

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**25th  
PLENARY MEETING**

Monday, 8 October 1979,  
at 3.05 p.m.

NEW YORK

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HODOUL (Seychelles) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all, on behalf of the delegation of Seychelles and on my own behalf, to congratulate you most warmly upon your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. The delegation of Seychelles is particularly pleased at your election to the presidency of this session for two reasons. On the one hand, you come from a country that is a neighbour and friend, the United Republic of Tanzania, with which Seychelles has very close ties of co-operation and, on the other hand, you, Comrade Salim Ahmed Salim, for many years within the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples of which you were the Chairman, tirelessly pleaded the cause of independence and the right to self-determination of the people of Seychelles. Now that Seychelles is a free and independent Republic, I wish publicly to pay you a well-deserved tribute. Judging from past experience, we know that you will carry out with competence the lofty task and delicate function with which you have been entrusted. You may rely on the complete co-operation of the delegation of Seychelles.

2. I also take pleasure in warmly thanking the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his unflinching concern for the future of our Organization, and in particular for his interest in my country over the past year. Here I should particularly like to recall that the Secretary-General, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 33/129 of 19 December 1978 concerning assistance to Seychelles, took steps to send a mission to Seychelles in May 1979 for the purpose of inquiring into the progress made in implementing the special

economic assistance programme. That mission's report will be presented to us during this session; it is agenda item 12 of the Second Committee's work.<sup>1</sup>

3. I should also like to congratulate the State of Saint Lucia, a newly admitted Member of our Organization.

4. My delegation also wishes to express its gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano.

5. Seychelles is a small country, a third-world country, a poor country that has recently gained its independence. The people of Seychelles are a revolutionary people who have been following the socialist road to development since 5 June 1977. We are progressive, fiercely attached to our independence and to the principles of non-alignment. On the important international political questions confronting our world, our positions are firm and frank. They are dictated by the principles of justice, equality among peoples and respect for the freely expressed will of the peoples. We are firmly anti-imperialist, anticolonialist, antiracist, anti-Fascist and anti-Zionist.

6. We are particularly concerned with the situation in southern Africa, for in that region of the world, imperialism is allied with racism in order better to exploit, in the most humiliating manner, millions upon millions of our African brothers.

7. Contrary to what the imperialists maintain, we see the Patriotic Front as the sole legitimate representative of the aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. Negotiations are being held at London; their sole valid objective should be, in essence, the effective transfer of power to the African majority. The Patriotic Front has evidenced considerable goodwill in agreeing to participate in the Conference and to sit at the same table as the renegade Smith and his close collaborator, Muzorewa. There is every reason to believe, however, that Smith, Muzorewa and their allies are not sincere. If they were, their deadly air force would already have stopped its daily bombing and massacre of whole populations in certain regions of Mozambique.

8. We condemn these shameful acts of aggression against the brother country of Mozambique, and we reiterate our conviction that Smith and Muzorewa do not want a peaceful settlement. We must redouble our vigilance in order to ensure that the London Constitutional Conference, skilfully manipulated by the agents of imperialism, does not degenerate into a mere manoeuvre for legitimizing the puppet and racist Smith-Muzorewa régime and lead finally to the isolation of the Patriotic Front. Let us not forget, in fact, that that is the only result of the London Conference that would be acceptable to the imperialists and their allies.

<sup>1</sup> Subsequently circulated as document A/34/556.

9. The people of Namibia are victims of the worst humiliations inflicted by the racist régime of South Africa. Our Organization is morally bound to adopt severe sanctions against South Africa and to compel respect for them, even by force. That régime insolently flouts United Nations resolutions—our resolutions. The racist South-African troops have with impunity occupied a part of Namibian territory; the Pretoria régime, with impunity, is blocking the settlement put forward by the United Nations—in other words—by ourselves, a solution that would enable the Namibian people to accede to national sovereignty by peaceful means.

10. Our Organization is guilty; by its inertia, it endorses the occupation of Namibia by South Africa and the abominable crimes committed by the racists against the Namibian people. Unfortunately, South Africa has powerful allies among us. This is the cause of our Organization's cowardice vis-à-vis the fate of our Namibian brothers. The people of Seychelles, however, reiterate their steadfast solidarity with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and are determined to give this solidarity substance through actions, lending material assistance to the extent our limited means and modest abilities permit.

11. South Africa is the revolting bastion not only of racism, but also of capitalism and imperialism. In the country of *apartheid*, imperialism wears the mask of racism; imperialism allies itself with racism in order better to exploit the toiling African masses. And we know who the natural allies of the *apartheid* régime are; we know the countries from which the heavy investments that feed its economy come, leading to the achievement of super profits.

12. For that reason, we say that, in order for the struggle against racism to be truly effective, it must be waged together with the struggle against imperialism. By undermining the structures of imperialism in southern Africa, we will destroy the bases of racism. Racism will no longer have any place in a society from which man's exploitation by man will have been banished once and for all.

13. As regards the problem of Western Sahara, we are proud to state that, ever since our own liberation, Seychelles has lent its brotherly and unqualified support to the gallant Saharan people fighting for their independence under the leadership of their vanguard, the Frente POLISARIO.<sup>2</sup> Moreover, we have recognized the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic for nearly two years now. We congratulate Mauritania on its courageous decision to forgo any territorial claims, nevertheless, we deplore the expansionist policy of the Moroccan leaders, and we urge the Rabat authorities to revise their Western Sahara policy.

14. In the Middle East, the crisis is becoming more acute, and international security is threatened by Israel's aggressive and expansionist policies. Moreover, we also are confronted with the policies of the Governments of Washington and Cairo, which persist in maintaining an increasingly hostile attitude towards the rights of the Palestinian people and towards the total and unconditional withdrawal by Israel from all occupied territories. Their policies run counter to

relevant resolutions of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. That is why the delegation of Seychelles vigorously denounces the Camp David agreements,<sup>3</sup> which constitute a flagrant betrayal of the Arab cause and of the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. We are told that Egypt signed a partial peace treaty with Israel.<sup>4</sup> But who gave Egypt a mandate to dispose of territories that do not belong to it, or to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people and in the name of the Arab nation? The Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. We reaffirm that in law the alleged Camp David agreements are null and void.

15. The demilitarization of the Indian Ocean is a subject of particular concern to my country. The awareness on the part of the peoples of our region of the forms and dangers of the strategy of imperialism has been constantly developing for the past several years. The struggle to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace is linked to the basic interests—immediate and long-term—of all islands and coastal countries of the Indian Ocean. That is why we once again appeal for the dismantling of all foreign military, naval and air bases, particularly the Diego Garcia base, for the prohibition of any nuclear explosions in our region, and for the reciprocal and concerted withdrawal of all military presence from non-coastal countries, as the final stage following the dismantling of the military bases.

16. Recently the countries of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] at their Assembly in the Monrovia summit,<sup>5</sup> and the non-aligned countries in Havana,<sup>6</sup> once again adopted declarations calling on all States to convert the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace, free of rivalry and competition, and from which all nuclear weapons would be banned. The Heads of State or Government present at those two conferences similarly appealed to our General Assembly to invite the great Powers and the principal users of the Indian Ocean to participate with the coastal countries in the expanded *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean so as to convene and organize the long-awaited United Nations Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean on the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace, pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 3259 (XXIX) and 3468 (XXX).

17. In March of this year, in a message addressed to the White House, President René implored President Carter to refrain from stationing a new naval force—the Seventh Fleet—in our region, because, as he explained its presence would only accentuate the rivalry between the Powers, which would impede our policy of turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace.

18. We urge the great Powers not to ignore all these appeals, in their own interest as well as ours.

19. As regards the question of Kampuchea, my dele-

<sup>3</sup> 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.

<sup>4</sup> Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

<sup>5</sup> Sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979.

<sup>6</sup> Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

<sup>2</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el Hamra y Río de Oro.

gation fails to understand how anyone can persist in defending the representatives of a now-deposed Government which was one of the bloodiest in modern history. If the Pol Pot régime were still in power in Kampuchea the Seychelles delegation would understand why, invoking the principle of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, certain delegations might refrain from denouncing the crimes and atrocities which it committed.

20. May I emphasize, parenthetically, that denunciation of the atrocities of a Government or of a dictator does not, in my delegation's view, constitute interference in a State's domestic affairs; quite the contrary, it is a duty of international solidarity towards the populations which are victims of such crimes.

21. However, since the bloody régime of Pol Pot has been deposed, and since another Government now actually controls Kampuchea, the principles adduced by those who still support that régime can only be fallacious or irrelevant.

22. The Republic of Seychelles, without wishing in any way whatsoever to set itself up as a censor of the legitimacy of any Government, has recently recognized, at the Havana Conference, through President France Albert René himself, the People's Revolutionary Council of the People's Republic of Kampuchea as the sole legitimate and genuine government of Kampuchea. We therefore hope that wisdom will prevail and that, in the very near future at all international gatherings, Kampuchea's seat will be occupied by the true representatives of the Kampuchean people, because let us not forget in this debate that only the people of Kampuchea should count.

23. Having stated my country's position on the major issues of present-day international political life, I should like to make a few comments concerning the serious economic problems facing the countries of the third world—the so-called developing countries, although in actual fact the majority of us are just under-developed.

24. Our countries, which represent 65 per cent of the world's population, account for only 15 per cent of world production, only 8 per cent of which is industrial production. Our total foreign debt exceeds \$300 billion; our average *per capita* income is 14 times lower than that in developed countries.

25. In our Organization we are all represented—the rich and developed countries as well as the poor and under-developed ones. We are all aware of the disastrous economic situation that is afflicting two thirds of mankind. We all say that the situation has become untenable, and we are all speaking of a new international economic order. And we enter into dialogues: North and South, UNCTAD, the European Economic Community and the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific States, and so on. But since we refuse to come to grips with the fundamental cause, since we are unwilling to grasp the root of our difficulty, the increasing number of dialogues in which we engage are but dialogues of the deaf. It is sufficient to mention the fifth session of UNCTAD, held recently in Manila, and the recent negotiations between the European Economic Community and the group of African, Caribbean and Pacific States for the purpose of renewing the Lomé accords of 1975.

26. We must be frank and honest. The fundamental cause of the evil is imperialism, which is the most advanced stage of capitalism, and the economic structures that flow therefrom. Imperialism has converted our countries into simple producers of raw materials, which are bought from us at prices fixed by the buyer. Imperialism has converted us into consumers of finished products, which are sold to us at increasingly higher rates—rates set by the seller. Imperialism imposes upon us models of development that are reproductions of those of the rich countries, for the most part the Western countries. Imperialism tries to divide us into those of us that produce oil and others, and accuses the former of being responsible for the crisis that is shaking the world economy. Imperialism has converted our under-developed countries into pariahs of the international economic system.

27. The new international economic order must necessarily entail the dismembering of international economic structures that have been imposed by imperialism. Those among the under-developed countries that believe that by entering into a dialogue with representatives of imperialism we shall succeed in improving the situation are lulling themselves with illusions, and they will soon drown in their own contradictions. Padding up the system or giving it a face-lift will only bring about disappointments.

28. The under-developed countries must refuse to be simple producers of raw materials; they must refuse to be always the receivers of assistance; they must lose their inferiority complex vis-à-vis the rich countries, and they must invent their own models for development.

29. In addition, the rich countries should cease behaving as conquerors of the world. They must admit that they have exploited the under-developed countries and that in large measure their wealth is the result of the plundering of raw materials from the third world. The rich countries must recognize that they must discharge an enormous debt towards the under-developed countries. In a word, they should cease behaving like imperialists.

30. Then the rich countries and the poor countries could meet with each other as equal partners, as partners in development. Then, and only then, could a fruitful dialogue be begun.

31. But I must confess that my delegation is pessimistic. It will not be tomorrow that the depth of hope will appear at the end of the tunnel. We are pessimistic because we observe that the most powerful among us are unwilling to question the foundations of capitalism and imperialism. And yet if they thought about it they would see that that would be in their own interest too.

32. In conclusion I should like to refer to the recent non-aligned Conference in Havana, at which more than 90 Members of the United Nations were represented—approximately two thirds of the delegations present here. The Seychelles delegation hopes that the Declarations adopted by the Heads of State or Government [A/34/542, annex, sects. I and IV] will be the subject of a serious and thorough study on the part of all United Nations bodies. If it is not, that will be a serious error, because these documents set forth the legitimate aspirations of two thirds of mankind.

*Address by Mr. Abel Alier, Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan*

33. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Abel Alier, Vice-President of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

34. Mr. ALIER (Sudan): I wish first to congratulate you, Sir, on your election to your distinguished position as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You genuinely represent the aspirations of the African youth that led and still lead the liberation struggle. Your personal contribution to the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism and the persistent efforts you made in collaboration with your colleagues until the liberation and political independence of so many nations was achieved make us confident that under your leadership this session of the General Assembly of the United Nations will take more strides along the road of the peaceful resolution of conflicts, along the road of liberation of dependent people everywhere, and along the road leading to the achievement of a new international economic order.

35. May we also avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our gratitude and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, for the skill and wisdom with which he guided the work of the previous session of the General Assembly.

36. We should not fail at this juncture also to commend the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his persistent and consistent readiness to augment the effectiveness of the United Nations machinery in dealing with momentous issues so that causes of instability may be resolved, so that enduring and just peace may be established in areas of conflict, so that peace may be maintained everywhere in the world, and so that fair international economic co-operation is developed and maintained among the young nations and the old.

37. Allow me to offer Sudan's congratulations to Saint Lucia on its admission to the forum of the family of nations. Saint Lucia is another evidence of the winds of change now blowing in the direction of southern Africa.

38. This session has been convened at a time of a very complex international, political and economic situation. During this Assembly's session, hotbeds of tension and instability that threaten world peace and security have increased in number and complexity, developing side-effects that themselves could be potential causes of further conflict and instability in the world.

39. My country firmly believes that the non-aligned movement plays a major role in the course of international relations, and we are keen to have that movement remain a framework that unites its members, a forum where they can develop and crystallize their views and positions, and an umbrella under which they can find protection from unstable international conditions. We were indeed gratified that the Sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries, which was recently convened in Havana, reflected our expectations of that movement, our belief in its future and the fact that, despite the

difficulties it experiences these days, it still has enough flexibility and vitality to protect itself from the dangers of division and decline, to preserve its unity and strength and to develop its capacity for overcoming all the differences prevailing in its ranks and for reaching agreements on broad programmes which incorporate the political, economic and social issues of concern to its members and to the world at large.

40. A quick glance at the present international situation will indicate beyond any doubt that we still have a long way to go in our effort to lay down the fundamental basis for international peace and security. Nevertheless some encouraging signs of rapprochement recently appeared on the international scene, especially between the two super-Powers. It was with great satisfaction and appreciation that the world received the news of the successful conclusion of the second round of negotiations in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]. We urge the two signatories of the Treaty<sup>7</sup> to persuade their respective legislative and other internal organs to ratify it for the sake of humanity. It will undoubtedly pave the way for the achievement of more understanding and co-operation in other areas of vital international interest. The interests of humanity everywhere are better served when the members of the international community abandon the path of detrimental cut-throat confrontation in pursuance of conflicting strategies and adopt instead the path of direct dialogue and negotiations.

41. We live in a very unhappy world: a world which has witnessed more than 150 wars, both civil and international, since 1945; a world which has suffered and is still suffering from hunger, even starvation, and shortage of resources, and a lack of health equipment and educational facilities. Yet this same world allocates over \$400 billion to stockpiling, producing and developing weapons of mass destruction—the mass destruction of civilizations, of mankind and of the very planet on which we live and have our being.

42. The arms race and armaments production can in no way be separated from the problems of development. We urge that appropriate measures be taken immediately to divert some of the resources allocated for armaments production and procurement to socio-economic development, for that is the only guarantee that we may live in a world which is rational, fair and secure.

43. In this respect we welcomed with high expectations the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. In spite of the fact that that session's achievements were limited in scope, we nevertheless regard it as a positive step on the long road leading to disarmament. It was a positive step, because it was the first time in the history of the United Nations that a special session had been convened to deal with disarmament on a global scale. The most significant outcome of that special session in my Government's view, was the convening of the Committee on Disarmament. We hope and pray that that Committee, under the mandate assigned to it by the General Assembly and with the active participation of all armaments-producing countries, including the nuclear Powers, will

<sup>7</sup> 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.

be able in due course to negotiate a number of significant agreements in that field. We look forward to the implementation of the recommendations of that special session—no matter how limited they are in scope and magnitude.

44. The Sudan, a non-aligned country, associates itself with all those who call for a safe and secure world, free from the evils of war and the looming threat of a nuclear holocaust. This can be achieved only through general and complete disarmament and by adopting effective measures that would outlaw nuclear war, reverse the pace of the nuclear arms race and progressively reduce the nuclear stockpiles until they are totally eliminated. A safe and secure world would also call for the creation of nuclear-free zones, particularly in Africa, the Middle East and the Indian Ocean. In this respect, we should like to take this opportunity to commend the Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean in July 1979; we consider it a positive step in the direction of a global conference on the Indian Ocean.

45. We have always attached great importance to the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 XXVI], because the implementation of that Declaration would affect all maritime routes involving the Gulf and the Red Sea. The security of the Red Sea ranks high among our priorities in the Sudan.

