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**President: Mr. Rüdiger von WECHMAR**  
(Federal Republic of Germany)

**Address by Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, First Executive President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. SHAGARI (Nigeria): Mr. President, the General Assembly is meeting for its thirty-fifth session as storm clouds which threaten the future of mankind gather over the international horizon. It gives me great confidence and hope that the task of presiding over the affairs of the General Assembly at this momentous time has been entrusted to someone of your integrity, experience and wisdom. Accept, therefore, my warmest congratulations. Your election is also an acknowledgement of the high respect and admiration which the international community has for your great country, the Federal Republic of Germany, with which my country enjoys most cordial and friendly relations. I am sure that under your wise guidance the Assembly will achieve great success at this session.

3. The past year has been remarkable for the many intractable international crises which the Organization has had to deal with. It is a matter of particular pride to Africa that our predecessor was Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim from the sister State of the United Republic of Tanzania. Not only did he preside over the thirty-fourth session with a sure and confident hand, Ambassador Salim also had the rare distinction of presiding over three special sessions of the General Assembly. We pay him the highest praise and offer him our felicitations.

4. I should also like to address a special word of praise and admiration to our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. His untiring exertions and imaginative initiatives have become the measure of the successes of the

Organization. His reassuring presence was immensely felt at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], the first economic summit meeting, which was held last April at Lagos. His frequent visits to Africa have enabled him not only to share moments of history with us but also to endear himself to Africa in a very personal and special way.

5. It is with great pride and satisfaction that, on behalf of the Government and people of Nigeria, I extend the heartiest welcome to the new sister State of Zimbabwe in our ranks. Few events can match the joy, drama and impact of the independence of Zimbabwe. I salute my brother, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe, and all his compatriots for their courage, heroism and magnanimity. Their victory demonstrates clearly that the will of a determined people can never be permanently suppressed. It proves beyond doubt that a determined people fighting for a just cause and dedicated to the recovery of its right will ultimately triumph, no matter how formidable the odds against it. Our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe have proved to the world the truth of the old adage that "the limits of tyrants are prescribed by the will of the victims of tyranny".

6. Nigeria, Africa, and indeed the entire international community, can take justifiable pride in the independence of Zimbabwe. It has coincided with the end of the second decade of the struggle against colonialism and against exploitation. Since 1960, when the General Assembly adopted resolution 1514 (XV) containing the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it has never relented in its efforts to support the legitimate struggle of the peoples in colonial bondage to regain their freedom and their liberty. That Zimbabwe, whose right to independence was so long denied and contested, is today a nation sovereign and independent is due in no small measure to the impetus generated by that Declaration.

7. I also most warmly congratulate the new State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its attainment of independence and membership of the United Nations. It is our desire to forge closer relations with it as a fellow member of the Commonwealth, and to co-operate with it in building a better, safer and more just world.

8. Universality of membership was part of the dream of the founding fathers of the United Nations for this world body. That dream is now virtually a reality. But that fact should not lure us into complacency. Rather, it should spur us into redoubling our efforts until the right to self-determination of all peoples everywhere in the world is no longer an issue.

9. It is with a deep sense of history that I stand before the Assembly today. Twenty years ago the late Alhaji Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, the first Prime Minister of Nigeria, addressed this body on the occasion of the admission of Nigeria to membership of this world Organization.<sup>1</sup> Twenty years in the life of a nation may not represent more than a short step in the long march of history, yet for my country, which, like most third world countries, has not been spared the turmoil, turbulence and tribulations of nation building, 20 years have left indelible impressions on our national psyche. During those 20 years, two other heads of State of Nigeria also came to affirm my country's robust commitment to the high purposes and ideals of the United Nations. Today, as the first democratically elected President of my country after more than a decade of military rule, I have come solemnly to reaffirm Nigeria's enduring faith in the aims and principles of the United Nations. I therefore bring to the Assembly, in a very special and authoritative way, the greetings and good wishes of the Government and people of Nigeria.

10. As inter-State relations grow more complex, as understanding and mutual respect among nations and peoples become more difficult to sustain, as prospects for world peace appear more fragile, people everywhere are increasingly looking to the United Nations for answers. People everywhere want to strengthen the capacity and capability of the Organization to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. They crave to return the United Nations to its central role of being an effective instrument for harmonizing different views, reconciling competing interests and initiating such collective action as would give sustenance to man and his aspirations for peace and plenty in justice and liberty.

11. Half a millenium of colonial rule by European Powers did not succeed in destroying our self-image as Africans. Nor did it quench our thirst to be free, to be respected and to develop our resources for the good of our people. In the past 20 years over 40 African countries have regained their freedom and independence. During that period some of them have fought civil wars not out of irreconcilable differences of ideology or ethnicity; they have fought in order to defend the gains of their independence, to frustrate foreign intervention in their affairs and to maximize their sovereign attributes. Some African States, quite tragically, have fought one another across borders. They have fought not to colonize anyone but in order to defend their perceived patrimony, to safeguard their territorial integrity. Others have fought in order to be independent. Through all the tensions and conflicts of the past 20 years, no independent African country has lost its independence. More are yearning to be free, and they soon will be free and independent. Namibia and South Africa are already waiting in the wings. They decidedly will soon be free. The message is clear: never again will Africa be colonized; never again will Africans tolerate living under racist domination and exploitation.

12. Only last week the current Chairman of the Assembly of the OAU, my dear brother Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of Sierra Leone, addressed the Assembly on the economic and political concerns of Africa [8th meeting]. I wish to take

this opportunity to pay him a tribute for his untiring efforts on behalf of our continent. His statement adequately reflected the new emphasis which Africa is placing on its economic development after decades when our overriding preoccupation was to secure the independence of our territories and peoples.

13. Last April I had the honour of welcoming my brother African heads of State and Government to the first extraordinary meeting of the OAU devoted exclusively to consideration of the economic problems of our continent. Determined to attain the goals of economic salvation, we adopted the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa.<sup>2</sup> We were realistic to acknowledge in that historic document that, just as the liberation struggle was fought and won by us, so also would be our struggle for economic emancipation. But in our interdependent world, all nations are like a team of mountain climbers. We need one another. We must help one another. We therefore welcome constructive co-operation and partnership from the rest of the international community as we embark on the challenging task of addressing the problems of the post-colonial era in our continent.

14. Africa bears the scars of a long history of spoliation and deprivation, of the ravages of the slave trade and foreign aggression, of both political and economic injustices. The current crisis in the world economy is wreaking havoc in Africa. For some areas of the third world the ongoing international negotiations about trade, capital flows and so on may mean growth through effective participation in key international markets and institutions. For most of Africa those negotiations are about survival itself. The very existence of some of our nations is being critically threatened by adverse economic forces and natural disasters.

15. It will take years before we in Africa can exercise our right to full equality and effective participation in the current international economic system. In spite of the enormous natural wealth and resources of Africa, our continent remains the least developed and our people the most deprived. These degrading disabilities make a mockery of our political independence. We are therefore resolved to make progress. We must therefore refuse to subsidize the economies of the rich by continuing to sell our raw materials and labour to them cheaply in return for their exorbitantly priced manufactured goods.

