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

In the absence of the President, Mr. Mashingaidze (Zimbabwe), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MUWAMBA (Malawi): On behalf of the Malawi delegation, I should like to extend to Mr. von Wechmar our warmest congratulations on his election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. In extending our congratulations to him, I wish to take the liberty of recording our satisfaction at seeing him preside over the deliberations of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

2. In this connection, we wish to recall that the friendly Government which he so ably represents, that of the Federal Republic of Germany, was the first to promise economic aid to Malawi when, in 1963, our Government served notice to quit the now defunct Central African Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We also wish to recall that, since then, not only have the two countries enjoyed the most cordial bilateral relations, but these relations have waxed from strength to strength. Therefore, it is only natural that our delegation should assure him of our fullest co-operation and support in the discharge of the responsibilities of his presidency that lie ahead. It is in this spirit that we salute him and convey to him our great personal pleasure in seeing him preside over the Assembly.

3. Our delegation would be remiss if an appropriate public tribute were not paid to his predecessor Ambassador Salim A. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, who acquitted himself so ably and with such total dedication that the special sessions over which he presided not only added to his stature as a seasoned diplomat but also did tremendous honour to his country in particular and Africa in general. Our delegation is indebted to Ambassador Salim for his outstanding contribution to the work of the United Nations.

We salute him for an excellent job of work, which he accomplished for the good of the entire international community.

4. The Government of the Republic of Malawi continues to follow with very keen interest the efforts deployed by the Secretary-General as he attempts to give positive expression to the resolutions of both the Assembly and the Security Council. Our Government has taken special note of his visits to several parts of the world—including South-East Asia and the Middle East—in his quest for a peaceful settlement of explosive situations which seem to undermine international peace and security. Accordingly, on behalf of the Malawi Government, we wish to record our sincere thanks to Mr. Kurt Waldheim for those efforts and to congratulate him and his dedicated staff for their invaluable service and contribution to the cause of international peace and stability. Our Government also commends the Secretary-General on his report on the work of the Organization [A/35/1], on the objectivity of the annual report and its careful analysis of the international political developments during the past year. Indeed, we take pride in the very high standard of performance that he has set for the entire United Nations system.

5. The Government of the Republic of Malawi, in concert with other Commonwealth Governments, joined the international community in welcoming the advent of the two newly independent sovereign States of Zimbabwe in Africa and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines in the Caribbean. Both States were former possessions of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and were admitted as the one hundred and fifty-third and one hundred and fifty-fourth Members of the United Nations, respectively. With the admission of these two new Members, the United Nations took bold and positive steps towards its desired objective regarding the fulfilment of the principle of universality of its membership. It is in recognition and appreciation of this achievement that we wish to take the liberty of extending our delegation's sincere and heartfelt congratulations to the Governments and peoples of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. We also wish to congratulate Her Majesty's Government of the United Kingdom on facilitating the independence of its two former colonies. The Malawi Government has noted with complete satisfaction and jubilation the removal, for the first time, from the agenda of the General Assembly of the item entitled "The situation in Southern Rhodesia". Accordingly, it is the hope of my Government that similar items that still remain on the agenda of the Assembly might equally be dropped, sooner rather than later.

6. At the seventeenth ordinary session the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Freetown, last July, agreed to

authorize Mr. Siaka Stevens, current chairman of the Assembly of the OAU and head of State and Government of the Republic of Sierra Leone, to convene the *Ad Hoc* Committee on Western Sahara, with a view to reconciling the parties to the conflict and seeking a peaceful and lasting solution to that problem. Accordingly, the fourth session of the *Ad Hoc* Committee was convened in Freetown early last month. My Government notes with considerable interest the fact that since the establishment of that Committee, the parties to the conflict not only now appear willing to discuss the issues, but also have participated in at least one such meeting which formed the basis for current recommendations which have been forwarded to the heads of State and Government of the OAU. The decision to participate in an exercise of this nature would seem, in our view, to augur well for the future. Accordingly, we wish all the participants and the Committee every success in their determined search for a peaceful solution to this African problem. Above all, we commend the OAU for its determination to attempt to contain and even resolve the problem within the framework of its charter.

