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

AGENDA ITEM 8

Adoption of the agenda and organization of work
(*continued*)*

**SECOND REPORT OF THE GENERAL
COMMITTEE (A/34/250/Add.1)**

1. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 2 of its report in document A/34/250/Add.1, the General Committee recommends the inclusion in the agenda of an additional item entitled "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations" and its allocation to the First Committee. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 34/402).

2. The PRESIDENT: The Chairman of the First Committee will be informed of the decision just taken.

3. It is the President's intention—in keeping with the suggestion of the Secretary-General on the rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly [see A/34/320], which was endorsed by the General Assembly at the beginning of the session—to make maximum use of the General Committee. I intend also to keep the Assembly informed to the fullest extent possible about our future programme of work.

AGENDA ITEM 17

Appointments to fill vacancies in subsidiary organs:
(a) **Appointment of five members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions**

* Resumed from the 4th meeting.

REPORT OF THE FIFTH COMMITTEE (A/34/521)

4. The PRESIDENT: I now invite members to turn their attention to the report of the Fifth Committee on agenda item 17 (a), which deals with two vacancies arising in the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions as a result of the resignations of two members.

Pursuant to rule 66 of the rules of procedure, it was decided not to discuss the report of the Fifth Committee.

5. The PRESIDENT: In paragraph 4 of its report [A/34/521] the Fifth Committee recommends that the General Assembly should appoint Mr. Michel Brochard and Mr. Sumihiro Kumaya as members of the Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions for a term beginning on 3 October 1979 and ending on 31 December 1980. May I take it that the General Assembly adopts that recommendation?

It was so decided (decision 34/305).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

6. Mr. NASE (Albania) (*interpretation from French*): Permit me first, Sir, to extend to you the warmest congratulations of the Albanian delegation on your election to the important post of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

7. I should like to take this opportunity also to welcome Saint Lucia as a new Member of our Organization.

8. This session of the General Assembly is meeting at a time when the world situation is very complex and fraught with great dangers. This is the result of the intensification of the expansionist and hegemonistic policy pursued by the super-Powers and their efforts to exercise their dictates, their arbitrariness and their interference in the internal affairs of all countries. The fact is that this policy and these actions affect, in one way or another and to varying degrees, all the countries of the world.

9. The rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union for domination and hegemony in the world has been and remains the main source of tension and conflict between different countries, as well as local wars, and is the greatest danger to the peace and security of the peoples.

10. Today all of us are witnesses to the efforts being
A/34/PV.19

made by the super-Powers to extend their military alliances, to strengthen further their aggressive character and to intensify their activities and interference in increasingly broad areas of the world. A feverish race is going on between the aggressive blocs of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] and the Warsaw Treaty Organization, not only to increase their military arsenals but also to include other countries in those blocs and to exercise increasing pressure on countries which want to preserve their national freedom, independence and sovereignty. New military bases are being added to the ones they already have in foreign countries; their fleets, equipped with nuclear weapons, are patrolling the most distant seas; and the skies are filled with satellites that spy on all the countries of the world. The imperialist general staffs are working out plans concerning which countries should be attacked first and which subsequently, in what region they should intervene today and in what region tomorrow.

11. A new aggressive alliance is in the process of being created in the Far East. In the shadow of and in collaboration with the United States, social-imperialist China is seeking to create spheres of domination, to become the principal military Power in that zone, and to establish its domination in Asia and throughout the Pacific.

12. In the economic field, the super-Powers and the other neo-colonialist States are intensifying daily their efforts to plunder the national assets of the peoples of the world and to exploit, directly or indirectly, all the countries which depend on them. The super-profits the big imperialist Powers obtain from the plundering of oil and other raw materials from the Arab countries, Africa, Asia and Latin America, and from the inequality of prices in trade and the fabulous incomes they earn from the colonialist system of loans, credits, aid and so on have already become incalculable. The indebtedness of many countries of the world to the imperialist and neo-colonialist Powers is increasing relentlessly, which only serves to make the situation of the peoples of the world even worse.

Mr. Keutcha (United Republic of Cameroon), Vice-President, took the Chair.

13. World imperialism is striving to preserve at all costs this intolerable situation and these relations, through demagoguery and deception, through interference and *diktat*, and by fire and the sword. It is trying to preserve and extend the omnipotence of multinational corporations in foreign countries, to preserve inhuman, bloodthirsty neo-colonialism, and to prop up reactionary régimes which defend imperialist domination wherever it exists.

14. A flagrant example of the arrogance, cynicism and aggressiveness of imperialism is the decision of the United States to create a military strike force ready to intervene by force in the Middle East oil zone whenever it considers that its own interests are in jeopardy. In that way the United States imperialists are seeking to suppress with fire and the sword the right of peoples to determine in complete freedom and sovereignty how they will dispose of their wealth and the fruits of their toil and to whom they are going to sell and from whom they are going to buy.

15. The super-Powers are striving to extend their policy of pressure, *diktat* and arbitrariness to all their international relations. They want to monopolize all world affairs, to become arbiters and to impose on others solutions which suit their own narrow interests. Through false slogans, intimidation and blackmail and under the pretext that they are defending them from this or that enemy or that they are assisting them to find solutions for some particular difficult situation, they are striving to place other countries under their tutelage and turn them into appendages of their imperialist policies, to make them cannon fodder for the aggressive wars they are preparing.

16. The crisis in the economic, political, military, cultural and other fields, which has the imperialist Powers and the big capitalist countries in its grip today, is becoming even more acute. This is a consequence of their system of exploitation and their internal contradictions, the armaments race and their unrestrained non-productive expenditure, their rivalry on an international scale for markets and zones of influence, and the resistance which their hegemonistic and aggressive policies are encountering.

17. However the big imperialist Powers are striving to saddle not only their own working people but also other peoples with the burden of the crisis, which has been going on for a very long time with no end in sight. The fact is that these Powers, while stubbornly maintaining colonialist and neo-colonialist systems in their international economic relations, are turning more and more to the exportation of inflation, are increasing the prices of the commodities they export, and are intensifying their plunder. They are to blame for the great disorders which we can see in the international monetary systems, the anomalies which are apparent in the raw material markets and in the widening of the gap in terms of *per capita* incomes between the developed and the under-developed countries.

18. If the standard of living has fallen, if unemployment has increased and the economy is marking time in many countries, this comes about because world imperialism and capitalism are seeking to preserve intact their capitalist super-profits, because they want to preserve and even further intensify social and national oppression, and because they want to emerge from their crisis at the expense of others.

19. Certainly, the present-day international situation is not characterized only by the policy and activities of super-Powers and the forces of reaction. One of its main, most important and very encouraging features is the increased determination of peoples to oppose the policy of aggression and war, of plunder and exploitation, practised by the imperialist Powers. In many countries the movement of the broad masses of the people against foreign domination, economic exploitation, social and national oppression and cultural and spiritual impoverishment is increasing in scope and depth.

20. The latest events prove that the imperialist Powers and world reaction cannot feel at ease and secure even where they thought that their domination was indisputable. The facts show that the earth is being scorched under the feet of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, that the volcano of anger and hatred

on which they are sitting has erupted and will continue to erupt ever more powerfully.

21. A vivid and significant example of this is the overthrow of the bloodthirsty régime of the Shah of Iran. The uprising of the Iranian people was a powerful explosion of their hatred for the despotic tyranny of the feudal-*bourgeois* class with the Shah at its head, and against foreign domination. It constituted a powerful blow to all imperialist Powers and world capitalism, first and foremost to American imperialism which, until then, had plundered Iranian oil and mercilessly exploited the working masses of Iran. This is also confirmed by the great disarray caused in the capitalist-imperialist world by the events in Iran and the measures taken in that country for the establishment of national sovereignty over its oil and other sectors of the economy.

22. Imperialism and the international *bourgeoisie* are terrified that the Iranian example might spread, especially in the Middle East, leading to an outburst, a revolt of the people against foreign domination and plunder, and the establishment of national control over oil and its use to the advantage of their liberation and progress.

23. Various imperialists have invested considerable sums of money in the oil-producing countries of the Middle East in order to exploit the natural resources of those countries, from which foreign monopolies draw colossal profits. In no way do they want these riches to be placed in the hands of those to whom they belong—the peoples of those countries. The capitalist monopolies and the imperialist Powers which stand behind them are striving at all costs to preserve the existing situation, to preserve their intensive exploitation and merciless plundering of Arab oil. To that end, the imperialist Powers are using all possible means to defend those political forces and social structures which collaborate with the monopolies and assist them in oppressing and exploiting the masses. They are dispatching large quantities of weapons and advisers, forming alliances and manoeuvring in various ways to suppress the legitimate demands of the peoples of the region and to prevent them from winning their full freedom and independence and exercising their genuine national sovereignty in every sector and on all questions.

24. It is not for nothing that imperialism has set up Israel and keeps it alive; it is not in vain that it has armed it to the teeth. Israel is the most bloodthirsty tool of American imperialism, its *gendarme* for defending the monopolies which plunder Arab oil, the dagger ready in its hand ready to strike the Arab peoples who are fighting for their rights. Therefore, the struggle against Israel, the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, the liberation of oil from foreign monopolies, the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, are a major problem common to all the Arab peoples. Naturally, they also have other specific problems and preoccupations, but it is this great problem which binds them together in a common cause and which makes their unity imperative. The solution of this problem through their joint struggle also contributes and leads to the solution of their specific problems.

25. It is precisely against this common cause of the Arab peoples that the blows of United States imperialism, world capitalism and Soviet social-imperialism, which is also striving to profit from the

situation in order to capture dominating positions in the Middle East, are aimed.

26. It is the intensification of imperialist interference and the aggressive activities of American imperialism, the manoeuvres of Soviet social-imperialism, the intrigues of Chinese social-imperialism and the growing arrogance of Israeli Zionists which have made the situation in the Middle East even more grave and tense.

27. The American-Egyptian-Israeli talks at Camp David brought about further complications and have made the solution of the problems still more difficult. The Arab peoples and progressive opinion have considered the situation created in this region after the signing of the separate Egyptian-Israeli Treaty¹ as a heavy blow to the just cause of the Palestinian people and the vital interests of the other Arab peoples, and as assistance to United States imperialism and its Zionist tool to interfere and dominate in the Middle East.

28. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has supported and will always support the just cause of the Arab peoples. We hold the view that there can be no peace and stability in the Middle East without a just and lasting solution to the problems of that region, and first and foremost the Palestinian problem. If these problems are to be solved, Israel must be forced to withdraw from all the Arab territories it has occupied through violence and aggression. It must be forced to put an end to its aggressive, annexationist policy against the Arab peoples and countries, and the way must be barred to the interference and plots of the United States of America and the Soviet Union in that region. In order that peace and stability may be established in the Middle East, it is essential that all the national rights of the Palestinian people be restored.

29. We are convinced that the fraternal Arab peoples, who are progressive peoples with an ancient culture and long traditions of struggle for freedom and independence, will be able to cope with the new difficulties created by the intrigues and plots of their imperialist Zionist enemies and will, by establishing militant unity among themselves, succeed in realizing their lofty national aspirations.

30. The overthrow of the Somoza régime in Nicaragua is another example that proves once again that when peoples develop a self-awareness and are determined to fight to the end for their rights, the struggle of the masses of the people becomes a powerful wave that topples even the most ferocious régimes supported by imperialism.

31. The events in Nicaragua have shown that the situation in the majority of the countries of Latin America is revolutionary and that the revolution for the overthrow of the *bourgeois*-landowner class and the elimination of the dependence on imperialism has become ever more emphatically the order of the day. The peoples of that continent are becoming ever more conscious of the need to intensify the popular struggle against internal and external oppression and exploitation, for freedom, democracy and social progress. They can no longer reconcile themselves to Latin America's remaining a preserve of the United States of America, from which

¹ Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

the big United States monopolies draw colossal super-profits.

32. United States imperialism, which dominates and exerts strict control over the most vital sectors of the economies of the majority of Latin American countries, employs all its means—military, political, economic, propagandistic, and so on—to preserve and strengthen at all costs its domination on that continent and to prop up the dictatorial régimes that are in its service.

33. Recent years have seen an intensification of efforts by the Soviet social imperialists to penetrate Latin America in various forms and to seize dominating positions in that continent. By means of deceitful demagoguery and diabolical activities, they are playing a disruptive and subversive role in the liberation movement in Latin America.

34. The poverty of the masses of the people, the weak and one-sided development of the economy, inflation and unemployment and colossal indebtedness to United States capital are direct consequences of the twofold oppression and colonialist and neo-colonialist plunder of the Latin American countries by United States imperialism. These serious conditions and these situations have led to the implanting of the idea of revolution as the reliable path to national and social liberation in the consciousness of workers, peasants, progressive intellectuals and the masses of the youth of those countries. The great revolt of the people in Nicaragua was a clear demonstration of this.

35. The greed of the imperialist super-Powers and the former colonial Powers is increasingly being directed towards Africa. As a consequence, numerous external and internal factors which create political insecurity, which hinder and weaken the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and which sometimes lead to conflicts, setting one African State against another, are operating on that continent today. The stirring up of local wars by the super-Powers and other imperialist Powers, in which they intervene with armaments supplies or advisers or even by bringing in mercenaries from abroad, is becoming a widespread phenomenon in Africa. The facts have proved that wherever the United States of America, the Soviet Union and the other imperialist Powers have offered their "good offices" or have offered to play the roles of protectors and peace-makers between States, conflicts have become even more acute, hotbeds of tension have increased and the imperialist Powers have seized the opportunity to strengthen their presence in this or that country.

36. But there is no force that can halt and extinguish the awakening of the peoples of Africa, their struggle for freedom and independence and their efforts to establish their complete sovereignty over their resources or to preserve their own cultures and traditions. United States imperialism, Soviet social imperialism, Chinese social imperialism and the other big capitalist Powers can make every effort and use every trick, can spread various empty theories about so-called "non-alignment", "three worlds", and so on; they can provide handouts and credits, but they cannot halt the march towards realization of the aspiration of the African peoples to advance free and independent on the path of development and progress.

37. The freedom and the emancipation of the African peoples is one of the major imperatives of the time, an irresistible historical process. The peoples of the African continent, the proletariat and the new revolutionary intelligentsia, which are becoming ever more conscious of the oppression by foreigners and by internal enemies, can no longer believe in the false preachings of the old colonialists and the neo-colonialists as to their "benevolence" and their alleged "concern" for the development and progress of Africa, and they can no longer believe in the alliance and the diabolic aid which the Soviet or Chinese social imperialists and others offer them. The correct road to the achievement of liberation, development and progress for Africa is resistance and determined struggle against the *diktat* of and political, economic and military interference by international imperialism, against the reactionary theories and the deceitful propaganda of foreign Powers, against the plots and intrigues they employ to maintain their domination and plunder, and against racial discrimination and oppression.

38. The Albanian people have always been and will remain sincere friends of the African peoples and resolute supporters of their liberation and anti-imperialist struggles. They strongly support the just struggles of the peoples of Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe to put an end to the savage policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and to win their freedom and independence. The farce of "internal settlement" through "elections" of the problem of Zimbabwe or Namibia is but a smoke-screen for the racist régimes and the imperialist Powers standing behind them to preserve and perpetuate their colonial domination.

39. Imperialism and social imperialism, the overt and covert enemies of the freedom and independence of the peoples, cannot halt the advance of history. The deep-rooted revolutionary transformations within individual countries, and particularly on the international level in general, are an objective demand of our time and are a question that needs to be taken up for solution, not some distant prospect. Millions of people have joined the struggle for such transformations today, and this struggle will certainly advance irrespective of the obstacles and difficulties in its path.

40. Imperialism, social imperialism and world capitalism are striving by every possible means to maintain and expand their domination and exploitation of the peoples. The peoples of the world are fighting to throw off the foreign yoke, to win their freedom and to live in independence. History proves that, no matter how difficult and protracted the struggle, the final victory belongs to the peoples.

41. In his book *Imperialism and Revolution* the leader of the Albanian people, Enver Hoxha, wrote:

"The imperialist and social-imperialist Powers are striving in the same way to prevent the African, Asian or Latin American people from developing stage by stage their revolutionary struggle against the oppression and savage exploitation carried out by their leaders and the imperialists, who rule in agreement with them and who suck their blood. The duty of revolutionaries, progressives and patriots in countries with a low level of socio-economic development and dependent on the imperialist and social-imperialist Powers, is to make the peoples

aware of this oppression and exploitation, to educate, mobilize and organize them and to hurl them into the liberation struggle, always bearing in mind that it is the broad masses, the peoples, that make revolution."

42. National liberation struggles are just. Therefore, they enjoy the support of all revolutionary, democratic and progressive forces in the world. They are also indispensable, because it is only through them that freedom and national independence can be won, that genuine democratic rights can be established and that social justice can be achieved.

43. Socialist Albania, the Albanian people, are on the side of the oppressed, on the side of those who rise up against foreign domination and internal reaction. They support the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, which serve to bring about progressive and qualitative changes in their lives and in the lives of the whole of mankind. Similarly, the Albanian people have maintained and always will maintain solidarity with and support for those who fight against racial discrimination and fascism and for democracy and progress.

44. Another problem which has concerned world public opinion is the grave situation created in South-East Asia. The heroic Vietnamese people had to shed their blood once again to defend their homeland against the barbarous aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists, who have acted towards them just as the old colonialists and United States imperialists acted in the past.

45. The Chinese aggression against the Vietnamese people and all the recent events in Indo-China took place against the background of the fierce rivalry of the imperialist super-Powers—the United States, the Soviet Union and China—which, in order to attain their hegemonic and expansionist aims in that area, employed both the methods of direct intervention and the well-known imperialist practice of inciting Indo-Chinese against Indo-Chinese. The sufferings of the peoples of Indo-China today are the continuation of the sufferings of which they had been the victims for years, nay decades on end, because of the aggression and interference of United States imperialism, which spread death and destruction throughout Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia. Again, it was the United States imperialists who gave their blessings to and encouraged the aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists against the Vietnamese people. The crocodile tears shed by United States imperialists, when they express regret over the plight of the peoples of Indo-China or when they seek to pose as the champions of principles, cannot conceal these facts. Similarly, the hypocrisy of the Soviet social-imperialists when they speak of their friendship for the peoples of Indo-China fails to conceal their hegemonic aims in South-East Asia and their efforts to lure the countries of this region into their sphere of influence.

46. Recent events have once again confirmed the fact that imperialism and social imperialism are the enemies of the peoples of Indo-China. Reliance on the "friendship" of one super-Power, in the hope of being defended against the threats and hostility of the other, always has dangerous consequences.

47. Just as they gave powerful support to the struggle

of the Indo-Chinese peoples against the United States imperialist aggressors and their lackeys, the Albanian people also support the just struggle of the heroic Vietnamese people against the barbarous aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists and condemn this aggression. We have supported, and will continue to support, the right of the Vietnamese people, the Cambodian people and the Lao people to live free and independent and to preserve the independence, national sovereignty and territorial integrity of their own countries. We support the right of each of these peoples, and indeed of every other people in the world, to resolve their internal problems themselves free from any foreign interference.