16. I believe that the time has come for the international community to address itself to the serious issue of reparation and restitution for Africa. It is pertinent to observe that there is hardly any country outside the continent which has not in one way or another benefited from the exploitation of the human and natural resources of Africa. In the wake of the Assembly's important deliberations concerning the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and the global negotiations, I call upon the Assembly to launch a decade of reparation and restitution for Africa as a master plan for the economic recovery of Africa. I make this call with a serious sense of responsibility. Restructuring the world economic system to

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings, 983rd meeting, paras. 171-202.*

<sup>2</sup> A/S-11/14, annex I.

conform with the dictates of the new international economic order will help, but that will be in the long-term. Massive, special, immediate and effective measures are required to deal with the exceptional situation in Africa. I have seen too much of Africa's misery and degradation not to be moved to action and to demand the proclamation of a special decade for the economic regeneration of Africa.

17. The problems of no other continent define the international agenda better than those of Africa. I intend therefore to dwell further on African concerns, for the destiny of Nigeria is inextricably linked with the fortunes of all the countries of Africa and all the peoples of African descent abroad. As a result we have continued and shall continue to strive vigorously for the restoration of the rights and dignity of the black man everywhere, who for too long has suffered humiliation and discrimination.

18. The situation in Namibia continues to be a source of considerable embarrassment and concern to the Organization. It continues to undermine the will and credibility of the United Nations. Above all it continues to raise serious questions about the sense of honour and good faith of some permanent members of the Security Council, grave questions about their perception of their duty and responsibilities under the Charter; for the power of the veto was not intended to be used solely for the protection of selfish interests. Rather, the veto was meant to be employed to promote and advance the high purposes of the Charter, to sustain and encourage the practice of international law and morality.

19. Nigeria will no longer tolerate the provocations by South Africa or the dilatory tactics of its allies in the Western bloc with regard to self-determination and majority rule for Namibia. We deeply deplore the collusion between South Africa and its Western allies as a result of which the people of that Territory are denied their inalienable rights. Fourteen years have passed since the International Court of Justice handed down the judgement of 18 July 1966<sup>3</sup> that South Africa had neither the legal nor the moral right to maintain its perverse administration in Namibia. Furthermore, it is now over two years since the Security Council, in its resolution 435 (1978), endorsed the proposals by the five Western Powers for Namibia's transition to independence. I therefore find it intolerable that the independence of Namibia should continue to be devilled by the intransigence of South Africa.

20. It seems to me that the recent exchange of correspondence between the Secretary-General and the South African Government calls for immediate action. It offers another opportunity, if any were really necessary, for the United Nations to test the true intentions of the South African Government. The United Nations Transition Assistance Group should therefore be deployed without undue delay to carry out its mandate to supervise a free and fair election in Namibia, so that by the next session of the General Assembly Namibia will have taken its rightful place in the world community of nations.

21. Throughout all the 33 years that the *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa have been considered

and condemned by the Assembly, it has become clear that the only peaceful avenue left for their elimination is the imposition of sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter. In calling again for sanctions, particularly an oil embargo to complement the existing arms embargo against South Africa, I want to emphasize that our Charter specifically prescribes sanctions to give effect to the decisions of the Security Council. I sincerely hope that the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa, which the United Nations, in co-operation with the OAU, plans to hold next year at Paris, will succeed in addressing that important matter as an effective alternative to the use of force by the United Nations to bring about the birth of a new society in South Africa.

22. But sanctions alone will not destroy *apartheid* and racism in South Africa. They can, however, be used to support the armed struggle. That struggle is now gathering momentum. If South Africa persists in its defiance of the international will for fundamental change in its policies, none of us has the right to deny the struggle of the South African nationalists full support—certainly not Nigeria. We shall continue to assist, encourage and support that struggle with all the might and all the resources at our disposal. The people of South Africa will never flinch from that struggle until ultimate victory is won. The termination of *apartheid* and racism in South Africa is the challenge of our decade and the attainment of that goal will constitute man's last major victory over the evil forces of colonialism.

23. Global interdependence has too often lately been defined in narrow economic terms. Given its full dimensions of peace and security, it truly permeates and dominates every aspect of international life today. In no area is that concept more ominously felt than the Middle East, a region which lies so close to Africa and has such supreme symbolism for my country.

24. The Middle East situation is of the gravest concern to Nigeria. At the international level, we have spared no effort in the councils of the OAU, the United Nations or the non-aligned countries to seek a viable solution in conformity with the highest imperatives of peace and justice. We do not believe that peace and justice are incompatible.

25. If all the States in the region are to enjoy the right to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries free from threats or acts of force, the inalienable rights of the Palestinians cannot and must not be overlooked. To an African, the rights of self-determination, statehood and independence are sacred. To a continent which can easily fall prey to military might, the occupation of territory by force is totally unacceptable. To a people who believe in the United Nations, scornful disrespect for the decisions of the Security Council cannot be justified.

26. In my view, Israel's persistent refusal to recognize the fact that it cannot continue to enjoy legitimacy and rights based on the Organization's original Partition Plan for Palestine [*resolution 181 (II)*] and at the same time deny to the Palestinians the corresponding legitimacy and rights of nationhood based on the same Plan is the greatest obstacle to any lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian Arabs must and should be enabled to have their own independent, sovereign State. Nigeria firmly supports the legiti-

<sup>3</sup> *South West Africa, Second Phase, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1966*, p.6.

mate right of the Palestinians to their homeland. Israel cannot expect normalization of relations with Nigeria, indeed with Africa, while it continues, in defiance of world public opinion, to occupy the Arab territories which it captured in 1967. Furthermore, its unilateral expropriation of Arab lands and implantation of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories makes any meaningful discussion of normalization of relations at this time even more difficult. Its recent action purporting to alter the present international status of Jerusalem came as an affront to the conscience of my people, to whom Jerusalem has a special meaning and significance. We therefore cannot and will never accept these measures.

27. In the face of the numerous challenges confronting mankind, it would be superfluous to say how much my Government deeply regrets the current tragic conflict between the non-aligned States of Iran and Iraq. I fervently add my voice to the many appeals for restraint and peace between those two neighbouring countries.

28. Recent events give us no cause for joy. The tensions and crises which developed last year remain virtually unresolved. The armaments race has assumed a new and dangerous momentum, at a time when the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons has failed. The North-South dialogue on the economic problems of the world is stalemated, as a consequence of a most regrettable inability to agree even on procedures to begin negotiations. The present stalemate in the climate of negotiations between the developing and the developed countries holds terrifying prospects for all. Perhaps, more than is realized, the world is poised delicately on the brink—that critical margin—between survival and disaster.

