its active participation at the European level in the Vienna negotiations on the mutual and balanced reduction of forces and at the world level in the disarmament negotiations.

134. There is no doubt that the security of States cannot be guaranteed through the uncontrolled spiralling and piling up of weapons of destruction. On the contrary, the halting of this process and its reversal is the priority task of the international community, as was pointed out last year in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], which was devoted to disarmament. This is the more true as the arms race, in addition to causing a general feeling of insecurity, also involves at the world level an enormous waste of resources, which are diverted from their natural function of serving the economic and social development of all countries, and in particular of those of the third world.

135. It is therefore the task of the General Assembly and of the specialized bodies in the field of disarmament, whose work this year has entered a new phase following the restructuring of the negotiating machinery by the General Assembly at the special session, to proceed without delay along the path of disarmament negotiations. It is also the basic responsibility of all of us to ensure that all the urgent points contained in the various phases of the programme are progressively tackled and resolved as soon as possible.

136. Within the context of our joint efforts to achieve general and complete disarmament under effective international control, nuclear disarmament is obviously of particular importance. We therefore welcome the second SALT Treaty reached by the United States and the Soviet Union on intercontinental nuclear weapons and we hope for the prompt conclusion of a treaty on the comprehensive banning of nuclear tests and new initiatives aimed at limiting nuclear weapons.

137. However, in parallel with the process of nuclear disarmament, negotiations for a balanced and controlled limitation of conventional weapons must proceed so as to strengthen stability and achieve decreasing levels of armaments.

138. A better and more stable world requires a growing commitment to overcoming a difficult economic situation whose negative characteristics are a decrease in employment, strong inflationary pressures and a slackening in economic growth.

139. We are all therefore faced with the priority task of ensuring a more dynamic and harmonious development of the world economy.

140. The strengthening of world peace also requires a greater measure of economic justice for all peoples. It is clear that the time in which we live is characterized by a growing interdependence between industrialized and developing countries and between problems we must tackle on a global scale.

141. The economic crisis cannot therefore be invoked as an excuse for diminishing the solidarity of the industrialized countries with the third world. The path to be followed in every case must lead to the strengthening of this solidarity. With this aim in mind, Italy—despite the difficult economic situation—has decided in recent weeks to double in 1980 the volume of its official aid for development and also proposes to increase its aid still further in the coming years. With this aim in mind, we have also decided to cancel the official debts of 10 of the least developed among the developing countries.

142. We hope that other countries will follow this lead and in particular that all the industrialized countries, whatever their political system, will participate in a renewed effort of solidarity and justice.

143. But, however important official aid for development may be, it cannot alone solve the problems of the third world.

144. In this context Italy has noted with particular interest the recent proposal, made by the Group of 77 at the last session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174

for a global discussion of the international economic situation, including the problem of energy. It is now clear that the problem of energy is of fundamental importance for all countries, whether developing or industrialized. The transition from the uncontrolled consumption of energy, especially oil, to a policy of energy saving and the diversification of energy sources requires, if it is to take place in an orderly manner, the co-operation and consultation of all States.

145. The large-scale co-ordination of these policies must be ensured in practice through a close complementarity between measures taken at the international level and measures and objectives to be pursued at national level by both the developing and the industrialized countries.

146. Only such a co-ordination between instruments and objectives can guarantee for all the satisfaction of essential needs and the achievement of a lasting and widespread economic balance. If we missed this opportunity we would all of us bear a serious responsibility, a responsibility to future generations and to the weak and the less fortunate. We cannot forget that economic imbalances and energy crises have a tragic impact on the day-to-day economic realities of so many developing countries, which are struggling for advancement and to bring to broader segments of their populations the benefits of development.

147. The dramatic figures published by the United Nations on the world food crisis make us reflect bitterly on the problems still encountered by mankind today and must awaken our consciences so that we can take up successfully the challenge of satisfying the fundamental needs of the world's population.

148. That is why Italy has decided to concentrate an important part of its additional official development aid on multilateral programmes which can contribute to an improvement of the food situation.

149. Italy is therefore ready to intensify its contribution to the efforts of the United Nations to work out and implement a new international development strategy for the next decade.

150. In this context, and for the achievement of the objectives of a greater measure of social justice throughout the world, of an international community based on the reaffirmation of the worth and dignity of the human person, and of an ever growing co-operation between States for the settlement of disputes and the maintenance of peace, the Italian Government has worked and will continue to work on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

151. If we remain faithful to these principles and seek to apply them constantly, it will mean that men and States will have chosen the right path—the path of life, peace and solidarity.

152. Mr. KUSUMAATMADJA (Indonesia): It is particularly gratifying to Indonesia that the President of this session is not only a distinguished diplomat with a long association with the United Nations but also an outstanding representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, with which my country enjoys excellent relations. I wish to take this opportunity to express to the

President the warmest congratulations of my Government, as well as my own, upon his unanimous election. We pledge to him our full co-operation in making this session of the Assembly a success.

153. At the same time, I should like to pay my country's tribute to his predecessor, Ambassador Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for the efficient manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the last session.

154. To our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom my Government recently had the pleasure to welcome to Indonesia, I wish to state our sincere appreciation for his unremitting efforts to promote peace and international understanding within the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations.

155. I also take pleasure in welcoming the State of Saint Lucia into the United Nations. The admission of Saint Lucia underscores the widening universality of membership of the United Nations and the need for mutual co-operation. My delegation looks forward to close and useful co-operation with the delegation of Saint Lucia in our common effort in solving the myriad problems that confront the world community today.

156. Once again we are assembled in this hall to examine the concerns of our times, to seek new avenues to strengthen global peace and security, to solidify international co-operation, and to chart a better future for the nations of the world. These concerns evolve at a time of structural transformation of the present political and economic order—a process which is advancing irresistibly. The challenge facing the international community is to influence the direction of this process towards the formation of a new pattern of international relations, a more equitable international co-operation for development and a new international order developing in a world which requires, for the successful consummation of these processes, a stable and enduring peace.

157. While we are confronted with these new challenges, new forms of threat to global peace are constantly emerging as a result of power politics and the intensification of the arms race, bringing in their wake a serious deterioration in the climate of international security. We are witnessing, among others, a changing international power structure and a new generation of local conflicts. These conflicts in certain parts of the world emphasize the need for the revitalization of détente. Relaxation of tension between the major Powers and between Power blocs constitutes an important prerequisite. Détente, as a prerequisite for the maintenance of real peace as distinguished from a mere absence of armed conflict, should be made to evolve into a global system of peaceful coexistence comprising all regions of the world and all aspects of inter-State relations. It must be based on respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States, non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of force. To lead to a durable peace, détente should also be consciously pursued as part of a universal effort towards general and complete disarmament.

158. It is in this context that consensus has grown among the members of the international community to find ways and means to enhance the effectiveness of our

Organization to deal with the challenges and problems created by the radical changes which are taking place in the international community of nations which have far-reaching consequences. Particularly, there exists an urgent need to strengthen the Organization in order to enable it to discharge effectively its primary responsibility of maintaining peace based on justice and to contribute to the strengthening of international security. In our efforts to strengthen the efficacy and role of the United Nations as an instrument for peace and co-operation, it is essential that the Organization should conform to the changed circumstances of our times. Furthermore, efforts must be made to encourage Members to exhibit the political will to make greater use of the possibilities of peaceful settlement of disputes afforded by our Organization. The Secretary-General underscored the need for this approach when he stated in his report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1] that the United Nations, if effectively utilized as the working structure of the world community of the future, could be of unique assistance in solving problems.

159. The United Nations has a long and enviable record of providing assistance to refugees. More recently, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, among others, has been burdened by the deluge of Indo-China refugees and displaced persons flooding the countries of South-East Asia, putting a heavy strain on them. Indonesia and the other members of ASEAN have none the less extended their co-operation within their limited means to alleviate the suffering of the refugees.

160. The influx of refugees has left in its trail local problems and unsettled local conditions. The situation is further exacerbated by the fact that the refugees are not only a humanitarian concern but also pose questions of national security containing at the same time potential threats to the political and economic stability of the region.

161. The recent Geneva Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia has produced some encouraging results, although it fell short of providing an over-all and lasting solution. In this connexion, my Government has noted with appreciation the response of the Government of Viet Nam with regard to extending its co-operation to the High Commissioner for Refugees in tackling the problem at the source, and hopes that it will continue to honour its commitments undertaken in this regard. However, it is of the utmost importance that the international community—in particular, the receiving States—take more concerted action to expedite the resettlement of the refugees.

162. The importance of the success of the Geneva Meeting on refugees lies in the fact that, given the opportunity, the United Nations system can and does work. The Meeting was able to pluck the nations of South-East Asia from the brink of chaos because we, the participants, were able, for a change, to set aside our differences and address ourselves to the problem at hand, irrespective of our social, economic and political inclinations.

163. The South-East Asian region is now again faced with a problem of great magnitude. It is pertinent to note that the conflict is still continuing and a threat of widespread famine now appears imminent. Such an eventuality will result in hardship and deprivation on a

massive scale for the people of Kampuchea, who have already suffered immensely. It will also worsen and aggravate the refugee problem already faced by the neighbouring countries. My delegation, therefore, calls upon all the parties involved to extend their full and unconditional co-operation to relief operations that may be undertaken by the international community.