7. During the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, the international community expressed both dismay and disappointment at the negative turn of events when agreement on a formula for resolving the Namibian problem initially submitted by the five Western Powers through the Security Council eluded the feuding parties. This disappointment notwithstanding, efforts to maintain the search for a peaceful solution to the problem have been stepped up by the Secretary-General and as a result we hear that all outstanding issues militating against the settlement proposal approved by the Security Council in its resolution 435 (1978) have now been resolved. However, we are unable to understand and appreciate the apparent reluctance of the Government of the Republic of South Africa to facilitate the immediate implementation of the formula that not only has been carefully worked out but also has been exhaustively examined by all concerned. We believe that the assurances given by the Secretary-General are genuine and that they are aimed at ensuring the peaceful transfer of political power to the Namibians themselves. We believe that under United Nations auspices not only would free and fair elections be feasible, but the participation of each Namibian in any such election would be guaranteed.

8. In this connection, we wish to recall our Government's belief in the Western initiative, which has now culminated in what has been agreed to by all parties. Addressing the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly last October, the then Chairman of our delegation, Mr. D. T. Matenje, Minister of Education, had this to say about our Government's reaction:

"My Government is convinced that this is still the way that offers the most hope of leading to a just and internationally acceptable solution to the Namibia question. It is therefore encouraging to note that efforts are under way to pursue the Western initiative, and I would appeal for good faith among . . . the parties concerned so as not to lose again an opportunity to bring this problem to a successful conclusion."¹

¹ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 26th meeting, para. 166.

9. Accordingly, it is in the same spirit that we would venture to reiterate our Government's appeal to all parties, in particular to the Government of the Republic of South Africa, to facilitate the implementation of the formula currently under active consideration. Time is running out, and the time to resolve the problem is now.

10. We would venture to submit that the views of our Government on *apartheid* and racism and what they connote are well known, not only to the Assembly but also to the Government of the Republic of South Africa. It will be recalled that last year the leader of our delegation had this to say on the policies of *apartheid* and racism espoused by the Government of the Republic of South Africa:

"My Government remains resolutely averse to the policies of *apartheid* and the methods used to enforce it, including the establishment of 'homelands'. This is a stance that is well known to the Government of the day in South Africa. But my Government remains equally convinced that the best way to induce the white people to the south of us to change is by contact and example, by engaging in a dialogue with them."²

11. The black people of South Africa continue to challenge the legal instruments of their oppression because for upwards of three centuries they have been reduced to the status of aliens in the country of their forebears. Alas, even black school children, too, have for quite a spell now shown utter defiance, and this in broad daylight, of the armoury that has been assembled there for what appears to be their perpetual political subjugation. The black people of South Africa abhor the creation of bantustans, which they perceive as a summation of *apartheid* and downright racism. They resent the balkanization of beautiful South Africa and rather yearn for its unification. Their desire for the total integration and cohesion of their land prompts them to step up the fight for freedom and prosperity for all its people, irrespective of colour or creed. Therefore, the continued balkanization of South Africa can only mean an affront to the dignity of sovereignty, aimed at entrenching the enduring myth of *baaskap*.

12. The black people of South Africa will continue to insist on respect for their lives and dignity. For, as long as those basic human rights continue to be ignored, the fight not only to participate in but also to govern, the affairs of their land will not cease. Therefore we, like the international community, believe that there is merit in the people's quest for social justice and political emancipation. We believe that they loathe violence just as they abhor political injustice and racism. We believe that neither confrontation nor intransigence is in the best interests of the racial groups in that land. We believe that the black people of South Africa are crying out for and committed to the building of a united, dynamic, strong and prosperous nation capable of providing enlightened leadership in the African continent.

13. South Africa has always been, is and will continue to be part and parcel of the African continent. Therefore we are unable to understand why the white minority that now governs that country should insist on creating a mini-Europe there while at the same time justifiably insisting on

² *Ibid.*, para. 172.

being called Africans themselves. We would, as in years gone by, urge those who have influence over the white population and Government of South Africa to prevail on them to come to the conference table with a view to resolving the country's political, social and economic problems, which have not only bedevilled racial relations within the country but have also succeeded in isolating it from the international family of man. My delegation's prayer is for a quick resolution of the problem so that that country may return to this forum and occupy its legitimate place.