29. The dangers may be grave, but we cannot afford to despair. Our needs and times call for statesmanship imbued with courage and vision: vision to determine where to begin and courage to do what has to be done. The present uncertain international situation challenges all those entrusted with the responsibility of safeguarding the destiny of mankind to pause and think. Times have changed. Conditions have changed. The concepts and structures which precipitated some of the current international crises cannot remain unchanged. Any organic institution without the means to adjust to change is without the means for its survival.

30. We have the men and the means to meet the challenge of the 1980s and beyond. The sum of over \$500 billion, which the developed countries have spent on military research and development since 1960, far exceeds what two thirds of mankind require to banish poverty and degradation. There must be disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, to save mankind from untoward anxiety and the holocaust. There must be disarmament to release resources for development. The justification for the retention of nuclear weapons has always, to my mind, been a negative one. Weapons susceptible of causing accidental warfare and capable of destroying all mankind can never act as deterrents to war.

31. The member States of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC], in spite of the unwarranted calumnies often heaped on them, have amply demonstrated

what developing countries can do to help themselves and other less fortunate developing countries. They have shown how raw material-producing, developing countries can organize themselves to defend their economic rights. They have shown how to arrest the historical trend whereby the rich countries get increasingly richer at the expense of the poor countries. It is therefore a matter of regret that quite deliberate efforts are sometimes made to mislead the public about the role of energy in the prevailing economic crisis. OPEC prices have risen only in direct proportion to the inflation and price rises generated by the prohibitive costs of imported goods and services as well as the fluctuating rate of exchange of the dollar.

32. The rich, industrialized countries must show a disposition to accept the fact that the present international economic system, based on imperial patterns of thought and relationships, which deny equal opportunity to all mankind, can no longer endure. They must accept the fact that there can be no meaningful and lasting progress on the issues that are of direct and proximate interest to them unless they are prepared to entertain overdue reforms on issues such as money and finance, resource flow, industrialization, trade and protectionism which are so germane to the realization of the aspirations of the developing countries.

33. The rich industrialized countries must shoulder their responsibility to the poor nations of the world, from which they have gained so much in wealth and resources. They must address themselves to the burning issue of how to assist them in an imaginative and compassionate spirit, particularly the least developed countries, which are today overburdened with poverty and unfulfilled aspirations.

34. Mr. President, I began with messages of congratulations to you and congratulations on your outstanding achievements on the international scene. I should like to conclude on a note of hope. As I look back, I am encouraged by what can be achieved if Member States, faithful to the ideals and principles of the Charter, agree to work for solutions to the myriad problems of our time.

35. We have come some way but have a long way to go. We have made some progress but the end of the journey is still far. But reach it we must. Since the beginning of human history the world has been full of conflicts, disputes and wars. This is the tragedy of human existence. The big question is can man ever live with his neighbour in perfect harmony? Can areas of conflict be reduced? In short: can wars be avoided? Some may answer yes; others may say no. Whatever our answer may be, one thing cannot be disputed: that we stand to gain in a world of peace and to lose in a world of war. We must therefore commit ourselves to ensuring peace in the world.

36. Our greatest hope for realizing peace is the United Nations. Each day the problems of the world multiply in number and in complexity. If the United Nations is to keep abreast of them, and if it is to reflect the vast increase in the number and strength of its membership, then it has to undergo some form of organizational change.

37. I do not refer only to its method of work and operation being changed to ensure greater efficiency. Some institutional or structural reform should be considered to demo-

cratize its decision-making process. In particular we call attention to the proposal for the expansion of the membership of the Security Council [item 30], which Nigeria strongly supports.

38. Each and every one of us must be ready to take his turn and to play his part in the worthwhile endeavour of ensuring the survival of justice and peace. As I have observed, peace cannot be achieved by mere resolutions or declarations. It can only be achieved through commitment. Delaying tactics will not help. We are not asking any nation to abandon its national interests. We are asking all nations to be reasonable in the pursuit of those interests.

39. The world is perched on the threshold of a new and significant decade, a decade of renewal as well as change, a decade of challenge as well as hope, a decade of opportunity as well as danger. What precisely it will be depends on what we make it. With the required good will, we can make it a decade of positive achievement for mankind.

40. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank Alhaji Shehu Usman Aliyu Shagari, First Executive President of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, for the important statement he has just made. On my own behalf I should like to thank him for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

41. Mr. FERNÁNDEZ (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): As I am speaking in the General Assembly for the first time after having assumed the responsibilities of Secretary of State for External Affairs of my country, I should like to ask the President of the thirty-fifth session of the Assembly to accept the best wishes of the Government of the Dominican Republic, through the delegation over which I have the honour to preside.

42. Mr. President, we are convinced that, with your wisdom and your dedication to the cause of mankind, which is undoubtedly to save the nations of the Organization "from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind", you will guide our efforts towards the most appropriate solutions to the problems before us, which have even reached the Security Council.

43. I should also like to express to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim our profound appreciation of his praiseworthy efforts during his presidency of the thirty-fourth session and the successive special sessions of the General Assembly.

44. We are honoured to bid the warmest welcome to the two new Members of the Organization, the Republic of Zimbabwe, a nation which has just ended a long and difficult struggle for its independence, and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, whose participation in the work of the General Assembly will enrich the Group of Latin American States to which it has received a fraternal welcome.

45. From the earliest days of its independence, the Dominican Republic has on numerous occasions demonstrated

heroism, courage and devotion to the rule of freedom despite the trials and tribulations to which we have been subjected throughout our history by the vicissitudes of international politics, from which we have been able to emerge with strengthened independence to the extent that it can be said that we are today perhaps one of the few countries in the world that has recovered, without foreign assistance, its status as a sovereign and independent nation, a status that was lost as a result of armed intervention which undermined its republican institutions, but, despite its duration, did not succeed in extinguishing our national spirit.

46. Consequently, we have absolute faith that the people of the Dominican Republic has reached such a degree of maturity that the idea of democracy described by Abraham Lincoln, as "government of the people, by the people, and for the people", which has guided it throughout its history is now part of the soul of our nation and is fixed at the core of the defence of our continent.

47. We are a peace-loving nation which has survived the sudden reversals of fortune of internal politics over the years. Nevertheless we maintain an unswerving policy of neutrality and non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States as the mainstay of our international relations.

48. It is nevertheless surprising that, in the face of adversity, the idea of freedom has survived in our people which, in addition to being subjected to many adverse historical circumstances, has seen various interventions and two major and long totalitarian dictatorships. But the sons of the nation of the Dominican Republic have preserved in their life as citizens this universal ethical value that is freedom, whose deep roots have never ceased to be nourished by the ideals of the selfless and courageous men who in 1844 fought long and hard to found the Dominican Republic.

49. We can be proud that for our country freedom means also the rule of law, the inherent right of men, all men without discrimination. Human rights are firmly guaranteed by our institutions. All have the right to God-given bread, in security and dignity. The solidarity of societies and respect for the dignity of men and nations; solidarity in the constant struggle against barbarity and organized cruelty; and, above all, the constant struggle for justice within a pure and simple democracy, without limitation—these constitute the legacy of the Divinity.