48. With its aggression against the Vietnamese people and its hegemonic activity in South-East Asia, China came out openly with the policy of an imperialist super-Power. At a time when the new Chinese imperialist doctrine of "teaching a lesson" is being added to the notorious enslaving doctrines of United States imperialism and the ill-famed doctrine of "limited sovereignty" of Soviet social-imperialism, the dangers threatening the freedom-loving peoples and countries of the world are becoming ever greater and more serious.

49. During the past year nothing has occurred in Europe to prove that the dangers threatening the peoples and States of that region have been eliminated. The United States of America and the Soviet Union have a great deal to say about the need to preserve the *status quo* in Europe. But this kind of *status quo* in no way implies tranquillity or security for the European countries. The two super-Powers need this *status quo* to maintain their spheres of influence, to dictate their will and to maintain the permanent threat and fear in Europe, in face of the Soviet-United States military potential and the possibility of a confrontation between the two super-Powers and the aggressive military blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization.

50. The arms race and the war preparations in Europe are assuming ever greater proportions and being intensified at an ever increasing rhythm. The United States and the Soviet Union exert constant pressure on the States members of the aggressive alliances which they control to force them to increase their military budgets, to integrate themselves to the utmost within American and Soviet war strategies and to involve them in aggressive activities on all continents. The United States imperialists have again pulled out from their archives the plan for the creation of a special military force, within the framework of NATO, which is to be used by them as a mobile international *gendarmarie* in any corner of the world, wherever their interests may be affected.

51. The military manoeuvres of an aggressive character conducted by the United States and the Soviet Union, and the NATO and Warsaw Treaty countries, the provocative movements of the United States and the Soviet fleets in the Mediterranean and other seas around Europe, are by no means evidence of any détente or the strengthening of understanding and trust in Europe, as those countries claim. They are evidence of the constant contradictions and the clash of interests between the super-Powers and imperialist Powers and the feverish preparations for war.

52. But, naturally, these contradictions are not on

such a scale as to justify the claims of the Chinese social-imperialists that war in Europe is imminent and that a world war will inevitably begin on that continent. It is understandable that the Chinese social-imperialists greatly desire a war in Europe and are striving to kindle one in the hope that the two other imperialist super-Powers will destroy each other and, then, the Chinese social-imperialists will remain the sole masters in the world. Hence, the intrigues and conspiratorial activities of the three imperialist super-Powers are interconnected in Europe today. Under these conditions, the resolute rebuff to this dangerous activity by the peoples of Europe takes on special importance.

53. The American imperialists and the Soviet social imperialists have long been engaging in various types of action to trouble the waters in the Balkans. To these intrigues, the Chinese social-imperialists have in recent years added their own. The Balkan peoples have cause to remember the misfortunes caused them by the intervention of the imperialist Powers in the past, and they have sufficient experience to judge what actions they must take to prevent others from turning the Balkans into a powder keg.

54. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always been and will remain a factor for peace and stability in the Balkans. It has worked and will continue to work to maintain and develop good-neighbourly relations with adjacent States and will oppose efforts by the imperialist Powers to create tension and foment disturbances in the Balkans.

55. The Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania has always considered that the question of Cyprus must be solved by the people of Cyprus themselves. We welcome any positive step that will contribute to the establishment of harmony and understanding between the two communities, and in this connexion we hope that conditions for a just solution will gradually be worked out in keeping with the interests of the people of Cyprus as a whole and of the peace and stability of the surrounding area.

56. Similarly, we reaffirm our support of the right of the Korean people themselves to resolve the question of the reunification of their homeland independently and without outside interference.

57. The pursuit of the arms race and other preparations for war by the imperialist super-Powers is a matter for serious concern to freedom-loving peoples and countries. The imperialist Powers' propaganda concerning disarmament cannot conceal the threat that the unbridled arms race is bringing to bear on the world. For that matter, it has been proved that disarmament cannot be achieved through discussions, resolutions or agreements between the arms race protagonists. In no way can the Soviet-American agreement concluded following the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] at Vienna² be considered as a forward step towards disarmament, as is claimed by the American imperialists and the Soviet social-imperialists. That agreement totally fails to deal with the question of how the two super-Powers will implement disarmament or of how to slow down the arms race be-

tween them. It merely defines how, in what proportions, with what and when they will increase their arms supply. What kind of disarmament is it when weapons are being increased and improved, when the traffic in weapons is spreading, when the manufacture of arms and research in this field are absorbing colossal amounts of money and when hundreds of thousands of the most capable human minds, have been put to work on weapons and war at a time when hunger, disease, and other afflictions, are so widespread? The peoples of the world are against the arms race and against imperialist wars, but they are unable to agree to relinquish their freedom and sovereign rights to escape these wars, as the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists demand. Nor can the peoples of the world come to terms with the overtly warmongering preachments of the Chinese social-imperialists, who are trying to divert them from their opposition to preparations for a world war on the pretext that it is inevitable. The struggle against arms and the arms race, against preparations for war and against the danger of the outbreak of war is not a vain and hopeless one.

58. Comrade Enver Hoxha, the leader of the Albanian people, has said:

“When the super-Powers are no longer able to achieve their predatory interests through economic, ideological and diplomatic means, when contradictions have become acute in the highest degree, when the agreements and ‘reforms’ prove incapable of resolving such contradictions, then war will begin between them. Thus the peoples whose blood will be shed in this war must do everything in their power not to be caught unawares, to sabotage the rapacious inter-imperialist war to prevent it from assuming world-wide proportions and, if they fail, to transform it into a war of liberation and emerge from it victorious.”

59. This year the Albanian people are celebrating the thirty-fifth anniversary of the liberation of their homeland and of the triumph of the people's revolution. During these 35 years of free and independent life, they have brought about profound transformations in all areas. Socialist Albania has established a diversified industry; it has created a powerful energy base and today has a collectivized agricultural system that is undergoing continual modernization. Our people is now producing the iron and steel it needs, factories and equipment of all kinds, and is beginning to set up a machine-tool industry. Albania is economically stable and is experiencing continuing growth in this area. It is in a position to provide high rates of economic and cultural expansion and to improve the standard of living of its population without foreign economic aid. Internal resources ensure extended socialist growth. Our economy's vitality was particularly demonstrated last year when we were able successfully to counter the anti-Albanian moves of the Chinese social-imperialists by completing and putting into operation projects they had intentionally left incomplete or had sabotaged.

60. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania is pursuing a principled and independent foreign policy. Firmly adhering to the policy of good neighbourliness and the recognized democratic principles governing the relations among sovereign countries, Albania stands for the development of normal relations and for the expansion of trade, cultural and other exchanges with

² 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.

countries that respect those principles. It supports sincere international co-operation with freedom-loving, democratic and progressive countries. Our country has repudiated and will continue to repudiate all the chauvinist concepts of the imperialists and social imperialists who are attempting to base all international relations on inequality, arbitrariness and *diktat*.

61. Albania is confident of its future. The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Albanian Labour Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha, are working with enthusiasm and great determination towards the further development and strengthening of their homeland, relying entirely on their own resources. As always, they will vigilantly safeguard their own victories. They hold out a begging hand to no one. The People's Socialist Republic of Albania will respond appropriately to any attempt by the imperialists, the social imperialists, or anyone else, to divert it from its independent political and ideological course.

62. The Albanian people value highly the feelings of solidarity and respect that freedom-loving peoples and countries and progressive mankind throughout the world hold for them. We should like to take this opportunity to express our thanks and our profound gratitude to all those who expressed their friendship and solidarity with the Albanian people in the great damage they suffered as a result of the powerful earthquake that struck several regions of Albania on 15 April of this year. The consequences of this earthquake were completely overcome before 1 October 1979, as provided by the decision of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. In less than six months, therefore, relying entirely on our own resources, we rebuilt or repaired 17,128 houses and economic and socio-cultural buildings, all at State expense and at no cost to the inhabitants.

63. In conclusion, I should like to reaffirm the readiness of the Albanian delegation to join its efforts with those of other democratic and progressive countries in order that the work of this session of the General Assembly may serve the cause of freedom and independence of peoples and of true peace and security in the world.

64. Mr. THIAM (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): First of all, it is a signal honour and pleasant duty for me, as head of the delegation of my country, to convey my country's greetings to our Assembly, which represents the greatest forum for dialogue among the nations and peoples of the world.

65. I should like, on behalf of my delegation and for myself personally, to express our profound grief on learning of the premature death of one of the illustrious sons of Africa, President Agostinho Neto of the People's Republic of Angola, a great fighter for freedom. To the Government and valiant people of Angola we transmit our profound condolences and wish them courage in this grievous time of trial.

66. Let me now warmly congratulate Mr. Salim on his unanimous election to the exalted and onerous post of President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. His election honours, in more ways than one, his great and beautiful country, the United Republic of Tanzania, and is also a source of satisfaction and pride for all Africa, whose contribution to the quest for

solutions to the problems of our time becomes thereby an incontestable reality. In view of his eminent qualities as a skilled diplomat and statesman, we are certain that under his dynamic direction the work of the present session will conclude with happy results.

67. We should also like to pay a warm tribute to his eminent predecessor, the Ambassador of Colombia, who, with his authority and wisdom, successfully guided the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly to its conclusion.

68. Finally, may I warmly welcome Saint Lucia's admission as the one hundred and fifty-second Member of our Organization. The presence of a new Member cannot but strengthen the great United Nations family and bring it closer to its objective of universality.

69. It is because of energetic and continued action by the United Nations that the world has for more than 30 years enjoyed a relative peace. Nevertheless, the regional conflicts which persist in certain parts of the earth could, unless we are vigilant, at any moment break this peace and security to which all peoples legitimately aspire.

70. Thus, the situation in the Middle East remains explosive, despite attempts at a peaceful settlement of the conflict; southern Africa remains a subject of grave concern for the international community because of white domination; certain African States south of the Sahara, because they are so weak, are constantly threatened with destabilization, and that jeopardizes peace on the continent; and, finally, certain South-East Asian States are not exempt from similar threats. The problem of genuine disarmament under effective international control still remains in the realm of theoretical discussion, despite the efforts made in this respect by the United States and the Soviet Union in signing the agreements resulting from the first³ and second rounds of SALT.

71. No real progress has been made in the economic field since the principle of reviewing international economic relations was decided on by the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly.

72. All those questions—all of them equally important—must find their solutions in the appropriate framework, which is that of the United Nations. Our country strongly supports the strengthening of its role for the settlement of the major problems of the world.

73. Before defining my delegation's position on certain of the aforementioned subjects, I should like, with the Assembly's permission and indulgence, briefly to describe the situation of my country, Chad, particularly since the distressing events that occurred at the beginning of this year.

74. Since 1965, that is to say five years after its accession to independence, Chad has never known the political calm likely to promote the development activity that is so necessary for a country that is particularly economically disadvantaged. At that date difficulties

³ Treaty on the limitation of anti-ballistic missile systems and Interim Agreement and Protocol on Certain Measures with respect to the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Moscow on 26 May 1972.

arose between the Administration and a part of the population in the centre and east of the country. These were the Mangalme events that were at the basis of a revolt which resulted in an armed opposition and which, on 22 June 1966, led to the establishment of the National Liberation Front of Chad [FROLINAT].

75. FROLINAT has struggled for 13 years to establish social justice by the suppression of tribalism, regionalism, and nepotism and to achieve our national independence and respect of our territorial integrity by a systematic opposition to any foreign domination no matter what its origin.

76. After the fall of the Tombalbaye régime on 13 April 1975, the military régime of General Malloum appealed to the armed opposition for national reconciliation among all the sons of Chad who were divided by internal quarrels. The armed opposition did not remain insensible to that appeal and there were several meetings between the emissaries of the central power and the leaders of the various opposition trends.

77. We mention in particular the meetings at Zurich, Switzerland, and Libreville, Gabon, between the representatives of the Malloum Government and the original FROLINAT. If the expected results did not materialize, those meetings none the less made it possible to establish a dialogue between the Government and the opposition.

78. Further, an important conference was held from 23 to 27 March 1978 in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya between representatives of the central power and those of FROLINAT, in the presence of the delegations of Sudan, Niger and the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, all three countries that border on Chad. That Conference concluded with the signing of an eight-point joint communiqué establishing, *inter alia*, a cease-fire and freedom of movement over the entire national territory; but it was violated and later denounced by the signatories.

79. Furthermore, from July to September 1977 negotiations were carried out at Khartoum, under the auspices of the Government of the Sudan, between representatives of the Government and another opposition faction, namely, the Command Council of the Armed Forces of the North. An important agreement was signed as a result of those talks which provided, in particular, for the release of prisoners and those held for political reasons and the formation of a government of national union.

80. To implement that document the signatory parties prepared and adopted on 25 August 1978 a fundamental charter which was the new institutional framework for the country. It provided for the establishment of a Government of National Union, headed by the President of the Republic and a Prime Minister. That Government came into being on 29 August of the same year.

81. But from the first months of the coming into force of that charter difficulties arose that led to an outbreak of hostilities on 12 February 1979 during which N'Djamena, the capital of Chad, was sacked. That was a genuine civil war that resulted in the loss of numerous lives and much material destruction at N'Djamena and in other parts of the country.

82. Faced with these distressing events, which

dangerously threatened the unity of the country, the countries that are brothers and friends of Chad, especially the neighbouring countries, did not remain indifferent and rushed to Chad's aid. Thus the Presidents of the Sudan and Nigeria offered to mediate among the antagonistic factions in Chad. Following upon an understanding between the Sudan and Nigeria, it was decided to convene in Nigeria a meeting on national reconciliation in Chad.

83. Between 8 and 15 March 1979 a first conference was held at Kano, in northern Nigeria, between the conflicting parties in Chad, in the presence of the countries that are neighbours of Chad. It led to the conclusion of the so-called Kano Agreement on the national reconciliation of Chad. According to this Agreement, all the political institutions resulting from the Fundamental Charter were to be dissolved on 23 March 1979 and give way to a Transition Government of National Union, which was to be formed only after a second Kano conference consisting of all the Chad political groups.

84. That precaution was taken because not all the opposing factions in Chad had participated at the first Kano Conference.

85. However, until such time as that government could be formed, a Provisional Council of State made up of the four parties in Chad signatories to the Kano Agreement was to assume the management of the current affairs of the country from the date of the dissolution of the institutions.

86. The second Kano Conference was held from 3 to 11 April, but it failed even before it had really begun because from the very beginning it came up against the problem of the representation of the factions which had not been present at the first Kano Conference. Indeed, the participation in the Conference of the newly arrived parties was challenged by some of the groups that had signed the Kano Agreement. Given this deadlock, the only solution open to the participants was to set up a commission of inquiry made up of two representatives for each participating country and one representative for each faction in Chad. The mandate of that commission was to verify the actual politico-military existence in Chad of the new factions which came forward at the second Kano Conference and to report to the Chairman of the Conference in order that he might convene a new meeting aimed at forming the Transition Government of National Union.

87. But before the Commission could even begin its work, the factions that had signed the Kano Agreement proceeded to form a Transition Government of National Union in accordance with an agreement signed on 17 April 1979 at N'Djamena, nevertheless leaving open the possibility for those factions whose genuine existence was subsequently established by the commission of inquiry to joining that Government.

88. That was a mistake which did nothing to promote a happy outcome of the crisis in Chad.

89. Indeed, the Government formed at N'Djamena was challenged not only by the factions in Chad that were not represented therein but also by the countries neighbouring Chad, which legally remained seized of the problem.

90. Hence a third conference on Chad was convened from 25 to 27 May 1979 at Lagos. The N'Djamena Government, considering that the commission of inquiry had not yet submitted its report, did not deem it useful to participate in the Conference.

91. On the other hand, the factions that had been challenged had, for their part, participated in the Lagos meeting, at which they had officially subscribed to the Kano Agreement and, like the participating countries, demanded that the N'Djamena Government resign.

92. The situation therefore remained confused and tense until the organization, upon the initiative of the Presidents of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan and the Federal Republic of Nigeria, of a fourth conference on the national reconciliation of Chad.

93. That Conference was held from 13 to 21 August 1979 at Lagos at the ministerial level and later at the level of Heads of State, with the personal participation of the Presidents of Nigeria and Cameroon and the Second Vice-President and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Sudan, as well as the Deputy Secretary-General for Political Affairs of the Organization of African Unity [OAU].

94. It is fitting to note here that the OAU, having been seized of the problem of Chad at the sixteenth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Monrovia, decided that, in addition to the six neighboring countries of Chad, Benin, the Congo, Liberia, the Ivory Coast and Senegal should be associated as observers in the next conference on Chad. Thus all the neighbouring countries and the observers took part in the Lagos Conference.

95. Thanks to the praiseworthy efforts of the participating and observer countries and the effective contribution of the OAU, as well as the determination of all the parties in Chad to arrive at a solution, an agreement was concluded on 21 August 1979 on national reconciliation in Chad. Similarly, a programme of action was adopted by the various factions to serve as a working framework for the Transition Government of National Union.

96. The President and the Vice-President of that Government were designated at Lagos. They were Mr. Goukouni Oueddeye and Lieutenant-Colonel Kamougue Wadal Abdelkader respectively.

97. The Transition Government of National Union will be formed in the coming weeks, as soon as the neutral force, which will be composed of elements from Benin, Guinea and the Congo, reaches N'Djamena and demilitarizes the capital.

98. That Government, which, according to the Lagos Agreement, is to last for 18 months, is entrusted with leading the country and preparing free elections to be held within the time prescribed.

99. Until the formation of that Government, Chad is being governed by an interim committee under the authority of the President of the Transition Government of National Union, the Head of State.

100. As representatives will have noted, we would not

have reached this happy result so early, bearing in mind the complexity of the problem of Chad, had we not benefited from the wise counsel and advice which were ceaselessly offered by our neighbours and brother countries, which spared neither time nor effort to assist the people of Chad in seeking a solution to their problem.

101. Hence, I should like from this rostrum to express the sincere thanks and profound gratitude of the people of Chad to all those countries which assisted us, particularly Nigeria, during this sombre period in the history of our country.

102. The Government of Chad when it is formed will not fail in due course directly to express to the Heads of State of the countries concerned the gratitude of the people of Chad.

103. In the settlement of our problem, Africans have demonstrated for the first time their ability to help each other in solving their disputes, even in the case of internal disputes. Let us hope that this solution will be lasting and definitive so that it may serve as a useful example for the African continent or elsewhere.

104. Just as they have effectively helped us to find a solution to our internal tragedy, I sincerely hope that the African States will within the OAU evince the same ability and determination to find a solution to the frontier dispute between Chad and its neighbour to the north, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

105. It is in that spirit that we confidently await the outcome of the follow-up action that the OAU intends to take on the matter we submitted to it at its fourteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Libreville in 1977.⁴

106. I reaffirm here the devotion of my country to the cardinal principles governing relations between States, which are included in the Charter of the United Nations and that of the OAU and continued in their relevant resolutions, namely, respect for territorial integrity and national sovereignty, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the peaceful settlement of disputes between States.

107. Chad belongs to the non-aligned movement and remains profoundly attached to its principles, namely, the rejection of alignment, peaceful coexistence, the independence of States, the rejection of any form of subjection, the rejection of any form of pressure in international relations, and just and equitable international co-operation.