164. In the final analysis, in this deteriorating situation not of their own making, the people of Kampuchea must be allowed to determine their future by themselves. This must be made free of outside interference and influence. Coming from the region, we must express our concern at the threat that this conflict poses to the peace and security of the ASEAN States and to the whole region. It is in view of these considerations that the ASEAN States have urged the General Assembly to consider at this session the situation in Kampuchea [see A/34/191].

165. The principles which I have just noted concerning the situation in Kampuchea are, indeed, of relevance to the whole region of South-East Asia. In particular, it is essential to accord recognition to the principles of respect for the independence of all the States in the region and the sovereign right of those States to define their national policies free from foreign interference and intervention. It is also necessary to reject any action by individual outside Powers which is aimed at the creation of spheres of influence. The countries of the region should be left to solve their own problems in accordance with their perception of national interests and regional harmony. The countries of the region should be given a chance to seek a solution towards meaningful and real peaceful coexistence, regardless of their respective economic, social and political systems. At the same time, the countries of the region should refrain from policies or actions which would give a pretext for or justify interference or intervention by outside Powers. Through such an approach it should be possible to build a strong and vibrant region whose Governments can devote their efforts to the economic development of their peoples.

166. On the question of the Middle East, the United Nations has adopted a number of resolutions, particularly since 1967, to serve as a basis for a just and durable peace. However, Israel has consistently defied and failed to heed the demands of the overwhelming majority of the international community. Israel's policy of aggression and colonial expansion and occupation perpetuates a situation of protracted conflict and inherent injustice. Israel's defiant acts of provocation and persistent disregard of United Nations resolutions have been exposed, time and again, as being the major obstacle to a just and lasting peace in the region. Israel continues its universally condemned practice of establishing new settlements in the occupied territories. Only a few days ago it took still another defiant step by sanctioning the acquisition of land in the occupied areas by its citizens. Such actions are added proof that Israel intends to maintain control of those areas with a view to annexing them. Its repeated and senseless attacks against Lebanon have caused the loss of innumerable innocent lives and of property.

167. We are all united in the conviction that a settlement of the Middle East question cannot be achieved through partial solutions. A solution to be just and lasting should be one that is comprehensive—

comprehensive in the sense that it should lead to the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from all Arab lands. It should lead to the return of Jerusalem to Arab custody, and it should also lead to the fulfilment of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

168. Indonesia has consistently supported the universally accepted position that the Palestinian issue is the core of the Middle East problem and that the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people should be realized, including their right to establish an independent State of their own, and the recognition of the PLO as the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. No one can ignore the fact that the PLO, as the sole representative of the people of Palestine and their aspirations, is now more universally recognized. We look forward to that inevitable day when the PLO participates in the negotiations for a just and comprehensive settlement leading to the establishment by the Palestinian people of their own national State.

169. Despite the strenuous efforts of the international community to bring about just and peaceful solutions, the situation in southern Africa has deteriorated over the past year. Colonialist repression and racial discrimination continue to flaunt world opinion and pose a threat to international peace and security.

170. International efforts over many years totally to eliminate the *apartheid* policy in South Africa have so far shown no substantive results. In view of this, my delegation feels that it is time now that new ways and means for forcing an end to this policy were considered seriously and implemented with firmer determination. In this regard, Member States should support the complete isolation of the Pretoria régime by any means, including the continuation of United Nations sanctions.

171. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia continues in contravention of the responsibility of the United Nations for bringing Namibia to national independence. This is an open defiance of United Nations authority. We must deal with it effectively in order to bring South Africa to a settlement which would give the people of Namibia genuine independence. Specifically, the States that enjoy a close relationship with the Pretoria régime must exert further pressure in order to make the Pretoria régime adhere strictly and immediately to the relevant United Nations resolutions. In the event these efforts prove fruitless, our recourse should be to implement resolution 33/206 of 31 May 1979, which calls upon the Security Council to consider enforcement measures against South Africa, as provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

172. My delegation is satisfied that the decision on Zimbabwe by the recent Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries held in Lusaka [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] has led to the present London Conference aimed at ending the impasse on the decolonization of Zimbabwe. The fact that all concerned parties are participating has given the Conference an auspicious start which may lead to a positive solution. My delegation, however, believes that that solution should be one acceptable to all parties, and must lead to genuine independence. Until such a solution is reached, my Government will continue to support relevant United Nations resolutions pertaining to the question, including sanctions.

173. A year has elapsed since the adoption of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, and progress in this sphere has fallen short of our expectations. The arms race has continued unabated, despite the concerted efforts of the international community. Moreover, satisfactory progress on a number of pressing problems, such as a comprehensive test ban and the prohibition of chemical weapons, has not yet been achieved. The Committee on Disarmament has so far been unable to make significant headway on these problems.

174. Another important question concerns the security guarantee for the non-nuclear-weapon States. Efforts in this regard did not succeed due to disagreement among the nuclear-weapon States to provide such a guarantee. We believe that an effective and credible guarantee consists in the prohibition of the use or the threat to use nuclear weapons. Such a prohibition is in the interests not only of the non-nuclear-weapon States but of the entire world as well. This issue should be dealt with expeditiously, as the non-nuclear-weapon States, which have accepted unequal and onerous obligations, are justified in urging the nuclear-weapon States to provide such a guarantee.

175. Indonesia welcomes the signing of the second SALT Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union and looks forward to its entering into force soon. It is our hope that the agreement will contribute to the improvement of relations between them, and thus help to reduce the risk of an outbreak of war. Despite the successful outcome of the second round of SALT the world is still far away from real disarmament. We hope, therefore, that the parties concerned will continue, as they have agreed, to pursue negotiations on measures for further limitation and reduction in the number of strategic arms as well as for further qualitative limitations.

176. As regards the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], my delegation has welcomed the progress achieved during the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, held in July. It has set in motion the process of convening an international conference with a view to reaching an international agreement which will facilitate the implementation of the Declaration. The Meeting also epitomized the desire of the States concerned to evolve a common position and to work together to ensure peace in the region. My delegation attaches great importance to the non-use of the Indian Ocean as an arena for great Power rivalry and conflict in any of its manifestations and ramifications. In this light my delegation views with concern the increasing military presence of the great Powers in the area. This constitutes a serious setback to the efforts by the States of the region to keep great Power rivalry out of the Indian Ocean. We hope that the forthcoming conference on the Indian Ocean, the venue and date of which will be decided by this Assembly, will succeed in facilitating the attainment of the objectives of the Declaration to the benefit not only of the riparian States, but of all the peace-loving nations of the world.

177. The experience of ASEAN, in its efforts to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, offers a useful analogy in this regard. Its most important objective is the attainment and preservation of peace as

a prerequisite for the sustained development of the region by pursuing the goals of preventing external interference and containing intra-regional differences. ASEAN hopes, thereby, to make a positive contribution to the maintenance of peace and stability in the region.

178. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea approved during last summer's session a programme of work⁴ providing for the adoption of a new and comprehensive convention on the law of the sea next year. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation for this useful and timely decision, which will enable us not only to initiate the exploitation of deep sea-bed resources but also to avoid protracted negotiations which, in the final analysis, will exhaust our limited resources, especially those of the developing countries.

179. Although the eighth session of the Conference did not finalize a formal text, it did achieve significant progress on certain hard-core issues. My delegation continues to support the statement made by the Chairman of the Group of 77 during the last session⁵ concerning unilateral legislation on the exploitation of deep sea-bed resources, since such action would prejudice the results of the Conference.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.

180. Indonesia, as an archipelagic State, lying at the cross-roads, between two continents and two oceans, attaches great importance to the successful outcome of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and will always lend its support to the acceleration of meaningful negotiations. It is our earnest hope that all interested parties will negotiate fully in a spirit of compromise in order to reach agreement as soon as possible.

181. The world has come to realize that there is an inseparable link between international security and economic justice and equality. There can be no genuine and lasting peace as long as gross inequalities and imbalances prevail. As we enter the new decade of the 1980s, we are very much aware that there has been no substantial progress towards the elimination of these inequities which aggravate the widening gap between the developed and the developing countries. Moreover, the world is still afflicted by a pervasive economic crisis and is experiencing a general sense of drift and uncertainty on major issues relating to international co-operation for development. There has been in recent years a growing awareness that the problems now besetting the world economy are of a structural nature, and that the measures taken to date by the international community have not been commensurate with the imperatives for structural change nor with the accelerated development of the developing countries. As a consequence, the world economy continues to show symptoms of inherent structural malfunction, which adversely affects the economies of the developing countries. The resurgence of protectionism has further compounded these difficulties, with negative implications for the pattern of international trade and development.

⁴ Document A/CONF.62/88.

⁵ Document A/CONF.62/89.

182. With the exception of some aspects in certain fields, the North-South negotiations pursued in the various forums of the United Nations system to bring about structural change are either bogged down or moving at a frustratingly slow pace. It is now evident that no real progress has been made because of the absence of genuine political will on the part of a large majority of developed countries to engage in meaningful negotiations. This was clearly apparent during the ministerial meeting of the fifth session of UNCTAD held last May in Manila, the meetings of The Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy and the recently concluded session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, where the developed countries displayed increasingly inflexible positions towards the legitimate demands of the developing countries.