50. Within this broad context of freedom, there exist all the many responsibilities that have been assumed by the present Government of the Dominican Republic—but it cannot be denied that ever since the end of the last dictatorship, which lasted for 30 years until 1961, our nation has been shaped and influenced by those dictatorial policies and a civil war, in an intermediate period which preceded the normality prevailing today.

51. In contrast, we have now moved towards the rule of law and the mobilization of our citizens to foster the exploitation of all the resources of our country, notwithstanding the hurricanes which struck in 1979 and more recently, hurricane "Allen".

52. We have come a long way in that direction and we are now laying the foundations for a new agrarian policy. We



are mobilizing all available resources to speed up development, which should lead to greater economic and financial stability.

53. We are also expanding international relations with a new vision of closer relations with other nations and a more practical approach to problems, characterized by the signature of bilateral instruments, as is to be expected of a modern society. We are promoting common interests, open markets, reasonable terms to foster joint investments and other similar programmes which should contribute to a better use of labour and the reduction of unemployment in both urban and rural areas.

54. Furthermore, we are making progress in the communication media, and this is necessary to achieve a bloodless labour revolution, individual security and freedom of the press and all means of expression of thought which is so unlimited that it can appear at times to be excessive, and this is easy to understand when one has experienced limitations on such rights during abnormal periods in the past.

55. During the past two years of our new Government, we have also become convinced that new trends in international affairs require that States not be bound by the glories of the past or wallow in sterile resentment over negative historical events. Only by meeting that requirement can unprofitable isolation be avoided. Progress must be sought in the opposite direction, by endeavouring to promote international relations of a kind that can open the way to understanding, solidarity and peace among nations.

56. With this new opening up of our international policies, the Government of the Dominican Republic has entered a new period of its history in which it has realistic friendly relations with the Republic of Haiti, a neighbour of ours with whom we share—perhaps uniquely in the world—dominion over one island.

57. Encouraged by these new ideas, the island policy that we now have with our sister country has been strengthened with every passing day, and this has created new opportunities for cultural, social and economic exchanges which we hope will lead to the signing of constructive instruments. This will surely lead to the creation of markets more in keeping with the realities of our situation and will provide better opportunities for the achievement of our mutual goals.

58. Within this general economic and commercial pattern, a very promising convention on trade between the two countries has been signed. It includes a free-trade zone which applies to products produced in each country, and many facilities will ensue from that. We have scheduled reductions of import taxes on products which are specifically defined in the first and second lists annexed to that convention. Under the same instrument a permanent commission is established to determine which products will be the subject of negotiations, to propose lists of selected products, and to change the schedule for customs reductions. All this is marked by reasonable flexibility.

59. No less important is the convention on land transportation, which is to guarantee permanent communications between the supply centres and the consumption centres,

and this covers products which are used in trade and is intended to promote friendship among fraternal countries in the spirit of international co-operation.

60. A new page in the history of our countries began on 30 May 1978, when Antonio Guzmán and Jean-Claude Duvalier embraced each other for the first time in Jimaní-Malpasé. From that time on our two nations realized that there was nothing to fear and that a new era was dawning—just as another era ended 17 years ago—and it is an era without heroes perhaps but one also without martyrs.

61. Ever since the first non-indigenous settlers on both sides of the island began to fight for dominion over the island, our peoples had lived in only one of three ways: confronting each other, with their backs turned to each other or on top of each other. That was until the arrival of Antonio Guzmán and Jean-Claude Duvalier. Now our two peoples, under the leadership of these two statesmen, have begun a new life: a life of friendship, good will and co-operation, to quote the words, the firm intentions expressed by Antonio Guzmán when he welcomed Jean-Claude Duvalier, the President of Haiti, at Jimaní-Malpasé.

62. Friendship, good will and co-operation are the ABC of the foreign policy of President Guzmán with regard to Haiti and that of President Duvalier with regard to the Dominican Republic. Instead of confrontation, instead of hostile indifference, there is today, along with a firm desire to work, a determination to live in peace as blood brothers.

63. These are glad tidings that I bring to the Assembly. The Dominican Republic is no longer an enemy of Haiti, and Haiti has ceased to be an enemy of the Dominican Republic. If we look at the truth, our peoples have never truly been enemies. Those who have been enemies have been a few of the men that have led our peoples. While the powerful of yesterday chose war, those in power today have chosen peace. The gloom that marked relations between the two countries has been replaced by a ray of light. Between the two nations today not only do we have peace, tranquillity and good understanding, but the future is bright.

64. This great reunion shows that there is no reason for peoples to commit aggression or to destroy themselves in war over problems which could be resolved in a civilized manner. Now with firm steps—although they are often slow ones because of the precariousness of our resources—we are waging an all-out battle against the common enemy of our peoples, the implacable adversary of the developing countries: poverty. It is poverty that prevents us from developing spiritually, politically, economically and socially in human dignity.

65. We have made these references to our relations with the Haitian people and Government, one of the aspects of our present policy, which is in keeping with the international norms which the Charter of the United Nations advocates within the philosophy of peace keeping, which more than ever requires a concerted solution to disputes and conflicts, in which dialogue must be prominent. It is the best and most effective way in which States can deal with each other in this decade.

66. In this context, progress has been made, but backward steps also have been taken. Now there is more reason than ever before to act positively, for international terrorism in many forms has been the source of disturbance and has undermined international public order, creating an alarming situation; that phenomenon increasingly is at variance with human rights, which must prevail if we are aware of the implications of a nuclear war—which could be caused by an unbridled arms race—when terrifying weapons of destruction are used which push the outlook for peace further away in our uncertain future.

67. It is certainly disturbing—for those reasons—that terrorism, far from being in decline, is gaining ground in certain very sensitive areas. For various sociological reasons, it has been more intense. Hence, we must be alert. States must stand together in a common effort to end this violence wherever it may rear its ugly head and create a threat to the States themselves.

68. In the past few years international terrorism has taken on a particularly heinous form. My delegation is referring to seizures for the purpose of economic exploitation. Frequently the pretext used is the fight for freedom, but that is often not the true purpose. It is mere lust for money. This is an international crime which cannot be justified and cannot remain unpunished.

69. My country has been tested by such events. They represent a return to savagery which smacks of medieval obscurantism and constitute a challenge and a threat to our country and our institutions.

70. We have ourselves suffered the unfortunate experience of that form of terrorism that uses as weapons the seizure and holding of hostages, who are the innocent and the defenceless victims of that wanton crime.

71. Fortunately, our national dignity has remained unscathed by such trials and we have emerged from them without bloodshed. Such would not have been the case had commonsense and providence not intervened in a timely manner.

72. We cannot fail to condemn the repugnant spectacle of human beings held in long captivity in Iran simply because they belong to an institution which is hundreds of years old, the institution of diplomacy that makes possible legal relations among States and without which the world would be uninhabitable.

73. International instruments that punish and prevent such crimes have been referred to here in the General Assembly. A few years ago, when aircraft were being seized and their passengers exposed to risks, the Dominican Republic and Brazil agreed that such criminal acts must be considered as transgressions of *juris gentium* because preventive action is difficult.