108. Our absence from the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana is not to be understood as a deliberate failure to meet our obligations; it was due to obvious causes arising out of our domestic situation.

109. Chad was already at a disadvantage because it is a land-locked country, and now, after 19 years of chaotic mismanagement of its affairs and 13 years of armed struggle which reached its peak in the latest events, at this moment it presents a distressing spectacle. Indeed,

⁴ See document A/32/310.

the national economy is in a catastrophic state, and must be reorganized in its entirety.

110. Agriculture and cattle-raising, the two key sectors of our national economy remain at this time completely disorganized, and productivity is steeply declining. This means that there may well be not only a substantial drop in the volume of food production, but also a low agricultural output for export, which is the sole source of foreign exchange for our country.

111. The means of communication, already inadequate, must be completely refitted.

112. The important Chad International Telecommunications Centre and the National Radio Broadcasting Station were seriously damaged during the fighting in the town of N'Djamena. Their reconstruction will require several billion CFA francs. Some temporary installations now link Chad with the outside world.

113. Roads in various parts of the country are in a state of advanced deterioration, and some are even impassible because they have not been maintained for 15 years.

114. Hospitals and clinics are indescribably out-of-date, and basic medication of every kind is lacking. To this we must add a shortage of medical staff after the mass departure of those who worked with us.

115. One of the many concerns which the Chad authorities must face, and which will require urgent action, is the beginning of the school year 1979-80. The State will find it almost impossible to ensure the normal resumption of schooling because in primary schools, we lack the indispensable materials for the schooling of children, and for secondary education and the University of Chad, we must further cope with the departure of almost all the technical assistance teaching staff from France and elsewhere.

116. Government financial institutions are no longer meeting their payments.

117. This means that the Republic of Chad is facing problems which seriously jeopardize any economic or social development. These problems can only be solved by urgently mobilizing international aid for reconstruction.

118. The delegation of the Republic of Chad therefore launches an urgent appeal to the entire international community from this rostrum of the General Assembly of the United Nations to the international organizations and to all the States Members of the United Nations for immediate aid to the people of Chad.

119. By your indulgence, Mr. President, I should now like to dwell for a moment on some international problems of our time. I am thinking first of the right of peoples to self-determination.

120. Since the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, important victories have certainly been won over colonialism and neo-colonialism. But there are still millions of human beings who still suffer under the yoke of oppression and discrimination because certain régimes, on the basis of

ignoble principles, continue systematically to oppose the political emancipation of peoples and refuse to recognize the inalienable right to freedom and to self-determination. Thus, the struggle for political emancipation of peoples who are fighting against all forms of dependence and exploitation remains the essential characteristic of the international situation.

121. The hotbeds of crisis, of tension, the acts of aggression under the pretext of defence, the current of instability which goes beyond boundaries and shakes even the most well-established régimes, and therefore threatens international peace and security, abundantly prove that no people can accept the imposition of a will other than its own, and that all peoples are determined to make the greatest sacrifices for their freedom.

122. Of these various hotbeds of tension, southern Africa constitutes the major theatre of operations. There, since the defeat of Portuguese colonialism, the enemy has shown itself more implacable than ever, and its repressive, aggressive and expansionist traits have become more marked.

123. In Namibia, there is no progress to be observed. Had the international community assumed its responsibilities, we could today have had that country seated among us. The settlement arranged under the auspices of the United Nations to put an end to the illegal administration of the Territory by South Africa, and to bring the people of Namibia to independence has become a dead letter because of the backsliding and the delaying tactics of the Pretoria racists.

124. In Zimbabwe, we have seen various moves; the so-called internal settlement, a pretence of biracial government, prefabricated elections and so forth intended to safeguard the illegal powers and privileges of the white minority. Chad would like to reiterate its position here in respect of the problem, namely, that the end of the mandate of the United Kingdom over Zimbabwe can only be accepted when Zimbabwe receives all the attributes of international sovereignty in accordance with the legitimate aspirations of its people.

125. In South Africa, the Pretoria racists are hardening their policy of repression, of deportation of inhabitants to concentration camps falsely called bantustans, of arming to the teeth, and of committing daily acts of aggression against the front-line States.

126. The continuation of this situation in southern Africa is, beyond doubt, due to the granting of aid to the racist régimes in Salisbury and Pretoria by certain Western Powers, which, in other circumstances, claim to be the zealous defenders of respect for human rights.

127. In the Middle East, the very essence of the conflict, which is Palestine, continues to be flouted. It is regrettable that, at a time when there is a certain will to peace, the policy of annexation of territory is continued, thus exacerbating an already critical situation. Chad believes that there will be no true peace in the region until the Palestinian people recover the full exercise of their inalienable rights, including the right of return to their homeland and the right to independence under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

128. What has just happened in my country might lead

some to believe that elementary human rights are affected. That is not so, nor will it be. The protection of the dignity of the human being, a guarantee of peace, is of major importance for Chad. That is why we believe that the battle waged by certain peoples must be understood as a demand for the exercise of elementary human rights.

129. Certain Powers continue to make of international détente a private preserve, by constantly having recourse to the old sacrosanct principles of the balance of power, spheres of influence and military alliances. This means, as a corollary, the stockpiling of increasingly sophisticated weapons, particularly nuclear weapons.

130. Chad appreciates the political will of the United States and of the Soviet Union, expressed by their signing of the agreement resulting from the second round of SALT to work against the qualitative and quantitative aggravation of the arms race. But we know that, in a general way, nuclear-weapon States adhere to their own narrow-minded conception of security. This is why it is time for the United Nations to deal with this matter, beginning by the urgent implementation of the programme of action, and particularly of the measures for nuclear disarmament which are provided for there. This would at least have the effect of placing any action and any problem of disarmament under effective international control.

131. The General Assembly of the United Nations is holding its thirty-fourth session at a time when the international community is registering increasing alarm at the state of the international economy, the consequence of which is jeopardizing the growth of the developing countries.

132. For the delegation of the Republic of Chad, failure to carry out the decisions and recommendations adopted by the States Members of our Organization here in this very Assembly hall may well further aggravate the crisis which has shaken the world for several decades already. The problem is to master the events which have brought into question the international community's economic order, and to bring about the necessary changes leading to a new economic order based on equity and effectiveness.

133. Unfortunately at the present stage in the evolution of affairs, none of the solutions adopted by the United Nations seem to have captured the attention of those States which hold the controls of the established system, even though all of them recognize the need for change.

134. Contrary to common sense, the developed countries are becoming increasingly concerned with short-term economic policies, aimed at rebalancing their own economies. One of the nefarious attitudes adopted by certain countries is that of the thrust towards protectionism, despite the lessons of the past. This attitude not only will create difficulties for the weaker economies of the developing countries, but will jeopardize the harmonious development of their own economies. In brief, at the practical level everything seems to be going against the bringing into being of the new international economic order desired by all.

135. My delegation believes that sustained priority should be given to concerted measures for restructur-

ing, which is the only means for bringing about a continuing and lasting economic upsurge. These measures should take account of the interdependence of structural transformations in the developed and developing countries, the increased global demand and the greater productive capacity of the developing countries.

136. In the opinion of my delegation the accommodations accepted by the many conferences of recent years, within the framework of strengthening the commodities sector, should receive particular attention from our developed partners. For it is upon this sector that a major part of the speedy economic development of almost all countries of the third world depends. Indeed, commodities play an important role in the economy of the developing countries and the strengthening of this sector will attain two essential objectives—namely, immediate substantial advantages for the majority of the populations of the producer countries and an important contribution in foreign exchange which is needed to support industrial projects in those countries.

137. Therefore, it seems to be of paramount importance to accelerate the processes of the implementation of the Integrated Programme for Commodities⁵ and the setting up of its key element, the Common Fund, whose role is to improve the structures of markets and international trade in commodities.

138. The question of the indebtedness of the developing countries, and more particularly of the least advanced among them, remains central to the debates of the General Assembly. The measures of relief in this connexion provided for in the relevant resolutions of sessions of UNCTAD should be applied without delay.

139. The least advanced of the developing countries suffer more than others from the effects of international economic disturbances. Despite the special measures taken for their benefit in recent years, their economies continue to be imperilled. No recovery is possible for these countries if the new special measures expected from the developed countries and from international institutions do not provide a large degree of assistance, both financial and technical.

140. The delegation of Chad wishes nevertheless to emphasize here its satisfaction with the results achieved by the second United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development. The institutional and financial measures adopted at Vienna at the beginning of September⁶ for the use of science and technology for development, constitute in our opinion progress towards satisfying certain fundamental needs of the developing countries.

141. Besides the earnest co-operation that they expect from the developed countries, the developing countries must mobilize all their efforts for a genuine economic, scientific and technical co-operation. Links of common activities, such as those proclaimed in the

⁵ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E. 76. II. D. 10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

⁶ See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20 to 31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21).

declarations and programmes of action of Mexico, Manila and Buenos Aires and in the programme of action of Arusha, and recently by the non-aligned countries at Havana, should not only accelerate the development and transformation of the economies of the developing countries but also enable them to achieve a much sought-after collective self-reliance.

142. In conclusion, I wish to remind the General Assembly that Chad is a poor country. Moreover it is land-locked, and is therefore a victim of drought like all the countries in Sahelian region. Apart from the unfavourable geographic conditions, the country has been torn apart for 13 years by a fratricidal war which has heavily burdened its development in all sectors of social and economic life.

143. The Lagos accord which has just been signed by all the protagonists in Chad constitutes a decisive step towards a global solution to our tragedy.

144. The sons of Chad are convinced of the imperative need for a genuine national reconciliation among them which will enable them together to wage the real battle that is worth waging—that for the economic and social progress of Chad through the exploitation of all its many natural resources.

145. To this end the people of Chad, who have suffered so much, physically and spiritually, ardently desire to live in peace, harmony, concord and understanding both within their internationally recognized boundaries and with the neighbouring countries to which they are linked by geography and history.

146. Similarly my country wishes to maintain ties of friendship and co-operation with all countries that love peace, justice and freedom. In so doing it could make its modest contribution, through the United Nations and other international organizations, to the quest for solutions to major world problems, thus participating in the maintenance and strengthening of world peace and security.

147. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): On behalf of my delegation, and in my own name, I should like to extend to Ambassador Salim sincerest congratulations upon his election to the high and demanding office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, and to express our confidence and conviction that under his wise guidance and direction this thirty-fourth session will bear fruitful results.

148. I also wish to convey to his predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, our appreciation and esteem for the able and effective manner in which he fulfilled the difficult task of conducting and steering the thirty-third session of the Assembly.

149. The Somali delegation extends its best wishes of welcome to Saint Lucia on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations.

150. I want also to express our profound appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his untiring efforts in the promotion of the effectiveness of this world body and in his search for solutions to the intricate problems facing humanity. We assure him that we shall give him our whole-hearted co-operation in the future as we have given it in the past.

151. May I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the late President of the People's Republic of Angola, Mr. Agostinho Neto, whose untimely death has deprived the brotherly people of Angola of a valiant freedom fighter and great statesman. I wish to extend my delegation's heartfelt condolences to the family of the late President and to the Government and the people of Angola.

152. The policies and points of view I wish to express on behalf of my Government arise from three sources. The first is our involvement with the principles and issues of deep concern to our regional organization—the OAU. The second is our adherence to the principles of non-alignment, and the third is our belief that international peace and security can only be assured by a democratized system of international relations, operating within the framework of the United Nations.

153. I shall speak first of questions which affect the Somali Democratic Republic as an African State and as a member of the OAU.

154. I must emphasize, first of all, our confidence in the ability of the OAU to continue to develop its co-operative efforts in the political, economic, technological and social fields. Too often the positive aspects of African co-operation are overlooked and the inevitable failures of our comparatively young organization are given prominence. We believe that the OAU will be able to face up to the challenges before it by taking account of the realities of the present while remaining true to the spirit of the Charter.

155. Let me state here our conviction that the co-operation that exists between the OAU and the United Nations strengthens both organizations and contributes to international peace and security.

156. The OAU rightly gives pre-eminence to questions related to the right to self-determination, decolonization and independence, and it is natural that this should be the case since it is on the basis of this right, proclaimed in the United Nations Charter, that the vast majority of African countries achieved their independence. Therefore we continue to be in the vanguard of the struggle to eliminate the last vestiges of colonial rule and to complete the process of self-determination and independence on the African continent.

157. Our commitment to the cause of the total liberation of the African continent remains firm and unequivocal. The explosive situation in southern Africa arouses our grave concern and calls for more determined effort against the unjust policies posed by the racist minority régimes, which further escalate the current reign of terror and violence in flagrant violation of OAU and United Nations resolutions and international public opinion. Of late, South Africa has taken the dangerous step of installing a puppet régime in Namibia. Any attempt, overt or covert, to impart a semblance of legitimacy to an unrepresentative government is bound to be doomed to failure. The South West Africa People's Organization, as the sole representative of the people of Namibia, deserves our full moral and material support.

158. In Zimbabwe, despite the recent cosmetic changes and developments, the situation remains as tense as ever. As long as the people of Zimbabwe do not

attain real independence on the basis of universally accepted democratic principles, the liberation struggle will continue with full force and vigour. We pledge to the valiant people of Zimbabwe our full support and urge them to stand fully united in this moment of unprecedented crisis.

159. In South Africa itself the abhorrent practice of *apartheid* continues and the rights of the majority of African people are openly trampled upon. Our solidarity with our oppressed brothers and sisters remains firm and unshakeable. They should intensify their legitimate struggle against the racist minority régime until final victory is won.

160. International concern has rightly focused on the well-known colonial situations in southern Africa, but attention should also be paid to other areas in Africa where peoples are being deprived of the right to self-determination and independence and where the consequent tensions and conflicts endanger regional and international peace and security. This is certainly the case in the Horn of Africa, where colonial struggles have been intensified and internationalized through foreign intervention.

161. The peoples of Western Somalia and Abbo, who constitute a distinct national group with a strong sense of national identity, are fighting a legitimate liberation struggle against oppressive colonial rule. As in other colonial situations, they have had to resort to armed struggle because their attempts to obtain their freedom through peaceful means have been consistently and often brutally opposed. Their struggle has been temporarily set back by the introduction into the Horn of Africa of the armed presence, on a massive scale, of a super-Power and its surrogates. But the fundamental causes of that struggle remain, and there will be no lasting peace in the area until the people have been allowed to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence.

162. In the case of Eritrea, whose autonomy had been established on the basis of an international decision, it is a terrible indictment of our Organization that there was only apathy and indifference towards Ethiopia's illegal ending of Eritrea's autonomy. Today there is also indifference towards Ethiopia's ongoing, brutal war against the Eritrean people, waged with the help of foreign mercenaries armed by a super-Power.

163. The settling of African conflicts within Africa and through the machinery of its regional organization is one of the fundamental reasons for the existence of the OAU, which has a respectable record in this regard. My Government, along with many other African Governments, is deeply concerned over the precedents for foreign intervention in African affairs that have recently been set. We hope that the majority of African States will guard against this retrograde trend which heralds a return to imperialist domination and undermines the positive role of the OAU in the mediation of African conflicts.

164. We also deplore intervention by one African State in the affairs of another because of opposition to the policies of its Government. Where the pre-eminent right to self-determination is not involved such intervention can only damage the structure of African peace and security built on the principles of the OAU.

165. With regard to the approach that should be taken to African political problems, particularly those of the Horn of Africa, my Government maintains that neither the African nor the international community should believe that the causes of deep-seated disputes based on unjust, callous or thoughtless decisions of colonial and imperial times can be glossed over, or the destiny and identity of whole peoples erased by simplistic resolutions aimed at preserving the *status quo*. The desire of peoples for freedom will always come to the surface, and the attempt to deny their aspirations will always cause tension and conflict. We believe that the sensible course, and one which follows the principles of the Charter and the logic of history, is to set in motion, preferably under United Nations auspices, the processes leading to self-determination and independence.

166. The current situation in the Middle East is another matter of grave concern to this Organization. We should adopt positive and practical measures in support of the legitimate cause of Arab people under Israeli domination and oppression. We are fully committed to the fundamental position that the national rights of the Palestine people, including the establishment of a State of their own, must be fulfilled. We continue to condemn Israel unreservedly for its intransigence and demand that it must cease its acts of continued aggression and withdraw from all Arab lands occupied since 1967, including the holy city of Jerusalem. Only if these fundamental elements are complied with can the danger to peace and stability in the region be eliminated.

167. The denial of human rights in the Middle East, in southern Africa, in the Horn of Africa and in many other areas of the world points to the tragic discrepancy between the development of the concept of human rights in this century and the frequency with which those rights are violated on a large scale. In recent days the attention of the international community has turned to the plight of hundreds of thousands of the people of South-East Asia who have become refugees because of their ethnic background. The Somali Government and people deplore the enforcement of policies which contravene several provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and which have contributed directly to the deaths and cruel suffering of so many Asian men, women and children.

168. The refugee problem is not, of course, confined to South-East Asia. It has also assumed gigantic proportions in Africa. While African countries have an outstanding record for the provision of emergency aid, long-term hospitality and the assimilation of refugees, the refugees within their borders often undermine development efforts and place heavy burdens on the economic, political and social structures of developing or severely under-developed countries.

169. The Somali Democratic Republic is still providing food and shelter for hundreds of thousands of people who became refugees as a result of the war of liberation in Ogaden. The present refugee population in Somalia, based on realistic assessments, exceeds 500,000—and the number is increasing daily in alarming proportions. The Government of the Somali Democratic Republic, in fulfilment of its heavy responsibility for providing the necessary care and protection for such a massive number of refugees, has recently launched an emergency national campaign to cope with this grave situation. We are grateful for the international assist-

ance we have received in this task, but our refugee problem causes great difficulties for a small and underdeveloped country like our own.

170. My Government hopes that the international community will bring pressure to bear on all Governments whose inhuman policies of repression and tyranny contribute to the refugee problem. These Governments should be induced to provide guarantees of the human rights of people who wish to remain in their homelands, who wish to leave in an orderly and humane manner, and who wish to return voluntarily.

171. I turn now to my Government's position on wider questions of international concern, which we view from the perspective of non-alignment. We believe that the non-aligned movement can be justly proud of its achievements. Through its strict adherence to authentic principles, and its firm opposition to military alliances and power blocs, the movement has clearly established itself as a countervailing force in a world still troubled by super-Power confrontation, and it has made a significant contribution to the relaxation of international tension.

172. The unrelenting opposition of the non-aligned States to all forms of colonialism and imperialism has been a significant factor in the liberation of millions of people from colonial domination and in their enjoyment of the rights to self-determination and national sovereignty.

173. Believing as we do in the value of the non-aligned movement's contribution to international peace and security, my Government sincerely hopes that the movement will remain true to its original character as an independent force in international relations, free from great-Power rivalry and influence. Indeed, we believe that the movement will continue to be an effective force in international affairs only if it proceeds with a firm belief in the continuing relevance of its established principles.

174. We are therefore very much disturbed over attempts being made both from outside and from within the movement to divert it from its true course and to channel its policies in one direction. We have made very clear our opposition to this attempt to change the essential nature of the movement, and we are happy that our position is shared by the majority of the members of the non-aligned group of States. It is indeed gratifying to note that this correct line of the non-alignment policy has been fully endorsed and reaffirmed by the majority of member States at the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Havana [see A/34/542].