46. It is our deepest hope that all countries of the region that share our concern will join hands and co-operate to ensure that the Red Sea becomes a haven of peace, so that all forms of foreign hegemony and super-Power rivalry are eliminated and all regional problems are settled through constructive dialogue and in a spirit of co-operation, fraternity and good neighbourliness. We want the Red Sea to be an international commercial route and a fishing area—and no more.

47. My country, which had the honour to be Chairman of the OAU in 1978-1979, was offered a unique opportunity to study in depth the complexity of problems facing the African continent. Africa, which for ages has fallen prey to exploitation, enslavement, poverty, suppression and all forms of segregation and foreign intervention, is still suffering from all these evils. Some of its rich economic resources are still exploited for the benefit of the dominant outsiders. Its children are still victims of hunger, malnutrition, environmental diseases and lack of essential health care. Millions of its sons and daughters are still considered slaves in their own motherland, and millions are treated as second- or third- or fourth-class citizens without the rights to which their natural citizenship entitles them.

48. It is to be noted with dismay and regret that, despite the acuteness of all these problems, attempts at appropriate and fair solutions are still lagging far behind. The problems of the African continent have proved to be more serious and chronic, to the extent that the current attempts to deal with them can hardly produce any significant progress. It should, however, be realized that any solution that gives priority to foreign and alien interests over the interests and the aspirations of the African people is certainly doomed to failure.

49. Because I am aware of the heavy programme of this General Assembly, it is not my intention to delve

into all African problems. Rather, I would confine my remarks to the main urgent issues that confront the continent today.

50. It is observed with much regret that the Government of South Africa, by its intransigence, has brought back the situation in Namibia to the initial position of stalemate. As a result of this, all the international efforts which were exerted in the last few years to bring about a fair and just settlement in Namibia have failed. By its conduct, the Government of South Africa has made it clear that any settlement that does not put Namibia under its direct control will not be acceptable. The African countries and SWAPO demonstrated flexibility and goodwill when the African Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its fifteenth ordinary session, held at Khartoum in 1978, endorsed the Luanda agreement of 1978<sup>8</sup> as an acceptable framework for a peaceful solution of the problems of that area.

51. The African countries welcomed the initiative of the five Western Powers and assured them of their unlimited co-operation. Regardless of all that, the South African Government had decided to go along with the scenario which it has drawn up for Namibia and which aims at the perpetuation of its illegal occupation and annexation of that country. The internal elections unilaterally conducted by the Government of South Africa in Namibia, which were categorically rejected by the whole international community as a fraud and a fabrication, were but an indication of what South Africa was trying to achieve. The relentless and brutal harassment of the leaders and supporters of SWAPO and the campaigns to liquidate them physically and politically is yet another indication of South Africa's attempts to consolidate its control over Namibia and to silence the voice of resistance forever. But can the voice of truth and reason be silenced? It cannot be silenced for long. Time and the history of similar episodes elsewhere are not on the side of the Government of South Africa. *Apartheid* and racism will have to disappear sooner than South Africa expects.

52. Zimbabwe is another problem area where people are struggling against racism and white minority rule. But we all know that the United Kingdom has historical, legal and international responsibilities towards Zimbabwe. And now we have received with satisfaction and optimism the recent United Kingdom initiative to convene an all-party conference in London following the decisions adopted by the Meeting of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Countries, held in Lusaka last August [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15]. We have been following with interest and concern the course of the negotiations. We were pleased that some measure of break-through could now be achieved. We believe that the United Kingdom will continue to use its full statesmanship, diplomacy and common sense to bring about a successful conclusion to these talks, for their failure is bound to render a fatal blow to the prospects of peace in that region.

53. The international community represented in this General Assembly is well aware of the dangerous nature of the policies and practices of the *apartheid* ré-

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12775.

gime in South Africa; that is why this item was included in the General Assembly's agenda in 1946<sup>9</sup> and has continued to appear before this distinguished body ever since. We regret to observe the absence of any meaningful progress towards the eventual eradication of this evil and inhuman practice in South Africa.

54. Many African States have followed with patience and restraint the deteriorating situation in South Africa and carried on negotiations within the OAU and in consultations with friendly countries in the United Nations. We should like to sound the alarm that Africa might find itself with no alternative but to be drawn into unavoidable confrontation with the racist régime in South Africa, if the latter should persist in its violation of the United Nations resolutions. We call upon the international community, and all Member States, to observe the immediate and strict application of Security Council resolution 418 (1977), concerning the arms embargo, and to ensure the termination of all forms of political and economic co-operation with the Government of South Africa.

55. Africa salutes the heroic role of the African front-line States in support of the African liberation struggle. Sudan calls upon all peace-loving nations and forces to extend all possible assistance to the front-line States to enable them to participate effectively in the struggle to liberate southern Africa. We further urge all Member States to offer all necessary facilities to strengthen and consolidate the liberation movements recognized by the OAU in their struggle against racist régimes in southern Africa.

56. The deteriorating situation in the Middle East, described in the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/34/1, sect. III], continues to pose a serious threat to world peace and security, besides causing tragedy, suffering and the denial of basic human rights to the people of that region. In that respect, we observe with great concern and dismay the intransigence of Israel in perpetuating its occupation of the Arab territories; its expansionist policy, as demonstrated by the consolidation of Israeli settlements in Arab lands and the pursuit of unwarranted measures for changing the historical nature and the demography of Al Quds; its refusal to recognize the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people; and its pursuit of hostile policies in defiance of world public opinion.

57. The daily Israeli raids against Lebanon from the sea and air and across the frontier, which have resulted in thousands of civilian casualties, not only constitute aggression against the sovereignty, territorial integrity and safety of the people of Lebanon, but stand as a flagrant violation of the principles and objectives of our Organization and a clear demonstration of the deep crisis that afflicts the world conscience today.

58. My country advocates peace in the Middle East. We genuinely believe that the resolution of the persistent strife in the area should be attained by peaceful means, that is, by dialogue and negotiations. However, for that to be achieved, a high degree of determination and political will must prevail among all those concerned. It is with this understanding that we have kept calling in different forums for a peaceful, comprehensive and equitable approach to the exploding situation

in the Middle East. Yet, while approaching the question with such an understanding, we must hold steadfastly to what our Organization has continuously confirmed in respect of the essential prerequisites for the establishment of a just and durable peace in the Middle East. In the forefront of these conditions is the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, foremost among which is their right to establish their own State on their own territory and the withdrawal of Israel from all the occupied Arab lands, including the restoration of Arab sovereignty in Al Quds.

59. Let us recall once again that a great number of resolutions of this Assembly have already affirmed that the Palestinian problem is the core of the Middle Eastern question. Consequently, this problem should be resolved in a manner such as to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people in the context of the quest for a peaceful approach and a comprehensive solution to the whole issue of the crisis in the Middle East.

60. It is also important to point out here that Arab solidarity is a crucial necessity for the achievement of these objectives and that this solidarity should be secured. This, too, is in keeping with our call for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East question. My country has been moving in that direction for quite a long time, despite all difficulties and complications.

61. It is also pertinent in that respect to note that the present situation in the international arena reveals that considerable success has been realized by the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in terms of a wide range of political and moral support. This world support should be noted carefully by all concerned. No one anywhere does service to his people, his Government, or his cause by ignoring this strong international public opinion.

62. My Government's position with regard to the Korean question has always been based on our commitment to the principle of the resolution of disputes through dialogue and negotiation and the rejection of the use of force and foreign intervention. We believe that all efforts for the reunification of Korea should be encouraged and consolidated.

63. In Cyprus, favourable conditions should be created to enable the two communities to resolve their differences in a spirit of peace and fraternity, under the auspices of the United Nations.

64. Human rights questions cannot be considered in isolation from their economic, social and political aspects. We firmly believe that it is essential to guarantee and observe human rights for individuals. Equally we believe that this should be matched by effective guarantees of human rights for entire nations and communities. It would be illogical and unfair to demand human rights for individuals alone, while whole nations and communities are denied such basic rights.

65. While on this subject, allow me to express on behalf of my Government our profound appreciation of the United Nations organs which work in the field of human rights, for the valuable efforts they are exerting for the effective realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms. We believe that those organs cannot continue to function effectively unless Member States

<sup>9</sup> See document A/149.

respect their commitments as embodied in the United Nations Charter. We are particularly pleased to note the positive developments that emerged from the considerable debate conducted last year on alternative approaches, ways and means within the United Nations system, for improving the effective enjoyment of human rights. We also appreciate the continuing debate within the Commission on Human Rights on the study of the national, regional and international dimensions of the right to development as a human right, which takes into consideration the problems facing the developing countries in their efforts to achieve social and economic progress.

66. One of the issues to which we accord the utmost importance and considerable attention is the question of refugees. The whole world is fully aware of the acute suffering of the refugee coerced into leaving his homeland for an alien environment to face insurmountable hardships—lack of shelter from rain, cold and heat; lack of food; lack of medical care; the disruption of family and community social cohesion; loss of educational opportunities and prolonged—indeed, indefinite—loss of the political, social and economic rights that go with citizenship.

67. True to our convictions and faithful to our commitments to regional and international conventions on the rights of refugees and observance of brotherly and good-neighbourly relations, the Sudan is currently acting as host to over 400,000 registered refugees who fled into the country from many neighbouring States. This number is too large for a country with severely limited resources like the Sudan. The Sudan will not, however, compel refugees to return to their country of origin against their will, despite our difficulties. We stand for and encourage voluntary repatriation conducted under the auspices of one of the great bodies of this Organization, the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

68. As the host country to 400,000 refugees, we feel that it is our responsibility to call upon the international community to respond to previous appeals by the Secretary-General of the United Nations and by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to create financial and material assistance to host countries through the High Commissioner as well as through bilateral channels. The recent suggestion advanced by the Government of the United States of America at Geneva and here in this Assembly to create a refugee fund to which States Members of the United Nations and others might contribute should be adopted by the Assembly at its thirty-fourth session. The Secretary-General and his deputy and assistant, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, should be commended for all the efforts they have exerted up to this point to obtain relief, comfort and sympathy for refugees all over the world.

69. To talk at length about relief and the organized settlement of refugees in the country of asylum is not, certainly, to recommend their permanent settlement there and their renunciation of the privilege of returning home. They want to go home, but they cannot safely do so unless the root-causes which forced them to seek refuge have been resolved. In this connexion, the General Assembly should urge all Member States concerned to find political solutions to the internal problems that gave birth to the exodus of nationals from

their homelands. This is in keeping with the United Nations call for respect for the human rights of individuals and for the dignity of the human person, for no human being can be expected to enjoy those rights while he floats aimlessly and without destination for months on end in a small boat without shelter in South-East Asia, or while he is crouching under a tree for hours in a torrential rain in tropical Africa or in Latin America, or while he is being constantly subjected to the alternate heat and cold of deserts in the Middle East and elsewhere.

70. It is a reality in the world of today that social, cultural, humanitarian, political and economic issues are interrelated. Hence, in our endeavour to establish a new international economic order, greater attention should be paid to social, cultural and humanitarian issues. Bearing this in mind, my country, in its development efforts, gives a balanced consideration to all these issues.

71. In this context, the Sudan welcomes the United Nations efforts to improve the status of women and looks forward to the conclusion of the draft convention on the elimination of discrimination against women. We also welcome the forthcoming World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, to be held in Copenhagen next year.

72. The Sudanese people, together with the peoples of other nations of the world, are celebrating this year the International Year of the Child. The special message of President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri, addressed to the nation on this occasion on 15 January 1979, was an indication of the special attention the Sudan accords to the child when he said:

“In joining the international community in commemorating this year, we hope that the International Year of the Child will be a year for the protection and care of the child not only now, but in the future also. We hope that the International Year of the Child will be not merely an occasion for the declaration of rights, but a year in which the international community will exert its efforts to create an appropriate climate for the upbringing of children everywhere free from fear and hunger, free from coercion and domination and free from disease, ignorance and deprivation. This sought-after dream will not be realized for every child throughout the world until peace based on justice prevails; until the disparities between the rich States and the poor States are removed . . . ”.

73. In reviewing the international economic and social scene of the decade of the 1970s now drawing to a close, one cannot but express concern at the modest progress achieved. For the last seven years the crises besetting the world economy have multiplied. We have faced the population explosion, low rates of economic growth, a spiralling inflation and deteriorating prices of raw materials from developing countries in contrast to rising prices of finished industrial goods and the price of oil.

74. It should be of concern to us gathered here to control these crises through organized and coordinated effective international effort to alleviate the

abject poverty rampant in developing countries and rising unemployment everywhere in the world. To do this will involve a hard look at and radical change in the structure of the international relations based on old colonial relations. It should involve in the 1980s a complete overhaul of that aspect of the structure of the international economy which gives one partner the power to set the rules of the game, and the other the very humble role of playing according to those rules. Five years ago this Organization passed a resolution to face and change part of this old economic arrangement and replace it with the establishment of the new international economic order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)]. As we leave this decade behind and enter a new one, we are still no nearer to that order than we were five years ago.

75. Last May, the developing countries went to Manila with great expectations that the fifth session of UNCTAD would resolve many outstanding economic issues. They came back disappointed, as that lengthy conference did not achieve much. None the less, it is worthy of note that a break-through in the special field of commodities has been achieved through the establishment of the Common Fund for commodities as one of the components of the Integrated Programme for Commodities.<sup>10</sup> This progress, modest as it is, should give hope for better co-operation in future among Member States and nations at large.

76. In its report recently on world development,<sup>11</sup> the World Bank indicated that despite the promises by donor Governments and some recent decisions on debt cancellation, which we appreciate, the flows of official development assistance fell in real terms. The official development assistance from developed markets and centrally planned economies is still far below the 0.7 per cent gross national product target set for the Second United Nations Development Decade. We are now approaching the third United Nations development decade but an agreement on the strategy for it is yet to be reached. Let us work to reach this agreement at the very beginning of the 1980s.

77. The developed countries should demonstrate greater willingness in the coming decade to make an increased transfer of resources in real terms to the developing countries. This should result in an improved economic growth in these countries and the consequent emergence of a more prosperous and stable international economy. We urge that this session of the General Assembly should have these important problems tackled and resolved.

78. It is our earnest hope that this session of the General Assembly will be able to examine meaningfully and candidly the manifold problems which confront the world today. It is our hope, too, and our expectation that this session will exert enough political will to outline some of the solutions which are urgently needed to ease the tensions, the plights and the fears which threaten to engulf mankind.

79. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Vice-President of the

Democratic Republic of the Sudan for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

80. Mr. FERNÁNDEZ SAAVEDRA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, it is a unique privilege for me to be here at this rostrum from which outstanding personalities, Heads of Government and State from all parts of the world, have spoken.

81. I am pleased to be the spokesman for the constitutional President of Bolivia, Mr. Walter Guevara Arze, one of the Bolivians most closely linked with the United Nations and therefore well aware of what this institution means for the maintenance of peace.

82. The presence of Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim as President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly has a dual and special meaning. First, as a worthy representative of Africa, he confirms the vigorous participation of that continent in the destiny of the United Nations. His country, the United Republic of Tanzania, has been acting with its own personality at the regional level. Secondly, Mr. Salim has been one of the outstanding factors in the struggle for decolonization as well as in the struggle to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination. As we welcome in your person the revitalizing action of the African continent, I should like to express to you, together with the full solidarity of the Government and people of Bolivia with the struggle being waged by the African countries, our satisfaction at seeing you occupy this high post. We must recognize, however, that in your case it is no more than an act of justice, the consequence of a long struggle lasting more than 10 years in favour of all the noble causes defended by our Organization.

83. My delegation also wishes to pay a tribute of appreciation to the former President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, who guided the work of the General Assembly with the skill, sagacity and distinction typical of an outstanding politician and diplomat.

84. The selfless work of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the delicate tasks entrusted to his responsibility, has won for him our most sincere gratitude.

85. The delegation of Bolivia, on its own behalf and on behalf of the nations of Latin America, has already welcomed the most recent State Member of the United Nations. Now that Saint Lucia occupies its seat in the General Assembly, I should like to repeat my congratulations on its admission to membership. I am sure that Saint Lucia will finally be able to overcome the dead weight of its feudal past and join the efforts of the third world in trying to achieve a better destiny for its people.

86. The year 1979 is a special year in the history of my country. It is now 100 years that it has been geographically land-locked and the country has returned to constitutional rule after 10 years of *de facto* governments. On these matters there is a genuine national consensus which is expressed in the unswerving will to recover

<sup>10</sup> 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).

<sup>11</sup> *World Development Report, 1979* (Washington, D.C., The World Bank, August 1979).

our sovereign access to the sea and to consolidate freedom and democracy in our country.

*Mr. Gurinovich (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

87. One hundred years ago today, 8 October, on the bridge of the warship *Huáscar* the Peruvian Admiral Miguel Grau made history in the battle waged in the Bolivian waters off Angamos during the Pacific war. In a respectful tribute to Eduardo Abaroa and the heroes who defended the countries victims of aggression, I should like to express a few thoughts on the consequences for the continent left by that unjust and unjustified conflict.

88. Upon leaving Bolivia, Marshal Antonio José de Sucre, Bolivia's chief deputy, and one of the founding fathers of the American countries, left a written message which anticipated what would be the main task of the fledgling Republic. He said:

"I shall ask from the nation yet another recompense—to keep up the work I have started and maintain the integrity and independence of Bolivia against all dangers."