183. In the face of these adverse trends and critical developments in the world economic situation, we should seek new initiatives and approaches in order to achieve concrete results on the fundamental issues relating to the establishment of the New International Economic Order. In this connexion the Secretary-General has rightly appealed for a new impetus in the North-South negotiations to dispel the present climate of uncertainty and disenchantment.

184. The proposal of the Group of 77 to launch a round of global and sustained negotiations on international co-operation for development at the special session of the General Assembly in 1980 constitutes an innovative and bold initiative to bring about a breakthrough in the present stalemate. My delegation wishes to reaffirm its conviction that this new approach should be action-oriented, and that the main issues involved should be dealt with in an integrated manner.

185. We also subscribe to the view that the global negotiations should not involve any interruption of the ongoing negotiations in other United Nations forums. Furthermore, there should be a close relationship between the preparations of the global negotiations and the completion of the work for the new international development strategy, as the proposed negotiations are designed to make a significant contribution towards the implementation of that strategy.

186. We see the new international development strategy as the principal instrument for achieving the objectives of the New International Economic Order, constituting a conceptual framework for the whole range of North-South dialogues. We must reaffirm our confidence in the concept of an international development strategy as a concrete commitment of the international community to establish a just and more equitable world economic order.

187. Having presented the views of my Government on major world problems, may I now touch briefly upon the efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the work of this Assembly. The growing number of problems discussed in the General Assembly bears testimony to the increasing importance of the United Nations and reflects the determination of the international community to settle its problems by means of constructive dialogue.

188. Conversely, these positive developments pose serious problems for the effective and efficient dis-

charge of the work of the General Assembly, with adverse repercussions for the functioning of the Organization as a whole. In this regard, we welcome various efforts to rationalize the procedures and organization of the General Assembly. I am confident that these attempts at institutional changes and improvements will go a long way towards making the United Nations more effective as a global system for international co-operation.

189. From my account of our common efforts to deal with world problems and the role of the United Nations, it may have been noted that we have an undiminished and enduring faith in our Organization. All things considered, there is no viable alternative to the United Nations system in our efforts to build a new and better world, however far from perfect the United Nations may seem to its critics.

190. It is for this reason that Indonesia, which has benefited since its birth from the United Nations, has in its turn and within its limited means constantly supported United Nations programmes and efforts in our search for a more peaceful, just and better world. We have done this because, for better or for worse, we Member nations are the United Nations.

191. As we stand now at the threshold of a new decade, it is appropriate for us in this Organization to learn from the failures of the past and to take strength from its positive achievements in order to go forward in our quest for a more peaceful, prosperous and just world. The United Nations—that is, we—cannot afford to fail.

192. The PRESIDENT: In calling on the next speaker, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, I take this opportunity to extend to him, and through him to the Government and people of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, our very deep condolences in connexion with the passing away of the former President of Czechoslovakia, Army General Ludvík Svoboda.

193. Mr. CHŇOUPEK (Czechoslovakia) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, allow me most sincerely to thank you for the words of sympathy expressed to my country in connexion with the passing away of the outstanding Czechoslovak statesman, our former President, hero of Czechoslovakia and of the Soviet Union, Army General Ludvík Svoboda. The peoples of my country have lost in his person a great, courageous man whose name is linked with my country's national liberation struggle against fascism and for socialism and world peace. His memory shall for ever remain inscribed in the hearts of our people.

194. We should like to take this opportunity to express our sympathy and to share the sorrow of the Angolan people over the loss of its faithful son and passionate fighter for the freedom of the African peoples, President Agostinho Neto.

195. Mr. President, I congratulate you, an outstanding political figure and eminent diplomat of the United Republic of Tanzania, on your election to the lofty and responsible post of President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are convinced that you will successfully fulfil your mission and, together with the Secretary-General of the United

Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, contribute to the positive results of our joint work.

196. We welcome the admission of Saint Lucia to membership in the United Nations, an event that surely is not only an expression of the advancing elimination of the vestiges of colonialism, but also strengthens the universality of our Organization.

197. If we attempt to describe the international situation in an informed and diligent manner—as, in fact, we do every year from this rostrum—we cannot this time lose sight of the fact that we are approaching the end of a decade which, unlike previous ones, has assumed an almost crucial significance for us, the present generation. After all, the annals of the seventh decade of this century and, in a concentrated form, the events of the last year, reflect virtually everything that could be described by the all-embracing term of “concretization of détente”.

198. What, then, has the past year brought? What has it shown us?

199. In the first place, it has produced proof that the spirit of new faith has been awakened in the ability of mankind to have sufficient perseverance in the struggle for the cause of peace; that the paralysed political dialogue has once more been reanimated; that we have been able to witness a number of ambitious projects representing a significant political contribution to a peaceful future for the world; that, after a certain lapse of time, an encouraging level of global stability has been re-established; that in the space of a single year further anti-popular régimes have collapsed in Asia and in Latin America and that important changes that advance the preservation of peace have been added to the political map of the world. That, then, is first and foremost.

200. At the same time, and this is no less gratifying, we have to a significant degree managed to unblock certain mechanisms impeding international development, to halt the development of certain negative trends and to repel concentrated attacks by the most reactionary forces against progress, socialism, democracy and the national liberation movement.

201. Moreover, although violators of the peace of all types continued their efforts to preserve the vestiges of the cold-war era, they failed to capitalize further on this burdensome mortgage of the past. Although they tried to retain the vestiges of fossilized thinking, they did not succeed in infecting international life with them. Although they tried to steer a policy running counter to the general course of events, they did not manage to reduce détente to a servile role. Although, as in the early states of détente, they once again manoeuvred in distrust, suspicion, and lack of understanding, employing intrigues and provocations, they did not reverse the trend. Indeed, despite all the pitfalls, obstacles and discouraging difficulties placed in the way of détente by its opponents, that policy has been developing generally in the correct direction, and they have not managed to limit the scope of that policy, to discard it or to plunge the world into helpless confusion.

202. Thus we can conclude that the past year has been a demanding endurance test from which détente has emerged as mature. Détente gradually has become the

fundamental trend during this last decade and it has repeatedly proved itself to be a productive, well-defined choice for mankind's future. It is therefore in mankind's vital interest to show sufficient determination, vision and perseverance to make détente the decisive trend in strengthening the structure of world peace and mutually beneficial co-operation among States with different social systems.

203. If, in saying this today, in 1979, we look back and compare the present time with the cold-war years and the formative years of détente, we see that our statement is justified.

204. We are all the more gratified since in the course of last year as in the past we have had no aspiration other than to continue consistently along the road of peaceful, dynamic policies on which we have started, to open up new horizons of broad international co-operation, to direct people towards what brings them close together, and away from what divides them, and to overcome patiently the conflicts among peoples. Thus, we took the correct course, and historical developments proved us right.

205. We should like it to be possible to say one day that the entire past period was decisive for the fate of détente in what we may call its developing stage and that détente was not exposed to destructive hegemonism, that obvious negation of the peaceful, constructive relations among States which are reaffirmed by the United Nations Charter. To ensure that this weed in international relations was deprived everywhere and once and for all of the soil which nourishes it, the greatest contribution would be made by an effective international agreement, as was proposed yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, Mr. Andrei Andreevich Gromyko.

206. We therefore fully support the inclusion on the agenda of this Assembly session of an item entitled “Inadmissibility of hegemonism in international relations” [A/34/243]. As a non-permanent member of the Security Council, we support the proposal that this question should also be considered by that highest body of the United Nations.

207. We hope that it may be possible to say one day that the first stages of international détente were followed immediately by a significant deepening of that process characterized by a shift from words to deeds, from tactical temporizing to constructive negotiations and, above all, by a move to military détente. The arms race, after all, has not yet been halted.

208. In that respect, we regard as very promising the conclusion of the second SALT Treaty which is an example of perseverance, determination, mature political will and forward-looking responsibility for mankind as a whole. This most important world event reaffirmed most amply the effectiveness of the untiring and determinedly peace-loving Leninist policy of the Soviet Union, which strives to promote the process of détente, disarmament and peace throughout the world. That is why we also want to stress from this rostrum how deeply we appreciate the contribution of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, of the Soviet State, and of Mr. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev personally to the preparation and successful conclusion of that Treaty.

We also appreciate the realism of the American side. We hope that the same sound judgement will prevail also among those who will vote on the ratification of the Treaty.

Mr. Rolandis (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.

209. That would again significantly strengthen the great hope of all mankind that the threat of a world nuclear conflict may be averted forever. More favourable conditions would be created for concrete negotiations on the entire range of disarmament proposals relating both to nuclear and conventional weapons, as well as on confidence-building measures among States, including a world-wide treaty on the non-use of force in international relations.

210. We are well aware of the beneficial influence of everything that has been achieved along this road up to now. But so far, it represents but a small fraction of the possibilities offered by the development of détente.

211. To achieve those possibilities, however, we must discard once and for all the illusion that lasting peace and security can coexist with huge stockpiles of the means of mass destruction; that it is possible without disarmament to solve successfully the vitally important problems of concern to the whole of humanity, such as the establishment of a new economic order, the provision of the food so needed by mankind, the development of new sources of energy, the eradication of dangerous diseases, the protection of the environment, the satisfaction of the spiritual and cultural needs of humanity, and the achievement of advances in the exploration of outer space.