175. The question of disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, is especially relevant to the nature and goals of the non-aligned States. Whatever influence non-alignment has had on the world scene has not been based on military power, but rather on the rejection of militarism as the moving force in international affairs. My Government is convinced that, unless significant steps are taken to implement the disarmament programme which was inspired by the non-aligned group and approved by the tenth special session of the General Assembly [see resolution S-10/2], all efforts of the world community in the political, economic and social and technological spheres will

prove fruitless, and mankind's very survival will be in doubt.

176. The most urgent disarmament priority is, of course, that of nuclear disarmament. The tragic aspect of the senseless spiralling of the nuclear arms race is that billions are spent each year on nuclear weapons, while the majority of the world's people suffer from hunger, poverty and disease.

177. The non-nuclear-weapon States view with a deep sense of frustration the failure of the nuclear Powers to conclude a comprehensive test-ban treaty and to approach in earnest the task of achieving a mutual and balanced reduction of nuclear weapons.

178. The non-aligned effort to preserve the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace has been severely undermined by the actions of nuclear Powers. The increasing use of the Indian Ocean by those Powers to further their global strategies severely jeopardizes the right of Indian Ocean States to determine their prerogative to dispose of their natural wealth and resources as they see fit. In short, it endangers their hard-won independence and national sovereignty.

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

179. Unfortunately, in recent times both of the super-Powers have consistently increased their military presence in the Indian Ocean in the context of their global rivalry. I have already referred to the massive introduction by one super-Power of military equipment and foreign forces, including foreign mercenaries, into the Horn of Africa. This flagrant violation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)] can lead only to further escalation of great-Power military rivalry and the increased destabilization of the area.

180. The military presence of the nuclear Powers in the Indian Ocean also introduces a dangerous element into the struggle for self-determination and for the elimination of racism, colonial rule and foreign domination, which have long been major concerns of the countries of the area.

181. My Government supports what we are sure is the universal wish that the Third Conference on the Law of the Sea will be able to complete the long and difficult task of drawing up a treaty on the law of the sea at its next session. The successful conclusion of that task would indeed be an outstanding example of international co-operation and one with significant implications for the strengthening of friendly relations between States and the strengthening of international peace and security.

182. The question of the nature and powers of the sea-bed authority continues to be one of the problems which remain outstanding. We hope that the Conference will reach an agreement on the establishment of a sea-bed authority which will be able to ensure a wide and just distribution of the benefits accruing from deep sea-bed mining.

183. My Government believes that another urgent priority of the international community is the establishment of a new international economic order. We regret

that the efforts of the third world over the past five years to set in motion a constructive and co-operative process leading to fundamental changes in the world economic situation have met with very little success.

184. The recent general agreement between developed and developing countries on the main elements of a Common Fund to stabilize commodity prices and the debt relief extended to some of the poorest countries by a small group of developed States are indeed valuable accomplishments. However, it is evident that the developed countries, by and large, have not yet committed themselves fully to the task of closing the widening gap between rich and poor countries, nor have they accepted the thesis that their own prosperity is inescapably linked with that of the developing countries which contain the vast majority of the world's people.

185. Unfortunately, a psychological barrier, largely composed of persistent colonial attitudes, still divides the nations of North and South. Recent developments in several international forums and the over-all results of the fifth session of UNCTAD have served to show the dimensions of this barrier. They have also shown that the principle of interdependence, which had gained acceptance for a brief period, has been negated by isolationist attitudes and policies.

186. The developed countries are understandably preoccupied with the problems of inflation and the slowing of economic growth, problems that also have serious repercussions in the developing world. But these problems cannot be divorced from the world economic situation as a whole.

187. The World Bank's estimate that by the year 2000 constant hunger and low life-expectancy will be the lot of 600 million people should underline the humanitarian dimension of the task ahead.

188. While my Government is aware of the external factors which need changing or improvement so that development can be more speedily promoted, we are fully conscious of the heavy responsibility of third-world countries for their own development. The Somali Government and people are committed to a policy of national self-reliance carried out within a strong framework of regional co-operation. We believe that co-operation between developing countries in technical and other fields is an essential component of the new world economic order and that one of the most important goals of this co-operation must be increased food production, both for national self-sufficiency and for money-earning exports.

189. My Government fully supports the joint OAU-ECA development strategy for Africa, and we attach particular importance to the proposal for an African common market. We are glad that in the formulation of the African development strategy prominence is being given to the view that African peoples must evolve patterns of development that can borrow from other societies without alienating us from our indigenous cultural heritage.

190. Whatever may be its weaknesses and divisions, the United Nations family of organizations has embarked on great political, economic and humanitarian ventures, and it is obvious that no one would want it to

turn back. My Government believes that the world community can indeed go forward towards peace and progress if it adheres to the principles of collective security and the interdependence of States, which underlie the provisions of the Charter. With renewed dedication to the Charter principles, we should work together positively in a spirit of global solidarity towards the enhancement of international peace and co-operation and to combat colonialism, neo-colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism and other forms of domination, which today constitute potential sources of conflict and tension in the contemporary international situation. Only through a genuine commitment on our part to the universally accepted democratic concepts of justice, equality and human dignity, both at the national level and in the field of international relations, can we make a meaningful contribution towards the creation of a better world that is responsive to the persistent demands and expectations of mankind as a whole.

191. Mr. RITHAUDDEEN (Malaysia): Mr. President, the General Assembly is fortunate this year to have as distinguished and accomplished diplomat as yourself presiding over its thirty-fourth session. Your eminent qualities and wide experience in international affairs are greatly admired and respected. We pay a tribute in particular to the impressive record of your contributions towards helping the struggle of peoples for self-determination and independence. It is a pleasure for me to congratulate you warmly on your unanimous election to your high office. My delegation pledges its full support and co-operation to you, Sir, in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities. We wish you all success.

192. The outgoing President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, deserves our warm appreciation for the able and competent manner in which he guided the deliberations of the thirty-third session to a successful end.

193. We also congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his untiring efforts in furthering the cause of peace. Mr. Waldheim has in the course of this year played a very constructive role in particular on the problem of refugees in South-East Asia. His initiative in convening the Geneva conference on Indo-Chinese refugees⁷ is greatly appreciated by all.

194. I take this opportunity to welcome Saint Lucia on its admission to membership in the United Nations. We look forward to close co-operation with the delegation of Saint Lucia in the furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations.

195. We begin this session with some apprehension about the general uncertain climate in the international situation. As we approach the end of the decade of the 1970s, we find ourselves faced with more and more unanswered problems and questions. The 1970s have seen some negative trends in spite of ongoing negotiations in the North-South dialogue and the process of détente and rapprochement among the great Powers. Dialogue has in some instances given way to polemics, and the world continues to be sharply divided along political, economic and ideological lines. The developing countries cry out for a more equitable new interna-

⁷ Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

tional economic order. But we are in no way nearer to solving the problems of under-development, poverty, malnutrition and hunger.

196. The peace that we at present enjoy hangs on a fragile threat sustained by the balance of nuclear terror. We live in constant fear of the total annihilation of mankind as the spread of nuclear weapons increases, and this is compounded by the development and perfection of more and more devastating nuclear weapons systems. In sum, instead of being reduced, the arms race has continued its upward spiral. Indeed, the peace that we have, tenuous as it is, has been shattered time and time again by regional conflicts that threaten to erupt into wide conflagrations. Many of these conflicts now take place in the countries of the third world. The truth of the matter is that the world we live in today is polarized and there is still a lot of distrust and suspicion among nations in the conduct of international relations. In spite of détente and rapprochement among the great Powers, their rivalry for spheres of influence and domination continues unabated, and this remains a predominant feature of our present-day world.

197. The problems that beset us in the 1970s will, no doubt, be carried forward as we cross the threshold of the 1980s. Much, therefore, remains to be done to translate into reality the lofty ideals which serve as our guide in our work towards a more peaceful and secure world order. We can achieve such an order only if we are prepared to act in concert and to co-operate more fruitfully with each other. Indeed, we need to go from rhetoric to meaningful action, to harmonize our efforts and to transform confrontation and polemics into peaceful co-operation. We have a duty, above all, to redress the chronic deterioration of the world economic situation in particular, for in the final analysis it is the bread-and-butter issues which are of paramount importance to nations and to the peoples of the world in general.

198. In your opening statement, Mr. President [*1st meeting*], you stressed the importance of the United Nations as an instrument for the promotion of peace, freedom, justice, international security and co-operation. You said also that this Organization will fail to meet its lofty ideals as enumerated in its Charter if we, as individual nations, choose to use it as an instrument of periodical convenience. Indeed, we could not agree with you more. When we all became Members of the United Nations, we pledged to uphold the principles and purposes of the United Nations. We pledged to work for world peace, for the reconciliation of our differences and for the common good of mankind. Yet, time and time again we see these very principles trampled upon with impunity. The sovereignty of nations has been violated and the use of force to settle disputes has become an attractive option in the face of the helplessness of the United Nations. We in Malaysia look at this development with great concern, as indeed do all responsible peoples.

199. As a small country of 12 million people, Malaysia is fully committed to upholding the principles and goals of this body. The United Nations is the most effective Organization to harmonize the actions of nations in the search for solutions to our common problems and to promote peaceful relations, international understanding and co-operation. It is in furtherance of the objectives of the United Nations that Malaysia together with

its partners in the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]—Indonesia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand—has embarked on the road to regional co-operation. Our quest for peace and mutual co-operation transcends all ideologies and different political systems. The objective of ASEAN is to promote peace and security through co-operation in various fields for the well-being of our peoples. ASEAN works, and we are proud of it. The countries of ASEAN want to share the fruits of their co-operation with the other countries of South-East Asia and to secure their participation in building a prosperous, peaceful and secure region. But we cannot realize these objectives if we do not have peace in the region and if the sovereignty of nations is not respected.

200. It is in this context that Malaysia and others in the region viewed with serious concern the recent developments in Kampuchea. One of the cardinal principles of the United Nations has been violated by the armed intervention of outside forces against Kampuchea, threatening the peace, stability and security of South-East Asia as a whole. Fighting still rages in that war-torn country, causing untold suffering and misery to countless thousands of people.

201. The subsequent development after the military intervention showed clearly how the area of conflict could easily widen, threatening to engulf the entire region in a testing-ground of big-Power rivalry. If this situation is allowed to continue, it will be a standing invitation to others to get involved in the contest of the super-Powers. Accordingly, a long-term political solution must be found, and must be found quickly—a solution which will restore the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea. The people of Kampuchea must be given the right to decide their own future and destiny, free from outside interference or intervention. Malaysia, together with other ASEAN countries, has made a call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from the area of conflict. My Government stands ready to contribute towards any effort to find a peaceful solution to the problem in Kampuchea.

202. Lest it be construed that Malaysia is taking sides in the conflict, I should like to assure this Assembly that our stand is a principled one. We did not take sides on these developments in Kampuchea and we have no intention of doing so. We want to see peace and stability restored to our part of the world. Our principal preoccupation at present is to find a political solution to the problem. This is Malaysia's main concern. I reiterate that we should like to live in peace with all the countries in the region in a spirit of good neighbourliness and co-operation for the betterment of the peoples in the region.

203. It is in this same spirit that the member countries of ASEAN have made their proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.⁸ The events in Indo-China, where the involvement of Powers external to the region was clearly visible, once again emphasize the need to pursue with greater vigour the realization of this concept. Members of this Assembly are no doubt familiar with the concept, and I shall not go into detail. Suffice it for me to say that the concept will provide for the countries of South-East Asia the framework for

⁸ See document A/C.1/1019.

harmonious and co-operative relations among themselves, and between themselves and all countries outside the region, be they large or small.

204. I would be remiss in my duty if I did not at the same time point out the humanitarian aspects of the conflict in Kampuchea—a tragedy which this Assembly cannot ignore. The loss of innocent lives and the sufferings and hardship faced by the population as a result of the conflict deserve our urgent attention. As if this human tragedy were not enough, there is in addition the impending threat of famine resulting from disruption in the agricultural life of the country. Already, tens of thousands of Kampucheans have been forced to flee their homeland and to seek refuge in a neighbouring country. We in Malaysia know from experience what it means to be saddled with such an influx of people into one's territory. Unless urgent attention is given by the world community to this problem, a further exodus of people from Kampuchea can be expected, causing undue economic and social problems to neighbouring countries. This is destabilizing; it could exacerbate the situation and could widen the area of conflict.

205. With regard to the refugee situation in South-East Asia, my delegation is gratified to note the positive results of the United Nations Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in July of this year at Geneva. Malaysia welcomes the commitment made by various countries, and in particular by Viet Nam, to solve the problem. We also welcome the pledges of third countries to accept more of the so-called "boat people" who are now in the countries of first transit in the region. In Malaysia, there are about 50,000 illegal Vietnamese immigrants still awaiting resettlement in third countries. This is no mean number for a small country like our own to be saddled with. We therefore urge the expeditious intake of these illegal immigrants into countries that have given pledges to take them. Any further delay will only prolong the burden faced by the countries of first transit in the region, as well as the agony being suffered by the immigrants or refugees.

206. The plethora of perennial issues of which this Assembly has been seized will also require urgent solution. Malaysia has followed these developments with concern. Our participation in the various committees of the United Nations demonstrates our concern at the plight of the peoples of Palestine, Namibia, Zimbabwe-Rhodesia and South Africa who are struggling against colonialism, *apartheid*, racism and oppression.

207. As a member of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, we share the anguish of the people of Palestine who are denied their inalienable rights to return to their homeland. We support all United Nations efforts to restore to the people of Palestine their inalienable rights of self-determination, national independence and sovereignty in Palestine.

208. The Palestine issue remains at the core of the Middle East problem, and unless steps are taken to involve the participation of the Palestinian people led by the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO), any meaningful negotiation, however encouraging, would not bring about a lasting and just solution to the Middle East problem as a whole.

209. The conflict in the Middle East is also another

instance of the use of force to acquire territories against the principles of the United Nations. Israel persists in the further occupation of Arab territories and in building more settlements on the West Bank. We cannot but condemn this act in the strongest terms.

210. In Namibia, the illegal régime in South Africa continues to cling to territories to which it has no right. We hope the racist régime will co-operate with the United Nations in implementing settlement plans for the early independence of Namibia.

211. As for Zimbabwe-Rhodesia, my Government welcomes the current constitutional conference in London and hopes that it will be successful in achieving majority rule for the black people of the Territory.

212. At the conclusion of their meeting in New York a few days ago, the Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 issued a declaration [A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex] drawing the attention of the international community to the current serious and chaotic state of the world economy, characterized by static economic growth and development, high-level inflation and unemployment, unabated protectionism leading to restrained and sluggish world trade, as well as a host of other long-standing problems.

213. The fact of the matter is that the existing international economic system has proved totally incapable of overcoming the crisis the world economy is presently experiencing. Any *ad hoc* decisions and devices adopted by a handful of countries without the full and equal participation of the rest of the international community can only further aggravate an already grave situation. In the wake of mounting economic and financial difficulties, my delegation does not believe, and cannot accept the thinking, that merely by putting a finger here and a finger there to close up holes in the dyke, we can avert global economic recession.

214. Beset as we are by many and acute disparities between the developed and the developing countries, and given the failure of the present economic system to pull all of us out of the present mess, it is no longer useful for us merely to call for and speak for structural changes in international economic relations. We, the international community, must be serious and sincere in wanting to bring about such changes, and we must be seen to act accordingly.

215. We had a golden opportunity to realize these structural changes at the fifth session of UNCTAD at Manila earlier this year. However, we failed. The results of the fifth session of UNCTAD proved to be a profound disappointment to developing countries. We had another chance at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna in August this year. There again, we achieved very little. While the results of the Conference were at best satisfactory, they were nevertheless not positively conclusive for the developing countries. The same situation is also applicable to the other negotiating process featured under the North-South dialogue. The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, following the General Assembly's agreement on its mandate last year, has begun work, but its movement forward has been painfully slow. Similarly, the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy for the 1980s has

progressed very little, if at all, in its work. We all know the reason for this inertia, despite the international community's acceptance of the concept of the interdependency of nations and global economic co-operation.

216. What we have seen in all these ongoing negotiations is the consistent refusal of the developed countries to accept the reality of the argument that the growth and development of the developing countries, which can be genuinely achieved only through structural changes in the present world economic system, would contribute to the recovery, growth and economic viability of the developed countries as well.

217. With the continued absence of any political willingness on the part of the industrialized countries generally to make this structural change, it is almost inevitable that their economies will drift into deeper recessions. In such a situation, the world economy as a whole can only further deteriorate, with predictably harmful effects on the development of the developing countries. It is a grim picture, but—in truth—that is what we will have.

218. The present Development Decade, based on the existing pattern of international economic relations, taught us a lesson in disappointment and futility. The basic thrust of the new international development strategy for the 1980s now in preparation is that it should be formulated within the framework of, and directed towards, the objectives of the New International Economic Order in order to promote the development of the developing countries.

219. The New International Economic Order, to which my country is fully committed, seeks to restructure the existing global economic system, and this can only be brought about with the genuine co-operation and support of the developed countries. To this end, my delegation would urge them to undertake greater commitments and obligations towards the international community at large by ensuring that all the ongoing North-South negotiations are concluded successfully and in the shortest time possible, without recourse to, or need for, confrontation.

220. It is also my delegation's hope that in the current negotiations for the new international development strategy, to be adopted by a special session of the General Assembly next year, the strategy's basic thrust may not be lost sight of through the introduction of new concepts of selectivity and global strategy for basic needs that would in no way help in resolving the pressing problems facing the developing countries. Indeed, we would wish to see the strategy contain procedures and mechanisms that would enable the establishment of the New International Economic Order and that, once adopted, it would be earnestly and honestly implemented in order that we may look forward to the 1980s as an era of real and genuine development for the developing countries. Otherwise, the new decade will be no more than a copy of the present one, which has been characterized by frustration, disappointment and the further exacerbation of the position of the developing countries, not without the inherent possibility of confrontation within the international community. The United Nations, as the only truly universal forum for international co-operation, must at all costs prevent this from happening.

221. Although there were trends in the 1970s which were disconcerting, there is no reason to be pessimistic or to feel despair as long as we are willing to face the problems squarely and to take initiatives to overcome them. We should continue with our efforts to make use of the various forums before us to reconcile conflicting national interests and to find the necessary solutions to our common problems. Let us therefore rise to the occasion and show that our Organization can work in harmony and co-operation to bring about the peace, security and prosperity which we all long for.

222. Mr. KARL-I-BOND (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Zaire is happy at seeing you, Sir, presiding over the work of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election to the presidency is a tribute to your personal qualities, to your competence and to your long political and diplomatic experience. And for the United Republic of Tanzania, your country, with which we enjoy excellent relations of co-operation, and indeed for Africa, it is grounds for legitimate pride. We are convinced that under your presidency the work of this session will live up to the new hopes placed in the decade of the 1980s.

223. We extend our congratulations also to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre on his skill and efficiency in conducting the proceedings of the thirty-third session.