89. The difficulties that were encountered in the implementation of that message and the consolidation of the national State of Bolivia will be better understood if we look at its geographical position at the centre of the continent, where the Amazon, Plata and Pacific basins join. It is a point of continental fulcrum, which accordingly takes up and absorbs the tensions resulting from the conjunction of those powerful forces. Its problems will be understood more clearly if we recall that the original territory of the Republic was twice its present size and that various military and diplomatic actions redrew the map of South America at my country's expense.

90. All that is part of history, and I mention it here only to highlight Bolivia's difficult struggle and its role as a State of regional balance. All that is part of history, except one point: the geographical land-enclosed status of my country. And when in this lofty forum I raise this matter and present it seriously and forcefully, I am aware that it is a present reality, a permanent factor of concern.

91. Indeed, the seizure of my country's extensive coastline was not only the result of an unjust war of conquest but also an immense and fatal historical mistake. It is true that it solved the economic problems of the aggressor country, which for a century exploited the nitrate and mining wealth of Bolivian soil, but it is also true that it destroyed the regional balance, which has still not been restored, giving rise to a state of tension demonstrated by the arms race taking place in the region. What is more, it limited the possibilities for co-operation and understanding among our nations by affecting the role of link and bridge which my country must play in the region.

92. By nature and compulsion Bolivia gravitates towards the Pacific Ocean, and this found expression geographically and physically in its undisputed possession of an extensive coastline on that ocean. The act of aggression which destroyed that natural relationship

must be corrected as soon as possible. This is not only a requirement of Bolivia; it is a genuine continental need. It is an act of international justice, but it is also a precautionary yardstick for measuring regional peace and security. In a word, it is an American cause.

93. Furthermore, the complete solidarity of the countries of America and the world is being expressed in ever more categorical terms not only as to the justice of our claim but also as to the urgency of settling it. To mention the most recent demonstration of this, there is the declaration of two thirds of mankind. At the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979, the following text, whose clarity dispenses me from further comments, was adopted:

"The Heads of State or Government, meeting in Havana, gave their backing to the Republic of Bolivia's just and legitimate claim to recover its outlet to the Pacific Ocean with full sovereignty and invited the member States of the international community to declare their solidarity with this inalienable right of the Bolivian people. They also reaffirmed that constructive and fruitful security and peace in America demand a solution to the problem and accordingly supported all efforts to achieve that noble aim and the peaceful procedures set forth in the Charter of the United Nations." [A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 182.]

94. Furthermore, the entry into force of the Torrijos-Carter Treaties on the Panama Canal,<sup>12</sup> which we had the honour and joy of witnessing a few days ago in Panama, proves that in the end justice does prevail over force, that victory does not confer right, that recourse to violence cannot consolidate territorial annexations, and that there is a way for the peaceful settlement of disputes when international public opinion supports and promotes just causes.

95. Bolivia has recovered its status as a democratic country respectful of human rights, freedom of expression, freedom of political organization and freedom of trade-union movements. We have set up a Government reflecting the will of the people expressed in free elections. There are no political detainees, nor has any Bolivian been expelled from his country.

96. What is said here in a few words is the result of a long and painful process. It is a national victory, to which civilians, the military, intellectuals and workers have contributed. It is, as I have said, the result of a national consensus, which, nevertheless, faces very difficult challenges before it can be finally consolidated.

97. Foremost among these obstacles are economic problems, which are aggravated by external factors. Among these factors, I am bound to mention the bill now before the United States Congress authorizing the placing on the international market of 35,000 tons of tin from its non-commercial strategic reserves. If such a measure were to be adopted—a measure which would constitute an act of real economic aggression—Bolivia would suffer a most serious blow at a time when we are studying corrective measures to stimulate our econo-

<sup>12</sup> See *The Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 78, No. 2016, pp. 52-57.

my, which is based essentially on the working of this mineral, representing more than 60 per cent of the total value of our exports.

98. The background of this problem will help place it in its proper perspective. During the Second World War Bolivia contributed to the defence and consolidation of democracy by supplying tin at prices subsidized by its people. At the end of the war much of the tin accumulated by the United States of America was designated as a "strategic reserve", which by public law was intended to meet civilian and military needs in case of war. It is curious and paradoxical to note that the very tin which should be used in case of war is in time of peace being used to upset the conditions of the market for that scarce material and threaten the stability of the democratic process recently initiated in Bolivia.

99. The effects of a drop in the price of tin in the economy and social structure of Bolivia would be profound and irreparable. I shall mention only a few. It is estimated that the *per capita* income would fall by \$30 from a current figure of approximately \$600 a year and that there would be a decrease in private and public investment in mining and a further decline in the productivity of that sector. It would be more difficult to develop and introduce more appropriate technologies for the operation of existing mines. Finally, production costs would continue to rise because of price inflation for imported goods and there would be more intensive exploitation of internal production factors, especially cheap labour.

100. What would the United States stand to gain in exchange? Nothing. The economic and trade advantages of such a decision are imperceptible for a powerful country and bear no relation to what the political cost would be. It would only result in building up resentment and discredit for a political opening which in its time aroused hopes among the nations of the third world.

101. Such practices, such manipulation of markets obviously do not contribute to the full enjoyment of human rights. They are not a forward step in the construction of a new international economic order. The countries members of the Latin American Economic System understand this. This was expressed by the tin-producing countries at their meeting at Djakarta in July of this year.<sup>13</sup> This is the conviction expressed by the Presidents of the Andean group of States, who have now in Panama approved a stance of active solidarity with the just claim of Bolivia.

102. Because of such precedents, I should like to appeal for the understanding of all delegations here present in order that they may continue to give their firmest support to the position adopted by Bolivia and the tin-producing countries in the defence of their legitimate interests.

103. I wish to confirm Bolivia's resolute participation in all actions designed to establish a new international economic order. This explains our recent adherence to the non-aligned movement as a full member. Bolivia's foreign policy is in accord with the purposes and objectives of the movement, and this has led us finally to join

actively in the struggle to democratize international relations and to ensure the real participation of the developing countries in decisions that are vital to the destiny of mankind.

104. We cannot sufficiently reiterate the need to consolidate co-operation among developing countries as a necessary requirement for the construction of a new international system. Agreements among the countries of the third world will always be *ad hoc* and transitory as long as no set of shared interests has been established. That is the transcendental meaning of integration and co-operation among developing countries. On the one hand, it is a matter of making use of the immense natural, technological, financial and human resources our nations possess for our own benefit, and, on the other, of laying the foundations for a joint external policy on ever firmer ground.

105. As demonstrated by the frustrating negotiations that have taken place in various world forums, the existing order will not change merely because right is on our side. It will be changed when there is a change in effective power relationships between North and South. Indeed, the resolutions of international gatherings give formal recognition to changes that have already occurred in fact. The logical conclusion to be drawn from this is that we must not limit ourselves to calling for the establishment of a new international economic and political order; we must build it. The tool for accomplishing this task is co-operation among developing countries. Let us not ask others to do what we are able to do on our own.

106. This is the experience the Andean Group can contribute to the cause of the third world. Ten years ago, the Cartagena Agreement<sup>14</sup> was signed, initiating one of the most advanced processes of integration in the world. Once a solid structure of co-operative relations has been established, the Andean Presidents decided to promote that group's joint participation in continental political problems, beginning with a discussion of the case of Nicaragua within the framework of the Organization of American States [OAS]—with positive results that are a matter of public knowledge.

107. On the occasion of the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries in Havana, the countries members of the Andean group again stated their joint position on matters of world concern.

108. On 2 October of this year, at Panama, the Andean Presidents signed a document recording further common action, including joint participation in the ninth regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS to be held at La Paz on 22 October of this year, a meeting intended to present a new image and set forth planning for the inter-American system in the forthcoming decade.

109. The Andean group is confident that democratic systems of government will be established in Latin America in which the exercise of power will derive from the legitimate and free expression of the will of the people and a better situation will be created to promote measures for the political normalization of the continent and the enjoyment of human rights with the

<sup>13</sup> Ministerial Meeting of Tin-Producing Countries, held at Djakarta from 10 to 12 July 1979.

<sup>14</sup> Agreement for Subregional Integration, done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

greatest respect for the principle of non-intervention. This does not mean, obviously, that the Andean Group is an association directed against anyone else. On the contrary, precisely because it is democratic, its international conduct is guided by ideological pluralism. It is a movement designed to unite, not to divide.

110. We also wish to express our concern at the tensions existing in some areas of the continent and our confidence that the countries of those regions will be able freely to choose their own paths to well-being free from outside pressures or attempts designed to involve them in the play of alien economic, strategic or hegemonistic interests.

111. For the second year, my country is serving as a non-permanent member of the Security Council. This is the second time we have occupied this lofty position in the most important United Nations organ for the maintenance of peace. Our presence in the Security Council has enabled us to practise genuine non-alignment, that is, to act from a position equally removed from the poles of world power and to serve the cause of détente and peace in a positive manner.

112. Bolivia, as a country that practises ideological pluralism, has been able to act in complete independence and with no commitment other than to justice, with the intention of making a firm contribution to peaceful solutions. We have supported the actions of liberation movements and will continue to do so as long as the desire to perpetuate colonialist systems or to create new forms of exploitation under different names exists.

113. If there are no further acts of violence against the front-line States and if there is compliance with the resolutions approved by the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to the problem of Zimbabwe, we are prepared to co-operate in any peace negotiation that takes into account the legitimate interests of the peoples of Africa and their right to self-government free from any tutelage. The same applies to Namibia and the constant threats and attacks against Zambia, Angola and Mozambique.

114. We are following with particular attention the complex problem of Cyprus. We are pained to see that heroic island divided and occupied militarily. We believe that negotiations between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots must be resumed as soon as possible. We sincerely hope that after five long years of waiting, reason and justice will prevail, and that both communities will return to peaceful coexistence under the government of their own authorities.

115. Another of the major problems the Security Council has had to consider is the occupation of Lebanon by foreign forces. My delegation has supported all measures recommended by the Secretary-General to alleviate, at least in part, the suffering of that heroic and victimized people. Bolivia, together with the other members of the Security Council, has striven by its support to contribute to the Lebanese Government's recovery of authority over its territory. Bringing about the withdrawal of the forces that have made that country an arena for confrontation and achieving the recovery and consolidation of the national Government with full authority over the territory has been and will continue to be an arduous task. We fervently hope that it will be accomplished successfully.

116. Bolivia has followed with particular attention the development of events in the Middle East. We have given our complete and unwavering support to Security Council resolution 242 (1967), whose balance we consider to be equitable and just. On the one hand, it consolidates the existence of the State of Israel and, on the other, it clearly condemns the occupation of Arab territories by force and demands their prompt return. We support the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to a homeland of their own where they can establish a sovereign State. Similarly, we support the State of Israel's right to exist within secure and recognized boundaries, and recommend to the parties that they approach this pressing and explosive situation realistically and comprehensively.

117. The delegation of Bolivia was pleased to see the inclusion of the item proposed by Romania entitled "Settlement by peaceful means of disputes among States" [A/34/143]. We consider that such a bold initiative merits attentive and positive analysis by this Assembly, since it is a significant contribution to the applicability of the procedures established under Article 33 of the Charter.

118. As a developing country beset by social and economic problems, Bolivia could hardly remain impassive at the arms race taking place throughout the world. The horrifying statistics on the arms race among the large and medium-sized Powers are all too well known for me to repeat them here, as are the astronomical amounts devoted to increasing their military arsenals but we can hardly be impassive observers. All countries that wish to live in peace must adopt a positive attitude towards general and complete disarmament. The arms race among the countries of the region and of the world blatantly flouts the majority will of the international community. The allocation of voluminous resources to so censurable an end when they could be used for the economic and social development of peoples is absolutely intolerable.

119. As a country with a profound desire for peace, we add our voice to those of all the delegations in this Assembly that have advocated approval of the treaty resulting from the second round of SALT and the early convening of the World Disarmament Conference, whose very title is a warning in the face of the risk of a tragic nuclear holocaust.

120. In conclusion, I wish to express the earnest intent of the delegation of Bolivia to continue to lend its firmest support to the solution of the grave problems afflicting mankind, by sharing responsibilities and efforts with all nations represented within this international conclave.

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

121. Mr. KEUTCHA (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, may I be permitted, first of all, to offer you the warmest fraternal congratulations of the delegation of Cameroon upon your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-fourth session of the United Nations General Assembly. We are particularly pleased, because we know you well and appreciate your outstanding personal and diplomatic qualities, as well as your commitment and contribution to the struggle being waged

by Africa with the rest of the third world for its dignity. Your activities at the head of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, and elsewhere, are a prime example. Moreover, over and above you personally, your election does honour to Africa and is a just source of pride to your country, the sister United Republic of Tanzania, which, above and beyond the cultural ties of our common African heritage woven by geography, history and common aspirations, has relations of fruitful co-operation with Cameroon in the OAU and in our great family of the non-aligned.

122. We are pleased to take this occasion to thank your predecessor in this post, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for the distinguished way in which he discharged his responsibilities.

123. Finally, we wish to pay a very special tribute and to express our profound gratitude to our Secretary-General Mr. Kurt Waldheim. My Government is grateful to him for his tireless, ever selfless and discreet efforts, in exercise of his difficult functions, to find solutions to the numerous problems besetting our times.

124. May we also welcome among us the delegation of Saint Lucia. With its admission as the Organization's one hundred and fifty-second Member, the universal nature of the United Nations has been strengthened.

125. It is with great sadness that we learned, at the beginning of last month, of the untimely passing of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. His place in Africa and in the world is well known, as is attested to by the numerous expressions of sympathy and grief addressed to his family and to the Government and people of Angola—condolences with which I associate my delegation and myself personally.

126. This thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly is being held in a particularly uneasy international climate, marked as it is by tension and conflict and the suffering and misery they entail, as well as by economic disorders, the principal victims of which has been the third world—Africa in particular.

127. The victories over domination and slavery during this past decade had aroused hopes that Africa, upon emerging from a long colonial period of darkness, might finally come to know peace and set out on the path of economic, social and cultural development in solidarity with the rest of mankind.

128. But that noble design is still thwarted by the blind persistence in southern Africa of a racist minority with the complicity of powerful foreign interest groups. This intolerable situation for human dignity endangers not only the peoples of Africa but international peace and security as well.

129. There can be no doubt that no African country can really feel that it is the complete master of its own destiny, free to chart a future of happiness and prosperity, as long as the policy of *apartheid* and oppression prevailing in that part of our continent persists.

130. The fate of millions of human beings held in

bondage in their own country deserves the constant vigilance of our Organization, founded as it is on respect for the principle of the inalienable dignity of all human beings, the equality of rights of peoples, and their right to self-determination.

131. We believe that the General Assembly is the appropriate framework within which to arouse and sustain the active solidarity that the liberation movements are entitled to expect of the international community. We are gratified that the intensification of the struggle they are waging in southern Africa has already induced the Pretoria régime to take actions the absurdity of which is obvious to all. This struggle must constantly be reinforced with firm international pressures upon that régime. In this respect we wish to refer to the new and unanimous condemnation of South Africa by the Security Council in its resolution<sup>15</sup> in connexion with the establishment of a new bantustan.

132. All are aware that the masquerade of according autonomy to artificial geo-political entities or to ethnic groups is designed merely to create a security belt around the *apartheid* bastion.

133. My country, which is applying and will continue strictly to apply the decisions of the United Nations and the OAU, has decided to have no relations with either South Africa or those puppet States that have no national base and are doomed to be dominated by South African racists.

134. It is this policy of subjugation that Pretoria intends to perpetuate in the international Territory of Namibia.

135. Last year, during the same period, there was some hope that there might be an early settlement of this question on the basis of Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978). Need we recall that the principal thrust of these resolutions was to make it possible for the Namibian people to exercise their right to self-determination and independence by free and democratic elections under the control and supervision of the United Nations?

136. And yet, since publication of the report of the Secretary-General on practical methods for implementing the United Nations plan,<sup>16</sup> South Africa, which had solemnly accepted that settlement, nevertheless has not hesitated, with its customary bad faith, to reopen the issue.

137. It is clear that in so doing South Africa is once again striving to gain time, substantially to alter the facts of the situation, and to distort the application of an international settlement plan in order, in the final analysis, to achieve the goals of its own domestic settlement plan.

138. In May last, at the resumed thirty-third session of the General Assembly, there was adopted by an overwhelming majority a resolution calling upon the Security Council to meet urgently in order to impose against South Africa the enforcement measures provided for in

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, 2168th meeting, para. 1.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid., Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978, document S/12827.*

Chapter VII of the Charter [*resolution 33/206*], but so far it has not been possible for us to emerge from the impasse.

139. We must deplore the fact that, despite the arrogant attitude of Pretoria, which is constantly undermining the credibility of our Organization, certain Powers, in particular those which have decisive means of applying pressure upon South Africa, do not appear to be at all disposed to use them.

140. We must again denounce all the South African machinations aimed at excluding SWAPO, which is the authentic representative of the Namibian people, at rendering virtually inapplicable the international settlement plan, and at justifying an internal solution in the Rhodesian manner, the limits of which are finally becoming evident.