74. When we speak of international terrorism in all its forms as a scourge, we cannot fail also to advocate the elimination of certain legal excesses in which States have engaged in order to repress, exceeding the limits of domestic law and affect the rights of others. In that line of thought, our delegation shares the view of those who believe that human rights are absolute.

75. This is not open to challenge; it is enshrined in international law. One of the great achievements of our time is that such rights are a part of *juris gentium* and they have become part of that law because violations of human rights can lead to conflicts.

76. For these reasons, the Dominican Republic also advocates the abolition of capital punishment. This must become a norm of law in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and a basic principle in the American Convention on that subject.<sup>4</sup> Although this form of punishment is generally proscribed, it is permitted exceptionally in those States in which it had existed before the signing of the inter-American instrument. Logic, since the days of the Greeks, has taught us that things cannot be and not be at the same time.

77. We are pleased to say that the Constitution of our country sets forth in one of its tenets what must one day appear in all international instruments on human rights. It states the following under that heading:

“The inviolability of life.

“As a result, there must be no capital punishment, no torture nor any other penalty or procedure implying the loss or diminution of physical integrity or individual well-being.”

78. This idea underlies the observations the Dominican Republic made concerning the American Convention on Human Rights.

“The Dominican Republic, as it signs the American Convention on Human Rights, hopes to see the death penalty banned and that principle applied generally in the States of the American region, and we hereby reiterate the observations and comments made with regard to the draft Convention and circulated among the delegations of the Council of the Organization of American States on 20 June 1969.”

79. In this area of human rights, our country, despite our untoward experiences in the past both under dictatorship and at other times, has achieved positive goals and will continue to work towards the rule of law.

80. These considerations would be incomplete were we to fail to recognize that those countries that are still grappling with problems that arise from an insufficient degree of development owing to insufficient economic means must promote education, without which democracy cannot survive. The five freedoms proclaimed in the Pacific region must become a reality. If this is so, we must recognize that the industrialized, fully developed countries, which make up the established economic institutions, are in duty bound to come to the economic, technological, social and cultural assistance of the developing countries.

81. This recalls the Declaration of Algiers.<sup>5</sup> We would add that this must be a commitment, not merely an expression of

<sup>4</sup> American Convention on Human Rights, “Pact of San José, Costa Rica”, Treaty Series No. 36 (Washington, D.C., Organization of American States (1970).

<sup>5</sup> Adopted by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973. See document A/9330 and Corr.1.

charity or pity. It is an unchallenged fact that today the economic ills of one State have an inevitable effect on others.

82. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly coincides with the beginning of a new decade, and this has a very special significance for the international economic order. It is particularly significant for the third world countries that are not oil producers, like the Dominican Republic, countries whose Governments are engaged in an all-out battle against poverty in all its forms and are endeavouring to establish a society ruled by social justice and a broader and more equitable distribution of material goods, as well as to promote the enjoyment of the spiritual values so essential to human dignity and representative democracy.

83. Only a few weeks ago, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly was held to consider an international strategy for development; it is to be hoped that its conclusions will be supported by the industrialized countries, including the United States of America, Japan and the European countries. The results of those deliberations will continue to be considered in relation to general rules as well as to the global negotiations so that we may actually begin the implementation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

84. The countries of the third world base their demands on the fact that the world distribution of income is very unequal and that internal efforts to improve development levels are being obstructed at the international level and are meeting external forces to minimize them. This can clearly be seen in international trade relations. The need for reform goes far beyond the liberalization achieved by the negotiations within GATT. The quota system, systems of safeguards and various forms of restrictions that affect the export of many products from developing to industrialized countries all contribute to this inequality in income distribution throughout the world and have made it impossible to establish a fair level for prices through trade machinery.

85. The industrialized countries must unhesitatingly recognize that the stabilization of commodity prices represents a reform that will help them as much as the less developed countries. For this reason, the Common Fund for Commodities<sup>6</sup>, as well as the creation of a reserve fund for food grains, will benefit not only the producing but also the consumer countries through a more rational use of resources and the promotion of larger investments.

86. The violent fluctuations in the price of sugar on the world market is a striking example of the enormous difficulties which periodically beset the economies of countries like the Dominican Republic. These "ups" and "downs" create uncertainties. The 1977 International Sugar Agreement<sup>7</sup> is an instrument filled with good intentions, but its effectiveness leaves much to be desired because price adjustments are not as automatic as one would wish and prices are fixed on the basis of supply, if not by speculation. In the circumstances, our economy, which depends largely on sugar exports,

is in a particularly precarious state, which makes it impossible to plan resources. World inflation is making the situation even worse.

87. Consequently, it is not surprising that refinancing of the external debt looms large in the thinking of the third world countries. While it is difficult to assess the benefits refinancing would bring, it would certainly have a stabilizing effect on the financial markets and make it easier for the debtor countries to adapt. The external debt of 75 developing countries that do not export oil has increased from \$44 billion in 1970 to \$146 billion in 1977, and in 15 countries of Latin America alone the debt went from \$23 billion to \$71 billion during that same period. As the external debt increases considerably, there has been, at the same time, a large rise in private loans and a consequent reduction of official loans; higher interest rates and shorter repayment periods thus have resulted. The industrialized countries must give assistance here to the developing countries in the form of donations and loans on easy terms and with fewer conditions.

88. International co-operation for development must be extended to other areas of importance such as industrialization, the transfer of science and technology and the more rational use of natural resources, the expansion of agricultural production and the promotion of food production, as well as the protection of the environment.

89. However, if all these negotiations concerning the international economic outlook are to be productive, it is necessary for the highly industrialized countries to resolve their problems of inflation and the low growth rate of their gross national product. The less developed countries must react to the hostility of the international economic environment—which is marked by protectionist tendencies and increases in the price of petroleum—and the difficulties regarding foreign trade and growing external debts, with all the problems that that implies. For our country, the value of our oil imports this year will amount to \$475 million; that is, \$172 million more than it was in 1979, as a result of the fact that the average price of a barrel of oil rose from \$19.85 to \$29.13, although consumption remained the same as during the previous year.

90. The cost of payment and repayment of our debts in 1980 is estimated at \$333 million. Therefore, those two areas alone will absorb approximately 86 percent of our total export earnings, which are estimated at \$1,010 million.

91. The Government of our country, under President Antonio Guzmán, in only two years has implemented an economic programme aimed at changing our development pattern and providing incentives for agricultural and livestock development on the basis of agricultural and industrial promotion. Our import substitution programme is expected to increase along with the production and use of our national raw materials and laws that provide incentives for exportation.

92. We have tried to improve our public finances, eliminate luxury investments and above all concentrate on expanding education, health services, agricultural credits, dynamic agrarian reform, the building of secondary roads and the training of businessmen, in small and medium-sized

<sup>6</sup> For the Agreement establishing the Common Fund for Commodities, see document TD/IPC/CF/CONF./24.