212. As a country that knows the price of peace, we are aware that it is not war alone, but the very fear that there might be a war, which diverts mankind from its endeavours to tackle the most pressing tasks of our time.

213. The treaty on the prohibition of radiological weapons, which has been proposed jointly by the Soviet Union and the United States and which we warmly support [see A/34/27, para. 56 (a)], provides fresh proof that the problem of disarmament can indeed be tackled and resolved.

214. That is why Czechoslovakia will continue to devote priority attention to halting the arms race and to disarmament. We are prepared to conduct negotiations on the broad spectrum of concrete proposals. In the Declaration of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty adopted at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee, held at Moscow on 23 November 1978,⁶ we submitted, jointly with our allies, well-known initiatives, the implementation of which would mark a decisive turning-point in the negotiations on halting the arms race and on disarmament.

215. We shall spare no effort to bring about the gradual achievement of that goal. We intend to negotiate patiently and with perseverance with all partners on our proposals as well as on theirs, at any place

and at any level, including the highest. We are ready to make a creative contribution to the honest efforts of States finally to achieve tangible progress in this key area of international life.

216. This determination of ours was expressed by the President of Czechoslovakia, Gustáv Husák, when he stated in Prague on 1 May of this year:

“States should assume the obligation, preferably in the United Nations, to approach disarmament negotiations constructively and to contribute to the creation of an international climate conducive to the speediest possible achievement of the needed progress.”

217. That is why my country is now submitting a draft declaration on international co-operation for disarmament [A/34/141/Add. 1, annex]. We have based the document on a deep and objective study of many years of experience in holding disarmament negotiations and on the need for an all-round intensification of the comprehensive implementation of the objectives, decisions and recommendations that we all adopted unanimously at the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament.

218. In the more than a year that has elapsed since then, a great deal has been done. This year we shall consider the first report of the Committee on Disarmament [A/34/27] working with its new expanded membership. However, the time has come for us to embark on concrete measures and agreements, overcoming all the difficulties that may still arise along this road.

219. That is why we strive to give a new impulse to the creation of a yet more favourable climate for an early implementation of the results of the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, and that is also why we stress in the draft declaration the very clear and compelling fact that today the Governments of all States of the world have a truly historic responsibility for eradicating war from the life of man, a responsibility that must be met by agreeing on effective and decisive measures for the achievement of general and complete disarmament—that ancient ideal of mankind which was also in the mind of the great Czech thinker of the seventeenth century, John Amos Comenius, when he wrote in his world-famous monumental work *On the Reform of the Human Condition*:

“Weapons must therefore be removed so that there may be no occasion to revert to hostilities and wars, for there is no salvation in war and nothing results from it but the menace of fire, steel and the uprooting of States.”

220. At that time, however, they could only dream of disarmament. Today we are already negotiating, and tomorrow we must act. That was why, in submitting the draft declaration—which one could call a code of political principles to govern States in the interests of purposeful, effective, constructive and continuous co-operation in the field of disarmament, we are trying to help to draw up one of the possible operative instruments to facilitate the uninterrupted course as well as the results of both the current and future disarmament negotiations.

221. The purpose of this is by no means a verbal proclamation of good intentions or a mere mechanical

⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939, annex.

introduction of new principles. The purpose that we seek is to harmonize and unify all existing rules in one systematic and well-organized document that would be universally applicable in every disarmament body, at every political level. This would also strengthen the methodological aspect of the analysis and synthesis of what promotes the success of disarmament negotiations and, on the other hand, what hampers or even damages them.

222. We want such key premises of the entire disarmament process as the consolidation, development, expansion and intensification of international co-operation for disarmament to become basic political and moral law for the behaviour of States, regardless of their geographical position or their affiliation with this or that socio-political system.

223. We are deeply convinced that our proposal is fully compatible with efforts by nations for the establishment of lasting peace and the safeguarding of strong international security, and that it reflects the unanimous will of the world community to find reliable solutions to the pressing problems of disarmament. We trust that at this session the proposal will meet with the constructive support of the States Members of the United Nations.

224. Peace and security throughout the world have always been inseparably linked with the fate of Europe. That is where political détente was initiated and where it made the greatest advance. That is why military détente also should make the greatest possible advance there, so that the dark dens of the alchemists of war may be transformed into useful laboratories of peace and co-operation, where the dials will display but one constant—mutual advantage and an unshakable system of equal security for all.

225. Keeping in mind this very goal, we propose, together with the other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, the immediate conclusion of an agreement among the participants in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe a treaty to the effect that they will not be the first to use either nuclear or conventional weapons against each other. We believe that even today it is possible to start preparing a conference on military détente to be held on a political level and with the participation of all European States, the United States and Canada. This important initiative proposed by the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty in Budapest last May⁷ opens up broad possibilities for a matter-of-fact consideration of all proposals designed to reduce the danger of military confrontation.

226. As a direct participant in the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe, we are understandably deeply interested about a tangible progress in these talks. That, however, can be achieved only if our partners re-examine their concept of "first arming themselves adequately and then proceeding with disarmament". As it is, for instance, the latest Euro-strategic weapons in Western Europe cannot be seen but as a further tightening of the Gordian knot.

227. Despite these "atmospheric disturbances" the European political climate has already become healthier. We are endeavouring to ensure that the second review session of the Conference, to be held in Madrid next year, brings new positive developments particularly in military détente so that we may actively promote the implementation of the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. We hope that the gates of mutually advantageous and equal co-operation among all European countries might open even wider in a manner that was documented by the positive results of the ECE session this year and by the convening of the European congress on the environment under the auspices of the ECE in Geneva in November.

228. Czechoslovakia is trying to make an all-round contribution to this process by developing its bilateral relations. In our view more frequent meetings among representatives of the countries which signed the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference will promote its creative regeneration and a fresh momentum aimed at supporting peace.

229. This awareness, enhanced by our specific geographical position as well as the objective possibilities which have emerged, provided an opportunity for us to normalize the micro-climate of relations in Central Europe, specifically the relations with our Western partners.

230. Our relations with the Federal Republic of Germany are based on the political will of both sides embodied in a joint declaration signed by President Gustáv Husák and Chancellor Helmut Schmidt during last year's official visit of our Head of State to Bonn, and are in the process of practical and concrete development. We have deep interest in their future positive and smooth continuation.

231. With neighbouring Austria we have constructively tackled everything that has burdened our relations, being aware of a prospect of many years of stability. The process of restoration of relations on the basis of good neighbourliness culminated successfully in the visit by President Rudolf Kirchschläger to our country last March. We are now translating creatively the results of that visit into mutually advantageous co-operation.

232. Thus for the first time since the establishment of our independent State, we have, after more than six decades, fully normalized relations with all our neighbours including those with a different social system from ours, a development which did not come about even when these differences did not exist. This is our active contribution to the peaceful reconstruction of the situation in Central Europe.

233. In this connexion we are ever more actively enriching the process of détente by expanding mutually advantageous co-operation with many other European countries. As a State member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, which this year commemorates 30 peaceful, fruitful and creative years since its establishment, we actively promote our all-round co-operation with Asian, African and Latin American countries. Our warm sympathies and constructive support go to their endeavours to strengthen their political independence and to achieve their economic indepen-

⁷ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13344.

dence and for the establishment of just international economic relations that would safeguard their economic and social development. In other words, we are establishing relations that would be a model of equal, democratic and mutually advantageous co-operation among all States with different socio-economic systems.

234. We welcomed the results of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held recently in Havana. They reflect new evidence that the source of strength and effectiveness of that movement resides in its unity in the defence of the just cause of the peoples struggling for their liberation from political, economic and social oppression, in their struggle for the strengthening of peace and international security, for disarmament and détente and against imperialism, racism and neo-colonialism.

235. World peace and security are not undermined by the arms race alone. An acute inflammation of détente is caused also by the hotbeds of tension, by painful old and new conflicts in various parts of the world. Czechoslovak public opinion and our Government, along with the entire peace-loving humanity, have condemned resolutely the aggression against socialist Viet Nam, the instigators of which, in complete contravention of the United Nations Charter and international law, tried and are still trying to raise "military lessons" to a norm of conduct in inter-State relations.

236. From this high rostrum we once again express our firm support for the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, who, after so many years of destructive, aggressive wars, are passionately longing for peace and are striving to build a just and peace-loving society in a calm atmosphere.

237. We regard as most deplorable the recognition of the so-called "credentials" of the representatives of the barbaric Pol Pot régime, overthrown by the Kampuchean people, a régime unique in history for its policy of massacring its own people. This goes against the spirit and purposes of the United Nations, undermines its authority and prestige and is fundamentally at variance with political reality. Our position of principle is unequivocal. The seat of Kampuchea in this Organization must be taken by the representatives appointed by the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which is the legitimate government of that country and which alone is able to discharge the obligations of a State Member of the United Nations.

238. Nor are the interests of the Kampuchean people, of the peace and security of the peoples of South-East Asia and of the mission of the United Nations served by the attempts to internationalize the non-existent so-called Kampuchean question and to interfere thus, in contravention of the United Nations Charter, in the internal affairs of the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

239. We also strongly object to efforts to misuse the artificially produced problem, fanned by propaganda, of the so-called Vietnamese refugees for political aims directed against Viet Nam.

240. We welcome the opening of negotiations between the USSR and China on the normalization of their relations. That can be to the benefit not only of

those two countries, but also peace in South-East Asia and throughout the world.