224. Furthermore, we wish to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of our Organization, for the tremendous amount of work he has done and the inestimable services he has always rendered to the international community. His awareness of the realities of the world today and his approach to major international problems have won him our whole-hearted admiration. His valuable report on the work of the Organization [A/34/1] reflects in judicious terms a climate of uncertainty that marks the evolution of the world situation at the end of the 1970s.

225. Permit me to pay one last tribute to the glorious memory of an outstanding statesman of the world today—Mr. Agostinho Neto, the late President of the People's Republic of Angola, whose sudden death is deeply regretted by Africa and the world. My country was most distressed at learning of the news of the untimely death of a man who, together with his brother President Mobutu, was a great artisan of the policy of reconciliation, détente, brotherly co-operation and good-neighbourliness among the States of Central Africa in general and between Angola and Zaire in particular. The Republic of Zaire will spare no effort to pursue with his worthy successor co-operation which is already under way in all fields in order to attain our common objectives.

226. The thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly, the last of the 1970s, is being held at a particularly crucial time in the history of mankind. During the last few years many threats have been posed both to the principles and ideals of the United Nations and to its actions in various fields, particularly that of co-operation for development, at the risk of reducing the world Organization's credit and seeing a gradual diminution of the hope which was aroused by the Second United Nations Development Decade.

227. And that makes all the more important this

thirty-fourth session, which is being held on the eve of the Third United Nations Development Decade, in regard to an objective evaluation of the international political and economic situation and the progress achieved in those fields.

228. The United Nations is 34 years old. That is not a very long time in the light of the immensity of the tasks to be accomplished; but it is extremely significant that an international Organization whose mission is peace, co-operation, progress and the development of the States of the world should have overcome so many obstacles placed in its path.

229. It is not our intention to attempt to take stock of the work done by the United Nations since its foundation. It suffices simply to highlight certain positive facts which have marked its existence in order both to confirm the importance of its role and to determine future action.

230. From the very outset the United Nations set itself the tasks of maintaining international peace and security, settling disputes by peaceful means, decolonizing Territories still under foreign domination, bringing about co-operation among all States whatever their economic, social and political systems, struggling against *apartheid* and eliminating all forms of racism and intolerance, bringing about disarmament and many others.

231. In the field of decolonization, the contribution of the United Nations has been positive; many States have acceded to independence over the last 25 years. It is none the less true that the job has not yet been completed and that there persist serious problems whose solution calls for further efforts on the part of us all and a reaffirmation of political will.

232. Following the collapse of the colonial empires, the liberation of Africa is today entering upon its final phase with the last decisive decolonization battles in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, in spite of the rear-guard action still being waged so stubbornly by the racists of southern Africa.

233. Developments in Zimbabwe, after the last Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka in August, provide a glimmer of hope that a final solution is near which will set the seal on the effective access of the black majority to power. We are gratified that the decisions taken in Lusaka are similar to those formulated by Zaire at the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Monrovia in July, and we express the hope that the negotiations going on in London will produce a just and lasting settlement of the Rhodesian crisis.

234. With regard to Namibia, we note with regret that the implementation of the plan of the five Western Powers approved by the Security Council⁹ has been blocked by the squalid manoeuvring of South Africa, which has attempted by various means to install a puppet authority in Windhoek.

235. Zaire for its part supports the relevant proposals

of the Secretary-General¹⁰ to lead a united and indivisible Namibia towards genuine and total independence. The Republic of Zaire recognizes the South West Africa People's Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, which, as such, must be associated with all the phases of the process leading Namibia to independence, within the spirit of resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly of the United Nations. At the same time, we reaffirm that Walvis Bay is an integral part of the Territory of Namibia.

236. The national independence movement which began immediately after the Second World War will inexorably be extended to the country of *apartheid*. This evil and reactionary system unanimously condemned by the international community as a crime against mankind will be condemned by history. We call upon those Powers that maintain various relations with South Africa and have interests there to reconcile the positions they adopt in international bodies with the acts which in practice serve to encourage Pretoria's constant defiance of the international community.

237. We should like to take this opportunity to welcome the efforts of the United Nations Special Committee against *Apartheid*. The developed nations of the West must understand that it is in their interest, too, to help Africa to rid itself of this outrage of the century.

238. With regard to Western Sahara, I should like to point out that this question became critical as a result of the imprecise nature of the terms of the opinion of the International Court of Justice, which became a kind of empty room which anyone could furnish to suit himself.

239. Although at the time we expressed regret at the way in which the OAU determined its decision on this affair at Monrovia, we remain convinced that an acceptable solution is not beyond the grasp of legendary African wisdom, in the interests of peace, understanding and unity of this part of the world, which has suffered so much. We fully support the recent proposal of the Sherifian Kingdom on the organizing of a round table under the auspices of the OAU as well as the efforts which the Chairman and the special committee of six OAU member States are continuing to make following the latest developments.

240. Our duty as Members of the United Nations is to help the parties to the dispute to overcome their differences by peaceful means, in accordance with the principles of the Charter of our Organization, and not to fan the flames of discord by taking positions which are liable to aggravate the situation.

241. If there is a problem which poses serious threats to international peace and security, it is certainly the problem of the Middle East and, in particular, Palestine. As old as the United Nations itself, the problem of the Middle East and Palestine constitutes one of the major concerns of our Organization. More than any other question, it must be resolved within the framework of the United Nations.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.

¹¹ *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion of 16 October 1975: I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.*

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May, and June 1978, document S/12636.*

242. The United Nations, which was responsible for the creation of the State of Israel by finding a solution to the problem posed by the Jewish people who had wandered the earth because they had been deprived of their lands and their homeland, has also the moral duty and responsibility of giving another people who are today wandering and are deprived of a land—the people of Palestine—their own homeland, a territory and a State like other peoples of the world. One cannot remedy one injustice by another. If the people of Palestine today find themselves in the same situation as that in which the Jews found themselves formerly, it is because the Israelis have occupied their land and driven them out.

243. Suffice it to refer to resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947, whereby the General Assembly decided to create the State of Israel. By means of this resolution, Palestine was partitioned to the satisfaction of some, the dissatisfaction and, indeed, the detriment of others while leaving still others indifferent. For its part Zaire has always taken a clear stand on this question. On 4 October 1973, from this very rostrum, the President of the Republic of Zaire, General Mobutu Sese Seko, defined this position in these terms:

“It seems to us both childish and unrealistic to believe in the myth about throwing the Israeli people into the sea. That people exists and it has a right to live. But it is also true that the Palestinian people has the same right as the Israeli people, that is, the right to have a homeland and to live in peace.”¹²

244. Egypt's peace efforts, which led to the signing of the Camp David agreements,¹³ constitute an important step towards finding a comprehensive, just and lasting solution to the Middle East crisis. The solution to this crisis entails the participation in negotiations of all the parties concerned, particularly the PLO as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people recognized by the international community. However, we deem regrettable the attitude of Israel, which is hindering the peace process and, in spite of the relevant resolutions of the United Nations, is establishing Jewish settlements on Palestinian land and has annexed the holy city of Jerusalem.

245. In order to make an effective contribution to the settlement of this question and put an end to the tension which continues to prevail in this region, it is essential for the international community to bear constantly in mind all the real facts of the case.

246. The maintenance of international peace and security is the primary task of our Organization under its Charter. In this field, the United Nations has played an important role which it would be wrong to disregard. Since San Francisco we have not had occasion to deplore a third world war; however, a number of local conflicts have broken out here and there, and have thus signposted the history of the postwar period of 34 years. Who can claim today that localized conflicts will not tomorrow become the pretext for or the origin of a universal conflagration? The representative of Singapore in his statement [6th meeting] calculated that since

1945 there had been in all some 135 wars, involving some 80 countries and responsible for some 25 million casualties. This terrible toll shows that peace, the ultimate goal of our Organization, is far from having been achieved. We want neither the balance of terror, nor the peace of the cemetery.

247. Of course, direct confrontation between great Powers has given way to the spirit of détente and peaceful coexistence. It would also seem that, by the same token, the battlefield of the cold war has been shifted towards the developing countries. Thus, the partition of the world into zones of influence, decided upon at the Yalta Conference of 1945, has turned out to be the basis of certain situations which we continue to decry, particularly in Asia, Latin America and Africa.

248. The most ardent wish of our delegation is that peace should be restored as soon as possible to these parts of the world, in order to enable their peoples to devote themselves to the priority task of development. Development is only possible in an environment of peace and security for all. That is why our country supports all positive and peaceful initiatives aimed at the reunification of Korea and of all divided countries and States.

249. As to the burning problem of Kampuchea, the delegation of Zaire once again bases its position on objective considerations. For us it is a question of principle and not a matter of judging any given régime. Respect for the principles of non-interference in the internal and external affairs of States and of the peaceful settlement of disputes determines our attitude of non-recourse to force, to military intervention or to armed invasion, and non-stabilization of Governments on any pretext whatsoever. That is why we supported the decision taken by this Assembly to permit the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to take part in our debates.

250. The situation prevailing in South-East Asia is the subject of considerable concern to the whole international community. The serious refugee problem, which is but the consequence of the tensions that persist in that region, can only find a final solution within the framework of the restoration of lasting peace. For as Marx quite rightly said, “a people which oppresses others cannot be free.” Freedom can only be conceived of within the framework of human dignity.

251. Apart from the local conflicts just mentioned, I should like particularly to point out the danger represented for mankind by overarmament. The disturbing increase in military expenditures, which in 10 years have attained a level four times that of 1969, shows that at the present time there is no genuine willingness to undertake disarmament, particularly on the part of the great Powers.

252. Indeed, one year after the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, the results obtained in the new organs which have been established are not very encouraging. In both the Disarmament Commission and the Committee on Disarmament, deliberations and negotiations have come up against the reluctance shown by certain nuclear Powers.

253. Non-nuclear-weapon States cannot be content with solemn but vague assurances. They need from the

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting.

¹³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

nuclear Powers a formal commitment never to use these weapons against States which do not possess them.

254. Furthermore, the conclusion of treaties limiting certain types of strategic armament do not represent a solution to the thorny problem of disarmament. Accordingly, our delegation cannot share the self-satisfaction of the great Powers after the conclusion of the second SALT Treaty.

255. We reaffirm once again that disarmament is and must be the business of the whole international community, and not the preserve of a few Powers.

256. Measures on disarmament, if they are to be effective, must be accompanied by appropriate provisions for international control as well as strict and effective regional and international control.

257. Finally, the question of general and complete disarmament is intimately linked with that of development in the view of the underequipped countries, and our country is one of these. It is regrettable, therefore, to note that the Disarmament Decade proclaimed by the General Assembly on 16 December 1969 [resolution 2602 E (XXIV)] should show a debit balance. Its principal objective was to free resources committed to the arms race for the benefit of economic and social development. But we cannot but note that, instead of increasing, the funds made available to developing countries have decreased, while military expenditures are rising at an insensate rate. This is one of the profound causes of the deterioration of the world economic situation.

258. The world economy is now going through the most serious crisis it has known since the Second World War. The persistent malaise of the international economic system is not a mere cyclic phenomenon; it is, above all, a symptom of profound faults of structure.

259. The powerlessness of the developed market economy countries to overcome the chronic imbalances of their balance of payments, the rates of inflation and unemployment, which have remained high, the increase in the price of oil and the new rigidity in markets attested to by the rise of protectionism, which has prevented the restructuring so necessary for the effective development of production, are all factors which leave us no grounds for expecting a balanced and prosperous world economy in the next decade.

260. Not only is progress towards a solution of the problems which have so long disturbed the developing countries in danger of being curbed, but the fundamental problems themselves have now been exacerbated by a number of new elements of disequilibrium which have become apparent in recent years.

261. This situation is ominous for the world economy, and particularly for the economists of the developing countries, which depend on the export earnings of their raw materials, investments, and foreign assistance. The problems of indebtedness, of the decline in the prices of raw materials and of the deterioration of the terms of trade are particularly acute for developing countries.

262. As the Second United Nations Development Decade is coming to a close we cannot but deplore the

fact that most of the developed countries have not yet achieved the threshold of donating 0.7 per cent of their gross national product, as proposed by the General Assembly, for public development assistance [resolution 2626 (XXV) para. 43].

Mr. Ibrahim (Ethiopia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

263. The sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations in 1974 recognized that the establishment of a new international economic order depended, *inter alia*, on the improvement of access to external markets and the stabilization of and guarantees for the main exports of the developing countries, as well as the pegging of prices of primary commodities to those of industrial products.

264. The hopes aroused by the fourth session of UNCTAD were extinguished by the fifth, which was marked by a hardening of position on the part of the affluent countries.

265. The deterioration in the terms of trade obstructs not only the transfer of resources but also the short-term current balance-of-payments position of the debtor countries. The growing current-account deficit has been aggravated by increased external indebtedness.

266. At the same time, we note with satisfaction the recent agreement signed in Geneva on the fundamental elements of the Common Fund, establishing the initial resources of that Fund at a level of \$750 million.

267. The inability of the present international economic order to face up to new demands—both by the industrialized countries as well as by the developing countries—calls for a spirit of unselfishness and self-denial on the part of all of us if we are to adopt a realistic approach to appropriate common solutions.

268. All these questions can be resolved only within a framework of a democratization of international relations. International co-operation must be understood, in the sense of a just and rational organization of the interdependence of States.

269. We must replace the traditional division of labour by the development of a creative self-sufficiency of nations within the framework of a balanced and structured international trade system. It is within this spirit that my country supports all efforts towards positive co-operation, internationally, regionally and sub-regionally. It is in the same spirit that the Republic of Zaire and its neighbours Rwanda and Burundi, have established an Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries, which is open to participation by other States in the area. This initiative is naturally part and parcel of the co-operation among developing countries which the United Nations should do everything possible to encourage.

270. We take this opportunity to thank all friendly countries and international institutions which have supported the efforts at economic integration in Central Africa, particularly those of the Economic Community of the Great Lake Countries.

271. Zaire, which feels most acutely the effects of the

crisis, inflation and world economic recession, remains by the very nature of its trade, dependent on the evolution of the international situation. The efforts made within the country by the adoption of a national rehabilitation plan, called the "Mobutu Plan" gives us grounds for hoping that with the co-operation of the international community we shall meet the targets that we have set for ourselves. This plan aims at giving a new impetus to production by improving management methods as well as methods of public financing. It also aims to improve the key sectors such as agriculture, which will be the "oil" of the year 2000, and transport infrastructure, and maximize mining output and that of the energy sector.

272. We express our appreciation for the help given by international financial institutions as well as by many friendly countries.

273. If there is one problem that is of particular concern to our country it is that of the environment and conservation of nature in the world. We have increased the number of our full reservations to seven national parks instead of three. These embrace a territory that is twice the size of the Federal Republic of Germany. In order to improve management methods in this field, Zaire has considered the most effective means and principles of conservation. In this regard we have established close co-operation with UNEP and the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources.

274. On the occasion of the twelfth general assembly of that Union, held in Kinshasa in 1975, the President of the Republic of Zaire suggested that a world nature charter should be drawn up. The Union thought that this was a good idea, took it up and undertook to study it in close co-operation with the relevant authorities of the Republic of Zaire.

275. Since then many countries have made contributions to drafting such a charter by submitting constructive proposals. In due course and at the appropriate time the Republic of Zaire will submit a draft world nature charter in the hope that it will arouse the interest it deserves among Member States.

276. The picture of the international situation that we have drawn is hardly encouraging. Certainly the United Nations, by many initiatives, has spared mankind many disasters. However we should not allow ourselves to be blinded by unprofitable self-congratulation.

277. The activity we have to undertake demands that we transcend our own narrow, selfish interests for the sake of the interests of mankind as a whole.

278. Many crises would have been solved today had it not been for the existence and retention of outmoded machinery in the United Nations system. We refer particularly to the right of veto belonging to the five great Powers—a right which they sometimes abuse in order to pursue their interests and policies.

279. We shall never cease to recommend the review of certain provisions of the Charter which are no longer justified 35 years after the foundation of the United Nations.

280. The world in which we live today is a world of

interdependence. We must create a world of peace and harmonious co-operation in diversity.

281. To the extent that we strengthen the role of the United Nations and transfer its decisions into political terms and into terms of the real national situation in all Member States, to that extent we shall draw closer to a world order which will give us more confidence because it will be more just.

282. The equitable distribution of the world's wealth for international peace—that is our appeal to the industrialized world. It is the appeal of the third world coming from the heart of Africa. Will it be heeded?

283. Mr. CALDERÓN FOURNIER (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of my country and my delegation, I am pleased to extend to Mr. Salim our most cordial and sincere congratulations for the well-deserved tribute paid to him by the international community represented here on his election to the presidency of the present session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under his able guidance the present session will bear abundant fruit for the good of all our peoples.

284. The 24th of this month will mark one more anniversary in the history of the United Nations, just as the end of this year will mark one more decade in the life of this century. Both dates significantly bring to a close another chapter in mankind's history and oblige us to turn our gaze back over this short period of the past to see whether we have made any real progress along the path of international peace and co-operation or whether we should renew our efforts, to the utmost of the spiritual capacity of our peoples and Governments, to reach the goals which we set for ourselves when we ratified the Charter and, in particular, to spare mankind from a new conflagration which this time would carry the threat of the elimination of human life from the face of the earth.

285. My Government has reviewed the most significant developments in international relations during the present decade and has made the most earnest efforts to draw optimistic conclusions. However, we have had to bow before the facts of the current world situation.

286. These facts are not as auspicious as they should be. To the contrary, they cast a strong shadow of doubt upon the ability of the leading members of this Organization to preserve the international community from the grave crisis that can be glimpsed on the horizon.

287. The report on the work of the Organization [A/34/I] by the Secretary-General, to whom I pay a grateful tribute for his dedication in averting grave international conflicts and for his tireless fight to give substance to the values on which our Organization is based, discloses the grave difficulties standing in the way of international society in its advance towards a state of permanent justice that will make possible peace among men.

288. The political conflicts which have arisen during the decade which ends this year, together with the worsening of such problems as the imminent exhaustion of hydrocarbon energy sources and the concomitant disproportionate rise in the price of petroleum and

its derivatives, have added new elements to the uncertainty, mistrust and pessimism in international life.

289. If we add to this the fact that the great Powers still do not seem to understand that man in his progress has reached a stage at which he should be seen as a truly free being rather than as a pawn in the chess-game of international politics, a being whose own dignity entitles him to chart his destiny, we have to conclude that it is the realities of life today which lead us to pessimism.

290. Like the Secretary-General of the United Nations, my Government continues to place its faith in the inexhaustible spiritual resources of the human race. Although in absolute terms mankind has not made satisfactory progress in areas vital for international harmony—such as respect for human dignity, improved living conditions for developing peoples, and a fair exchange of raw materials and finished products—the relative achievements of this decade, particularly of recent years, in some measure do offset that grave imbalance. They at least hold out a hope that, by mobilizing the goodwill of peoples and Governments to overcome the obstacles to mankind's aspirations, we may yet restore man's confidence in his destiny.

291. In his report to the present session of the General Assembly, the Secretary-General asserts that although the cause of human rights has suffered substantial setbacks during the year, this has been accompanied by the growth of a powerful and stimulating awareness conducive to their observance and from which positive results may be expected.