<sup>7</sup> See *United Nations Sugar Conference, 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.78.II.D.17).



concerns. We are developing our infrastructure through the construction of highways, irrigation channels and dams and energy development; we are endeavouring to expand promotion of the agricultural sector but an accelerated rate of implementation has been difficult owing precisely to our problems of balance of payment and foreign debt.

93. Recent statistics have been given by the United Nations and the World Bank showing that during the first years of the present decade 2 billion people—half the people of the world—will suffer from gastrointestinal disease because the water they drink is contaminated. Yet \$1 million is being spent every minute on weapons for war.

94. Many countries destroy food surpluses in order to keep prices high while, at the same time, four fifths of mankind is suffering from hunger and malnutrition, and does not have the basic domestic appliances to make life bearable.

95. I should like to repeat here what so many others have said here and in other forums, namely, that the enemy of peace, the one truly responsible for human misery, fanning the fire of revolution, is injustice in the broadest sense of the word, which is the abuse of authority and the exploitation of man by man. In international relations there are vastly different standards for judging others from the standards which we use to judge ourselves.

96. William Bowdler, Under-Secretary for Inter-American Affairs in the Sub-Committee on Inter-American Affairs, speaking before the Foreign Relations Committee of the House of Representatives, reflected the thoughts of Morgenthau when he said: "The real question confronting the foreign policy of the United States . . . is not how to preserve stability in the face of the revolutionary process but rather how to create stability as a result of revolution".

97. In my country development has been slow but it has been inexorable as the result of a genuine revolution which has gone through stages. It is a revolution through evolution. We have a Government that respects human rights. There are no limitations to free expression, except those imposed by law. Freedom of movement is a reality. There are no political prisoners. No one is persecuted for his ideas. There are no exiles. No one simply disappears. We have life in a genuine democracy and there is absolute freedom within order. We have therefore "created" our own "stability" of which Morgenthau spoke. We have done our part regarding what has been "confronting the foreign policy of the United States". Thus, we have the right—and we have that right—to our guaranteed stability.

98. When Mr. Bowdler accepted the change and said it was "natural and inevitable", he was merely adjusting his watch in time with history. When he said that peace and democracy in our region require fundamental political and socio-economic reforms which promote the well-being and strengthen the rights of the individual, he was formulating a thesis that his country can help to bring about in reality. Change and reform will serve no useful purpose if our countries receive the same unjust treatment that the powerful reserve for subjugated peoples.

99. The oil problem, which hangs like a sword over our heads, is a matter that must be dealt with by those who have the good fortune to be oil producers.

100. A new vision in our commercial relations has appeared; a new, more modern approach to justice and equity is needed.

101. If political experiments which have been translated into reality, as in the Dominican Republic, have no immediate success, we run the risk that the enemy forces that beset us will sweep us away. There are some demagogues who affirm that democracy has already performed its historic function and that the path of the vote is the path of suicide.

102. The peoples of the world love freedom so much, men have such an elevated concept of freedom that in my country everyone is very well aware of the precarious state in which we have been left by the forces of nature and by the devastation caused by those who went before us, and now we are working for the full enjoyment of those values of which we have spoken. The people realize with every passing day that the man whom it has chosen to guide its destiny is multiplying his efforts and will never rest until the most humble Dominican has been rescued from misery, ignorance and sorrow.

103. But the old economic disorder persists and in countries like mine, after centuries of struggle and after the people have succeeded in securing respect for their wishes, now offers us no more than freedom without bread, without adequate housing, without health and without equitable distribution.

104. If we are to speak truly of equitable distribution of the wealth of our country, it is necessary for us to speak of equitable distribution of the profits produced by our wealth for the powerful countries.

105. We must put an end to the imbalance which exists between the enterprises and those employed by enterprises. Once the labour of the workers ceases to be a mere input in large landholdings and in industry to acquire the status that it has in certain powerful countries, then can we speak of respect for human rights, of dignity for human beings.

106. Without equality there can be no fraternity, no good will. Without justice man's enthusiasm and the enthusiasm of peoples for solidarity in moments of misfortune and rejoicing in times of triumph will not be aroused.

107. Aristotle said, nearly four centuries before the birth of Christ, that inequality is always the cause of revolutions. And according to the same philosopher there is inequality when those who are the victims of revolutions are not compensated.

108. But there is also inequality when, among those who contribute to the exploitation of wealth, there exists a great difference in the distribution of that wealth. There is inequality when the greatest wealth of a country is acquired by someone else for speculative purposes and when the true owners of the riches are left in a state of poverty. There is inequality when what is paid in terms of interest is greater than what is received in terms of loans. There will be inequality

ity as long as our tourists are not given the treatment they deserve and as long as our citizens are not treated as masters in their own homes.

109. We need a vigorous energy policy such as has been launched by our President in the face of the oil crisis. For this reason studies have already begun on turning our oil-burning thermo-electric plants over to coal; research work has been started on the drying of cane pulp by solar energy to increase power capacity; we are carrying out feasibility studies on the building of a 100 megawatt electrical plant, also using solar energy; and we have intensified the search for oil in various parts of the country, and among other important studies, we are developing hydraulic energy.

110. All these efforts are designed to promote a more just and equitable society, where political democracy is based on social justice, equal opportunity and the elimination of differences between the poor and the rich. This is the greatest contribution that our country can make to the new international economic order and, in particular, to solving the problems of the Caribbean, which traditionally has been the scene of abrupt political change.

111. We should like to make a few comments regarding the situation in the Middle East, which is a highly sensitive area of conflict. In recent months the picture in that area has become even more gloomy.

112. As a Member of our world Organization, the Dominican Republic took part in the deliberations which led to the creation of the State of Israel. The basis of that historic act was the principle in the Charter on the self-determination of peoples. We share the view that creation of that nation was based on international law. We never failed to recognize all that the Holy Scriptures grant the people of Israel.

113. As a participant in the Inter-American Conference on the Problems of War and Peace, held at Mexico City in 1945 when the Allied Powers saw the end of the Second World War approaching and the spirit of the Yalta agreements inspired the international community, the Dominican Republic was anxious to support new visions of a more peaceful world.

114. This spirit also prevailed at the San Francisco Conference and in the debates which led to the signing of the Charter of the United Nations, which for so many years has prevented the scourge of total war and helped to preserve peace.

115. Therefore, when considering the right of Israel to survive as a sovereign State established in accordance with the principle of the self-determination of peoples, we cannot but honour the commitment imposed by the principles of the Charter.

116. For those reasons, we have lent our reasonable support to Israel whenever the legitimacy of that State has been challenged. For the same reasons, our country recognizes the right of the Palestinian people, without diminishing the right to existence of a people which, like Israel, has participated in the great work of peace.

117. We think that this is a just and legitimate position and we consider that peaceful means should be used to settle the situation in the Middle East. With equal conviction we view the Camp David agreements as a firm step towards peace in the Middle East, in an atmosphere of tranquillity and mutual respect and under the rule of law. In this way the States involved can live within permanent, secure and guaranteed borders.