241. We continue to be concerned about the state of affairs in the Middle East. Every day it becomes clearer that the separate agreement between Egypt and Israel and the attempts to circumvent a settlement in keeping with the legitimate interests of all nations in that crisis area are fraught with most serious consequences.

242. Therefore, we emphasize once again that in the vortex of contradicting events in the Middle East, only one comprehensive settlement has hope of success—that is the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all territories occupied in 1967 and the safeguarding of the rights of the Palestinians, including their right to the establishment of their own State, as well as the right of all countries in that region, not excluding Israel, to an independent and secure existence.

243. We are convinced also that the burning problem of Cyprus cannot be resolved in any other way than on the basis of respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

244. Likewise, we support the efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the peaceful, democratic reunification of Korea, and we call for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the southern part of the country.

245. We emphatically reject the fresh attempts by the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa to perpetuate themselves and to postpone their historically inevitable elimination. We actively, effectively and consistently support the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa for freedom and independence. We express our solidarity with SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We reaffirm our full and all-round support for the sole genuine representative of the people of Zimbabwe—the Patriotic Front. We advocate a comprehensive intensification of the struggle against *apartheid*, including uncompromising economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter, which finally should compel the régime of the Republic of South Africa to respect the United Nations. We shall continue to make efforts to bring our Organization to use its entire authority to prevent the barbaric attacks by the racists against neighbouring States which are still continuing with impunity.

246. I believe there is no need to repeat from this rostrum the well-known truth that if we wish something to be destroyed it is sufficient to fold one's arms and wait, and the rest comes by itself. That is why it is our intention to do our utmost to contribute to an effective joint search for new ways in the struggle against the erosion and devaluation of the values of peace and international security which have already been achieved—especially so because the time is ripe for finding new initiatives to exclude the possibility of a new apocalypse, to make progress along the path of new, great ideals of peace, détente and co-operation, despite all obstacles, and to shape current history for a peaceful future, so that the United Nations also, this irreplaceable universal forum, might fulfil the hopes placed in it by the whole of peace-loving humanity and

thus strengthen the foundations on which the structure of international peace and security grows.

247. Mr. CORNER (New Zealand): As a member of the Commonwealth, New Zealand is pleased to welcome Saint Lucia to the United Nations and to offer its warmest congratulations to the representatives of Saint Lucia at this session of the General Assembly. We look forward to working with the delegation of Saint Lucia in furthering the purposes of this Organization.

248. It is a pleasure to congratulate you, Sir, and other officers of the Assembly on your election. I should be grateful if you would convey my special greetings to Ambassador Salim, the President of this session. New Zealand values its special link with the United Republic of Tanzania. We work together in partnership, within the Commonwealth. We admire Tanzania's example of self-reliance in the struggle for social and economic progress. We admire the leadership Tanzania has given to the movement for self-determination not only in Africa but for all people. We New Zealanders value, in particular, the help Ambassador Salim, as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, has given us as we have worked, loyally and consistently, to promote the principle of self-determination in the small island Territories of the South Pacific which have been associated with us.

249. Ambassador Salim has had the opportunity of seeing how remote and isolated are the islands of the Pacific. New Zealand, too, is remote from the trouble-centres of the world. This geographical isolation, however, has never cut us off from the impact of world events. This year we have followed with attention, and with concern, events in three areas of instability: the Middle East, southern Africa and South-East Asia. We have welcomed the political progress made in the Middle East, limited though that may have been. On the other hand, we have deplored the continued escalation of oil prices, for this has jeopardized efforts to establish a stable world economic order and damaged the economies of many countries. We have taken part, through the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka, in the efforts of the Commonwealth to break the impasse on Rhodesia. But our most direct concern, naturally enough, has been with the conflict that has taken place nearest to us. The calamitous events in Indo-China have caused us the gravest concern. There we have seen continued armed conflict. Vast numbers of people have been forced to move. Starvation and suffering are daily facts of life. Fighting goes on and may well spread. The already desperate food shortage threatens to get worse. The situation is little short of disastrous.

250. My Government is deeply concerned by these developments. The conflict in Indo-China has polarized South-East Asia: a gulf of mistrust now divides the States of Indo-China and the members of ASEAN.

251. New Zealand has close and friendly ties with the five countries that belong to ASEAN. We have welcomed the rapid progress they have made in developing their economies and improving the living standards of their peoples. It has been a remarkable achievement. ASEAN has emerged as a significant force in international affairs. It has been able to make a

major contribution towards the stability of the region. But the longer the conflict continues, the greater is the danger that the great Powers will once more become involved and establish themselves in the area. The longer the fighting goes on in Kampuchea the more risk there is that it will spill over into Thailand. The conflict in Indo-China threatens not only the prosperity of the ASEAN countries but also their effectiveness as an influence for peace and stability in South-East Asia.

252. Two attempts have been made this year to resolve the conflict by force. Neither has succeeded. The conflict arises from deep-seated issues—ancient animosities, revived and stimulated by recent actions that have been aided and inflamed from outside Indo-China. Nationalism runs too high for any one party to impose its will on another by force. Peace will be restored only when the countries of the area—those in Indo-China and their neighbours, too—learn to respect one another's independence and territorial integrity, as they pledged to do when they joined the United Nations.

253. There can be no justification for any government to send armed forces into another country against the will of its people. There is no justification for a government to drive out vast numbers of its own people to hazard their lives on the high seas. It has been abundantly demonstrated that government policies can stimulate, and can retard, the flow of refugees. If that desperate flow of people begins again, the world will know where the responsibility lies. If, however, it ends once and for all, the process of political negotiation can begin. If the withdrawal of forces can be brought about, the normalization of relations can be contemplated. The massive task of relief and rehabilitation for the suffering people of Indo-China can proceed without hindrance.

254. New Zealand has always said that the most pressing need was to begin working towards a political settlement. That need is even more urgent today. Any settlement must be based on the fact that there are three separate countries in Indo-China, each with its own national tradition. These three countries must live closely together. In practice this means that there can be no peace until the independence of Kampuchea is assured and Kampuchea is prepared to co-operate with its neighbours.

255. My Government accepts as logical the decision taken by the General Assembly on the question of Kampuchean credentials [4th meeting]. That does not mean that we condone in any way the policies of the Pol Pot Government. That régime was tyrannical in the extreme. It was notorious for its cruelty and its utter disregard for the most basic human rights of its people. Nevertheless, it was the established Government of Kampuchea, and it was recognized by the international community. The same cannot be said of the régime headed by Heng Samrin. That régime was installed by foreign forces. It has failed to demonstrate its independence. The main aim of any political settlement must be to let the people of Kampuchea express themselves freely without the dominating presence of foreign troops. They must be able to decide their own future. Until those conditions exist my Government sees no justification for expelling the present representatives of Kampuchea or for accepting another delegation.

256. Meanwhile, we face the practical problem of dealing with the human consequences of the continuing conflict. On one aspect of it the United Nations has already taken some effective action. The Meeting convened by the Secretary-General in Geneva in July succeeded in mobilizing greatly increased resources for the relief of refugees from Indo-China. My Government welcomed the Secretary-General's initiative. We are playing our part in the programme he has launched. We have also noted with satisfaction the decline in the flow of refugees since the Meeting. That showed that the Government of Viet Nam was accepting its responsibilities. We can hope, therefore, that there will be no resurgence of the tragedies we saw earlier this year.

257. The most desperate human problem at this moment is in Kampuchea. Continual fighting, following the internal troubles of recent years, has uprooted a large part of the population. Food supplies have been severely disrupted. Before long, 10 per cent of the country's population may be starving. Famine would bring a new wave of desperate refugees who would flee to Thailand. The world must stop this disaster happening. Another great effort by the international community is essential. Food and medical supplies must be provided—and right away. New Zealand is ready to join in this new effort.

258. We do not forget that in other regions there are also massive displacements of people. Some of these situations are of tragically long standing. Here, too, the search for negotiated solutions to the conflicts that have caused this human suffering must be a prime concern of this Assembly.

259. In southern Africa there have been some promising developments. The most significant was the agreement reached by the Commonwealth Heads of Government at Lusaka last month. From this came the Rhodesia Constitutional Conference on Zimbabwe Rhodesia. My Prime Minister, to underline his support for the agreement reached at Lusaka, sent a message to all 24 delegates assembled in London for the conference. He said:

“The road to a peaceful settlement is now open to you. It is for you—each and all—to make your contribution to the final stage and to lead your country into independence, peace and stability. I do not minimise the difficulties that lie ahead of you. But I hope that you will keep in mind at all times that the fate of millions of your men, women and children, now and in the future, lies in your hands—and in your hands alone.”

260. New Zealand hopes that, through this Lusaka initiative, which underlines once more the value of the Commonwealth association, one area of southern Africa will at last reach peaceful and legal independence.

261. My Government is also encouraged that the consultations which five Western Powers initiated, over two years ago, on Namibia have been resumed. A possibility now exists for the final, legal independence of the Namibian people.

262. But if there are prospects for a peaceful solution to two of the problems of southern Africa, the third, the intolerable system of *apartheid*, still exists unchecked

in the Republic of South Africa. New Zealand joins with the rest of mankind in urging the Government of that unhappy country to move now to break down the barriers of *apartheid*—those barricades that deny the very essence of human rights and human dignity to the vast majority of its people. *Apartheid* nurtures the seeds of bitter and vicious conflict. If only for that reason—though it is only one of many—the Members of the United Nations cannot rest until the risk of this conflict has been eliminated.