292. Peoples and Governments such as mine, who have taken as their gospel the observance and furtherance of human rights, are well aware that the best antidote to subversion and social and institutional dislocations is respect for the attributes of the human person.

293. To the extent that men are assured of respect for their inherent rights—among which the right to liberty holds pride of place—and to the extent that they are treated justly and afforded the means and resources to develop their spiritual potential, to that extent will harmony and peace among men prevail.

294. Unfortunately, the progress of the United Nations in developing effective institutional machinery for the furtherance and protection of human rights has not yet attained an acceptable level.

295. My country feels that the time has come for us to fulfil the legal and moral commitment which we undertook as Members of this Organization to respect and promote the fundamental rights of man.

296. It is my country's endeavour to have no debts to pay where the observance and protection of human rights are concerned, and we find no excuse for the systematic opposition raised by some in this Organization, for political motives, to any initiative which seeks effectively to guarantee respect for the dignity and essential rights of human beings.

297. The proposal, which Costa Rica advanced, for the creation of a high commissioner or a like authority to monitor respect for human rights, continues to be

shunted from one committee to another, awaiting a final decision. We hope that decision will ultimately be favourable, in view of the goal which the proposal seeks to achieve.

298. The peoples who make up international society cannot continue to endure the privations which are being heaped upon them with no justification whatsoever.

299. This Organization would be remiss in the performance of one of its highest duties if it did not resolutely bend itself to the task of improving the inadmissible political and social conditions to which not a few of the Governments of its Members subject their peoples. It is most gratifying for my delegation to note that very promising changes have begun to take shape in the Americas, signalling a new awareness along the lines I have just indicated.

300. At the height of the grave crisis endured by the noble people of Nicaragua, the crucial decision of the Meeting of Consultation of the Organization of American States [OAS] to request General Somoza to relinquish power,¹⁴ in view of the danger to which his genocidal practices had exposed the peace and security of this continent, constitutes a true revolution in the process of improvement of our inter-American system.

301. The debate that the events in Nicaragua prompted in the First Committee of the General Assembly in December 1978¹⁵ also underscored the fact that the cause of human rights is intimately linked to international security. The United Nations can therefore ill afford to disregard the human rights violations that continue to occur in countries held under the implacable rule of régimes of the extreme right and the extreme left.

302. On 3 September last, the Inter-American Court of Human Rights was officially established in San José, Costa Rica, pursuant to the Pact of San José,¹⁶ which was drafted and signed in my country's capital in 1969.

303. The members of the OAS that have acceded to this Convention have given eloquent proof of their readiness to comply faithfully with the international commitments all of us have made to protect and defend the fundamental rights of all human beings.

304. The Court is endowed with effective means to guarantee the life and security of any person victim of persecution who may appeal to it for justice, from which we may infer that this will mark the beginning of a new and stimulating period in the life of America's peoples.

305. In conformity with a long-standing national tradition, one that reaches back to the humanistic spirit of the founding fathers of our nation, my Government has

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1979*, document S/13451.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, First Committee, 65th-68th meetings*, and *ibid.*, *First Committee, Sessional Fascicle*, corrigendum.

¹⁶ *American Convention on Human Rights, "Pact of San José, Costa Rica"*, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States, 1970).

taken up the cause of human rights as the heart of its foreign policy.

306. Costa Rica cannot make great material contributions to the improvement of international relations. Therefore we feel highly honoured in offering our solidarity and our spiritual support to all persons and peoples suffering persecution, imprisonment and exile because of their wish to be free.

307. In this spirit our delegation to the United Nations will continue to sponsor any initiative that may tend to liberate peoples still subject to colonialism and to seek the introduction of all possible and necessary improvements to secure for those living under oppressive régimes the fullest guarantees of respect for their fundamental rights.

308. In conformity with my Government's conviction that peace is not a natural and spontaneous boon but the complex product of factors that are very diverse in character, the President of the Republic of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo Odio, on 27 September 1978 presented to this forum the initiative relating to the creation of a university for peace,¹⁷ a university at which there could be elaborated a programme of disciplines whose common aim would be the attainment of peace.

309. President Carazo put forward the idea that peace is neither a free gift nor the mere absence of war and that, just as human progress is achieved only through sacrifice, peace cannot be won without a firm resolve to strive for that goal.

310. I should like to recall here that the university of peace would be a great centre for higher education open to all peoples and to all men of goodwill.

311. The proposal also contemplates the establishment of seven areas of inquiry, research, dissemination and analysis pertaining to different aspects of the problems of peace.

312. The longing for peace resides in man's soul, but history leaves no doubt that mankind has not learned how to look for it, let alone find it.

313. If people go to military academies to study war, should they not go and learn peace in a university devoted to that purpose?

314. My delegation hopes that the support shown for the proposal of the President of Costa Rica by UNESCO, UNITAR, the United Nations University, a large number of countries and the Secretary-General himself will open the way for final approval of this initiative.

315. One of the most disturbing facts in the world today, one that darkens the future of international relations and places grave demands upon the capacity of this Organization, is the continuing deterioration of the world economy and the convergence of a number of very different factors that for poor countries such as mine have become insuperable.

316. The economic and financial imbalance between

the rich countries and the poor countries is of such a magnitude that history provides few examples of so deep and rapid an impoverishment for the majority of States and such disproportionate enrichment for the few.

317. If the United Nations was founded in order to bring about a better world in which the human being could live in material and spiritual conditions consonant with his dignity, those of us who have become the sacrificial victims in this state of affairs cannot remain impassive concerning the fate being meted out to us.

318. The international economy, and consequently the development of our countries, cannot be left to the cunning games of the economically powerful nations. The most elementary sense of human solidarity demands that we put a halt to this escalation, which can plunge international society into indescribable chaos.

319. Since the time when the school of Spanish theologians and jurists laid the basis of our economic society, the inequality in the economic and social conditions of the peoples is the most vicious of the germs that sooner or later cause wars.

320. Moreover, it was by no mere accident that the founders of the United Nations ascribed a role of particular importance to the maintenance of international peace and security to a just economic and trade equilibrium between all States. We can therefore see that it is unethical and completely irrational that our Organization should not mobilize as though preparing for a holy war in order to overcome the dangers that now face our international society.

321. The poor countries have been asking for justice for many years.

322. The terms of trade work more and more against the most elementary principles of equity, while our raw materials, our commodities, are being paid for at prices that are lower than the cost of producing them. The manufactured goods that we must acquire from the industrialized nations are being sold to us at impossible prices, prices that cannot be met because of the poor countries' lack of foreign exchange. Our capacity to pay, if not yet exhausted, is on the verge of exhaustion, and our economies are thus headed for irrevocable ruin.

323. In the present state of affairs our peoples have begun to perceive that there is a new kind of servitude weighing upon them. The inability to service the astronomical debts accumulated against our underdeveloped societies has given rise to a feeling of frustration which runs counter to the harmony which should characterize relations among all members of the international community.

324. Our Organization is bound by the lofty values on which it was founded to give urgent attention to this situation and to support and encourage the worthy efforts of the Secretariat to find a satisfactory solution to the critical condition of the world economy before it is too late.

325. It is fair to recognize that our developing countries bear a substantial share of the blame for the dislocation of the world economy. Under the sway of consumer society, imposed on us for the benefit of

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 11th meeting, para. 119.

large-scale industries which are not our own, we have grown accustomed to a kind of life which is not in keeping with our insufficient development or, consequently, with our capacity to pay. Whatever may be the solution to the existing disorder in the world economy, we may expect that it will call for major sacrifices on our part if we wish to guarantee future generations the means to survive.

326. I said earlier that the exhaustion of hydrocarbon deposits, upon which the growth of the world economy and hence the progress of the whole international community have in large measure relied, not only has had a grave impact on the world economy but raises very serious doubts about the means to be used in future to replace petroleum and its derivatives as a source of energy.

327. In the realm of facts the steep rise in fuel prices in recent years has disrupted my country's economy so drastically that we have had to make enormous sacrifices to alleviate its effects and ensure that it will not be the poor classes that, as is usually the case, should have to bear burdens for which they are not responsible.

328. Costa Rica is essentially an agricultural country and depends basically on a few agricultural products whose prices are continuously declining on the international market. Add to this the rising cost of petroleum and its derivatives and the prospects for our ability to maintain some degree of development become minimal, not to say entirely negative.

329. My country recognizes the legitimate right of the petroleum-producing countries to demand a fair price for their product, but we hope at the same time that preferential treatment will be granted for its purchase by developing countries, since our paying the same price as the industrialized countries is not only contrary to equity but hampers the economic possibilities of our populations.

330. There can be no question that a new international economic order will have to reconcile, on equitable terms, the prices of the commodities which are the life-blood of our peoples and the other elements of the world economy.

331. Costa Rica welcomes with particular interest the proposal made to this Assembly by the President of the United Mexican States, Mr. José López Portillo, to establish a world energy plan [*11th meeting, paras. 66–68*]. My Government enthusiastically supports this excellent initiative by Mexico, as we are convinced that it would provide an effective contribution to the solution of the serious problem of energy which faces all mankind.

332. The situation in the Middle East continues to occupy our attention, as it does that of all members of the international community, in view of the positive or negative influence it has on the maintenance of international peace and security.

333. In relation to this regrettable conflict between two peoples to whom we feel linked by spiritual and even historical affinities, through the cultural heritage left to us by Spain, my country aspires to take an impartial and equitable position.

334. We believe that it is Israel's right that its existence as a State be respected and guaranteed; and we believe that the Palestinian people also have the right to be allowed to organize themselves with all the attributes proper to sovereign parties in an international order.

335. My delegation deeply regrets that no common ground has thus far been found between the aspirations of these two communities and that the necessary conditions have not yet appeared for these two noble people to resolve their differences in an atmosphere of harmony, peace and tolerance.

336. For the good of all, without exception, the international community urgently needs to see an end to the state of permanent belligerence in the Middle East. The area is a source of trouble which threatens at any time to break out into a conflagration of unforeseeable consequences and which daily claims the lives of innocent victims to no purpose.

337. My delegation is grateful to all who have participated directly or indirectly in the effort to find the longed-for solution to the Middle East question and hopes that the progress achieved in improved relations between two of the States parties to this dispute will prompt renewed efforts to restore peace to the whole of the Middle East, so that the peoples that are today suffering the scourge of hostilities can look towards a brighter future.

338. My country, which lacks the most elementary experience in the domain of armaments, proclaims itself disqualified, to its credit, from pronouncing upon the complex plans and programmes that have been discussed in this international forum with a view to halting the escalation of the arms race. It therefore holds the moral credentials to express its most vehement repudiation of the senseless armament policy of the great majority of members of the international community. The arms race is an outrage against mankind and an offence against the rational and spiritual nature of man.

339. That those who say they love peace should proceed to accumulate means of mass destruction on a scale exceeding many times that required to annihilate the entire human race is an act devoid of reason, one which casts doubt upon the true intentions of its authors.

340. When we think of the great benefits which mankind stands to gain by reallocating to altruistic ends the astronomical sums earmarked today for the manufacture of weaponry, we cannot help being overcome by a deep feeling of frustration and disappointment.

341. Those of us who trust in international law and in respect for treaties as a guarantee of the sovereign rights of States find it paradoxical that the developing countries themselves should collaborate in this race without reason.

342. Our experience of having abolished the institution of the army—which had existed only exceptionally during the 150 years of our nation's independent life—has taught us that this is the wisest of all political measures to promote peace and harmony.

343. In the present state of international order it is superfluous for poor States to acquire arms beyond what is indispensable for the normal maintenance of their internal security. My country will never tire of appealing to the goodwill of all Governments to devote these resources to the betterment of the material and spiritual conditions of the world's peoples.

344. The new currents of international law have made it possible for coastal States on all the world's oceans to harbour the hope of claiming preferential rights in respect of the conservation and exploitation of the living resources of the sea, and in respect of the riches of its subsoil.

345. My delegation commends the sustained effort made by this Organization, through the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, to try to regulate this important activity which, for obvious reasons, is becoming daily more vital for the survival of many of our nations.

346. Both through our direct knowledge of the matter and through our reading of the illuminating report of the Secretary-General, we have become aware that the United Nations is very close to finding a definitive and general solution to all the problems pertaining to the use of the sea in all its aspects, as well as the conservation and exploitation of its animal, vegetable and mineral riches.

347. My Government looks forward to celebrating that achievement, not only because of its importance for Costa Rica's interests, for also because it will be an equitable and civilized way to put an end to the abuses of which the developing countries are today the victims.

348. In his report, the Secretary-General regrets that the United Nations is not receiving all the moral support it deserves from world public opinion. This fact, indicative of the scepticism that has gained a hold on the minds of ordinary men faced with very serious problems to which they see no solution, deserves the careful attention of all Members of this Organization.

349. The United Nations will survive insofar as its nations mirror the trust of the world's peoples and their hope for a more just society. To keep that faith without faltering is a task incumbent upon us all, especially upon those of us who believe that this is the last chance the Almighty has granted us to find peace and ensure the survival of the human race.

350. My delegation extends its warmest congratulations to the newest Member of the United Nations family, our Latin-American sister Saint Lucia, and expresses its thanks to that legion of quiet servants of this Organization in the technical, administrative and political domains who, by dedication and sacrifice, are contributing to the worthy task of building a better world for us all.

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

351. Mr. AL-ALAWI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am very glad to be able to address you, Mr. President from this international rostrum and to ex-

press to you on behalf of the Sultanate of Oman and of its delegation, now taking part in the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of this session. Your election to this high office does confirm the very positive and active role which is played by your country in resolving the important problems facing it. This event, together with other similar events, shows not only the position your country occupies, but also reaffirms the increasing importance of the role being played by the developing countries in the international arena. The well-known ties between our two countries are a further reason for us to express our satisfaction at your election to the presidency of this session. We have confidence in your capacity to guide our work in a way that will ensure maximum success in the achievement of our objectives.

352. I am also very happy to pay a tribute to your predecessor the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, who presided so ably over the work of the thirty-third session.

353. I should also like to express appreciation for the tireless efforts exerted by the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in serving the principles and objectives of the United Nations and for his constant endeavour to enhance the effectiveness of its activity, so that it may discharge the great tasks entrusted to it for the maintenance of world peace and security, thus leading all the people of the world to prosperity and stability.

354. My delegation is equally happy to welcome Saint Lucia as a Member of this Organization and to assure its delegation of our co-operation. I hail the efforts of the United Nations to affirm its universal character, in fulfilment of one of the objectives of the Charter.

355. The thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly is taking place in very complex international conditions which require from all of us a serious examination of the remedies for their causes, if we are to succeed in elaborating adequate solutions for all the problems facing the international community and threatening its peace and stability.

356. The problem of the Middle East, with all the threats it holds for international peace and security, is regarded as one of the most urgent problems facing the world today. That is why finding a just, lasting and comprehensive solution to it has become more important than ever before. This issue, as everybody agrees, is highly important, because it is tied in with the interests of many international parties. What we are witnessing today in Lebanon and in other parts of the Middle East is not isolated from the whole situation arising out of this problem. It is the best evidence of the urgency and importance of finding an early solution to the problem. The Middle East issue has polarized the majority of those in this Organization and world public opinion, because of its direct impact on international peace and security, and on the course of many events in the world, particularly in economic affairs. Despite the good offices of this Organization and other international parties, and their efforts to find a peaceful, comprehensive and just solution that would satisfy all the parties involved in the Middle East issue, the continued intransigence of Israel, its persistent refusal to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, and to recognize the

inalienable national rights of the brotherly Palestinian people constitute a stumbling-block, to the attainment of the just peace we desire.

357. My country has persistently and clearly stated its position on this problem in all international forums, because it is of paramount importance to the world in general and to the Arab and Moslem world in particular. Like all Arab countries, we continue to advocate a solution of international problems by peaceful means. However, peaceful solutions, in our opinion, have to be based on a solid foundation consisting of the principles of international law, equity and the resolutions of the United Nations. Unfortunately, we see that Israel is maintaining its illegitimate occupation of the occupied Arab territories, thus violating all the relevant principles and resolutions. It is pursuing its policy of establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories, and this is contrary to the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949. It thus challenges the whole international community, which has condemned this policy.

358. The Arab countries have been extremely flexible in their constant efforts and endeavours to find a peaceful solution to this problem, either within the context of the United Nations or outside it. However, Israel has responded to these endeavours by intransigence and by raising more obstacles and hindrances. This has been obvious in the negotiations on autonomy, and in Israel's dubious interpretation of the bases of the Camp David agreements in a manner that does not ensure its complete withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories as provided for by the United Nations resolutions.

359. My country feels that the United Nations should take more effective measures consistent with its earlier resolutions and with the endeavours made by other international parties with a view to finding a just and urgent solution to this important problem within the framework of the following principles: first, the necessity of a complete withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied since 1967; secondly, recognition of the legitimacy of the inalienable right of the brother Palestinian people to exercise all their national rights, including the right to return to their homes and fully to express their will as concerns self-determination in their own land; thirdly, the restoration of Arab sovereignty over Arab Jerusalem.

360. The close links between my country and the African continent and its peoples are ties of culture, civilization and history that reach far back in time. The interest that we take in African problems derives from those ties and from our geographical proximity to Africa. Our objectives are to pursue the quest for the establishment of peace and stability, to ensure the independence and sovereignty of the African people and the elimination of all racist régimes in Africa and all foreign forces alien to Africa. We are confident that African States can resolve their own problems without any external interference that impedes their progress and shapes their régimes with systems alien to Africa and the African way of thinking.

361. The OAU has in the past dealt with extremely difficult issues; and it remains able to lay the foundation for resolving the present problems which constitute an

obstacle to the enjoyment by Africans of the conditions of a free, dignified and happy life.

362. In this understanding, my country welcomes the agreement reached by the Commonwealth countries at their recent Meeting at Lusaka, Zambia, concerning Rhodesia [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15]. We also welcome the London Conference, convened by the United Kingdom Government following the Lusaka Meeting, and we hope that the process of reaching a comprehensive settlement through negotiations that is now under way will prove the ideal method for reaching acceptable global solutions.

363. My delegation regrets to have to recall that, despite the three years that have elapsed since the events in the Horn of Africa, that region is still suffering from instability, because it has not yet been possible to find an acceptable and equitable solution to the conflict between Ethiopia and Somalia because of continual foreign interference in that region. Some have taken advantage of regional conflicts to intervene in that region. Some have taken advantage of regional conflicts to intervene in that region of Africa so as to alter the turn of events, and they have done that in the interests of one party and to the detriment of the interests of another. This is a matter of great concern to us.

364. The Sultanate of Oman shares the concern of many States Members of the United Nations, particularly the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean regarding the necessity of taking urgent measures to give effect to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], because we are convinced that the implementation of that Declaration would certainly alleviate tension in the world and remove that region from the field of competition and the attempts at imposing hegemony which we are witnessing today.

365. My country attaches great importance to the early implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, since the Sultanate of Oman is a country in that area and has an extensive coast-line on that ocean. Our support for the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, free from foreign military bases and from nuclear weapons, and removed from the antagonisms of the fleets of the great Powers, stems from our conviction that maintaining the region under constant tension will not provide security and stability nor will it help us to devote our efforts to the progress and well-being of our peoples.