141. Cameroon, which is a member of the United Nations Council for Namibia, reaffirms its total support for the struggle of the Namibian people under the direction of SWAPO. We reaffirm that people's right to self-determination and independence within the framework of a united Namibia, including Walvis Bay. We feel that if South Africa continues to obstruct the application of the international settlement plan as the Secretary-General interpreted it, and as it was subsequently confirmed by the Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), the latter has no option but to decree the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter in order to compel South Africa to co-operate with the United Nations.

142. The laxity that has been shown so far by certain Powers in respect of South Africa is, as we have already said, one of the causes of the weakening of our Organization. It is with good reason that in his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General notes and deplors the lack of confidence from which the United Nations is suffering as a result of non-compliance with numerous Security Council resolutions [*see A/34/1, sect. X*].

143. The Rhodesian question is particularly enlightening in this respect. It is now virtually 15 years since a group of racist soldiers of fortune took power in the British colony, thereby depriving 6 million blacks of their most elementary rights. While the sanctions decreed by the Security Council handicapped the development of the Rhodesian economy, they did not succeed in bringing low the illegal régime installed in Salisbury, which owes its survival to the assistance openly supplied by South Africa and the support it receives from several multinational firms.

144. Moreover, we believe the Security Council must decide at the proper time whether or not the sanctions imposed upon the rebel régime should be lifted.

145. My country is pleased with the new approach defined at the last Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, in Lusaka. As we have always said, there is no doubt that the only solution acceptable in Zimbabwe is negotiation with the liberation movements with a view to the effective transfer of sovereignty to the majority on the basis of free and democratic elections under international control.

146. We hope that the negotiations now under way in

London will make it possible for the United Kingdom to commence the process leading to the effective independence of Zimbabwe. In our opinion, any recognition of the Salisbury régime presupposes a fundamental constitutional readaptation that would ensure the predominance of democratic rule by the majority. Let there be no mistake about this. The interdependence of peoples and nations is, as has been demonstrated by the repercussions of present crises, far from being a myth. It will be illusory to speak of peace as long as Africa is suffering from discrimination and does not benefit fully from respect for the principles of the Charter.

147. For the progress of the whole international community, it is essential that the process of the emancipation of peoples, which was started three decades ago, in particular in Africa and in Asia, be completed through the liberation of the last ghettos of oppression. For the security of States, it is equally crucial that their territorial integrity, their independence and their sovereignty be respected.

148. This key principle of the United Nations Charter is also one of the corner-stones of the doctrine of non-alignment, which provides the basis for the external policy of my country.

149. May I be permitted once again to recall here our concept of non-alignment as it was defined by the President of the United Republic of Cameroon, Mr. Ahmadou Ahidjo:

“Non-alignment, for us, means first of all non-interference in the domestic affairs of others.

“Non-alignment, for us, means also refraining from the use or threat of force for the settlement of international conflicts.

“Non-alignment, for us, means also a state of permanent vigilance in the face of all organized powers, present or future, without any *a priori* prejudice against any other country, while we keep a hand outstretched in loyal co-operation as long as no vital interest is to be sacrificed thereby.

“Non-alignment, for us, means finally tolerance and peaceful, indeed even dynamic, coexistence between States which have different political, social and economic régimes but which are working together for the promotion of a world of equal peoples, freed from domination and fear and practising mutual respect.

“In other terms, non-alignment is, for us, not an antonym of but a complement to international co-operation.”

That philosophy governs our approach to conflicts with which our time has to contend.

150. First of all, in the Middle East, a region which in three decades has known three of the bloodiest wars, the situation remains unstable and explosive.

151. My delegation has constantly reaffirmed that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the Israeli-Arab conflict and that any solution that neglects that major element will be neither just nor lasting.

152. It is therefore essential for the Palestinian people to exercise all their essential rights, including that of having a country of their own. The search for an equitable solution implies their effective participation in any peace process and any negotiating machinery, through the intermediary of their authentic representative, the PLO.

153. Israel, which has the right to live in peace within recognized borders, must abandon its expansionist designs and must withdraw from all occupied Arab territories, in conformity with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), so as to make possible the advent of an era of peace and mutually advantageous co-operation in that part of the world.

154. This is the time and place to refer to the tragedy of Lebanon, which is threatening that State in its very substance. Cameroon supports all efforts aimed at safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of that friendly country.

155. Next there is Cyprus, where the two communities could find common ground to preserve both their respective interests and also the independence, integrity and unity of that non-aligned country, if the external Powers were to refrain once and for all from interfering in their domestic affairs.

156. Finally, in South-East Asia, where the Cambodian people have been threatened for the past 10 years, the existing situation is at the very heart of the major preoccupations of the international community. The dangerous tensions, the instability, the confrontations that are developing there, the antagonisms, the large-scale violations of human rights, the loss of innumerable human lives, destruction in all its forms and the resultant suffering for the Cambodian people are such that everything must be done quickly to enable the peoples of that region to define their political options and settle their problems without foreign interference, and with respect for their territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence.

157. The coming of peace to those troubled regions would strengthen the process of generalized détente throughout the world and contribute to ameliorating one of the most disquieting elements of our time. I refer, of course, to the arms race.

158. This year again, colossal sums of the order of \$480 billion have been devoted to military expenditures, according to the most authoritative estimates, or approximately \$1 million per minute.

159. In these estimates the share ascribed to the principal military alliances is established at more than 70 per cent.

160. Let us return once again to the principles of non-alignment and denounce the false peace that is based on the precarious balance of terror.

161. It can never be said enough that peace, international co-operation and economic development of the nations which stand in solidarity presuppose general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

162. My delegation appreciates the efforts made by

the United States of America and the USSR which have led to the signing of their second agreement on the limitation of strategic arms. We hope that that agreement will be ratified soon. Of course, it is a partial measure because it is set within a framework of exclusive bilateral negotiations and is intended to bring about a subtle nuclear balance between those two great Powers.

163. The ratification of the SALT treaty after the second round of SALT should open the way to the conclusion of another agreement at the end of the third round and give new impetus to international negotiations aimed at reversing the arms race.

164. Disarmament, decolonization and the reduction of tensions and conflicts throughout the world cannot of themselves guarantee international peace and security. Indeed, they imply also justice and equality in the economic field. And yet the present session is being held during a period of uncertainty, disappointment and profound disturbance in international economic relations.

165. Indeed, the industrialized countries experienced a rapid growth right after the Second World War thanks to the abundance and availability of raw materials coming from developing countries and with the support of technical and financial institutions which were set up to serve chiefly their interests. That system, because of its perverse effects, has finally revealed what its limits are. There followed a constant falling-off in production and growth and an aggravation of inflation, monetary instability and, in short, a generalized recession.

166. This situation, which has a special effect upon the nascent economies of the countries of the third world, has demonstrated the need for setting up the new international economic order.

167. It is from that standpoint that numerous initiatives were adopted during the last 20 years, from the institutionalization of UNCTAD to the establishment of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and including two special sessions of the General Assembly, the sixth and the seventh.

168. Unfortunately, the results obtained have fallen much below the goals aimed at.

169. The recent fifth session of UNCTAD at Manila, of which so much was expected because of the priority to be accorded to a thorough examination of the problems of structural change in the world economy as well as a study, in terms of their global and correlated actions, of trade, monetary, financial and technical questions, has resulted in the mediocre conclusions known to us all.

170. As for the GATT agreements, our Secretary-General reveals in his report on the work of the Organization that although they "provide a framework for the fight against future protectionism" they "give little immediate relief for countries most affected by present protectionist measures" [see A/34/1, sect. V]. Similarly, the Secretary-General adds, despite the progress achieved:

"Much more needs to be done to establish the common fund and to implement the other components of the Integrated Programme for Commodities". [*Ibid.*]

171. The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 at its recent sessions decided on certain proposals [see A/34/34] which by and large are minor, concerning the transfer of resources relating to agriculture and food questions. These results, obtained thanks to the new impetus which was imparted to the Committee by the Assembly last year, are still far from living up to our expectations, but they clearly demonstrate that the action of the Committee would be further strengthened if it were based upon sufficient political will.

172. The same can be said of the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy which is now bogged down on the elaboration of a preamble.

173. The negotiations aimed at the establishment of a new convention on the law of the sea, which have been going on for six years, could soon come to a successful conclusion if only governments display firm political will. For this it is necessary to adhere to the time-table adopted at the eighth session for the signing of the convention in 1980. My Government, as in the past, will actively participate in this last phase of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We are convinced that the new concept of the common heritage of mankind, which has given rise to these long negotiations, will be safeguarded and that the essential interests of the land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries will be protected.

174. The Second United Nations Development Decade is coming to an end. Although it has been marked by intensive negotiations, in the final analysis its only result has been the recognition of the existence of the crisis—of the imbalance, instability and general uncertainty of the situation that we face, as well as of the urgent need to make changes if we wish to ensure our own survival.

175. We are commencing the cycle of another decade. We must prepare for it and embark upon it in a new spirit. For this purpose, the non-aligned countries, at their recent Sixth Conference in Havana indicated quite appropriately that the

“... establishment of the New International Economic Order calls for bold initiatives, demands new concrete and global solutions and cannot be brought about by piecemeal reforms and improvisations intended to resolve the present economic difficulties” [see A/34/542, p. 207].

176. Together with the new order for which we yearn there must be a corresponding new morality—a morality involving a profound sense of justice, equity and solidarity between peoples. It must be a morality, as we said from this rostrum last year,<sup>17</sup> that betokens a real will to go beyond national self-interest for the benefit of the strengthening of the common good, which is supranational and of which peace, collective security and the welfare of all peoples are the governing elements. It is a morality that must call for an increased transformation into reality of decisions which have been or soon will be adopted at various international gatherings. It requires a revision and updating of our plans and our frames of

reference, and implies, moreover, an increase of responsibilities and possibilities of action for the United Nations at the same time as a streamlining of its structures and working methods. Therefore, we support the highly constructive initiatives advocated in this respect by our Secretary-General [A/34/320].

177. It is agreed today that States cannot resolve the major problems of our time either individually or even in small groups. They must now operate on a world-wide scale, despite disparities and other divisive factors which continue to militate against the coming about of a better organized and more equitable world.

178. Mr. CHISSANO (Mozambique): On taking the floor for the first time in this session of the General Assembly, we respectfully bow in memory of a great statesman and freedom fighter, Mr. Agostinho Neto, President of the MPLA<sup>18</sup> Worker's Party and President of the People's Republic of Angola. His highly regarded humanistic nature and his commitment to justice and the struggle against imperialism make him an historic figure to be remembered forever. Not only did President Neto win admiration and affection from his own Angolan people and the struggling people in our own zone, but he was admired and loved by all peace-loving people throughout the world. For us, he was and will always be a symbol of fighting Africa. He will continue to be a symbol of that Africa determined to break loose the chains of colonialist and imperialist domination. For us, President Neto was and will always be the symbol of that Africa which builds on the happiness of the people. For us, a people fighting for a society free from exploitation of man by man, we believe the best way to pay homage to his memory can only be through the pursuance of his ideals of struggle for freedom and justice.

179. For us, who come from a zone of confrontation between liberty and domination, it is with special emotion that we congratulate you, Sir, on your unanimous election to the presidency of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You come from the United Republic of Tanzania, a front-line State with which the People's Republic of Mozambique is united through ties of blood shed by our two peoples in the common struggle against colonial domination and imperialist aggression.

180. The party, the people and the Government of the United Republic of Tanzania were always with us in the struggle against Portuguese colonialism. Today we are together in the same trench in the struggle for the political and economic emancipation of our countries. The United Republic of Tanzania remains in the front line of our common struggle against racist and minority régimes in southern Africa. For its commitment to the struggle for liberation of the world in general, and of Africa in particular, your country became a permanent target of imperialist aggression. The invasion and massacres recently perpetrated by the racist horde of Idi Amin against the United Republic of Tanzania were intended to destroy a secure bulwark of national liberation movements. Once again justice and liberty triumphed. Once again terror and oppression were defeated.

181. Since 1971, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim in

<sup>17</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 18th meeting, paras. 138-192.

<sup>18</sup> Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

his capacity as Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization has demonstrated not only the qualities of a great diplomat but also those of a true fighter for people who are subjected to colonial and racist domination. We are certain, Mr. President, that, with your experience and dedication to the ideals of liberation as well as your commitment to peace and progress, the work of this session will, under your enlightened guidance, be rewarded with a success which will be important in the coming decade.

182. The decade which will elapse in two months' time has been a qualitative success in terms of the liberation struggle of the peoples of the world in general and of Africa in particular.

183. In Asia, the peoples of Afghanistan and Iran succeeded in deposing dictatorial régimes which were part of the siege of imperialist fire against socialist forces. However it is the historic victory of the peoples of reunified Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea over the major imperialist Power that continues to inspire and encourage mankind's struggle for just societies, free from the exploitation of man by man.

184. In Latin America, the people of Nicaragua and Grenada swept away oligarchic dictatorships, paving the way for new possibilities of liberation in that region.

185. In Europe, following the collapse of the Salazar-Caetano Fascist-colonial dictatorship in Portugal, and that of Franco in Spain, the people of those countries re-established the freedom denied to them for more than 40 years through systematic terror and repression.

186. In Africa, for centuries subjected to pillage and colonial and imperialist domination and exploitation, the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire; the independence of Seychelles, Comoros and Djibouti; the overthrow of the backward imperial régime of Ethiopia; the destruction of the corrupt and dictatorial régimes of Uganda and Equatorial Guinea; and the revolutionary transformations in Benin, Madagascar, the Congo, Ethiopia and Seychelles—all constitute important victories for peoples that love peace and freedom.

187. In North Africa, the military, political and diplomatic successes of the Frente POLISARIO which resulted in the peace agreement between it and Mauritania [see A/34/23 Rev.1, chap. X, annex, para, 38] have contributed to a greater isolation of the colonialist régime in Rabat. By signing the accord, Mauritania regained the dignity it had lost during its association with the expansionist and colonial adventures of Morocco. The new leaders of Mauritania have in that way shown a greater sense of responsibility and a comprehension of the inevitability of the victory of the peoples' struggle for self-determination and national independence.

188. On the other hand, Morocco has persisted in refusing to recognize and accept the existence of the nation of the Saharan people. Morocco is flagrantly violating the Charter and resolutions of the United Nations, particularly resolution 1514 (XV). Shamelessly, the Kingdom of Morocco is occupying by force that part of the Territory of Western Sahara which only yesterday it said belonged to Mauritania and is now claiming ownership of it. This clearly reveals how fallacious are the arguments of Morocco, which has no

intention other than to camouflage its expansionist aspirations.

189. The international community must condemn this occupation and demand the withdrawal of the Rabat régime from Saharan territory so that the people of Western Sahara, under the enlightened leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, are able to promote in peace the development of their country. The People's Republic of Mozambique reiterates its total solidarity with the just struggle of the Saharan people.

190. It is in southern Africa, however, that the most significant changes have taken place. The proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola and of the People's Republic of Mozambique has shaken the imperialist strategy of the domination and exploitation of our peoples and of our natural resources. In Angola and Mozambique, the flag of proletarian internationalism is flying in the sight of the last bastions of racist and colonial domination. The independence of our two countries signalled the eventual collapse of the system of *apartheid* racism and colonialism. Imperialism does not readily accept that. Thus, while at the international level imperialism spreads calumnious campaigns of lies and defamation against the People's Republic of Mozambique and the People's Republic of Angola, it organizes, finances and intensifies military and logistic support for the racist régimes to attack our countries.

191. Desperate at their inability to liquidate the national liberation movements, the imperialist Powers are trying to co-opt movements by appearing as defenders of the liberation of the people of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa.

192. In Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and other headquarters of power in the Western countries, plans are being orchestrated to safeguard what is euphemistically called "Western civilization", something that was imposed on our people by whips and shackles, through cruelty and terror.

193. That is how the Anglo-American initiatives for Zimbabwe and the initiatives of the five Western Powers for Namibia came into being. Those initiatives were engendered to maintain hunger, misery, illiteracy and disease in Zimbabwe and Namibia. This is done to ensure that South Africa remains a farm, a private property for the transnational companies and a strategic base for aggression against and domination over the rest of Africa. Imperialism does not care that children are massacred in Nyazonia, that women are assassinated in Kassinga, that men are decimated by undernourishment in the plantations of Rhodesia or that young people are brutally murdered in Soweto for refusing "acculturation". Those are the "Western democracy" and "Western values" which are heroically resisted by the peoples of our zone.

194. The brutality of the racists and the imperialists finds an answer among our people, who, with weapons in their hands and with their own blood and through the sacrifice of their best sons, have drawn a frontier between freedom and oppression, between human dignity and servitude.

195. In Zimbabwe and Namibia, the armed struggle is gaining momentum and is tying the noose ever tighter around these centres of domination and exploitation.

The Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe and SWAPO in Namibia, through the determination shown and the sacrifices made during their respective liberation struggles, have proved to be the only legitimate representatives of their respective peoples, and in this way have won the admiration and respect of the international community.

196. The legitimacy and justice of the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia were unanimously reaffirmed by the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, which took place in Maputo in May of 1977.<sup>19</sup> As a result of that Conference, the racist and minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury were subjected to increased international isolation, and the manoeuvres of those two régimes, aimed at the establishment of puppet régimes, were denounced.

197. During that Conference, the international community reiterated the need for the implementation and application of sanctions decreed by the Security Council against the British colony of Southern Rhodesia and made an appeal for the imposition of a mandatory arms embargo against South Africa, which persists in the illegal occupation of Namibian territory.