118. The Dominican Republic, which has survived the vicissitudes of history and has always observed a policy of neutrality, believes that this is the right policy for small countries, especially developing countries, within the framework of independent sovereign democracy. Thus we cannot fail to mention Afghanistan, which is a member State of the third world movement to which we belong.

119. Because we cherish peace, we deplore the abnormal situation which has occurred there in violation of the fundamental norms of international law and the demands of peace which justify the existence of the United Nations. Consequently we believe that the situation in Afghanistan must return to the *status quo ante*, and by peaceful means.

120. For the same reasons, which are in keeping with the universal principles of the free nations of the world, the Government of the Dominican Republic hopes that the machinery available to the Organization will make it possible to stop the conflict between the neighbouring countries of Iran and Iraq, countries with the maturity of many centuries of experience, in order to prevent the outbreak of a total war.

121. We say this in a spirit of the strictest neutrality.

122. Let me sum up by saying that in respect for human rights and for the Organization we have an obligation to build a more just world in peace. This is what was said by His Holiness Pope John Paul II in Santo Domingo, the oldest capital in the Americas:

"We must see to it that there are no children who are without sufficient nutrition, without education or training; we must ensure that there are no young people who lack suitable training, that there are no peasants without land and unable to live in dignity; we must see to it that workers are not mistreated, that their rights are not violated; we must see to it that there are no systems allowing the exploitation of man by man, or by the State; there must be no corruption; there must be none who through no fault of their own have nothing while others enjoy super-abundance; there must be no broken, dis-united, insufficiently cared-for families; no one must be without the protection of the law; the law must protect everyone equally; force must not prevail over truth and law, but truth and law must prevail over force; we must ensure that economic and political considerations never prevail over humanitarian considerations."

123. Mr. ABDULLA (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Permit me at the outset, sir, to extend to you on behalf of the delegation of the United Arab Emirates sincere congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that your broad knowledge and experience of interna-

tional affairs will enable you to conduct the proceedings of this session in such a way as to ensure that it achieves the desired goals.

124. It is my pleasure also to express gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, for the valuable efforts he made in conducting the proceedings of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and the special sessions that followed it.

125. I should like also to express thanks to the Secretary-General for his continued efforts to enhance the effectiveness of the Organization and to strengthen its role in solving current international problems.

126. At the eleventh special session my country welcomed with great pleasure the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to membership of the Organization. Today I should like to welcome the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership.

127. Since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly the world has continued to suffer from crises resulting from situations of instability and periodic upheavals that afflict the international scene in all political, economic and social spheres. This year has witnessed more violations of the Charter, such as foreign interference in the internal affairs of other States, the continuation of international violence and the denial to many peoples of their basic freedoms.

128. In the circumstances, the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly presents us with an opportunity to exert more effective efforts with a view to achieving comprehensive solutions to those problems in order to change the bleak picture of our contemporary world.

129. While most of the peoples of the world have attained their political freedom, many of them continue to be economically dependent, which has precluded their achieving independent self-sustained development and this in turn has robbed their political independence of any economic content. In the present circumstances it is no longer possible to accept the doctrine that the economic and social development of the developing countries is a by-product of the economic activity that takes place in the international economic framework as a whole. Such activity should greatly enhance the ability of the developing countries to achieve self-sustained development rather than development based on dependence.

130. The world is increasingly convinced of the necessity of establishing a new international economic order rectifying the defects of the present order.

131. The present world economic order represents inequality in international relations. The gap between the industrialized countries and the developing countries continues to grow wide instead of narrowing. We believe that the main factor contributing to the widening of the gap is the structure of world economic relations, a structure that consolidates inequality and therefore ensures advantages for the developed industrialized countries at the expense of the developing nations representing the vast majority of mankind.

132. The United Nations has recognized that international peace and security will not prevail except with economic and social justice. Since the sixth special session, that recognition has been translated into the adoption of a set of resolutions embodied in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], and other resolutions aiming at rectification of the present international economic system. As a supplementary measure, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly was convened to evaluate the progress made in the implementation of those resolutions and to adopt a strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

133. Mankind's hopes had been pinned on the success of that session in attaining the goals set for it. Those hopes were, however, dampened by the failure of the efforts made in the field of international negotiations as a result of the intransigence of certain industrialized nations. The failure of the session led to the loss of an historic opportunity for the world community to rectify the present situation, despite the efforts exerted by specialized committees and working groups.

134. Even so, we are still hopeful that those nations will review their positions and make it possible to start anew world economic negotiations to enhance economic co-operation among all nations on the basis of equality and common interests, for the growth of their economies requires economic co-operation on a basis of equality with the third world countries.

135. While those efforts are floundering, the world economy continues to be afflicted by a series of problems that require urgent solution. Inflation represents a serious international phenomenon. Although its origin is associated with the economies of the developed countries, its consequences adversely affect the rest of the world, especially the developing countries. While we recognize that no method should be imposed upon the industrialized countries for remedying that phenomenon which lies within their competence, international action should be taken to check inflation and prevent its transfer to the developing countries.

136. The subject of energy, and in particular oil, is of a distinct and special nature and has great bearing on the world economy. Consequently, the oil-exporting countries, and in particular the Arab countries, have been subjected to an unjustified attack by certain circles which allege that those countries are mainly responsible for the economic problems. Such a view lacks objectivity for it looks at the subject from only one aspect. I should like to emphasize once again in this international forum that my country, as an oil producer, has done all it can to bring about the stability of the world economic situation.

137. We are fully convinced of the importance of the central role played by oil in the world economy. We have translated that conviction into a responsible commitment that is manifested in our production of oil at a rate that is much higher than suits our actual needs. This represents a sacrifice on our part for the sake of the stability of the world economy. It was met, however, by wastage in consumption by the industrialized nations, which made oil a scarce com-

modity, the price of which is controlled by foreign companies. Those companies in turn increased their profits many times and consequently the profits of their Governments and necessarily forced the oil-producing countries to adopt protective measures. We expect others similarly to adopt responsible and rational measures to reduce oil consumption and promote research into alternative sources of energy. Such efforts will complement ours in solving this grave problem.

138. The world has recently witnessed certain actions that threaten international peace, such as the failure of certain countries to respect others and their interference in the internal affairs of those other countries, thus preventing them from freely exercising their right to self-determination.

139. The principle of respect for the sovereignty and independence of States is, in our opinion, the most important principle for whose protection the United Nations has been established. It is therefore incumbent on all States to respect and enhance that principle by ceasing to interfere in the affairs of others.

140. We consider the events in certain regions, particularly in Afghanistan, as a violation of the spirit of the Charter and of the principles of non-alignment, which reject all forms of foreign interference regardless of their origin or causes. Thus we demand that foreign forces withdraw from Afghan territory and leave the Afghan people to determine their own destiny.