263. In his inaugural remarks [*1st meeting*] the President called on this Assembly to pursue practical means, rather than to promote ever-increasing resolutions, in the search for solutions to the many problems which afflict the world today. Nowhere could his advice be better heeded than with respect to the situation in the Middle East. My Government sees as a significant advance the dramatic events of the past two years, which culminated in the Camp David agreements and the subsequent negotiations between Egypt and Israel. The current efforts of the leaders of these States must be given a chance to succeed. A critical dialogue has begun. The objective of the world community now should be to broaden that dialogue.

264. My Government continues to believe that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) contains the essential element for a negotiated settlement. That resolution remains a central foundation, and it can be built on. It is now widely recognized that the search for a political solution in the Middle East must involve the participation of the Palestinian people. The rights of the Palestinians, including their right to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestinian State if they so desire, can no longer be ignored.

265. The road to a negotiated, just and lasting solution in the Middle East will not be easy. It is critical, therefore, that everyone concerned should eschew insensitive or provocative acts. We believe that the continued establishment of Israeli settlements in land occupied during the 1967 war is one such act. The recent outbreak of hostilities in southern Lebanon is another. My Government rejects the policy of pre-emptive strikes by Israel as strongly as it rejects any act which violates the territorial integrity of Israel. The road to peace is fragile. It should not be put at risk.

266. The year 1979 could have been a watershed year for the international community in its continuing debate on global economic reform. The fifth session of UNCTAD and the Tokyo round of the multilateral trade negotiations were major events which held great promise for a new break-through in North-South relations, but then ended inconclusively. The urgent task of this session of the Assembly will be to find a way of restoring momentum to the debate on the establishment of a New International Economic Order, for the international community faces pressing and dangerous economic problems. The economic “ripple-effects” of this year's sharp price rises in oil have become painfully obvious—to developed and developing countries alike. The outlook is for severe disruption to the process of global economic growth. Sluggish rates of economic growth will inhibit the continued development of enlarged “northern” markets for “southern” goods—and vice versa. Heavier foreign debt burdens for many countries seem inevitable. Inflation, unemployment, balance of payments disequilibria and protectionism

will feed upon global economic uncertainty. The pressing need to develop new energy sources will be set back financially—and therefore technically.

267. No Government need imagine that it will be able to insulate its economy entirely from the effects of a spreading economic malaise. Developing countries—and all small economies, that rely on trade, including my own—will be especially vulnerable.

268. In the face of these probabilities we can no longer afford the luxury of debating the possibility of new forms of global economic co-operation, structural adjustment and institutional reform. The time has come to put an end to the polemics and arid definitional disputes which have so far characterized the dialogue between North and South. Let us do so in the sure knowledge that if we do not master the forces of economic and social change, they will surely master us.

269. New Zealand looks to this session of the General Assembly, and to the special session to be held in 1980, to bring a new sense of purpose to the unfinished task of formulating strategies for global economic management. We believe that the effectiveness of these strategies and the future well-being of the interdependent global economy will rest, to a very considerable degree, on the success of renewed efforts to find constructive solutions in two critical sectors—trade and energy.

270. The explosion in world trade in the last quarter of a century has brought greater prosperity to many countries. We must ensure that this growth is maintained, based upon acknowledgement of the doctrine of comparative efficiency and a positive assault on the forces of protectionism. New Zealand cannot accept that there should be two sets of rules, one for the old industrial producers and another for the rest, that is, for the new industrial producers and for the agricultural producers. Agricultural protectionism is practised by almost all industrialized countries—to the disadvantage of their consumers and to the frustration of internationally efficient producers, such as New Zealand. That, we believe, is a denial of the responsibility of this generation to establish an efficient production base for feeding the next. This responsibility demands new approaches and positive adjustment policies based on the principles of free multilateral trade.

271. We also have to learn to see energy issues in a new perspective. Experts predict that within the next 10 years the production capacity for our present oil-based energy system will have reached a ceiling. There will be further rises in the real price of oil and an absolute and increasing shortage in relation to total global import requirements. Therefore, there can be no argument: we must move to new energy systems. The challenge lies in how we manage the transitional period. The General Assembly has already risen to this challenge by deciding to convene in 1981 a United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy. New Zealand attaches the highest importance to this Conference. It intends to play its full part to ensure its success. While many important energy questions lie outside its purview, the Conference has the potential to make a significant contribution to identifying new energy systems that will benefit us all.

272. In its short history this Organization has often taken the lead in promoting new goals for social justice,

international peace and racial equality. Now it must define new standards for global economic co-operation. New Zealand sees this as an evolutionary process. Not all countries share this view. Yet, regardless of our individual prescriptions for the world's economic ills, I am sure we can all agree that this is the place, and now is the time, to give force to the concept of global economic interdependence which we have talked about for so long. What is needed now in the North-South dialogue is not resolutions, but resolution.

273. We in New Zealand are conscious of the sense of disenchantment in the United Nations and in other international economic bodies with the use to which these existing mechanisms are put. We are ready to look with an open mind at proposals that may come forward for new mechanisms, or new methods of working, to help us find a way around the obstacles which at present inhibit our efforts to achieve a new order in international co-operation. The recent meeting of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 took an important initiative to this end [see A/34/34]. Such a proposal is an expression of faith in our collective capacity to control our economic destiny. We may from time to time lose faith in the machinery. We cannot afford to lose faith in the goals.

274. Another major topic on the agenda of this Assembly is the problem of disarmament. There are some areas in the vast network of negotiations currently in progress where there is a clear and urgent need to bring the negotiations to a head and to reach new agreement.

275. Foremost among these is the need to conclude a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty. The Pacific was for many years an arena for the atmospheric testing of nuclear weapons. Underground tests are still being conducted in the South Pacific, and elsewhere, despite repeated calls for a halt by the overwhelming majority of the United Nations membership. Last year the General Assembly set a time-table for the conclusion of a treaty [resolution 33/71 H, IV]. To the regret of us all, that time-table has not been met. It was a reasonable time-table, given the very substantial agreement already apparent on the main provisions of such a treaty. The problems that still stand in the way of a treaty are described as technical. But as a contributor to the work of the *ad hoc* seismic group,⁸ formed to study some of the requirements of a system to monitor compliance with the treaty, we must frankly say that the problems in this area do not seem to us to justify further delay. The conclusion of a treaty is widely recognized as a key to preventing horizontal as well as vertical proliferation.

276. We shall also support endeavours to strengthen the non-proliferation régime. We continue to attach primacy to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to universal adherence to it. Some States continue to stand aside. The balance of advantage under the Treaty appears to them to favour the nuclear-weapons States. They believe also that the nuclear-weapons States have not honoured the obligation they incurred under the Treaty to advance the control and limitation of their nuclear arsenals, and to

⁸ *Ad Hoc* Group of Scientific Experts to Consider International Co-operative Measures to Detect and Identify Seismic Events.

facilitate the transfer of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes. Be that as it may, the pursuit of a nuclear option by any State not currently possessed of nuclear weapons must inevitably have the gravest implications for regional stability and global security. No nation will enhance its security by these means.

277. How can the international community allay the fears that may lead a country to keep this nuclear option open? It can encourage and support efforts to accommodate differences within regions. At the global level more can be done. The nuclear-weapons States have been prepared to make unilateral declarations undertaking not to use or to threaten to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapons States. Each has, however, qualified the statement in a different way. Without minimizing the difficulties in the way of reconciling these statements, New Zealand would support further exploration of the ground for bringing these assurances together so as to give them a collective and ultimately binding force.

278. New Zealand has welcomed, as a major step in the limitation of nuclear arsenals, the signature of the second SALT Treaty by the United States and the USSR. Like others, we hope it will soon be ratified. We look forward, also, to further rounds of negotiations that will lead not only to reductions in nuclear armament but to corresponding limitations in the conventional field. It is on the success of these efforts, and on the growing confidence that should come from such successes, that progress in other areas will rest. It would be a tragic irony if the acceptance of restrictions in one area led to pressures for enhanced capacity in others. Peoples everywhere legitimately expect that the process of reducing armaments will be made irreversible and that resources currently spent on defence will be redirected to reduce suffering and to advance human welfare.

279. Finally, my Government wishes to pay a tribute to this Organization for its leadership in the field of human rights. In the International Covenants we have a mechanism for the genuine advancement of human rights. Last year in the general debate⁹ the Prime Minister of New Zealand expressed our intention to ratify both Covenants. We have done this, and the New Zealand Human Rights Commission has among its tasks that of overseeing their implementation. As a consequence, there have been distinct advances in positive action programmes to enhance the position of minorities, where this is necessary, and to introduce new procedures and practices that will help women take their place in the full range of national life. The International Year of the Child has been the occasion of spontaneous action throughout the community to take heed of the needs of children.

280. We have taken pride in our domestic record in the field of human rights, but we are not complacent. As our multiracial society develops, new perceptions gleaned in part from the international oversight which we have accepted as a party to the Covenants, impel us to further efforts to improve our performance.