198. That Conference condemned certain Western Powers which, in violation of the sanctions imposed by the United Nations, continue to supply military and other types of support which help to maintain the colonization of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia and encourage aggression against the front-line States.

199. On the other hand, the Conference made an appeal to the international community to increase political and financial assistance to the national liberation movements as well as to the front-line States. However, we must note with regret that, although we were united in making that decision, we are divided in implementing it. Thus we find that in Mozambique, Angola, Zambia and Botswana the aircraft inflicting massacres are of French patent, the weapons killing defenceless people are of Belgian make, the helicopters transporting mercenaries and machine-gunning schoolchildren are of American origin, and the fuel enabling the illegal régime to attack us is provided by the United Kingdom. With all this, they intend to impede the advance of the national liberation movements. The friends of exploitation and domination continue to support racism and colonialism.

200. In contrast, the socialist countries, the Nordic countries and other countries whose peoples prize peace and freedom have substantially increased their support for the liberation movements and the front-line States. It is from those countries that we receive ambulances and blankets for the refugee camps and seeds and tractors for our agricultural centres, which are being destroyed daily by the racists. Those countries supply us with physicians, engineers and technicians, with whom the liberation movements and the front-line States are building together the social progress of their peoples.

201. The socialist countries have been supporting the needs of our struggle. They supply us with the necessary weapons for the strengthening of our defence

capacity, thus implementing the decisions of the Security Council.

202. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia answer the obstinacy of the colonialists and racists by intensifying their armed liberation struggle.

203. In Zimbabwe, the colonial Power has been compelled to face up to its responsibilities in the decolonization process primarily as a result of the political and military victories of the Patriotic Front as well as of the pressure of the international community.

204. It was within that framework that the United Kingdom agreed during the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries held recently in Lusaka to convene a constitutional conference in London with a view to sorting out a negotiated solution of the Rhodesian problem.

205. The Patriotic Front, in agreeing to participate in that conference, demonstrated again that the forces waging the fight for freedom can also negotiate a peace aimed at bringing about liberty and dignity for their people. The Patriotic Front, determined to contribute to the successful conclusion of that Conference, has shown maturity and flexibility in the negotiation process. It is the Patriotic Front that is making substantive concessions. As an example, in agreeing that 20 per cent of the seats in the Legislative Assembly in Zimbabwe be reserved for whites, the Patriotic Front has sacrificed an important aspect of its anti-racist principles, with the aim of facilitating the search for a solution.

206. The Patriotic Front is the main force in Zimbabwe leading the armed liberation struggle. The Patriotic Front is the legitimate representative of the Zimbabwean people. The Patriotic Front represents the ideals of freedom and justice. Therefore, all our support and solidarity must be given to the Patriotic Front. Nobody is more able than the Patriotic Front to determine whether or not the objectives for which it is fighting have been achieved. Only the attainment of these objectives can end the armed struggle and bring peace and, consequently, the lifting of sanctions.

207. The international community cannot accept the unilateral lifting of sanctions, as some of the most conservative circles in the United States of America and in the United Kingdom suggest. We hope that the Governments of those and other countries will resist pressures in that direction. The international community must condemn any Government in Zimbabwe that is not based on criteria established with the full agreement of the Patriotic Front.

208. On the question of Namibia, SWAPO, the front-line States and the international community have accepted the plan of the United Nations Secretary-General for the decolonization of that Territory in accordance with Security Council resolution 435 (1978) and other relevant resolutions of our Organization.

209. Meanwhile, South Africa continues to refuse to implement that plan, in flagrant defiance of the decisions of the United Nations. Its intransigency results from the complicity of and support given by certain Western countries.

<sup>19</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12344/Rev.1.

210. It is the duty of the international community to denounce and condemn the delaying manoeuvres of South Africa and its allies, which seek to create obstacles in the way of the liberation process of the people of Namibia. The United Nations must take concrete measures against South Africa so as to ensure that the plan adopted by the Security Council will be applied. We must intensify our support for and solidarity with SWAPO, which is fighting for a free, united and indivisible homeland. Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibia. Namibia belongs to Namibians, and no one can claim a right to appropriate any single part of its territory.

211. The main enemy of the peoples of Africa is the racist régime of Pretoria and its devilish system of domination and *apartheid*. *Apartheid* is hunger and misery, disease and ignorance, acculturation and unemployment; in other words, *apartheid* is a complete denial of the human being.

212. Opposed by South African peoples, denounced and rejected by the international community, the *apartheid* régime tries to introduce cosmetic changes which do not modify in substance the structure of domination and discrimination. It is in this context that we witness the pseudo-liberalization of the régime in certain social domains. It is also in the same context that the policy of bantustanization was introduced. Through the bantustans the régime of South Africa tries to create buffer States in order to protect the racist citadel. Through the bantustans, it can put at its disposal a permanent reserve of a cheap labour force which ensures the continuity of the system of exploitation. Through bantustans the people which constitute the South African nation are divided. That is why we say "No" to the bantustan of Transkei, "No" to the bantustan of Bophuthatswana and "No" to the bantustan of Venda. And we will say "No" to any bantustan.

213. It is a sacred duty of peace and freedom-loving forces, and particularly the United Nations, to support the liberation struggle of the South African people led by the African National Congress of South Africa.

214. The eradication of *apartheid* is an essential task of the whole of humanity.

215. We, the front-line States, feel that our own independence will remain incomplete until the day that all the people of southern Africa are free from colonialism and racism. Until that day we will provide a secure rear base of national liberation for the people of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

216. That is why in 1975, on the occasion of the admission of the People's Republic of Mozambique into the universal community of nations, we appealed for a complete and total boycott against the illegal and racist régime of Southern Rhodesia and affirmed our decisive readiness to assume all the responsibilities in conformity with our international duties.

217. A few months later, on 3 February 1976, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, His Excellency Samora Moises Machel, announced to the world the closing of our borders with the British colony of Southern Rhodesia in compliance with the sanctions imposed by Security Council resolution 253 (1968).

This act constitutes our example of solidarity with the struggling peoples. It is not just a mere declaration of principles, because we converted it into concrete action.

218. The fulfilment of that and other pertinent resolutions has caused serious difficulties in the economy of our own country. These difficulties are aggravated by the fact that our economic structure, conceived by colonialism, had been oriented to serve the interests of the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. Hundreds of thousands of our workers went to the plantations and mines of Rhodesia. Towards Southern Rhodesia were directed important roads and railroad connexions. The main purpose of all these connexions was the transport of Rhodesian goods. The breach of this flow came to overburden our already weak economic situation. However, despite all of these difficulties, the Mozambican people are giving shelter to more than 160,000 Zimbabwean refugees, who are in need of food, health care, housing, clothing. They need hoes, tractors and other means of producing food. The children need milk and books. It is our people in Mozambique who endure the major part of this burden.

219. Our country is a victim of constant armed aggressions from the racists. Why does the enemy attack us? I should like to quote His Excellency Samora Moises Machel, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, in this connexion. He said:

"What is the main objective of the enemy? It is to impede our support to the liberation movement of Zimbabwe, to obstruct our economic development and the consolidation of our independence. The Smith-Muzorewa régime carries out its role of devoted agent of imperialism in the area. Its tasks are to prevent the liberation of Zimbabwe, to prevent the liberation of South Africa and Namibia and also to destabilize the independent States in the area."

220. In the beginning of September, just before the present Assembly session started, the enemy forces committed a total of 18 armed attacks and 65 frontier violations. In one of the biggest escalations ever, the Rhodesian forces used 13 Mirage planes, 8 Bell helicopters, and 5 reconnaissance planes of other makes.

221. They came to spread death and destruction. Mozambicans were killed and wounded. They had as a main target an important agro-industrial complex in the Chokwe district. In this incursion they destroyed several bridges, factories and means of transportation. The enemy attacked, killed and destroyed without any discrimination.

222. The aggression was mainly concentrated in the provinces of Manica, Sofala and Gaza. The main targets were the civilian population, the refugee camps, the production centres, the means of communication and other strategic economic structures.

223. In their slaughter and plunder operations, the racist forces used a great number of planes and helicopters to spread destruction and terror. They shot old people dead, they cut open the wombs of pregnant women, they turned the children's gardens into cemeteries. They used napalm and fragmentation bombs against our hospitals and schools.

224. Thus the criminal band violates the fundamental rules of war; they ignore the most elementary principles of human rights. The Smith-Muzorewa forces are seconded by mercenaries—the famous criminal soldiers of fortune recruited from certain Western countries. Imperialist interests are defended by mercenaries. Hence, when the people's justice sentences them to deserved punishment, the imperialist mass media with a great outcry accuse us of dictatorship and violation of human rights.

225. The Security Council in its resolution 386 (1976) appealed to the international community to provide Mozambique with financial, technical and material assistance to enable it to implement its policy of economic independence vis-à-vis the racist régime of Rhodesia and to provide us with better conditions for complying with United Nations mandatory sanctions. The same Council in resolution 411 (1977) appealed to the international community to reinforce our defence capability.

226. Nevertheless, we find that the majority of the international community has not honoured its commitment.

227. However, it is important to emphasize that solidarity with the peoples of Zimbabwe and the front-line States has been shown in a positive and consistent way, especially by the socialist and the Nordic countries that have, in compliance with the decisions of the United Nations, rendered considerable support to our programmes of economic and social development, national defence and assistance to the refugees.

228. With the support of all peoples of the world and, most of all, relying on its own strength the Mozambican people are very confident of victory. The main factor of victory is men who are fully aware; a mobilized and organized people like ours.

229. In Mozambique, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia the enemy is doomed to defeat.

230. Let us at this stage pay a tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for his relentless efforts to solve all the intricate problems facing mankind today. Particularly, we want to thank him for his role in the liberation of southern Africa and the consolidation of the newly independent countries.

231. The United Nations has since 1947 been discussing the situation in the Middle East. Several resolutions, recommendations and decisions have successively been adopted by the General Assembly, the Security Council and other international institutions and forums. However, the problem is still there without any solution. On the contrary, the situation *in loco* is worsening day by day.

232. Why does the problem of the Middle East remain unsolved, despite being considered one of the major concerns of humanity? For us the answer is clear and simple. It is imperialism and its ally, zionism, which persist in opposing the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine to self-determination and national independence and the creation of their own sovereign State and which remain stubborn in their illegal and repressive occupation of the Arab territories seized since June 1967.

233. Imperialism and zionism develop manoeuvres in order to maintain the *status quo* of domination and oppression and intensify aggression against the Arab people, thus increasing the tension already existing in the region.

234. Unsatisfied with the regrettable situation prevailing in the Middle East, imperialism patronizes the capitulation of Egypt and its treason to the cause of Palestinian and Arab peoples, reinforces the aggressive military capability of the Zionist régime against Lebanon and the Palestinian refugees and encourages the Zionist colonization of the occupied Arab territories.

235. A lasting peace in the Middle East is not coadunate with the vile treason to the Palestinian cause, which is now considered "courage"; and it cannot be in sympathy with the Zionist aggression and colonization of Arab peoples.

236. A lasting peace implies respect for the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to self-determination, national independence and the creation of their own free and sovereign State under the leadership of the PLO; and it also implies the unconditional, total and complete withdrawal of Israel from the occupied Arab territories. A separate peace is meaningless while all Arab nations and the Palestinian people are still under Zionist bayonets. In this context the People's Republic of Mozambique denounces and condemns the separate accords between Egypt and Israel and reiterates its support for solidarity with the just struggle of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO and with the Arab peoples for a comprehensive and just solution of the problem of the Middle East in accordance with their legitimate aspirations.

237. The serious problems of South-East Asia are the consequences of the very long period of colonial and imperialist domination imposed on the peoples of Indo-China. We believe that forgetting the past leads us to indulge in an incorrect analysis of the recent events in the region. For us this is not a fortuitous conclusion, but the result of the experience and practice of our people recently liberated from colonial and imperialist domination.

238. A military defeat creates a political misfortune and a crisis of international credibility. Furthermore, in the case of a major imperialist Power, defeat generates the disintegration of its system of domination. The core of the South-East Asian problem consists in the attempt of imperialism to erase its shameful defeat in Indo-China. This explains the increased manoeuvres, political, diplomatic and economic pressures and propaganda against the nations of this region, which are following an independent and socialist path.

239. The correct and adequate answer of the international community to this situation must be an increase of concrete material support to the people of this region to enable them to reconstruct their countries ravaged by the war of imperialist aggression and to create that climate of good-neighbourliness and stability among themselves which is very important for their rapid progress and development.

240. In a period in which human rights is the theme of most public statements, we are forced to sit together in this chamber with those who represent bestiality and

genocide in Kampuchea. But we are sure that history, which is made by people, will soon rectify this situation and once more condemn those who are against the true representatives of the people. For us, as well as for the people of Kampuchea, the situation in that country is irreversible. The Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea is the legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people and the only one entitled to participate in that capacity in all international organizations and forums, particularly in the United Nations.

241. Still in the Asia region, the situation prevailing in East Timor is of concern to us. The colonization and repression of the people of East Timor forbids us to keep silent, particularly when the Maubere freedom fighters continue to struggle for the liberation of their occupied country, notwithstanding the sacrifices that entails. The representative of the Portuguese Government, the administering Power, very recently declared in this Assembly [*16th meeting*] that the process of decolonization of East Timor is not yet accomplished. The Maubere people reject annexation, and the administering Power does not accept the fait accompli. That is why the international community cannot remain indifferent to the courageous and difficult struggle for national liberation being waged by the Maubere people against Indonesian colonialism and for the regaining of their inalienable right to self-determination and national independence. The United Nations must take the appropriate measures to force Indonesia to withdraw from East Timor and to allow the process of decolonization to go forward to its conclusion.

242. Once again the People's Republic of Mozambique is compelled to denounce and condemn the Indonesian occupation and repression in East Timor. In accordance with the decision taken at the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries, we reaffirm our unconditional support for the just struggle for national liberation being waged by the Maubere people, led by FRETILIN.<sup>20</sup>

243. We demand the total withdrawal of the foreign occupation forces from the southern part of Korea and we reaffirm our solidarity with the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, devoted as it is to the peaceful unification of Korea.

244. We also express our solidarity to the people and Government of the Republic of Cyprus in their struggle to achieve strict respect for their sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment.

245. We feel encouraged by the victories of the Latin American peoples over imperialist, colonialist, dictatorial and Fascist domination.

246. We salute Saint Lucia, a recently liberated country formerly under colonial domination and now accepted by this Assembly as a full Member of our Organization. We offer our friendship and co-operation to Saint Lucia.

247. Our friendship and solidarity goes equally to the people and Government of Grenada, which has liberated itself from a dictatorial régime. We salute its brave decision to sever totally the relations that existed between it and the racist régimes of southern Africa,

thereby contributing to the victories of oppressed peoples.

248. We bring special greetings from the people of Mozambique to the Nicaraguan people and the Sandinist National Liberation front for their historic victory over the Somoza dictatorship and oligarchy. Weapons in hand, the Nicaraguan people destroyed one of the most obsolete and hideous dictatorships of Latin America. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the people and Government of the new Nicaragua in their efforts towards national reconstruction. We appeal to the international community urgently to grant the necessary assistance for the reconstruction of this country, destroyed by the plundering engaged in by Somoza and the war he imposed on its people.

249. The entry into force of the Torrijos-Carter treaties on the Panama Canal is a victory for the people of Panama. We consider this an important step in their conquest of total sovereignty over the Panama Canal. In Puerto Rico and Belize, the colonial situation continues. Guantánamo is still occupied by United States troops. We reiterate our support of and solidarity with the peoples of Puerto Rico and Belize in their just struggle for self-determination and national independence, and we demand the complete and unconditional withdrawal of American troops from Guantánamo, an integral part of socialist Cuba.

250. We condemn the recent decision of the United States Government to reinforce its military presence in Guantánamo and in the entire Caribbean area. This move will endanger the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of that region.

251. We express our solidarity with the just struggle of the Chilean people for liberty and democracy against the Pinochet dictatorship.

252. We denounce and condemn the military and Fascist régimes of South America that maintain close ties of friendship and co-operation with the racist and minority régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury, which are planning to create an aggressive military pact in the southern Atlantic.

253. Peace, stability and human progress are indivisible. The struggle for peace is an integral part of the liberation of oppressed peoples. It demands concrete and effective measures to bring about general and complete disarmament, including nuclear disarmament. The bases for establishing a new, just and equitable international economic order are liberty and peace.

254. The recent signing of the SALT Treaty, which we hope will soon be ratified by the United States Government, constitutes an important contribution to the solution of the problem of the nuclear arms race. We salute this important Treaty, and we hope that it will encourage the parties involved in these negotiations to proceed to general and complete disarmament, and particularly nuclear disarmament.

255. We feel that if the industrialized countries could reach agreement on lowering the high budgets they are devoting to the arms race and utilize the sums released for the benefit of development, they would be effectively participating in the elimination of the starvation and hunger that are undermining the majority of man-

<sup>20</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

kind; this, too, would contribute to the cause of disarmament.

256. The disarmament process is a long and tortuous one. It demands political will, mutual confidence and, most of all, the determination to create a better future for our children.

257. It is this same determination that leads us to denounce and condemn the support the imperialist Powers are giving to the *apartheid* régime for the manufacture of nuclear weapons. The technological and material assistance given to this régime for nuclear purposes can only aggravate the already explosive situation by assisting in the continued existence of racist régimes.