141. The arms race is a cause of concern to us because of the real danger it poses to international peace and security. The arms race has reached such alarming proportions that it threatens the destruction of our human civilization. It is apparent to everybody how closely it is interrelated with international developments and the world economy. The arms race has exhausted vast sums of money that should have been devoted to international development. It has also contributed to the worsening of world inflation. Studies indicate that the arms race will consume an estimated \$500 billion next year, a sum which could undoubtedly be used for the eradication of underdevelopment, disease, hunger and the ills that continue to beset many regions of the world. Such sums could be allotted to development at an international level.

142. In view of these facts, it becomes necessary to encourage international efforts aimed at reducing the arms race. In that context my delegation expresses its deep regret at the lack of full commitment towards implementing the international strategy in the field of disarmament, which was adopted by the General Assembly at its tenth special session, devoted to disarmament [see resolution S-10/2].

143. All States, and in particular the super-Powers, are required today to translate their recognition of the dangers of the arms race into concrete action that would contribute to the success of the international efforts made in this regard. There is still an opportunity for all States to do more through the Second Disarmament Decade, which starts this year, in order to uphold the spirit of the strategy aimed at controlling the arms race. We hope that by the time the next special session, scheduled for 1982, is convened all nations

will have committed themselves to the objectives of that strategy.

144. My delegation views with concern the increasing military presence of the super-Powers in the Indian Ocean region, which endangers the security and safety of that region. We join with the rest of the Indian Ocean States and all peace-loving countries in their appeal to keep that region free from military presence and to preserve it as a zone of peace. On those grounds my country welcomed the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace which was adopted by the Assembly in 1971 [resolution 2832 (XXVI)]. We are quite willing to co-operate towards the success of the Conference on the Indian Ocean, which is scheduled for 1981, for the implementation and effectiveness of the Declaration.

145. The Gulf region is confronted with increasing foreign threats of intervention in its affairs on the pretext of protection. That is contrary to the principle of the sovereignty of States over their territories. It is therefore incumbent upon all States to refrain from threatening to intervene, since such action will not serve international peace and security.

146. My country considers the safety and security of the Gulf to be a regional responsibility that belongs to the Gulf States alone. We view with the utmost concern the recent events opposing two Islamic States, namely Iraq and Iran, against each other. We hope that the efforts of the President of Pakistan will be successful in bringing about a cease-fire. We appreciate the fact that Iraq has announced a cease-fire in response to an appeal addressed to it by the Islamic Conference. We hope that our brothers in the Islamic Republic of Iran will also heed that appeal. We hope that those endeavours will lead to a peaceful settlement of the outstanding problems between them, thus putting an end to bloodshed and the waste of resources.

147. With regard to the question of Cyprus, although tension and conflict between the two communities continue, there is a ray of hope indicating a possibility of success for the international efforts aimed at seeking an end to that conflict. I refer to the agreement by both communities to resume negotiations, an agreement we welcome and applaud. My country supports those efforts aimed at a speedy solution of the question of Cyprus which will ensure its territorial integrity and non-alignment.

148. International efforts concerning the law of the sea have made promising progress, manifested in the great achievements of the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva. We hope that that will expedite the signing of an international convention which would establish a new system governing the use and exploitation of the seas and oceans in a just and equitable manner.

149. Southern Africa is experiencing a violation of the most basic human rights. Indigenous Africans are still being subjected to occupation and various kinds of racial discrimination practised by the South African minority régime.

150. The struggle of the people of Zimbabwe—which was crowned with independence and freedom—represents a true symbol of the African people's struggle. Its victory will

encourage other peoples to intensify their struggle to achieve their rights.

151. The racist régime of South Africa continues to apply the policy of *apartheid* against the indigenous population in contravention of the spirit of the Charter. It is also subjecting the Territory of Namibia to an illegal occupation, in defiance of the will of the international community, and still places obstacles in the way of the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). The South African régime does not stop at that, but continues as well to commit aggression against neighbouring African States, causing substantial damage.

152. In view of this situation the Organization has the responsibility to respond firmly to such aggression and violations by imposing the sanctions prescribed in Chapter VII of the Charter. My country has continuously expressed its solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa and has rendered its full support to the liberation movements in that region. We condemn the actions of South Africa and reiterate our support for the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the legitimate representative of the Namibian people. We call upon all States to refrain from aiding that régime, so that the Organization may be enabled to eradicate all manifestations of oppression in that part of the world.

153. I shall address myself now to a region which has been afflicted with the most complicated problem facing our contemporary world. The Middle East region undoubtedly represents a major hotbed of insecurity and instability because of the acts of aggression committed by Israel. This aggression is reflected in Israel's occupation of Palestine and the territories of several Arab States, the denial to the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination in its own territory and the repeated aggression committed against Lebanon.

154. These acts constitute a glaring violation of the basic rules of international law and of the Charter, which prescribe the occupation of the territories of other peoples by force. The United Nations has in numerous resolutions called upon Israel to cease its acts of aggression, to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories and to grant the Palestinian people an opportunity to determine their own destiny. These resolutions have not been implemented because of Israeli intransigence supported by certain States, in particular the United States of America. Furthermore, Israel continues to establish settlements in the occupied Arab territories for the purpose of annexing them under false pretexts and pronouncements made by its leaders. It continues also to violate the sanctity of Lebanese territory.

155. The latest action undertaken by Israel was its annexation of Jerusalem, declared the so-called eternal capital of Israel. The international community, in Security Council resolution 478 (1980), condemned that act and called upon all States to remove their embassies from the Holy City. I

should like here to express my country's gratitude and appreciation to those States which responded positively to that resolution.

156. We have previously expressed our interest in the declaration on the situation in the Middle East issued on 13 June 1980 at Venice by the heads of State and Government and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the member States of the European Community [A/35/299-S/14009]. We had hoped that it would signify a new approach in those countries' perception of the nature of the problem. Although subsequent developments have, unfortunately, taken a different course, we are confident that the correction of that perception will enable the Community to play a role in solving the problem commensurate with its international standing.

157. Certain attempts have been made outside the framework of the United Nations purporting to resolve the situation in the Middle East. We consider that any efforts made concerning this question must be made within the framework of the Organization. The United Arab Emirates, therefore, continues to reject the Camp David agreements as a framework for the solution of the problem, since they ignore the vital and basic issues, including the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and the recognition of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] as the sole legitimate representative of that people.

158. We believe that the cornerstone of any solution to the Middle East problem must include the total and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories, including the city of Jerusalem, and the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent State in Palestine. We call upon all peace-loving States to express their solidarity with the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples in their resistance to and struggle against Israeli acts of aggression. We also call upon the United States of America to refrain from supporting Israeli aggression.

159. The continued aggression committed against Lebanon shows the expansionist designs of Israel and its determination to occupy the territory of other countries by force. This calls for the international community to undertake the necessary action to put an end to such aggression.

160. The non-compliance with United Nations resolutions and such acts of aggression constitute dangerous phenomena in the context of the policy pursued by Israel in the Middle East. The United Nations is called upon to put an end to such practices. It should resort to preventive measures by applying against Israel, the aggressor State, the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. Such action will restore dignity and respect to the Organization.

*The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.*