281. New Zealand wishes this Assembly well in its indispensable endeavours.

282. Mr. PASTOR (Argentina) (*interpretation from Spanish*): First of all, I wish to convey to Mr. Salim our profound satisfaction at seeing him occupying the high post of President of this session of the General Assembly. His vast and important experience in this Organization, the intelligence and efficiency with which he has for so long directed the work of the Special Committee on decolonization, and his recognized personal and professional qualifications are all elements that ensure that his performance will contribute positively and significantly to the success of this session. Moreover, he represents the United Republic of Tanzania, a country with which Argentina maintains cordial relations.

283. I believe it unnecessary to underline the important and positive role that the United Republic of Tanzania, as well as its African sister republics, plays at present in the international community. That important role constitutes one of the most characteristic events of the post-war era, and has contributed to stabilization and democratization in international relations. My Government is convinced that the growing and active participation of Africa in international life is an indispensable factor for an adequate solution of the grave political, social and economic conflicts that preoccupy the world and endanger peaceful and orderly coexistence among nations.

284. My Government wishes to hail and congratulate also Mr. Salim's predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, who so efficiently discharged his duties as President of the Assembly during the thirty-third regular session and with whose country, Colombia, the Argentine Republic is bound by so many close ties.

285. The General Assembly, loyal to its adherence to the principle of universality, a few days ago admitted as a new Member of the Organization a young Latin American nation, Saint Lucia, whose recent independence and present inclusion in the comity of nations we celebrate greatly. We extend to the Government and people of Saint Lucia our warmest congratulations, and to its delegation we wish to convey our sentiments of goodwill for the development of close and fruitful co-operation within the United Nations.

286. Peace, the preservation of which is the main objective that has brought together here the representatives of 152 countries, neither can nor should be considered the mere absence of armed conflict. The strengthening of peace and the consolidation of international security presuppose much more. Peace means a state of affairs in which conflicts, rivalries, distrust and attempts to impose political, economic or ideological supremacies are abandoned in order to open the way to understanding, harmony and co-operation. It means widening and deepening the incipient process of détente, which began to emerge a few years ago. It means, in other words, the realization of the purposes and the principles sanctioned by the United Nations Charter.

287. Seen from this perspective, the review of the major world events since the preceding general debate does not allow us to draw very optimistic conclusions. Those conditions are far from having materialized; instead new hotbeds of tension have appeared in various regions increasing the possibilities of confrontation which are always latent.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, paras. 27-54.

288. Subtle methods of penetration and destabilization, used for perfectly obvious purposes, are constantly being applied, thus rendering meaningless the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States that is so often proclaimed and as often violated. Nihilistic violence, which aims at the destruction of free societies incapable of reacting, has continued to manifest itself and affect even those who, having given refuge to those terrorists defeated in other countries, believed that they were immune to their criminal attacks.

289. This last aspect of a rather discouraging overview is also linked to the subject of human rights, the distorted treatment of which is adding to the list of disturbing factors. Indeed, the noble cause served by the protection of those rights is being inadmissibly exploited as a political weapon in order to affect relations between States. The good faith and credibility of States are challenged, while accusations levelled at them by exiled groups dealing in terror are accepted at face value. Furthermore, official opinions, tinged with subjectivity, are frequently broadcast by those who lack a thorough understanding of things alien to them, about sovereign decisions adopted by other countries in their domestic affairs. This violates the most elementary norms of international coexistence.

290. Curiously enough, many other countries which have appointed themselves prosecutors of the behaviour of others conveniently resort to amnesia when it comes to flagrant violations of human rights that they committed only a few years ago. If we were to start a trial here and assign responsibilities, recent events would supply us with more than enough examples to turn those who accuse us today into the accused.

291. We wish to be very clear in stating our points of view. We believe that the protection of human rights is one of the fundamental achievements of the entire civilized world and not the questionable patrimony of one country or group of countries in particular. Consequently, we declare our most firm support for any measures which by common consent might be approved by the United Nations in order to strengthen those rights and make uninterrupted progress in this field. But with equal firmness, we reject any attempt to take advantage of the exalted feelings aroused by the invocation of those rights when this is done for minor political ends.

292. Having conceived of the protection of human rights as a common endeavour by the community of nations represented here, we must recall the approach taken by General Assembly resolution 32/130. Quite correctly, this resolution maintains that it is necessary to look for global solutions to those problems, taking into account both the over-all context of the various societies in which they present themselves, as well as the need for the promotion of the full dignity of the human person, which is closely linked to the political, economic and social development of each country. To isolate the individual from this reality, to deny the special circumstances of each community or to pretend to see human rights as an abstraction detached from other rights and duties essential to nations would be tantamount to dooming to failure in advance the efforts which must be made to achieve progress in this field.

293. These concepts, to which Argentina adheres, were welcomed and endorsed a few days ago by the

Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979. Their reiteration continues to be indispensable every time certain countries stubbornly ignore the universal demand contained in General Assembly resolution 32/130 and fail to co-operate in the creation of the political and economic conditions which would make for a better life for all mankind. The various organs of the United Nations, including the Secretariat, must apply that resolution in its spirit and its letter as soon as possible, if we wish to preserve the credibility and authority of our Organization.

294. Functioning indisputably as the underlying cause in the majority of problems and localized international crises, competition among the centres of Power to maintain, acquire and increase their spheres of influence and hegemony plays a significant role. This situation has direct repercussions on the arms race being perpetrated by the super-Powers, which has reached unheard-of proportions quantitatively as well as qualitatively.

295. Argentina welcomed the signing of the second SALT Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. We nevertheless believe it is necessary to emphasize that its positive side lies mainly in the fact that its implementation could lead to the improvement of the political climate between the two countries and their respective allies. From the point of view of the reduction of nuclear arsenals, the results are unfortunately very poor and fall far short of the logical expectations generated by the lengthy negotiation for the agreement. This short-coming transcends the bounds of bilateral relations since, as we maintained on 26 May 1978, at the special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament:

“... in any generalized nuclear conflict between the two super-Powers there would be no possibility for any nation to proclaim itself neutral, or for innocent peoples to remain passive spectators. They would all, without exception, willingly or not, find themselves involved in the holocaust and suffer its consequences.”¹⁰

296. At the same time, the increase in recent years of conventional forces deployed in certain critical areas in the world creates permanent security imbalances in a play of balances and counter-balances which give rise to justified anxiety. I refer in particular to Central Europe, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. Here again, the special responsibility of the United States and the Soviet Union becomes apparent. Détente should therefore also manifest itself in these and other areas of the world through restraint and self-limitation of military expenditures and simultaneously through the development of maximum efforts to solve political problems which may become more complex because of the increase in armaments.

297. While the great Powers continue to accumulate weapons of every description at a speed that exceeds by far any reasonable level of legitimate self-defence, some of the industrialized countries persistently raise secondary issues in order to shift attention from the grave threat posed by vertical proliferation. The need to avoid the emergence of additional nuclear-weapon

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, para. 152.

States is given as a pretext and is emphasized in order to protect the monopoly of nuclear technology for peaceful purposes through discriminatory practices that endanger international co-operation on this subject. The General Assembly clearly stated in its resolution 32/50 the inalienable right of developing countries to develop or to acquire such a technology in conformity with their national priorities, interests and economic and social needs.

298. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, later reiterated those ideas and recommended that new efforts be undertaken to achieve an international consensus on non-discriminatory and universal ways of checking the proliferation of nuclear weapons [see resolution S-10/2]. In the pursuit of these goals, both the nuclear Powers and those countries which need atomic technology to increase their sources of energy and accelerate their progress bear a joint responsibility. Therefore, as an essential *quid pro quo* for non-proliferation, restrictive and collective practices that give rise to legitimate mistrust and hinder the development of the least developed countries should cease to exist.

299. We consider that a greater democratization of international relations would at least contribute to alleviating some of the problems that we are discussing here. The unity of human destiny and, in the long run, the community of interests of all nations are facts the understanding of which no one can evade. To try to achieve peace and security on a global scale without undertaking the balanced development of all peoples is to pursue a myth that our century cannot afford. To accept an error of such magnitude would be tantamount to believing that injustice can endure and that at present the well-being of the few can stand on solid foundations at the expense of others.

300. Hunger, destitution, disease and the exodus of refugees in different parts of the world undoubtedly have profound humanitarian undertones, but the implications of those situations transcend those areas and, under certain circumstances, provoke political tensions with the attendant deterioration in international relations.

301. Such is the case of the millions of Palestinians who have been displaced from their homes in the Middle East and whose situation is of fundamental importance in the search for any just and lasting solution of the area's serious problems. That is why today my Government once again states its conviction that, until the rights of the Palestinian people are recognized and implemented, the idea of a comprehensive peace in the Middle East will continue to be Utopian and all the peoples in the area would suffer the painful consequences of such a reality.

302. Another serious problem that has a direct bearing on the maintenance of international peace and security is the situation obtaining in southern Africa, where the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia, as well as the persistence of *apartheid*, combine to form a pattern of conflicts of a seriousness too obvious to require reiteration. My country, whose position in this matter is well known and, moreover, is in accord with that of the Organization, is confident that the parties involved will make all the necessary efforts so that those questions may be solved in a peaceful,

speedy and just manner through negotiation and in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

303. When referring to the ordeal of the refugees, I cannot fail to mention that Argentina does not content itself with expressing solidarity in mere declarations devoid of any real content, but makes it tangible by means of practical action. The painful predicament sustained under such varied circumstances by hundreds of thousands of refugees from South-East Asia has moved Argentina to open its doors to numerous groups of families, the first of which have already arrived in our country. Surrounded by the hospitable affection of our people in a climate of freedom and order, they will be able to forget all their past suffering and fully enjoy a better life. This is yet another tangible contribution we make to a well-understood protection of human rights.