258. We also condemn the increasing reinforcement of the imperialist military presence in the islands of Diego Garcia, Réunion, and occupied Mayotte, as well as the establishment of the South African military base at Simonstown; we forcefully repudiate the United States Government's decision to deploy its Fifth Fleet in the Indian Ocean, as well as the recently declared intention of the President of the United States to increase his country's presence in that region.

259. For us such actions of imperialism constitute a serious and direct threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the countries of the region—especially the southern African States—as well as a serious threat to international peace and security.

260. The materialization of the decisions concerned with the denuclearization of Africa and the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace free of nuclear weapons is a must if we want to see general and complete disarmament and world peace.

261. It is with special interest that we address ourselves to the problems of international peace and security. Motivated by the same special interest, we support the convening of the second special session of the General Assembly to be devoted to disarmament, and we are committed to the materialization of the World Disarmament Conference in the near future.

262. The energy crisis constitutes a factor of great concern for the international community. In this context, we are of the opinion that it is important to identify new and renewable sources of energy so that they may meet the demands of economic and social development and those of industrial capability growth.

263. The convening of an international conference in 1981 on new and renewable sources of energy has to aim at elaborating measures conducive to concerted action likely to promote their value and utilization. Such measures have also to meet future needs in the field of energy as part of the efforts undertaken to expedite economic development, particularly in developing countries.

264. At the same time, we deem it necessary to carry out measures aimed at promoting and encouraging research and development in the exploitation of new technologies and the creation of conditions to make them accessible to developing countries. Thus the whole of mankind would benefit from the outcome of that conference.

265. By the same token, we think that the holding of an international conference on the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy for economic and social development will constitute a contribution to peoples' social and economic development.

266. Certain industrialized capitalist countries strongly protest against the rise of the price of oil, to the extent of trying to persuade us that it is the cause of the ever-increasing inflation and recession in their economies. We reject this manoeuvre of accusing oil-producing developing countries of being responsible for such phenomena, which are nothing but the product of contradictions inherent in the capitalist system.

267. We consider legitimate the decision by the oil-producing developing countries to review the price of this raw material as a measure for defending and controlling their natural resources.

268. However, we are mindful that the developing countries are the most affected by the economic consequences of the ever-increasing price of oil. Therefore we deem necessary the adoption of urgent appropriate measures to alleviate the situation of these countries, which not by chance are also importers of all the consequences inherent in the present crisis of the capitalist economy.

269. The many proposals already made in the search for compensatory solutions to this situation allow us to foresee surely positive results in the next negotiations of a global character.

270. In the interval between this thirty-fourth General Assembly session and the previous one, we the developing countries tried to find negotiated solutions to the problems of the present international economic situation through various ways. Nevertheless, that situation is becoming more and more catastrophic to the whole international community, but with greater incidence on our developing countries.

271. It is not by accident that this has happened. There is a deliberate persistence in the way some capitalist developed countries and economic financial institutions behave. They act as instruments of domination, of establishment of zones of influence and of economic division. They are pursuing a policy of interference in the internal affairs of our countries. They impose measures to limit our national sovereignty, thus hampering the exercise of peoples' fundamental right to develop themselves according to the economic, political and social paths chosen by them.

272. Africa is the most flagrant example of this, in the sense that it remains the most seriously affected region as a result of blocking movements imposed on its development and based fundamentally on manoeuvres to perpetuate structures of domination inherited from colonialism, whose consequences have reached the maximum of harm.

273. May I be allowed to mention the particular case of my country.

274. The People's Republic of Mozambique is a developing country ruined by colonialism and devastated by war and is among the most seriously affected by natural disasters. We are engaged in our national recon-

struction and in creating conditions conducive to our breaking away from under-development and to the setting up of a society free from the exploitation of man by man. This rupture with under-development will take us to complete independence, which comprises the consolidation of political independence and the materialization of economic independence.

275. In its attempt to perpetuate structures of domination in Rhodesia and South Africa and to spread them to the neighbouring countries, imperialism acts against our efforts through open aggression, economic sabotage and other methods of destabilization. Notwithstanding all these manoeuvres, a number of achievements have been recorded by the Mozambican people as a product of their determination to establish a planned economy.

276. The People's Republic of Mozambique has experienced some years of rich undertakings, which culminated in the preparation of the 1979/1980 biennial State plan. This plan will constitute our spring-board to development in the decade of the 1980s known in our country as the "Decade of the Liquidation of Under-development". This plan will enable us to embark on a process of the generalized recovery of our economy.

277. This struggle for generalized recovery is not circumscribed within undertakings of an internal character only: it comprises a series of initiatives of larger dimensions.

278. In the field of subregional economic and technical co-operation, the People's Republic of Mozambique, together with other independent countries of the region, is taking action with a view to reducing its economic dependence by strengthening its links with them which are intended to achieve meaningful regional integration and the mobilization of their resources for the promotion of national, inter-State and regional policies.

279. This action is focused primarily on the improvement of strategic sectors, namely transport and communications, agriculture, industry and trade, the structure of which is inadequate at present as it has been inherited from colonialism and cannot therefore meet the needs of the present stage of development.

280. Allow me in this connexion to quote His Excellency President Samora Machel, who has said:

"The People's Republic of Mozambique, as a socialist country, has always raised very high the flag of peace and co-operation among peoples, which is at the same time the flag of solidarity with the just struggle of the oppressed peoples. We are open to the development of economic and trade relations with all countries irrespective of their social system."

281. The struggle against under-development and for the radical restructuring of international economic relations is shared by other developing countries which in a concerted action in Arusha, at the Fourth Ministerial meeting of the Group of 77, adopted a comprehensive programme of collective self-reliance and a framework for negotiations<sup>21</sup> that would be conducive to successful results for the fifth session of UNCTAD.

282. It is important here to stress the political goodwill demonstrated by the developing countries, which, notwithstanding their diversity of interests and the different social systems prevailing among them, have always been able to set up a framework of understanding in all efforts aimed at the democratization of international trade relations. However, we note with great concern that the developed capitalist countries are using all possible devices to cause the further deterioration of international economic relations, which are already weak.

283. The growing protectionist measures, the ever increasing inflation and monetary fluctuations have led to constant instability in the raw-materials trade and to abuses by imperialist monopolies acting through transnational corporations. We understand this situation to result from an absence of political goodwill on the part of the capitalist countries in the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Their arrogance and persistence, their delaying manoeuvres and the other devices they use with the aim of fragmenting global treatment of matters of international concern, thus evading the fulfilment of their obligations, have led to meaningless achievements at the fifth session of UNCTAD and in other international forums such as the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy.

284. In order to maintain their privileged position, which was obtained through exploitation of the developing countries' natural resources, developed countries are now introducing new concepts such as "access to supplies", "selective graduation", utilization of "a global strategy for basic needs", "interdependence" and "differentiation", thus distorting the genuine objective of international co-operation and even distracting us from the development priorities of our countries. That is how imperialism exercises its present subjugation policy in international forums.

285. We are particularly concerned with the present stalemate of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and we should like here to mention the constant threats of unilateral legislative decisions concerning the sea-bed made by the industrialized countries in an open challenge to the moratorium decision approved by our world today.

286. We resolutely condemn those threats, as well as the moves of the United States of America aimed at concluding mini-conventions with other States outside the framework of the United Nations, thus violating the principles of the United Nations enshrined in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV).

287. We urge all Member States to dedicate all their efforts to adopting, as soon as possible, a universal convention within the framework of the New International Economic Order.

288. Notwithstanding all the divisionist attempts by imperialism among developing countries, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held recently in Havana, Cuba, took an important step in proposing negotiable solutions for the establishment of the New International Economic Order and a set of global negotiations relat-

<sup>21</sup> Document TD/236.

ing to international economic co-operation for development.

289. In this connexion we want to express our appreciation for the endorsement of this decision by the Foreign Ministers of the Group of 77 at the meeting held last month here in New York [A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex].

290. My country also welcomes the results regarding institutional and financial issues achieved at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development.<sup>22</sup> We sincerely regret that that Conference did not take decisions on the majority of important issues on its agenda, because of traditional intransigence and the lack of political will among certain Western countries.

291. On the eve of the adoption of the new international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, and in the present world political and economic context, we feel it necessary to reaffirm our commitment to the objectives and principles enshrined in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)].

292. Let the great projects that were initiated in connexion with the International Year of the Child enlighten our works in the next decade so that children of all societies may grow up healthy, with adequate food, clothing and education, and in an environment full of love and affection.

293. Let us apply the national and international directives of the International Year of the Child and go forward towards the construction of a better world for our children. The future of our development lies with them.

294. The International Year of the Child is coming to its end. Let us now unite and commit ourselves to the protection of new generations from the scourge of war, starvation and misery in the forthcoming decade, the decade of struggle against under-development.

295. *A luta continua.*

296. Mr. RODRÍGUEZ PORTH (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The just recognition by all delegations of your high qualities, Sir, is the most eloquent proof of the wisdom of the African States which put forward your candidacy and, in turn, of this Assembly, which elected you by acclamation as its President for this session. I am convinced that you will be able to render a most distinguished service to the international community, as you have already done in other offices, and am therefore very pleased, on behalf of the delegation of El Salvador, to congratulate you whole-heartedly.

297. The delegation of El Salvador would like to express on this occasion its appreciation and congratula-

tions to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, a distinguished son of Colombia, for the wisdom, tact and moderation with which he performed the tasks of the presidency of this Assembly at all times during its thirty-third session.

298. We should also like once again to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his constant contribution to the achievement of the objectives of the Organization through tireless efforts, not only here at Headquarters but also in the countries and regions where the most serious situations of crisis and conflict exist. We express our gratitude to him and his colleagues for the diligence and efficiency with which they are carrying out their difficult administrative tasks.

299. In keeping with the decisions adopted at the beginning of this session on the basis of the wise recommendations which our Secretary-General formulated in his report of 13 June last on the problem of the rationalization of the procedures and organization of the General Assembly [A/34/320], I intend to be very concise and to take up only some of the aspects of the international situation. I hope thus to contribute to saving the time and money of the Organization and, hence, that of each and every one of its Members.

300. It is with joy that we welcome the admission of Saint Lucia, a Caribbean country belonging to our American regional group, which was admitted to membership in the United Nations by acclamation at the last meeting of this session on 18 September. On behalf of the people and Government of El Salvador, it is my pleasant duty to extend to the representatives of Saint Lucia our warmest welcome and offer to them our friendship and co-operation.

301. There are very few events that have occurred during the Organization's 33 years' existence that are as important and encouraging as the historic visit of His Holiness Pope John Paul II and his most eloquent statement made to this Assembly on 2 October [17th meeting]. His appeal for peace, understanding and solidarity among individuals and nations constitutes the greatest incentive for our Organization in its efforts to strengthen peace and to promote the development of all and their mutual understanding.

302. As the representative of a people whose vast majority is of the Catholic Faith, I should like to thank the Holy Father for his lofty message from this very rostrum and in all places and on all occasions where he has fervently exalted the values of the human being and prayed for our prosperity and happiness.

303. The Government of El Salvador is pleased to congratulate most warmly the brotherly people of Panama and their Government on the implementation on 1 October 1979 of the new Panama Canal Treaties which, following a long and painstaking negotiation and thanks to the goodwill of the United States of America, now return to that Republic of the isthmus the full exercise of its sovereignty over a considerable portion of its territory and guarantee its permanent neutrality. This is indeed an historic event of the greatest meaning, received with great joy by all Latin Americans and applauded by the international community as a victory of diplomacy and law.

304. The Government which I have the honour of

<sup>22</sup> 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.L21).

representing maintains the traditional policy of the Republic of El Salvador, one of the founding States of this world Organization, namely, a firm adherence to the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter.

305. Among the objectives of the United Nations is that of encouraging international co-operation and, in that context, contributing to a solution of economic and humanitarian problems that exist.

306. The serious and regrettable consequences of events that have taken place in this Hemisphere during the last year have indicated the urgent need for the co-operation of the United Nations and other international organizations.

307. ECLA was diligent in elaborating and circulating, in August of this year, a report on the economic repercussions of the recent political events in Nicaragua,<sup>23</sup> a valuable document which served as a basis for the Committee of the Whole of ECLA to consider the urgent problem of the reconstruction of that country.

308. El Salvador has felt and continues to feel as its own the suffering of our brothers the people of Nicaragua caused by a bloody and prolonged struggle which took place in tragic circumstances. Our Government has done everything within its power to assist the people of Nicaragua in this emergency; it has contributed and is prepared to continue to contribute to the international efforts undertaken for its reconstruction and recovery. It actively participated in the meeting of the Plenary Committee of ECLA and in the initiative for the inclusion in the agenda of this Assembly session of item 124 entitled "Assistance for the reconstruction of Nicaragua". It will take part in the consideration of that item with the firm desire to ensure that assistance is given that is commensurate with the human and material losses resulting from the conflict and with the size of the programmes the Government of Nicaragua intends to undertake in its task of reconstruction.

309. Just as painful has been the destruction and loss of life caused by the forces of nature in two other countries in our region—Dominica and the Dominican Republic. In the same spirit of brotherly solidarity, El Salvador has offered its co-operation to the Governments of both countries, and it is prepared to do so also in the framework of international organizations.

310. Development and peace are the major objectives of the United Nations system—which is made up not only of the Organization as such, but of many specialized agencies, whose services we do not always acknowledge and whose real significance we do not always appreciate. We often confine ourselves to pointing an accusing finger at the deficiencies in their activities, without thinking about the positive aspects and the benefits which we all receive from them.

*Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

311. The Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization, issued in mid-September, states:

"It cannot be said that the past year has witnessed

any striking progress on our main problems. Indeed, the lack of progress, especially on the economic side, is distinctly disappointing and in strong contrast to the evident urgency of most of the problems." [See A/34/1, sect.I.]

This statement by the highest administrative authority in our Organization is confirmed when we observe the persistence of the serious economic and social problems which now face all countries, in greater or lesser degree—rich, poor, large, medium-sized or small countries. These problems, however, most affect those whose development is not very advanced, countries which, by and large, do not have the human, material and technological resources which are necessary effectively to eradicate poverty, ignorance, disease, unemployment, food shortages, the energy crisis and so on—factors which contribute to an increase in internal tensions generated by discontent and disagreement with situations which must be corrected; and for that, international co-operation is required.

312. As a developing country, El Salvador is greatly interested in the work carried out by the United Nations system as a whole in this field. To give but a few examples, we understand the difficulties which the Economic and Social Council often has to face as well as the obstacles faced by UNDP and ECLA. Nevertheless, these agencies and bodies perform extremely important functions for the benefit of mankind.

313. The present Government of El Salvador is committed to carrying out an ambitious programme of integral development and improvement through its own efforts and through international and inter-American co-operation, which is referred to as the "national programme of well-being for all". That programme is under way, despite internal agitation and disquiet—which are not conducive to tranquil and successful work in all its aspects.

314. At the same time as this great work is being carried out in the economic and social fields, through programmes encompassing all the areas of human advancement and development, the Government of El Salvador is envisaging a series of legal and political measures designed to continue to improve and consolidate the mechanisms of democracy so that in the next elections to the Legislative Assembly and the municipal councils, in the entire country, which will be held in March 1980, and in all future elections, the representative will of the people of El Salvador may find channels which will be increasingly adequate to express themselves in full freedom.

315. Thus, in the effort to safeguard and deepen the democratic system, the Government of El Salvador, and especially the President of the Republic, General Carlos Humberto Romero, have worked in the context of their historic and patriotic responsibility. It is truly a healthy challenge for all the forces of conscience in the country to surmount the many problems that face El Salvador by means of harmonious and civilized solutions.

316. The Government of El Salvador has invited the OAS to be a worthy witness of this process of genuine and renewed democratization of the political life of El Salvador and to assist us in various procedural aspects of that development. We have requested its valuable

<sup>23</sup> Document E/CEPAL/G.1091.

co-operation, thus giving clear proof of the seriousness and openness of the intentions of our Government.

317. All developing countries members of what is known as the Group of 77 are concerned at the fact that no progress has been made in the North-South dialogue because of the notorious resistance of the industrialized countries. All the efforts made so far have failed because of that resistance, as was demonstrated once again in the negotiations which have taken place in the past year as well as in the fifth session of UNCTAD held in Manila, from 7 May to 1 June 1979.

318. It would seem that the industrialized States of the North are not fully aware of the fact that just as the time came for the eradication of colonial empires, the time has now come for the effective establishment of a new international economic order, characterized by the disappearance of the great inequalities between the economically powerful countries and the countries which until now have not greatly developed, but which are struggling to improve themselves and can do so only through the elimination of the very privileges and advantages enjoyed by the former, particularly in regard to international trade.

319. Finally, on 8 April 1979 it was possible in Vienna to arrive at the adoption and signing of the Constitution of UNIDO as a specialized agency [see A/34/237]. This event constitutes one of the few achievements of the past year.

320. As at the last session, we must once again express regret at the fact that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has not been able to complete its work. At the eighth session of the Conference, which took place in part at Geneva and in part in New York, relatively little was achieved—particularly during the second part of the session—in the consideration of the integrated composite negotiating text.<sup>24</sup> In Geneva, at least, a working group existing for the purpose carried out a first revision of the integrated text, while noting that many questions and proposals had not yet been the subject of adequate consideration. In New York, it was not possible to carry out a second revision.