366. The implementation of the Declaration would require first of all the sincere contribution of the coastal and hinterland States to translating its content into fact. It would necessitate the commitment of the States of the area to mutual respect, as well as to respect for regional sovereignty and the principles of non-intervention in internal affairs, non-resort to the use or the threat of force in international relations and compliance with the principle of the peaceful settlement of any disputes, in keeping with international law and the relevant international covenants.

367. Furthermore, all countries directly concerned should respond to the appeals made by the General Assembly to translate that Declaration into practical and effective measures without any feeling of hatred or selfishness. Likewise there should be no attempts at

hegemony of the kind so current in the behaviour of some States with expansionist ambitions, which try to realize them and their illegitimate objectives in contravention of international laws and customs.

368. Our object of concern today is what we witness regarding the increasing escalation of the presence of the major maritime Powers in the Indian Ocean. We associate ourselves with the international community in appealing to those Powers to reduce their naval forces and to refrain from expanding their zones of influence in that region, because this contributes to increasing tension and instability in the area.

369. My country has participated in all the activities of the United Nations aimed at making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It has also participated in the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean held last July in New York. Despite the fact that that Meeting failed to attain the objectives that we all aspired to, it did succeed in bringing closer together the various views of the participating countries and provided opportunities for all those countries to express their opinion. We hope that this will create an atmosphere of harmony among those views, leading at the outcome to the implementation of the Declaration making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. I am convinced that, if there is sincere political will among the countries interested in the area, the world community will be able to draw up a legal framework making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace.

370. The delegation of the Sultanate of Oman stressed at the thirty-second session from this rostrum the importance of the question of the Straits of Hormuz and the necessity of navigation through it.¹⁸ The importance of these Straits is now increasing because about 30 per cent of the oil of the world passes through it. The recent rumours about the possibility of operations that might result in impeding navigation through the Straits and interrupting the flow of oil from the producing to the consuming countries are certainly a subject of concern. It is my duty to affirm here once again that my country is always ready to co-operate with all other countries in the region and outside it, with a view to guaranteeing the security of navigation through these vital and important Straits. We invite all countries of the world to co-operate and work together to remove from this important waterway the threat of sabotage that would result in impeding navigation through it. In our opinion, threats to impede navigation constitute a real danger only if they are supported by other countries. So it is essential to launch an appeal for a review of attitudes to ensure that there is a triumph of wisdom, common sense and international interest over limited and passing selfish interests. Faced with all these problems, the Sultanate of Oman, because of its geographical location and the responsibilities incumbent on it, will take all legal steps to prevent navigation in the Straits of Hormuz from being exposed to sabotage, with a view to guaranteeing the security, stability, sovereignty, safety and regularity of international navigation.

371. The Sultanate of Oman participated in the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State and Government of Non-Aligned Countries. As in the past, my country will continue to support the policy and the activities of the

Non-Aligned Movement, so as to protect the movement from any possible attempt to draw it away from its fundamental principles. We trust that the non-aligned movement will maintain its fundamental characteristics and resist all attempts to have it incline to the benefit of one bloc as opposed to another.

372. What is happening in Indo-China is a matter of serious concern. We hope that stability will prevail there so that an end can be put to armed struggle and to interference in the affairs of certain countries of the region. There is need to respect the autonomy and sovereignty of all the countries of the region, without any interference in their internal affairs. That is why my delegation welcomes the results of the Geneva conference, which was convened by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and took place on 20 and 21 July 1979. The conference dealt with the question of refugees from Indo-China, and we of course participated in it. My delegation feels that the international community should endeavour to find a radical and just solution to this problem of Indo-Chinese refugees, so as to ensure peace and stability in that part of the world.

373. I should like now to take up another issue to which my country attaches the greatest importance, the continuing negotiations on the law of the sea. In view of its geographical position alongside straits that are important to international navigation, the Straits of Hormuz, the Sultanate of Oman has adopted firm positions which were already expressed and clarified at sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

374. My delegation has made a sincere and serious contribution to the current attempts to find an acceptable convention that would be endorsed by all parties. We feel that the progress made so far and during the negotiations at the eighth session, which was resumed at New York, is encouraging. It shows that there is a determination among the negotiators to reach compromise solutions. Here I should like to mention the two compromise formulas we reached on the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed beyond territorial jurisdiction.¹⁹ We reached those formulas after very protracted, exhausting difficult negotiations, and we must all accept them although we do admit that there are certain practical and delicate details which are still pending. A common management of the resources of the sea-bed must aim at ensuring equal opportunities to enjoy the wealth of the sea. If proper functioning of the sea-bed authority is desired, we must facilitate the transfer of technology and the flow of capital that project and to the developing countries. It goes without saying that the industrialized countries have a very important role to play in this area, and their political will is of particular importance. The Conference has already set next year as a deadline for the ratification of the awaited convention, which will be the best guarantee of the stability and good management of ocean and sea-bed resources. Such stability would have a most beneficial impact on the consolidation of security, justice and the principle of equity in the world at large.

375. All nations are calling for the elaboration of a clear policy of disarmament. Though negotiations between the two super-Powers are still under way, not too

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 23rd meeting, para. 228.

¹⁹ See document A/CONF.62/91 and Corr.1.

much has been achieved in disarmament. During the tenth special session, which was devoted to disarmament, the General Assembly emphasized important principles [see resolution S-10/2]. We must all respect those principles, so as to achieve general and complete disarmament.

376. The Sultanate of Oman welcomes the results of the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America which led to the signing of the second SALT treaty, and we trust that final ratification will take place very soon, so that the next stage of the negotiations between the two countries can begin soon in order that even greater progress may be made in this field.

377. My country, like other countries in the world, is aware of the increasing importance of establishing a new international economic order based on a just balance between the prices of raw materials and those of manufactured products and taking into account the needs of the developing countries so as to accelerate their development. The view of the Sultanate of Oman on this subject is similar to that of the other developing countries. We support the resolutions of the Group of 77 and their efforts in this connexion. We are convinced that no State can stand isolated from the new international economic co-operation, whatever its economic and technological potential may be, if the majority of the countries of the world should agree on the formula of the principles on which the world economy must rest, so that it may be more equitable and just, particularly as far as the developing countries are concerned.

378. The starting-point in our endeavours and the pillar of our actions should be the resolutions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. Success in the negotiations between North and South depends on the extent of the co-operation and solidarity of the developing countries, the parts most affected by monetary inflation and increasing price fluctuations. Here we would appeal to the industrialized and advanced countries to increase their aid to the developing countries, so as to raise development rates therein and alleviate the burden of the debts that weighs so heavily on them. We would also ask the developed countries to be more flexible and more serious in the negotiations concerning this subject. In this context my country participated actively, in the fifth session of UNCTAD held at Manila last May. My delegation supported all the positive recommendations that emanated from the Conference.²⁰ The pattern of regional co-operation in this field provides an opportunity to broaden international co-operation in general, based as it is on economic and social harmony and integration and on co-ordination and other considerations compatible with the potential of each country of the regional groupings. This promotes friendship co-ordination and good neighbourhood. Accordingly, my country sincerely tried to work out such co-operation in our area and is still seeking to enhance it.

379. My delegation notes with satisfaction that the General Assembly has decided, on the basis of a proposal made by the Group of 77, to hold a special session

in 1980. We have to recall here that, despite the fact that the Committee of the Whole Established Under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 achieved only limited results we consider that it should assume the tasks of a preparatory committee for the special session. We hope that the special session of the General Assembly will take the necessary measures to promote the development of the developing countries, to enhance international economic co-operation, and to establish a just international economic order.

380. As far as the energy crisis is concerned, we feel that its causes are not the export prices nor the reduction in the production of oil and its derivatives but mainly and in the first instance, the increase in consumption, which made demand exceed supply. The result was a high increase of price on world markets. Unless we manage to rationalize consumption and find, as soon as possible, oil substitutes for some uses of energy, the problem may worsen. Oil is an indispensable precious commodity. Consequently, the conservation of resources is necessary. My country's policy in this concern is in line with the resolutions of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

381. In conclusion, we trust that at this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly we shall find ways and means of improving our methods of work to bring them more into line with the evolution of this Organization, the increase of the number of its Members, and the importance of the items submitted to us. We should try to limit the number of resolutions adopted by this Organization, so that Member States will be better able to follow up and implement them, and hope thus to reduce the number of condemnations and come to the phase of submitting solutions and alternatives, particularly in those cases where it is unanimously recognized that change is necessary. We trust that this session, under the President's guidance, will be the first phase in building up a better world which will benefit from the experience and results of past years.

382. Mr. CASTILLO-VALDES (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the people and Government of Guatemala, headed by General Fernando Romeo Lucas García, I wish to convey our friendly greetings to all the peoples of the countries of the world who are worthily represented here.

383. My delegation wishes to congratulate Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania on his election to the presidency of this General Assembly, and to convey to him our best wishes for a successful term of office.

384. I also wish to express the gratitude of the Guatemalan delegation to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, for the skill and wisdom he demonstrated in his presidency of the last Assembly.

385. The positive, realistic and objective manner in which the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has carried out his duties, prompts my delegation to express to him its support and solidarity.

386. The Government of Guatemala is pleased to see the admission to the United Nations of Saint Lucia, and it congratulates that new country on having joined the international community.

²⁰ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14).

387. As its contribution to the work of this Assembly, my delegation wishes to describe the achievements of the people and Government of Guatemala; the postulates, principles and foundations of its national and international policy; its position with regard to the international economy and international trade; its views on how the United Nations should approach the new international development strategy; its philosophy on children and youth, and its position with regard to the controversy concerning the territory of Belize.

388. The Government of Guatemala feels it appropriate that the international community should learn, through this world forum, of the efforts being made by the people and the Government of Guatemala to stimulate the country's integrated development process, and to provide all Guatemalans with adequate scope for the realization of their aspirations and the development of their abilities, within a framework of freedom, dignity and the full implementation and observance of constitutional guarantees, and of the values and human rights which are well provided for in our Constitution.

389. The Government of Guatemala, elected and supported by the people, is carrying out the tasks laid down in the national development plan for 1979-1982, which is a technically drafted document containing an inventory of our needs, an evaluation of our priorities and an indication of how the resources will be obtained for the performance of those tasks which are indispensable to the nation.

Mr. Calderón Fournier (Costa Rica), Vice-President, took the Chair.

390. Thus, the Government is constructing hydroelectric stations, highways, ports, schools, hospitals, health centres, and housing, and is developing a lateral strip in the northern part of the country which covers an area of 9,140 square kilometers and which will provide more land for the Guatemalan people, ensure access to the sea for their products, and permit them to settle in this area, which is being equipped with everything necessary to provide a decent standard of living.

391. Our Government is striving for the full development of all Guatemalans, combatting malnutrition, improving sanitation in areas of endemic diseases, facilitating access to education for all children, youth and old people, and fostering the organization and strengthening of industry in order to generate new sources of employment and thus, through our own labour and efforts, to ensure that our country continues to progress in the development process which is known to all the world.

392. The people of Guatemala are democratic and, consequently, their Government maintains absolute respect for civil rights. In our country, nationals and foreigners enjoy all the freedoms. With regard to one of the fundamental freedoms, that of expression, newspapers, radio and television news services flourish in Guatemala and exercise daily their freedom of opinion, which naturally includes the right of criticism and dissent.

393. Political parties also flourish in Guatemala. Ideas are channelled through these public bodies, and citi-

zens have access to legally institutionalized organizations through which to express their opinions and make suggestions, ultimately to participate in government itself, so that our people may benefit from the enthusiasm and political wisdom of their sons.

394. In the field of labour relations, a process of unionization thrives, and 80 new trade-union leaders have been duly registered in the past year.

395. Democracy in Guatemala, as in any civilized place in the world, demands a just order, constructive peace, internal discipline and productive labour.

396. In the conclusion to its report on human rights in Guatemala, the International Commission of Jurists stated the following:

"The 1965 Constitution of the Republic of Guatemala is a genuinely liberal document providing a solid basis for a democratic and just society."²¹

In another of its conclusions the report states:

"Many factors exist in Guatemala that could serve as the basis of a constructive development toward a peaceful and prosperous future. These include the facts that the majority of the country's population consists of inherently peaceful Indian tribes; that the country has a substantial middle class and a large number of highly trained professionals; that the constitutional and legal structure of the country provide a solid foundation for a democratic society; that the positive orientation of its legal structure is confirmed by the entry into force in Guatemala on July 18, 1978 of the American Convention on Human Rights, expressing the intention to establish within a framework of democratic institutions a system of personal liberty and social justice based on respect for the essential rights of man; and that the National Council of Economic Planning has published a report on the objectives and strategy of long-term development which sets forth in reasonable detail a strategy for reaching the objective of raising the level of material, cultural and spiritual well-being of the majority of the Guatemalan population in order to achieve a just and stable social peace."²²

397. The people and Government of Guatemala are grateful for this recognition of the country's development process and wish to reiterate in this Assembly the resolve which inspires them to pursue their development in all areas. They also wish to express their keen desire that other societies in under-developed countries, such as our own, will attain such levels of well-being as Guatemala is attaining.

398. Guatemala is politically structured by the sovereign will of its people on the basis of the democratic model of society which prevails in the Western world.

399. Its international policy is fully in line with its domestic policy and, consequently, is serious, honourable, loyal, responsible, honest and in accordance with

²¹ See Donald T. Fox, *Human Rights in Guatemala* (Geneva, International Commission of Jurists, 1979), p. 56.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 57 and 58.

the principles and postulates on which its philosophy of government is based.

400. As a developing nation, its policy identifies completely with the hopes of the under-developed world, as shown by all the positions taken by the country internationally, in which it has endorsed by its presence and its reasoning, the decisions taken within the Group of 77.

401. In the context of the Central American subregion, Guatemala has developed and maintained a policy of sincere brotherhood with the people of its brother nations in the isthmus, and of respect, co-operation and deep faith and conviction in the Central American identity.

402. In connexion with the events in Nicaragua, 10,000 of our Nicaraguan brothers arrived in Guatemala both before and after the victory of the Sandinist Liberation Front, and our people, in accordance with our long-standing tradition of hospitality, received them with the affection which Guatemala feels for all its Central American brothers, regardless of their political convictions, and without labelling them in any discriminatory fashion. It receives them with sincerity and affection, offering them the opportunity to live in freedom.

403. My people and my Government thus reiterate their most sincere wishes towards the people of Nicaragua that they will recover from their wounds, and offer them all the solidarity and co-operation they can possibly provide to promote the development of our sister nation.

404. The Government of Guatemala reaffirms its faith in the process of Central American integration, on the understanding that integration is not confined solely to the economic field, but extends also to all fields and means anything to the social, economic and political benefit of all Central Americans.

405. In the context of the Latin American region, Guatemala has always promoted solidarity, has advocated the solution of differences between the nations of our continent by means of procedures for peaceful settlement, and has always been in the vanguard of the demands made in the various international forums that Latin America should be accorded the importance it deserves and be allowed to participate in the taking of decisions affecting it.

406. We Guatemalans are and feel ourselves to be Latin Americans; we believe in Latin America as a community, in its historical destiny, and in the role it must play in the world.

407. In the field of world politics, Guatemala is creating relations of all kinds with Western nations and its conduct conforms to standards of serious and scrupulous international ethics.

408. Fully aware of the reality of an international community composed of increasingly interdependent States, it has entered into trading relations with other countries—relations which, by a natural and logical process, will be deepened and extended in the future.

409. The world economic situation continues to be

clouded by the persistent inflation which has given rise to serious consequences for the developing countries, which cause their exports to fall—both the quantity of products and the prices which they command—and the cost of their imports to rise. These unfavourable terms of trade imply reductions in the potential gross national product, while economic growth does not correspond to the people's efforts and sacrifices. Under those conditions, the development process is undergoing unjust and undeserved setbacks, which dangerously aggravate all problems.

410. This economic situation must not become chronic because its consequences are felt in very sensitive areas of the human community, such as standards of living, levels of education, trade flow and social peace.

411. The first session of UNCTAD set the target of making development viable through the establishment of equitable trading standards and practices, which would permit countries to obtain terms of trade that would reward both human efforts and the product of their natural resources. Neither the labour nor the raw materials of the developing countries have succeeded in obtaining remunerative prices for their products on the international markets, prices which would have enabled them to finance the large investments which their economic and social progress demand.

412. Moreover, the industrialized countries have applied a policy of protectionism which sets up a barrier to the developing nations' exports of basic products. It is also clear that the developed countries' tariff rates act in practice as a tax on imported goods.

413. Guatemala believes that economic co-operation among the developing countries will be beneficial to the international economy in that it will provide other outlets for the exports of nations which are at an early stage of industrialization and will strengthen the negotiating capacity of the developing countries.

414. At the level of the region, economic co-operation among the five States members of the Central American Common Market has been conducted, despite the inevitable problems, in accordance with principles which are favourable to the promotion of trade among developing nations.

415. It is evident that some rational readjustments and reorganization are necessary throughout the economic sector and that these cannot come about without an agreement, given the complication of the existence of different economic systems at one and the same time.

416. Economic recovery and stability must be the aim of concerted action by States, which must constantly take decisions to deal with the problem.

417. We developing countries have demonstrated a spirit of conciliation in all matters relating to the international economy and to international trade. That is why we who are fighting for fundamental values such as the protection of our peoples from the scourge of underdevelopment must not engage in divisive and fruitless struggles which, instead of bringing constructive agreement, provoke futile confrontations.

418. Guatemala also wishes to express, in this inter-

national forum, its concern at the constant and excessive increases in the price of oil, which have a negative impact on the economies of the under-developed countries.

419. It is imperative that machinery be established which will permit the financing or the offsetting, by means of concessions, of any new increase in the price of oil which would negatively affect the economies of the developing nations.

420. The preparation of the new international development strategy constitutes the third stage in the great effort undertaken at the world level to meet the challenge of under-development.

421. My delegation wishes, first, to emphasize the context in which development problems are posed. We live in a world characterized by growing interdependence but also by profound disparities and imbalances. While in certain societies an abundance, even an extravagance, of material goods prevails, others live in want and even in the depths of poverty.

422. Guatemala considers that each country must, on the one hand, face up to the problems which it must solve itself, mobilizing its own creative possibilities; and, on the other hand, collaborate in the solution of problems which require co-operation at the regional or world level and which demand large-scale, dynamic international action in order to find solutions which correspond to the present needs of mankind and to the aspirations of peoples.

423. Among the challenges posed at the world level, I might mention those of peace, the protection of human rights, and the establishment of more equitable trade relations between industrialized and developing countries.

424. But these challenges are linked to the more general problem of the elimination of all sources of tension, beginning with those related to the growing poverty of a large portion of mankind. Hunger, disease and ignorance are plagues whose eradication is necessary and possible: necessary, because world stability depends on it; and possible, because the means of attaining it exist.

425. Perhaps there is not yet a world vision that transcends present self-interest, as political will is lacking among the most advantaged. For their part, the latter must face up to the increasingly serious problems for the solution of which innovative ideas must be found.

426. The new course is that of solidarity, but a genuine solidarity undertaken fully and consciously, in a world that lives in real peace.

427. Guatemala believes that the international community must understand that the path of development need not always be the same, and that the idea of reducing it to the mere increase of the means of material production should be discarded.