304. For many decades, Latin America has kept itself apart, physically as well as mentally, from the serious conflicts that have played havoc in other parts of the globe. The States of our region, after having fought for the achievement of their independence and the establishment of their national identity, very early on began a long process towards integration, a process that was favoured by the common historical and cultural legacy of their peoples and decisively led by illustrious statesmen from all parts of the continent who saw unity as the best possible defence in the preservation of a patrimony that was won at such a costly price.

305. Many and arduous efforts were made to establish the inter-American system, which has a place in history as being the first case in which sovereign countries laid the foundations of organized coexistence in order to regulate the harmonious development of their relations and to preserve their freedom and independence. We proudly claim for the Latin American republics the privilege of having been the first ever to proclaim and practise the fundamental principles that lead to international law and justice and that have been incorporated into the United Nations Charter. Suffice it to mention, *inter alia*, those of the juridical equality of States, respect for their sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in their internal affairs and the pacific settlement of disputes.

306. But Latin America, in spite of its own organization and uniqueness, is part of a world reality and, like other regions, is exposed today to fluctuations in international policy, foreign interference, compromises arrived at outside it and the consequences of a generalized economic crisis that is already showing its menacing traits.

307. We are aware of the growing interdependence of nations and of the unity of the larger destiny of mankind. We are, however, certain that, in order to play an outstanding role in the common enterprise of forging a decent and acceptable future, Latin America can make its best contribution by acting in unison, closing ranks and offering its experiences and achievements while also demanding that its rights and aspirations not be curtailed.

308. Now, more than ever, we have to unite all our forces and conjure the ideals inherited from our forefathers and the profound feelings of brotherly

friendship that bind us together, in order to overcome temporary differences and to serve those permanent interests that are common to all of us.

309. At times one loses sight of those permanent interests for merely circumstantial reasons or sacrifices them on the altar of certain political currents, which, after all, serve only interests that are completely alien to our region. But we trust that those values that are unique to the American peoples will inevitably lead to the reality of regional integration that will consolidate our structures and erect the best possible barrier to foreign ambitions of penetration.

310. As regards its relations with neighbouring countries, Argentina wishes to express from this forum its deepest gratitude to His Holiness Pope John Paul II for having accepted the request that, together with the Republic of Chile, it addressed to him pursuant to the Montevideo Agreement of 8 January of this year,¹¹ that he act as mediator to guide both countries in the negotiations they maintain with regard to the southern region of the American continent. Our gratitude goes also to the Holy See for the activity displayed at a higher level with advice, suggestions, and ideas in order that a rapprochement might be achieved between the two countries in the search for an equitable and honourable solution of that dispute.

311. The most recent meeting of the non-aligned countries at the highest level of political representation took place only weeks ago, and for the first time on our continent.

312. Fully aware of the responsibility implied by full membership in the non-aligned movement, we went to Havana to explain Argentina's position on the main items of the heavy agenda and, in particular, with a view to contributing frankly to the examination of the movement's structure and of the role it should play in world affairs.

313. We took the opportunity to reaffirm our conviction that the non-aligned movement should continue substantially to use its influence in world affairs, which requires that it remain faithful to the basic concepts which led to its creation. This implies, in essence, a reaffirmation of its total independence and flat rejection of the strategy of those Powers or blocs which try to impose their systems or ideologies on others.

314. The movement is made up of nations which have diverse political, economic and social régimes, but which are of one mind in their decision to preserve their national identities and retain their freedom of action in the face of any overt or covert attempt at domination or influence by the most powerful. This unity of purpose in diversity and plurality is its *raison d'être* and the source of its power and authority to guide the never-ending search for the solution to the serious problems faced by mankind.

315. If for any reason the movement should abandon—even momentarily—its non-aligned stance and identify itself with the interests or objectives of any Power, its very existence would lose all meaning.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, documents S/13015 and S/13016.

316. We believe that the exchange of views which took place at the Sixth Conference had positive results. We hope that the principles which inspire and nurture the common endeavours of the non-aligned countries will be strengthened, as that would have favourable repercussions as a factor for rapprochement, co-operation and peace in the United Nations.

317. The Republic of Argentina, like other Latin American countries, has suffered and resisted, throughout its history as an independent country, all sorts of attempts to encroach on its territorial integrity, to determine its domestic policies and to modify its behaviour in the field of international relations. We have faced embargoes, blockades, subversion, campaigns to discredit us, and the occupation of our national territory.

318. Even today, we continue to be the victim of the illegal occupation of an inseparable part of our territory, the Malvinas Islands, which in 1833 were usurped by force, thus giving rise to the dispute on sovereignty which since that time we have continued with the United Kingdom.

319. The United Nations has discussed this problem on many occasions. As is known, the question of the Malvinas Islands has appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly and of the Special Committee on decolonization for many years and both organs have adopted important decisions on the question. The most recent of these [*resolution 31/49*] calls on the parties to the dispute—the Governments of Argentina and the United Kingdom—to pursue negotiations without delay in order to put to an end the colonial situation prevailing in the Islands.

320. On the basis of that resolution, the two Governments have already held four rounds of negotiations, the results of which have been promptly communicated to this Organization.

321. My Government, which has repeatedly expressed its conviction that direct negotiation between the parties constitutes the best way to settle disputes, reiterates its firm determination to persevere in the search for a prompt and just solution to this problem. But Argentina's decision cannot be unilateral. It has to be matched by a similar spirit on the part of the British authorities, so that with a view to the future we might jointly eliminate the only obstacle still standing in the way of our traditional links of friendship and resume our common effort for broad co-operation in every field. This reference to the question of the Malvinas Islands would be incomplete if we did not express here our gratitude to the non-aligned movement, which has consistently and firmly supported my country in its legitimate claims. The recent Conference in Havana adopted the following declaration on the issue:

“In the special and particular case of the Malvinas Islands, the Heads of State or Government firmly reiterated their support for the Argentine Republic's right to the restitution of that territory and sovereignty over it and requested that the negotiations in this regard be speeded up.” [*See A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 168.*]

322. With respect to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, I should like to state that

we are concerned by the intention of some industrialized States to enact unilateral legislation on the mining of the sea bed. Such action would seriously hamper the conclusion of the Conference and would jeopardize the very future of the convention, at a time when the General Committee of the Conference has already decided to adopt it at the next session.

323. Moreover, and as we have done repeatedly in the past, we wish to reaffirm our full rights in the maritime areas subject to our national sovereignty, and our firm determination to ensure respect for them in all their implications, including that concerning the innocent passage of warships.

324. In conclusion I should like to state that the disturbing situation I have tried to describe—and by no means exhaustively—adversely affects the search for solutions to the global problems which should spur the imagination and the joint efforts of all the Members of this Organization.

325. Many are the questions requiring urgent attention which could be solved if we decided to use to the full measure of its potential the invaluable instrument of co-operation that is the United Nations.

326. This General Assembly, in particular, should continue to seek to reflect the problems of the world and at the same time act as a catalyst for the changes that our times require. For this to happen, it is essential that the Member States agree on an order of priorities and concentrate on those items which, because of their importance and urgency, can be entrusted to no other forum. This role, assigned to the Organization by its Charter, of being a centre for the harmonization of the efforts of the international community, calls for a process of selection, for our resources and our time are limited. Questions which, because of their nature, could be entrusted to other organizations, should yield to those which, because of their impact on peace, security and development, require the political will of all the nations represented here.

327. If we do not urgently undertake the procedural and substantive rationalization of the General Assem-

bly, we run the risk of distorting its true function. We would become entangled in the enormous bureaucratic machinery that is already apparent today, and we would see a blurring of the dividing line between the principal and the secondary, between the vital and that which is a mere academic exercise or an item of lesser political or economic significance.

328. The principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter form a cohesive whole which has been developed and supplemented by numerous declarations and resolutions of the General Assembly, the most representative political body in the international community. On many occasions consensus has proved to be an effective means for decision-making, since it commits all Member States to make their positions compatible with a common objective. On other occasions the principles involved were not, by their very nature, susceptible of compromise. But in every case, the taking of decisions should be preceded by a process of negotiation, accommodation and flexibility, marked by the mutual respect which would be a guarantee, not only of the effectiveness of the results, but of full knowledge and understanding of the viewpoints of those who do not share the same ideas.

329. This negotiating process demands time and goodwill. In order for time to be available and for the necessary goodwill to materialize, we feel that the General Assembly should concentrate its work on a limited number of priority questions and should entrust the rest to other agencies of the system. Only in this way shall we be able to transform the Organization into an efficient tool and silence those who argue that the really important problems are not brought to this forum because it lacks the means of achieving adequate results with a guarantee of implementation.

330. These are some ideas which we wish to submit to the consideration of our fellow representatives in this Organization. As always, we are inspired by the desire to contribute to the effective unity of the nations here assembled, with a sense of active militancy for the high ideals that led us to San Francisco 34 years ago.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.