321. At the end of the session, the general view of groups of delegations was that at the next session, in 1980, the convention on the law of the sea would have to be adopted so that it might be signed as soon as possible in Caracas, Venezuela, as had been agreed. In order to carry out that objective, it was agreed to divide the session into two five-week periods, and a time-table was adopted which, if successful, will culminate with the adoption of the instrument.

322. While acknowledging that this is an extremely complex and delicate matter, entailing many varied and great interests, we believe that the working method adopted in the "gentlemen's agreement" of 1974<sup>25</sup> may perhaps not be the most appropriate for the elaboration of an instrument as important as this one. A proof of that is the fact that the first session took place seven years ago and we are still awaiting what may perhaps take place in 1980. The circumstances may have been very different and the number of States much smaller,

but the United Nations Charter was worked out and signed in a mere eight months from the preparatory work done at Dumbarton Oaks in 1944 until the final stages of the San Francisco Conference the following year, which lasted barely two months.

323. With regard to human rights, my delegation would like to repeat the position of its Government with regard to the competence of the bodies established by this Organization and by some regional entities to consider the subject. That competence, in our opinion, represents progress in the development of international law but at the same time we should like to point out that this innovation, introduced in recent times, in no way authorizes States as such to emit judgements outside of the afore-mentioned international or regional bodies on the conduct of the authorities of other countries with regard to human rights—and much less to condemn foreign Governments, which would clearly constitute undue interference in their internal affairs.

324. The policy followed in that area is all the more unacceptable since it does not take into account the critical situations which specific Governments have to face in dealing with openly subversive movements inspired, prepared and guided from abroad as part of a well known international conspiracy. Those movements must be rejected by the Governments in question through actions which can hardly be called violations of human rights.

325. That does not mean that there is no validity in the international concern to ensure that human rights are better protected and practised in the world. But we must understand that that concern should be in the context of the limits of a relation of friendship, realism and constructive coexistence among States.

326. My Government would like to repeat its position with regard to the problem of the Middle East. El Salvador believes that a just and lasting peace in the region can be achieved only on the basis of the following premises: first, the recognition of the existence of Israel as a State by the Arab countries; then, the satisfaction of the legitimate aspirations of the Arab States, in particular of the Palestinian people. Moreover my country is in favour of the full implementation of the principle of the admissibility of acquiring territory by force and has been consistent with this policy in its international relations. We state that in keeping with our desire for universality in relations, an attribute of State sovereignty, we desire to maintain friendly ties on the basis of mutual respect for all parties to the conflict, and categorically affirm that this does not imply that we are linked with any specific political position of the parties concerned, since the policy followed by the Government of El Salvador is merely the logical corollary of a position of principle. We therefore reject any attempt to link the international conduct of El Salvador with that of any of the States of the Middle East.

327. The question of Cyprus has persisted for many years, despite the attempts of the United Nations and the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General to find a solution. The talks which the Secretary-General helped to bring about were suspended in their second stage, and, as he states in his report,

“ . . . [an] approach, based on the existing guide-

<sup>24</sup> See document A/CONF. 62/WP.10/Rev. 1.

<sup>25</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 40, document A/9278, para. 16.

lines and accords, could lead to a rapid improvement of the situation in the island that . . . would be vastly preferable to continuing to cling to an unsatisfactory and potentially unstable *status quo*". [See A/34/I, sect. III.]

328. Namibia and Zimbabwe, in southern Africa, also continue to be hotbeds of tension and a source of concern to the United Nations. However, there do not seem to be insuperable difficulties in the way of finding a solution to the problems. In any event, the co-operation of all parties concerned is indispensable. In the specific case of Namibia, the plan of action of the Security Council offers good prospects, and we hope that it will be implemented.

329. In the cases which I have mentioned and in many others the peace-keeping operations decided upon by the Security Council or the General Assembly can and in fact do play a very important role. This is an international activity which, although unknown in earlier times, has emerged in the United Nations, and makes it possible for the Organization effectively to carry out one of its primary roles.

330. The procedure of mediation which the Republic of El Salvador and the Republic of Honduras adopted to solve their problems, in existence since the 1969 conflict, continued to develop successfully under the wise leadership of the mediator, Mr. José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, who has had the co-operation and the full political will of the two countries and of their respective Governments.

331. Along with mediation, and acting in the context of the procedures contemplated in the Agreement which led to the adoption of that means of peaceful solution, representatives of the Governments of both countries have held several meetings where, by means of agreement or direct negotiation, it may be possible to bring about the success of the final objective with the help of a mediator, that is, the signing of a general treaty that will put an end to the outstanding problems. My country would like to reaffirm its commitment to peace and its desire to live in peace and harmony with its sister republics of Central America.

332. The Sixth Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Non-Aligned Countries was held recently in Havana, the Republic of Cuba. My country, in the use and exercise of its status as an observer, attended that great forum of the developing world, sharing the thoughts vividly expressed by other participating countries designed to preserve the philosophical principles and fundamental axioms of those who established the non-aligned movement.

333. The problem of Belize has not yet been solved. In this connexion, the Government of El Salvador is firm in its well-known view that, by means of procedures for the peaceful settlement of disputes as laid down in international law, it will be possible to arrive at a negotiated solution that will satisfactorily reconcile the rights of Guatemala with the vital interests of the people of Belize.

334. To say that disarmament is a problem of transcendental significance for the whole world and a constant cause of concern for the United Nations is a truism. Even more dangerous than conventional wars of limited scope is the truly grave risk of a nuclear war whose consequences would be catastrophic not only for the

warring parties but for all mankind. It is on the two super-Powers, therefore, that depends basically the solution of the disarmament problem in its various and complex manifestations.

335. The Assembly has on its agenda for this session many items on the activities of our Organization in the field of disarmament, many of which should perhaps be considered by the First Committee in working groups set up on the basis of affinity of aim.

336. Of special interest are the reports submitted by the Committee on Disarmament [A/34/87] and the Disarmament Commission [A/34/42]. The latter, as a deliberative body in this matter, made up of all the States Members of the Organization, in referring in its report to the elements of a comprehensive programme of disarmament included important considerations that I should like to emphasize. The Commission stated among other things that:

"8. The immediate objective of a comprehensive programme of disarmament should be to maintain and further the momentum generated by the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, to initiate and expedite urgent negotiations on halting the arms race in all its aspects, to open a process of genuine disarmament on an internationally agreed basis and to increase international confidence and relaxation of international tension.

“ . . .

"11. During the first stage of the implementation of the comprehensive programme of disarmament, special attention should be given to the immediate cessation of the nuclear arms race and the removal of the threat of a nuclear war." [Ibid., p. 10.]

337. Regarding disarmament measures, the Commission has in view the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the cessation of the nuclear arms race in all its aspects, the cessation of the conventional arms race and the prohibition or restriction of the use of certain conventional weapons, including those which may cause unnecessary suffering or have indiscriminate effects.

338. The United States of America and the Soviet Union subscribed in the course of the past year at the conclusion of the second round of SALT II to the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. Its aim, upon coming into force and being implemented in good faith by both parties, is to mitigate the well-grounded fears of total destruction that keep both those countries and the rest of the planet in a constant state of perfectly understandable anxiety.

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

339. While the United Nations has not fully achieved all the major objectives that led to its creation over three decades ago, no one can deny that it is carrying out an invaluable mission in this contemporary world characterized by the discontent, non-conformity and even the despair of many peoples faced with obstacles that impede or prevent the realization of their aspirations for independence or for genuine economic and social improvement. In many parts of the world this results in conflicts and often in regional armed disputes

which undermine the security of States and jeopardize international peace.

340. Nevertheless, this Organization and the various specialized agencies of the United Nations system constitute the most adequate instruments for patiently seeking a solution of the major problems that affect, oppress and afflict mankind.

341. In concluding my statement I should like most solemnly to repeat the desire of my Government to base its conduct on the principles of law and its unshakeable faith in the United Nations as the supreme forum where the most important questions of the individual and social life of human beings and of relations between States should be and are being discussed.

342. Mr. BENYAHIA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, a well-deserved tribute has unanimously been paid to you and, through you, to your country, by your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Algeria would like to be fully associated with that tribute, since it is a matter of great pleasure to us that you and your country, with which we have so many ties of friendship, have been so honoured. Through this election we have tried to pay a tremendous debt of gratitude which has been contracted by the community of oppressed peoples towards the Chairman of the Special Committee on decolonization, who has made an enormous contribution to conquering what is the most precious possession for a people, namely, liberty. Through this election we also felt that we were expressing to you the respect that we have for the United Republic of Tanzania, that worthy country, to its responsible President and to its courageous people.

343. If traditionally our session opens with a general debate, it is undoubtedly in order to encourage some thinking about the state of our world. We should take this opportunity to take a good look at the turbulence which has shaken our planet.

344. Economic problems have often been the root-cause of the conflicts and tensions which have been a feature of the history of mankind. Unfortunately, this still remains true today, and probably more so than ever.

345. For us, the developing countries, whose daily concern is to try to satisfy the vital and the most elementary needs of our peoples whose very survival is threatened, prosperity remains a theory. At a time when man's capacity to influence nature in order to remove the evils which afflict him is prodigious, such a situation is intolerable.

346. A system of international economic relations which sacrifices, as it were, two people for the rather precarious happiness of a third is fundamentally reprehensible and has in fact been condemned. The law of the jungle, the "law" of the strongest, the spirit of domination, the policy of conquest or reconquest, and expansionist greed continue to be rife in our world, unfortunately, despite the most exalted affirmations of principle, despite window-dressing, and despite the grievous inadequacies of our Organization.

347. Colonialist forces are once again sharpening

their rivalries and, in a state of military preparedness which is at our expense, they measure their relative strength by the way in which they are able to nullify our power to manoeuvre, our margin for decision, and, in a word, our independence and our development.

348. A lot is said about détente. But we cannot thereby disregard the liberation movements of peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Equilibrium between the great Powers alone does not mean balance throughout the world—a balance which cannot be brought about by disregarding the freedom of other peoples, because without the freedom of peoples there is no liberty or justice for the entire world, and because equilibrium can only be the result of everyone's enjoyment of the fruits of the earth, and not the result of the economic, political or military domination of one side by the other.

349. In the face of this world-wide disorder, the countries of the third world are pursuing their struggle, both political and economic, approaching the problems both by way of challenge and participation.

350. First the challenge: the rich are being challenged by the poor. This challenging will only cease when the present oligarchic system, which is based on the exploitation of the largest possible number of people, gives way to the advent of a new international economic and political order which is more just and which is based on the coherent and integrated development of the entire world and on the right of all peoples to progress.

351. Secondly the participation: it is the participation of all our countries in bringing about the better happiness of the world. We wish to cease being the fulcrums for alien economic, political and military strategies. We wish no longer to be the prey of those who are stronger and wealthier. We wish to regain our legitimate right to participate in our own history and in the history of the world. We wish to contribute to the elimination of waves of political instability in various parts of our globe; we wish to struggle against areas where power is concentrated; we wish to expand the representative nature of the decision-making centres in international relations; in other words, we seek to make international relations as a whole more democratic.

352. The "status of second-class citizen" which is accorded to the countries of the third world in world affairs is not in keeping with the immensity of their natural wealth, their considerable demographic weight or the importance of the markets which they represent. It is this institutionalized gap created by an oligarchic system—a danger to the security of the world—which justifies our challenge and calls for our participation. The developing countries consider that all world affairs are of equal concern to them as they are to the great Powers and that nothing which affects their future should be considered, examined, debated or, *a fortiori*, decided without their participation.

353. Among the major problems which will affect the future of mankind and whose satisfactory solution must involve the participation of the entire membership of the international community we must necessarily include the building and safeguarding of peace, which is the key problem of our time. Our countries, whose weakness makes us the first victims of war, attach genuine importance to peace. Furthermore, it is a ques-

tion not only of safeguarding ourselves and our development in all areas, but even, in certain circumstances, of preserving mankind as a whole.

354. Peace is indivisible. Peace within the boundaries of the developed world does not necessarily mean peace for the world as a whole, just as détente should not simply consist in eliminating tensions in the developed northern part of the planet in order to transfer those tensions to the third world, to the detriment of those who are weakest and poorest in it.

355. We cannot bring about global and lasting peace without profoundly questioning the present system of international relations; a system which is the root-cause of war, if only by reason of the fact that it was established by a small number of States for their benefit and to the detriment of all the others.

356. It is abundantly clear today that international economic questions must be seen in terms of world security and that, conversely, world security must be seen in economic terms. The recognition of the predominance of economics is further borne out by the awareness of the impact of "economic factors" on the security of the world.

357. The crisis which has prevailed since the beginning of the present decade could have brought about a restructuring of the world economy in keeping with the imperative need for a balanced development of the entire planet. That would have been the case had action been taken on the declarations adopted by various special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to development and to disarmament. But the blind intransigence and, I would even say, the unrepentant selfishness of the wealthy countries have unfortunately ruled otherwise.

358. In the face of a situation which is becoming intolerable, the international community, as if beset by impotence, seems resigned to events. In this connexion the paralysis which is a characteristic feature of present international economic negotiations stands in stark contrast with the professions of faith in dialogue, the regularity of which can no longer disguise their Platonic nature.

359. Is it not in fact the logic of confrontation which continues to predominate? Growing protectionism with regard to the products of the South and the manipulation of gold, of reserve currencies and of the monetary system generally speaking in order to serve the sole interests of the wealthy countries, not to mention the devising of doctrines of military intervention towards certain countries of the South, can hardly be said to reflect a spirit of co-operation.

360. Now, therefore, can we be surprised at the legitimate reaction of those developing countries in a position slightly to offset the effects on their economies of imported inflation and the depreciation of reserve currencies?

361. We are forced to note that, to say the least, awareness is lagging behind actuality. Indeed, at a time when interdependence among nations, although it is still unbalanced, is now becoming a reality, the developed countries continue in their own contexts to

seek solutions to their own problems without really being concerned about the impact which those solutions might have on the economies of the countries of the third world.

362. The joint search for solutions to international economic problems should not be confined, as certain countries have suggested, to the question of energy alone. Far be it for us to underestimate the importance of this matter, whether it be a question of its trade aspects or the imperative need for us all to ensure a smooth transition to the utilization of new sources of energy. But it would be mistaken to believe, or even to give the impression, that a selective approach of this kind could have any chance of success. Indeed, if it is true that international co-operation is necessary in this area, as in others which are of fundamental importance such as development, world trade, raw materials and financial and monetary matters, the very interdependence of these problems means that this co-operation can be effective only in terms of a global approach and on the basis of equity and mutual interest.

363. On the basis of this premise, and having learned from past experience, Algeria at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Havana, proposed conducting with the developed countries global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. Representatives are now familiar with this proposal, since it has already been officially introduced by the Group of 77 at the last session of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 [see A/34/34, part III, annex I].

364. Global negotiation by its very nature makes it impossible to give precedence to any particular topic over the others which have to be considered. This type of negotiation necessarily means that there has to be a concurrent consideration of all the subjects that have been identified, whether in the area of energy, financing and currency, raw materials, or trade and development, in order to achieve a concrete and coherent set of results affecting all of these questions.

365. Nor is it a question of proposing new machinery or a new forum. The existing bodies of the General Assembly, which allow of universal participation which is the only guarantee that the interests of all States, large and small, are served, could as we see it be the framework for such negotiation.

366. It will thus be the first time that a substantive discussion can be initiated under the aegis of this Assembly on topics that are normally dealt with outside or on the fringe of this Organization and in terms of the other components of the new order from which they can no longer be dissociated. After initiatives of restricted negotiation proved fruitless in the absence of a genuine mandate conferred upon the negotiating countries by the rest of the international community, these questions will be taken up in an integrated way also for the first time by the community of nations.

367. In doing this, we will only be recognizing the obvious fact that a global problem demands a global solution, since no country is free from its obligation to contribute, according to its means, of course, to bridge the growing gap between opulence and destitution which is endangering the survival of us all.

368. The success of these planned global negotiations will of course be far from having been achieved simply by reason of any decision taken on the subject by the present session. It will essentially depend on a positive change in the attitude of the developed countries, or even an actual conversion in certain cases vis-à-vis the ideals inherent in the new international order.

369. We can never overstress the fact that the new international economic order is fundamentally a political objective. It is a question of forging a more just and more equitable world, without which the sources of friction and even confrontation will only grow apace. Our global negotiation is a first genuine step towards establishing new relations between men, thus providing future generations of this earth with a calmer future.

370. In our world which is so grievously in need of justice, development and freedom, a structural revolution should therefore be set under way. This structural revolution put an end to political and economic "order" which the inequities inherent in it have completely condemned. This structural revolution will get our world out of this aberrant system which belongs to a stone-age mentality. The community of the poor, those who have been perennially forgotten by history, are clamouring for the advent of this new structural revolution. But we would also appeal to the community of the wealthy, also and above all, to work to bring this about so that it can be part of the history of mankind. The task undoubtedly requires changes, even far-reaching upheavals.

371. We must all be the architects of this change, the extent of which is unprecedented in the history of mankind. The road is long, in keeping with such a gigantic goal. However, we are condemned to work together. Although today our world consists of the wealthy and the deprived, of takers and taken, our humanity will not be advanced by our building the world—even were it possible to do so—on the basis of an inverted equation in which the rich would be relegated to the status of the poor and vice versa. On the contrary, all men must work towards integrated, balanced and genuinely concerted development.