428. It is certainly true that, to improve the living conditions of many of the peoples of the world which lack even the basic minimum requirements, it is essential that social prosperity be increased, but the

challenges posed by hunger, malnutrition, ill-health and illiteracy are not of a technical nature since they stem from poverty, which in turn stems from a society's inability for various reasons to use the knowledge and the techniques that are essential to enable it to dominate nature sufficiently and to organize rationally all aspects of its life.

429. In other words, one of the factors essential to development that has not always been taken into account is the capacity of a people to mobilize all its energies with a view to attaining ends related to what it believes should be its present and its future.

430. Taking this and all the other related factors into account amounts to viewing development as a process that brings together, indivisibly, all expressions of social creativity and implies the active participation of all sectors of the population to attain the full development of the human being, with all his material, intellectual, moral and spiritual aspirations.

431. In these conditions, the various sectors of the economy should complement each other harmoniously and in solidarity, because their growth is linked to the simultaneous promotion of culture, education, science and technology, through which peoples affirm their identity and their cohesion, explore their future plans in solidarity and impose on economic growth its essential purposes.

432. Development of this nature requires a global social plan that is rooted in a country's historic heritage and can consequently command a general consensus with regard to its objectives. In this context culture takes on a vital function in that it concentrates the values that perpetuate a country's genius. Only culture permits a country to form a vision of its identity and of its destiny, thanks to which the cohesion of its activities is attained in respect of development. Only culture dictates the ethical goals with which each of its inhabitants can identify and through which each can fully commit himself to collective objectives.

433. In short, by combining all the spiritual and material dimensions of social activity the people will be able to affirm their identity, to resolve their subsistence problems, to live in dignity and to make their choices for the future.

434. These considerations constitute the position of the Guatemalan Government on the manner in which the international community must approach the Third United Nations Development Decade. My country believes it necessary for this new Decade to make a special contribution to the endeavour to establish a new just and fraternal international order. The effective realization of this aspiration depends on each of our countries.

435. The General Assembly has proclaimed this year the International Year of the Child. Guatemala has whole-heartedly supported this because it is aware that children are the collective responsibility of the community and that measures to benefit children should be adopted as part of the collective effort.

436. The Government of Guatemala is implementing programmes to benefit children, especially the most

vulnerable among them, with the aim of surrounding them with care, guiding them and improving their living conditions. To that end, its Secretariat of Social Welfare, under the direction of the Presidency of the Republic, has approached the problem with the philosophy that children are the future of the country and that the efforts and sacrifices of this generation are being made so that the country can develop in all sectors and so that in their adult life children can benefit from a country that is fully developed in all spheres.

437. The Government of the Republic has also established a National Commission for the International Year of the Child to implement all the measures that the international community prescribes, for the benefit of children.

438. My delegation is prepared to support those resolutions that are designed to protect the children of the world at the international level.

439. Our Government also attaches fundamental importance to youth as a vital creative force that can give impetus to the progress of the nation. The participation of young people in all areas of national life is welcomed, and particular attention is given to their demands and problems as well as to their full development and training, so as to produce free citizens profoundly aware of their obligations and duties to society and to their country, and fully responsible in the exercise of their fundamental freedoms.

440. Guatemala whole-heartedly supports in this Assembly the proclamation of an international youth year, convinced that it would provide an ideal opportunity for the community of nations to examine the problems of youth and to try to find more adequate solutions that would channel the vigour, the enthusiasm and the sincere and pure drive of youth into the task of building a better, more humane and more balanced world on firm foundations of social justice.

441. I now wish to refer to the most serious international problem confronting my country. This concerns the Guatemalan territory of Belize, which has been usurped and occupied by Great Britain.

442. In previous sessions of the General Assembly, the historical background to our claim has been stated, as have the indisputable geographical, legal, political and moral arguments justifying Guatemala's rights over this part of its territory.

443. It is clear that the occupation by Great Britain of the territory of Belize constitutes a serious obstacle to the economic and social development of the peoples of Guatemala and Belize and to the progress of the Central American region.

444. For these reasons, Guatemala, which has always shown its solidarity with all the nations of Latin America, has appealed for the continent's solidarity and support in its just claim, which it has maintained constantly for more than 150 years, that Britain should return the territory of Belize, which is part of Guatemalan territory.

445. It would be paradoxical, and would totally undermine Latin American solidarity, if some nations of our America were to support the removal from a

country of a substantial part of its territory by an imperialist and colonialist Power which wishes to appear to champion the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination—a noble principle which England has never respected and, in fact, has invariably violated.

446. My delegation wishes to reiterate solemnly and categorically the willingness of the Government of Guatemala to negotiate with the Government of Great Britain a just solution to the century-old controversy concerning the territory of Belize, a solution that would reconcile the legitimate rights of Guatemala with the vital interests of the people of Belize.

447. Guatemala, which believes in and respects the lofty values of mankind, considers that the United Nations can and must endeavour to ensure universal respect for the ideals which inspired its creation, such as ensuring peace in the world and accelerating the development of all peoples.

448. The people and Government of Guatemala are willing to make the necessary efforts for the attainment of these noble goals.

449. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Several speakers have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. I wish to recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and that representatives should make such statements from their seats. So that we may follow an orderly procedure, I propose to apply that rule strictly.

450. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Even the most well-known musical record when played on a broken phonograph is inevitably so distorted acoustically as to lose its genuine tone. Played on the same broken phonograph a record of an already discordant tune or an unrepentant soliloquy could scarcely sound any better. It was to precisely such a musical interlude that this Assembly this afternoon was treated by the Foreign Minister of Somalia.

451. It is therefore with reluctance that I have asked to exercise the right of reply of the Ethiopian delegation. The issues involved and the principles at stake in the conflict in the Horn of Africa have been clearly defined by the OAU and are indeed well known to all of us here. The Somali delegation, however, has as usual tried to misrepresent and pervert the issues involved, for the sole purpose of promoting its discredited and adventuristic policy of territorial aggrandizement at the expense of its neighbours.

452. The crux of the problem in the Horn of Africa is that the ruling clan in Mogadiscio, obsessed by the insane idea of "Greater Somalia", is claiming a substantial portion, not only of Ethiopia and Kenya, but also the whole of Djibouti.

453. Aware of its own limitations and the difficulties involved in promoting simultaneously its territorial claims on all fronts, the ruling clan in Mogadiscio has chosen the Ethiopian territory of the Ogaden as its first target for territorial expansion. But all in vain.

454. Equally aware that outright territorial claims and

overt expansionism cannot possibly gain the support of enlightened and progressive humanity, the Mogadiscio régime has been attempting to pervert to its own advantage the sacred principle of the self-determination of peoples. The whole world is now fully familiar with the agile opportunism of this discredited régime. The principle of a people's right to self-determination has never been and cannot be twisted to provide a justification and to serve as an instrument for the furtherance of a lunatic obsession of territorial expansion at the expense of others.

455. The Ethiopian people have, throughout their long history, rebuffed successive waves of colonial aggressions and, only very recently, they have repulsed Somalia's expansionist adventures. By rallying to the assistance of Ethiopia's unity and the respect for its established and internationally-recognized national boundaries, all of progressive humanity has likewise rejected Mogadiscio's expansionist ambitions and its subversion of universally-accepted principles.

456. Whatever the rulers of Mogadiscio might say or might want us to believe, the support and assistance we receive, not only from socialist countries but also from the African continent, are in defence of the fundamental principles and basic objectives of the United Nations and the OAU, namely, the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. It is also in full conformity with the principles of the non-aligned movement.

457. Since its ignominious defeat, the Somali régime has also been talking about refugees from Ethiopia. Last year, during the general debate, my Foreign Minister had this to say on the subject of so-called refugees:

"... the authorities in Somalia, who are never tired of engaging in double-talk and whose notorious credibility gap only increases with each passing day, in February 1978 informed the world that they were sheltering 30,000 so-called refugees from Ethiopia.

"Then the figure was raised to 270,000, and now we are told that they are half a million. At this rate, one should not be surprised if in time the entire population of Somalia is considered to be refugees from Ethiopia. The fact of the matter is that because of the disastrous consequences of the aggression it committed against Ethiopia, Somalia has been forced to establish a series of relief camps for the benefit of its own retreating soldiers and needy nationals, and has with characteristic cynicism declared its own citizens refugees from Ethiopia."²³

458. How prophetic these words were has just been proved by the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Somalia, who boldly declared that the number of refugees in Somalia "is increasing daily in alarming proportions" [see above, para. 169]. "Alarming" indeed, but these are proportions that exist only in the imagination of the Mogadiscio clique. I might add that the Foreign Minister of Somalia is a bit out of date, because his Minister of Information has claimed 1 million refugees, and this only a few days ago. For the record, I offer this corrected figure if he is interested in increasing the number of refugees "in alarming propor-

tions", as he put it. Perhaps this is meant to prepare us for future claims of some 3 million refugees, a number that represents the entire actual estimated population of Somalia.

459. Of course, by now we are all aware that this strategem is aimed not only at acquiring material and financial assistance for Somalia's needy citizens from Governments and international organizations, but also at using this artificial issue to continue Somalia's meddling in Ethiopia's internal affairs.

460. Finally, I should like to say that the statement of the Somali Foreign Minister has clearly shown that the régime in Mogadiscio continues to harbour territorial claims against Ethiopia, and that it is actively preparing itself for yet another armed aggression against the territorial integrity of its neighbours and for gross interference in their internal affairs.

461. Ethiopia, however, strongly desires to live in peace, harmony and mutually beneficial co-operation with all its neighbours, including Somalia. But if the Mogadiscio régime persists in its expansionist dreams, then the gallant people of Ethiopia will be compelled once again to mete out to the rulers of Somalia the ignominious fate reserved for all expansionists.

462. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): In exercise of the right of reply to the statement we have just heard from the representative of Ethiopia, I would make the following comments and observations.

463. My delegation would like at the outset to reject categorically the malicious allegations made against its country by the representative of the bloodthirsty régime of Addis Ababa. We were not in the least surprised to hear such allegations from the representative of a régime that has lately been engaged in an unsuccessful and desperate campaign to divert international public opinion from the painful realities of the tragic situation in Ethiopia, a situation characterized by terror, oppression, inhuman brutalities and injustices of all sorts. The outburst of the representative of the bloodthirsty régime of Addis Ababa should therefore be viewed in this light.

464. Having said that, let me now briefly make some specific comments. Following this bloodthirsty régime's oft-repeated allegation against Somalia, the Ethiopian representative has once again accused my country of expansionism, aggression and violation of what he terms established international legal principles. This is totally false, irrelevant, and most unacceptable.

465. As my Minister has made clear at previous meetings of this Assembly, and as we have made clear in many international forums, the fundamental issue at stake in the Horn of Africa, in Western Somalia, in Abbo and also in Eritrea, is the granting to the peoples of this territory their right to self-determination, a principle established in international law and given practical expression in the United Nations Charter and Charter of the OAU. It has always been the stated policy of the Somali Democratic Republic not to seek territorial aggrandizement, as the Ethiopian representative would have us all believe, but to champion the legitimate cause of the peoples under Abyssinian colonial domination and lend them full support in their

²³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 31st meeting, para. 162.

justified demands for self-determination and decolonization.

466. Somalia, indeed, has consistently made it quite clear that it has no expansionist designs or annexationist ambitions against the territory of others. Just as we have supported and continue to support the cause of all peoples languishing under colonial rule, we have likewise given and continue to give our backing to the people of Western Somalia, of Abbo and of Eritrea, in their legitimate struggle for liberation. These people are struggling against colonialism; they are struggling to attain justice and self-determination; and they are struggling against the forces of oppression and hegemonism; and it is our moral, legal and political duty to give them the fullest support.

467. The representative of the bloodthirsty régime in Addis Ababa has made allegations against my country concerning aggression. This again is totally false and untrue. The conflict in the Horn of Africa—as I have already pointed out and as is reflected in the realities of the situation—has been and remains a conflict between peoples struggling for justice and self-determination against the forces of colonialism, oppression and hegemonism that want to maintain the *status quo*. The international community is fully aware of the heroic struggle being waged by the valiant people of Western Somalia, Abbo and Eritrea, and of the glorious victories they have scored for the realization of their fundamental rights to self-determination and decolonization. It was only with the massive military support of a super-Power and its surrogates that it was possible for the bloodthirsty régime in Addis Ababa to set the clock back temporarily and retard the process of decolonization. But the struggle and the war go on, and in the long run victory will be on the side of those who are struggling and fighting for justice.

468. Ironically, in the past Ethiopia has relied on foreign support in the realization of its expansionist policies and territorial aggrandizement. At crucial stages in the historical development of the Horn of Africa, Ethiopia—then known as Abyssinia—secretly resorted to outside military help to suppress the legitimate aspirations of peoples. As early as the sixteenth century Abyssinia sought and acquired assistance from Portuguese troops led by explorers such as Vasco da Gama. Later Menelik, the notorious empire-builder, realized his territorial ambitions and desire for aggrandizement by occupying the country, after securing military support and assistance from a foreign European colonial Power. Ethiopian history after the 1885 Berlin Conference was dominated by active military complicity—both political and military—with European colonial Powers. Logically, a small country like Abyssinia could not have extended its frontiers at the expense of its neighbours.

469. Could we not therefore term, describe and brand Ethiopia as a aggrandizer of its territory—an expansionist, for that matter? History testifies to that fact, and what I have read to this Assembly are really facts of history.

470. Finally, I should like to touch on the question of refugees. The representative of the bloodthirsty Addis Ababa régime has made a futile attempt to discredit Somalia by saying that the figure of 500,000 refugees is not correct. He quoted his Minister's statement last

year, in which refugees were described as "retreating soldiers". But the statistical figures in the report submitted by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees [A/34/12, paras. 105-106]—who, incidentally, has a mission in Somalia—to the last session of the Economic and Social Council at Geneva agree with Somalia's assessment. It has been officially acknowledged and affirmed by the High Commissioner that refugees in the camps exceed 300,000, that the figure has been rising in alarming proportions and that those outside the camps number more than 200,000. The figure has been increasing at an alarming rate; it is now above 500,000.

471. In fact, my Minister did not specify a limit of 500,000 but said that the figure exceeded 500,000. That is a correct figure; it is endorsed, supported, acknowledged and reaffirmed by the report of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

472. By way of concluding my statement, I should like to point out that—

473. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I regret that I must interrupt the representative of Somalia. He has already spoken for 10 minutes and I would therefore ask him to be good enough to conclude his statement.

474. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): The refugees are fleeing from Ethiopia *en masse*. There are thousands of them in Sudan and thousands more in Djibouti, and many of them have fled from the reign of terror and oppression to Europe. Is Somalia responsible for that—

475. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Ethiopia on a point of order.

476. Mr. DERESSA (Ethiopia): Mr. President, despite your indication that the representative of Somalia has spoken for much too long, he has continued in typical fashion to slander Ethiopia. I hope you will immediately stop him from continuing on that course.

477. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Somalia on a point of order.

478. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): Mr. President, you have given me the right to conclude my statement. I shall take only a minute more, if I may be allowed to continue.

479. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of Somalia has half a minute to conclude his statement.

480. Mr. OSMAN (Somalia): I wanted to say that many people are disappearing these days as a result of the reign of terror and oppression inflicted upon the people of Ethiopia by the bloodthirsty Addis Ababa régime. They are fleeing by the thousands from the very tragic situation that exists there to Sudan, to my country and to Djibouti, and many of them are fleeing to Europe. That is the result of the reign of terror and oppression of that particular régime and its violation of their human rights.

481. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of Pakistan in exercise of the right of reply.

482. Mr. NAIK (Pakistan): In his statement to the General Assembly this morning [18th meeting], the Minister of External Affairs of India made certain references to Jammu and Kashmir which obliged the Pakistan delegation to ask to be allowed to speak. It is not our intention to open a debate in the Assembly on this question. The dispute over the destiny of Jammu and Kashmir remains on the agenda of the United Nations Security Council.

483. Having regard to the history of that international dispute, no party can claim Jammu and Kashmir as an integral part of its national territory. The relevant resolutions of 1948, arrived at under the auspices of the United Nations Security Council and accepted by both India and Pakistan,²⁴ provide that the accession of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan will be determined through a free and impartial plebiscite under United Nations auspices. Those resolutions cannot cease to be relevant either by the lapse of time or the unilateral action of any party.

484. The Simla Agreement²⁵ provides for the final settlement of Jammu and Kashmir. Under that Agreement, almost all outstanding disputes and differences between the two countries have been resolved through friendly negotiations, and it is our hope that a just and honourable solution of the Jammu and Kashmir dispute will also be worked out in the same spirit. That will lead to the further expansion of mutually beneficial co-operation and friendship between Pakistan and India.

485. Pakistan sincerely looks forward to an era of peace, stability and progress in South Asia.

486. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I call on the representative of India in exercise of the right of reply.

487. Mr. MISHRA (India): It was on 1 October that the Foreign Affairs Adviser to the President of Pakistan referred to the State of Jammu and Kashmir, an integral part of India, and this obliged the Minister for Foreign

Affairs of India to state India's point of view this morning when he addressed the Assembly.

488. We fail to understand why Pakistan should find it necessary to object to anything that was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India in his statement to the General Assembly. Is there objection to the primacy of bilateralism in the settlement of problems between nations? Is bilateralism contrary to the United Nations Charter? Is it contrary to the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement? Certainly not.

489. Indo-Pakistan relations have not only been normalized in the last few years; we can in fact take pride in the very real improvement in the climate of our relationship. Both the Foreign Affairs Adviser to the President of Pakistan and the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India—and, indeed, the representative of Pakistan just now—referred to this very important fact in their statements to this Assembly. There has been the resolution of long-standing problems; there has been the restoration of manifold links which are mutually beneficial politically and economically and also culturally rewarding. And all this has happened through the operation of bilateralism. This is the practical experience of both of our countries and provides positive proof of the efficacy of the bilateral process.

490. Now, in regard to Jammu and Kashmir, the Simla Agreement records the decision of India and Pakistan—as was just recalled by my friend, the Ambassador of Pakistan—to find a solution through bilateral negotiations. Therefore, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of India informed the Assembly this morning as follows: "So the issue has to be bilaterally settled in accordance with the Simla Agreement" [18th meeting, para. 58]. What is there to object to in this assertion?

491. The representative of Pakistan has talked just now of the relevancy of United Nations resolutions. Well, that is his point of view, and he has every right to stand by it. But why should he deny us the right to our point of view, which is one that is entirely in accordance with the spirit of the Simla Agreement, solemnly signed by the Governments of India and Pakistan? Surely, it is not his expectation that India will give up its firm belief in the primacy of bilateralism merely because of his assertions to the contrary in this Assembly; nor can he be in any doubt that India will ever compromise its territorial integrity by agreeing to his contention—implicit or explicit—that the State of Jammu and Kashmir is not an integral part of the sovereign territory of India.

The meeting rose at 8.25 p.m.

²⁴ Security Council resolutions 38 (1948), 39 (1948), 47 (1948) and 51 (1948).

²⁵ Agreement on Bilateral Relations between the Government of India and the Government of Pakistan, signed at Simla on 2 July 1972.