372. In this task for the good of all mankind there is no place for short-term solutions. It is to the benefit of all to initiate a permanent and sincere dialogue and to inform it with a constructive spirit in order that the just interests of each of us can be clearly perceived and be given legitimate satisfaction.

373. The international community is more than ever aware of the extreme gravity of certain situations in the world and of the serious risk of their spreading. It is encouraging, however, that in the face of the continual denial of the rights of peoples, international solidarity is growing ever stronger. The legitimate representatives of struggling peoples have been recognized and acknowledged by an ever-growing majority of the international community.

374. In this connexion, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe were recently received in Havana as full members of the family of non-aligned nations. The PLO, apart from the natural solidarity it has long enjoyed from the non-aligned countries, is today recognized as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by a growing number of countries.

The Frente POLISARIO, whose struggle has attested to the national existence of the people of Western Sahara, has gained international acceptance, as borne out by the recognition by many States of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic in recent months.

375. These political and diplomatic successes are of course highly significant of the vitality and youth of the struggle of peoples for recognition of their rights, but they also remind us that the world in which we live is still marked by an antagonism that pits the forces of domination and enslavement against the forces of liberation and emancipation.

376. In this connexion, southern Africa is a gigantic base from which racist régimes and imperialism—whose faithful agents they are—are launching their offensives against our freedom, our dignity, our independence and our resources.

377. The corner-stone of the imperialist strategy is made up of the desire to set up a system of power that gives the appearance of change but leaves the foundations intact. In Rhodesia and Namibia, an attempt is being made to impose a uniform policy to the detriment of the rights of the peoples of that region, whose legitimacy has been firmly recognized by the international community.

378. Our duty today is not only to affirm our solidarity and give concrete expression to our support for the peoples of southern Africa. Our duty is to go even further and to take the necessary steps required by the exceptional seriousness of a situation that has been going on for more than 30 years in the form of an arrogant defiance of the international community as a whole. Our Organization must take historic decisions on this matter here and now. The Charter, as we know, provides ample means for doing so. Along with the solutions provided to us by the Charter, we must solemnly remind the Powers that are directly or indirectly supporting the racist régimes of their grave responsibilities and take vigorous initiatives to forge in a definite way the destiny of southern Africa.

379. The strategy being employed in Africa finds its logical extension in the Middle East. In both regions, the same forces that are hostile to genuine emancipation are pursuing an identical goal: the strengthening or re-establishment of imperialist domination in order to ensure control over the flow of wealth.

380. The continuing plot of imperialism and its Zionist tool is designed to misrepresent the realities of the problem that lies at the very heart of the entire Middle East question: the right of the Palestinian people to a national existence in their own homeland. And at a time when this plot is spreading and is being implemented from an unexpected source—a fraternal front-line country—we in this Organization must be more than ever aware of the fact that, if we are to remain faithful to our ideals of solidarity and commitment to just causes, any solution to this problem must necessarily involve the restoration to the Palestinian people of all their national rights that have been recognized and solemnly proclaimed by the entire international community.

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374. In this connexion, SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe were recently received in Havana as full members of the family of non-aligned nations. The PLO, apart from the natural solidarity it has long enjoyed from the non-aligned countries, is today recognized as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by a growing number of countries.

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376. In this connexion, southern Africa is a gigantic base from which racist régimes and imperialism—whose faithful agents they are—are launching their offensives against our freedom, our dignity, our independence and our resources.

377. The corner-stone of the imperialist strategy is made up of the desire to set up a system of power that gives the appearance of change but leaves the foundations intact. In Rhodesia and Namibia, an attempt is being made to impose a uniform policy to the detriment of the rights of the peoples of that region, whose legitimacy has been firmly recognized by the international community.

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379. The strategy being employed in Africa finds its logical extension in the Middle East. In both regions, the same forces that are hostile to genuine emancipation are pursuing an identical goal: the strengthening or re-establishment of imperialist domination in order to ensure control over the flow of wealth.

380. The continuing plot of imperialism and its Zionist tool is designed to misrepresent the realities of the problem that lies at the very heart of the entire Middle East question: the right of the Palestinian people to a national existence in their own homeland. And at a time when this plot is spreading and is being implemented from an unexpected source—a fraternal front-line country—we in this Organization must be more than ever aware of the fact that, if we are to remain faithful to our ideals of solidarity and commitment to just causes, any solution to this problem must necessarily involve the restoration to the Palestinian people of all their national rights that have been recognized and solemnly proclaimed by the entire international community.

381. Realizing the seriousness of the threat hanging over the future of the Palestinian people, the Arab nation, Africa, the Islamic peoples, the non-aligned

countries and many other States have denounced the Camp David and Washington accords. This unprecedented surge of solidarity is continuing to spread to other parts of the world where the resistance of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO, their sole legitimate representative, is scoring brilliant successes, as befits the justice of their cause and the noble ideals of their struggle.

382. The remarkable recognition accorded to the PLO is the most concrete proof that such accords run counter to the tide of history because they ignore the national rights of the Palestinian people, their right to self-determination and their right to return to their homeland.

383. The situation in the Middle East is already explosive enough, without the serious events that are so dangerously affecting the sovereignty and integrity of Lebanon. What has been going on for so long in that afflicted country also bears the imprint of zionism.

384. Israeli plans for aggression and the plunder of the Arab nation are in fact evidenced by the serious events occurring in Lebanon. Israel is pursuing a dual goal there, as we all know.

385. In the context of its policy of controlling the entire region, Israel is occupying part of Lebanese territory, violating the sovereignty of that State, fomenting secessionist trends and continuing to create, promote and support every disruptive factor in Lebanon. At the same time, it is seeking to wipe out Palestinian resistance and is attacking the Palestinians who sought refuge in Lebanon.

386. The international community must shoulder its responsibilities in order to safeguard the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon and to put an end to the Israeli acts of aggression against the fraternal Lebanese people. In order to be successful in this endeavour, we must realize that only a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East can restore peace. This is the obvious lesson to be drawn from the repeated events in Lebanon.

387. The file on the Western Sahara has now been spread before the entire international community; the facts are clear to everyone by now: it is a problem of thwarted decolonization, and no one can any longer question this glaring fact.

388. The issue of Western Sahara involves a national liberation struggle waged by a valiant people resolved and prepared at all costs to liberate this occupied homeland and achieve recognition of its legitimate national rights.

389. In view of the grave events which have continuously beset that region for four years, the Western Sahara question is now clearly perceived in the light of all its effects on the peace, stability and security of all the peoples inhabiting that part of the African continent.

390. Mindful of all the dangerous consequences inherent in a conflict between the people of Western Sahara and the occupants of its national territory, the OAU two months ago assumed its full responsibilities during the

sixteenth ordinary session of its Assembly of Heads of State and Government in Monrovia, and identified the principles and effective measures for attaining a just and final settlement of this problem, in keeping with its goals and traditions [A/34/552, annex II, pp. 90-91].

391. The recommendations of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara and the decision taken by the OAU Assembly at its sixteenth ordinary session on 20 July last are a new and important component of the history of this issue and at the same time mark a decisive stage in the search for a just political solution to this problem.

392. The agreements concluded on 5 August last between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO are another decisive contribution to a peaceful and just solution to the conflict, and the military occupation of the part previously administered by Mauritania—"Tiris-El-Gharbia"—by the military forces of a neighbouring country can in no way stem the implacable course of history.

393. Noting that turn of events, the non-aligned movement, in the Final Declaration of the Sixth Conference, in Havana, unambiguously endorsed the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence, and expressed its deep disapproval at the fact that Morocco had extended its military occupation [see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, paras. 96-98].

394. Considering all the dangerous consequences of a conflict between the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, and the occupiers of its national territory, our Organization is in duty bound to assume its full responsibility for maintaining peace and security. Following the lead of the OAU and the non-aligned movement, it should make its full contribution to the achievement of a just and final settlement in keeping with the purposes and principles of its Charter and with resolutions it has already adopted. Here again, the spirit of the times demands that we make such a contribution, thus signifying our faithfulness to the ideals of our Charter, and at the same time rendering justice to a valiant people struggling for its legitimate rights.

395. Many other problems beset our world and prompt the concern of our General Assembly, as is borne out by the number and variety of items on our agenda. They all reflect the fact that our community is embarked on a long and arduous course, one in which the political will to reach a solution to all the problems which concern us and often directly affect the very future of our world is not always evident.

396. The United Nations, a valuable tool for universal dialogue, and an irreplaceable channel for the progress of our world, should remain the guarantor of a future filled with hope.

397. The elimination of conflicts and tensions, and the solution of our problems, require decisions in keeping with our Charter in order for us to take up the challenges to the international community in all areas affecting the search for peace, security and genuine co-operation for the development and well-being of all nations.

398. The PRESIDENT: Before calling on those rep-

representatives wishing to exercise their right of reply, may I recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly.

399. Mr. DIEZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I regret having to use my right of reply, but the statement of the Foreign Minister of Bolivia compels me to do so. As St. Thomas Aquinas said, reason governs everything that is subject to the order and domain of reason, and international relations are undoubtedly subject to the domain of reason. They therefore require a minimum of love for truth. The Foreign Minister of Bolivia has departed from that truth in distorting history.

400. Relations among States are basically governed by international treaties signed and subscribed to by them and by the principles of international law, which have been incorporated in the United Nations Charter and, in the specific case of America, in the charter of the OAS. Among those principles, we must emphasize respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of States, the self-determination of peoples, respect for the sanctity of treaties, compliance in good faith with obligations entered into, and non-interference in the internal affairs of States.

401. In the specific case before us, the Peace Treaty of 1904<sup>26</sup> established a definite border between Chile and Bolivia and laid down a series of duties and obligations for the parties. My country has scrupulously and faithfully complied with those duties and obligations over the years. Moreover, several treaties and agreements complement that document, among which the Trade Convention of 6 August 1912, the Transit Convention of 16 August 1937 and the Economic Co-operation Treaty of 31 January 1955 deserve mention.

402. The claim of Bolivia concerning the revision of the Peace Treaty of 1904, which was freely subscribed to more than three quarters of a century ago, and more than 24 years after a war that Chile did not seek—a Treaty that was confirmed by public opinion in our country through the elevation to high office of one of the persons who participated in the negotiations—is and will in the future be unacceptable to my country. Its revision would create a situation of legal uncertainty in a question that requires perfect clarity and security. I refer to the delimitation of boundaries.

403. Aware of that, the Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties, done at Vienna on 23 May 1969<sup>27</sup> precisely excludes the *rebus sic stantibus* clause from treaties concerning boundaries.

404. The charter of the OAS, in article 15, specifically forbids interference in the affairs of a sovereign country when it states that:

“No State or group of States has the right to in-

<sup>26</sup> Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Bolivia and Chile, signed in Santiago on 20 October 1904.

<sup>27</sup> See *Official Records of the United Nations Conference on the Law of Treaties, First and second sessions, Vienna, 26 March-24 May 1968 and 9 April-22 May 1969* (United Nations publication, sales No. E.70. V. 5), p. 287.

tervene, directly or indirectly, for any reason whatever, in the internal or external affairs of any other State.”<sup>28</sup>

The same principle is reflected in Article 2, paragraph 7, of the United Nations Charter.

405. My country therefore most emphatically states that it has never accepted, and never will accept, interference by any international organization in matters that have to do with our territory and our sovereignty.

406. Furthermore, it is inadmissible for a land-locked country to claim access to the sea by violating the territorial integrity of another State. This Assembly will understand the serious consequences that would flow from this and its implications for international peace and security. The right of access to and from the sea and freedom of transit is a different matter. Chile has granted to Bolivia, by the existing bilateral treaties and agreements that I have mentioned, the freest and most frequent transit through our territory, giving it facilities over and above those that the international community grants to land-locked countries. Likewise, my country is a signatory of the Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States<sup>29</sup> and at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea it supported the inclusion of provisions concerning facilities for land-locked countries.

407. It is absurd to compare the fact that Bolivia is land-locked with the situation regarding the Panama Canal. There are no similarities, so different are the situations. The Isthmian Canal Convention of 1903 did not give the United States any sovereignty over the territory of Panama but in fact divided the country and granted the United States jurisdiction over Panamanian citizens. That was a typical case of imperialist action.

408. On the other hand, the Chile-Bolivia 1904 Treaty, which, as I have said, was freely entered into, is a Treaty on boundaries that establishes the boundaries between the two nations forever. That made it possible to settle once and for all a boundary dispute by specifically recognizing Chilean sovereignty over the territories referred to in its provisions. The 1904 Treaty enshrined the sovereign rights of Chile over an area that is populated almost exclusively by Chileans and over cities whose progress was the result of Chilean efforts. Chile also has very valid historical titles that demonstrate that these lands have belonged to our country from the very beginning.

409. In order to prove this, let me simply refer to the general history of Bolivia as related by the Bolivian historian Alcides Arguedas<sup>30</sup> who maintains that in Antofagasta in 1874 the population was made up as follows: Chilean, 93 per cent; Bolivian, 2 per cent; Europeans, 1.5 per cent; North and South Americans 2 per cent; Asians and others 1.5 per cent.

410. Therefore, in conclusion, we would repeat what we said before this Assembly last year on a similar

<sup>28</sup> See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 119, p. 56.

<sup>29</sup> Adopted at the United Nations Conference on Transit Trade of Land-locked Countries, held in New York from 7 June to 8 July 1965. For the text of the Convention, see document TD/TRANSIT/9 and Corr. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Alcides Arguedas, *Historia general de Bolivia; el proceso de la nacionalidad, 1809-1921* (La Paz, Arnó Hermanos, 1922).

occasion and what, in the OAS, the representative of Chile summarized as follows: "I can assure the representative of Bolivia that this course does not lead to the sea."

411. Mr. PALACIOS de VIZZIO (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with the rules governing debates of this Assembly, I should like to use my right of reply to refer to what has been stated by the representative of Chile regarding the substance of the problem.

412. A few months ago, at the time of the meeting of ECLA, the delegation of Chile used its right of reply to refer to a statement that had been made by my country. I see that the situation has not changed since then. As then, Chile's statement is most valuable because it makes it possible to see very clearly the differences that exist between that country which clings to the theses and attitudes of the past and Bolivia, which looks at future problems and draws attention to the need to solve them.

413. Each of the assertions contained in the statement of the Foreign Minister of Bolivia is based upon truth, and therefore we reject any statement that runs counter to them.

414. My country is in duty bound to mention that it has not had a good experience with the results of its negotiations with Chile. After many years without diplomatic relations, Bolivia, in the most sincere and honest spirit of Latin American friendship, resumed diplomatic relations with Chile. Nevertheless the position of Chile's Government was merely expressed as a monologue of *diktat*; it adopted a take-it-or-leave-it attitude, which in no way constitutes a real frank and effective solution of the problem, nor one that is compatible with a State's dignity. Our country is open to dialogue and the broadest possible negotiations; but the latter can be recommended only when there exist sufficient guarantees for Bolivia and the international community that they will in fact lead to positive and constructive solutions. Bolivia is not prepared to suffer further frustration.

415. My country does not agree with the implicit claim of granting perpetuity to the 1904 Treaty imposed by the force of arms and as the result of a war of aggression. America has considerable recent experience in this area. The Panama Canal Treaty signed between Panama and the United States in 1903 was a treaty of that kind. However, when the new relevant Treaties came into effect that perpetuity clause was cancelled.

416. The word "perpetuity" has been excluded by history from current international language and practice, especially when used to ignore and avoid correcting the injustices of history. That word is therefore

no longer part of the Latin American spirit or of the conscience of the peoples of that part of the world.

417. As was clearly explained by the Foreign Minister of my country, the fact that Bolivia is a land-locked State, raises so serious and transcendental a problem as to affect America as a whole.

418. That was recognized by 92 Heads of State and Government at the recent Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Havana. Their declaration on the matter clearly stresses that, first, Bolivia's return to the Pacific Ocean with full sovereignty is an inalienable right of its people; secondly, that constructive peace and security in America require a solution to that problem [*see A/34/542, annex, sect. I, para. 182*].

419. The OAS recognized this when it specifically included the land-locked status of Bolivia as an item on the agenda of its next session. That was done by the almost unanimous vote of the representatives of the continent; there was only one vote against.

420. The position thus adopted by the international community in the Americas and the world, based as it is on international law, speaks for itself and dispenses my delegation from any further comments or explanations.

421. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Chile has again asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. Before I call on him, I should like to remind him of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting that the number of statements in exercise of the right of reply for any delegation at a given meeting should be limited to two per item and that the second statement be limited to five minutes.

422. Mr. DIEZ (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We do not wish to start a debate on a matter which is not within the purview of this Organization. We simply wanted to state for the record our position in light of the statement made by the Foreign Minister of Bolivia.

423. The reference made by the Ambassador of Bolivia to the recent agreement of the OAS is incomplete. We opposed that agreement, not because we were against the consideration of that item but because of the way in which it was presented, in violation of the clear tenets of the charter of the OAS and of the general principles of international law to which we have referred.

424. The facts of history will remain unchanged, despite the biased distortions which took place a century later. The facts of future history will be built by our countries with all their creative power within the rule of law, the only civilized guarantee of peace.

*The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.*