14. No instant solution to the Middle East problem capable of commanding the immediate support of all parties seems feasible. But Malawi believes that, given a suitable political climate and willingness to engage in meaningful discussions among all the feuding parties, a solution might be found sooner rather than later. Unfortunately, the tendency in recent times to assail the efforts of the United Nations in the region, the most recent decision to take unilateral action on certain disputed aspects of the problem, the continued acquisition of weaponry of death and mass destruction, which goads the feuding parties into acts of violence, the refusal to recognize and accept each other's existence, the temptation to ignore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, the unwillingness that has been demonstrated so far to give effect to the myriad resolutions of the United Nations calling for withdrawal from occupied territories, and so on, seem in our view to have succeeded only in undermining the credibility of United Nations peace initiatives in that region. Naturally the Malawi delegation deplores this negative development. We believe that the region can ill afford to continue to bleed itself to death, because to do so is to set itself on a course of self-destruction and create general world instability and insecurity in its wake. Consequently, we submit that the Secretary-General made a very pertinent and timely observation to this body when he said in his report:

"Any progress in the Middle East requires in the first place a vastly improved degree of communication and understanding at many levels. There can be no hope of peaceful progress if the peoples of the region and their leaders do not recognize and accept each other's . . . right to exist. Conditions must be created in which positive and agreed solutions can be developed." [See A/35/1, sect. IV.]

15. We see no concealed innuendos or provocative epithets in that observation, which to us seems to be a fundamental truism that reflects the reality of the situation. We discern nothing in it that might incur the wrath of the gods of the Middle East. Accordingly we would urge the international community to join the Secretary-General in attempts to bring suitable pressure to bear on all the parties in the area to facilitate the creation of the type of conditions envisaged in that quotation and to facilitate the development of "positive and agreed solutions" aimed at a peaceful resolution of the Middle East conflict.

16. In the view of our delegation, the Secretary-General has made what seems to be a very intriguing proposal concerning the situation in Afghanistan. According to him,

" . . . the only way that appears open is to initiate a process of negotiation among all the parties concerned with a view to finding a political solution of the problem with

full regard to the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the Organization". [Ibid., sect. III.]

As far as we are aware, the Afghan representatives regard any such proposals as wanton interference in their domestic affairs. They have even objected to the inscription of an item on the subject on the agenda of the Assembly. As far as they are concerned, the foreign troops that have inundated their country are there by invitation because their sovereignty was allegedly threatened by imperialists and neo-imperialists in concert with their foster-cousins the colonialists and neo-colonialists. However, the international community still has not been informed why the Afghan people, on whose behalf the foreign troops are alleged to have been invited into their country, seem to be taking to the bush, and some even seeking refuge in neighbouring countries. If the question of the invitation cannot be discussed by the Assembly, at least that of thousands of refugees would seem to merit consideration. Therefore we would hope that the Assembly—which is already involved by being looked to for material support for the well-being of the Afghan refugees—might be permitted to review the situation there before it deteriorates beyond redemption. It is in this light that we perceive the Secretary-General's constructive proposal, which would seem to merit prompt and positive consideration by the international community.

17. The situation in Kampuchea, like that in Afghanistan, is said to remain dangerous. We have been informed that even humanitarian relief operations carried out by the United Nations system in concert with voluntary organizations for the benefit of the uprooted and displaced Kampuchean men, women and children have run into serious political and military difficulties. We are concerned that hardly any progress appears to have been made in giving effect to General Assembly resolution 34/22, which does not merely deal with the situation in Kampuchea, but also specifically calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from that land, which has literally been bleeding to death since the hostilities of recent years. We believe that the withdrawal of those foreign troops would certainly facilitate the search for a mutually acceptable political solution.

18. In this regard we have taken note of the Secretary-General's efforts in using his good offices to assist the parties to the conflict to try and come to some accommodation. Although those efforts have not yielded any spectacular results, the Secretary-General seems to have succeeded in getting at least two of the Foreign Ministers to continue the dialogue during the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly here in New York. We wish them every success in their endeavour, and for our part we shall watch their efforts with keen interest.

19. The meeting held on 9 August this year concerning the situation in Cyprus is said to have culminated in an agreement between the two communities to start discussing substantive issues pertinent to the dispute. But both parties are said to be lacking in an essential ingredient: the necessary political will and commitment to negotiate and compromise. In the absence of such essential political chemistry, it is proving difficult to get down to really serious business. In this connection we would once again appeal to the two communities to co-operate with the Secretary-General in the general search for a peaceful resolution of the dispute.

20. During the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly the Malawi delegation expressed the hope that the successful conclusion of the Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, SALT II, might induce the big Powers to deploy the type of experience gained through the long drawn out negotiations in efforts geared to the achievement of general disarmament in the world.³ Unfortunately, this does not appear to have been the case.

21. In this regard it is pertinent to observe that the disarmament strategy elaborately worked out at the tenth special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament [see resolution S-10/2] has not in fact been translated into substantive action as expected. Instead, the international community has witnessed further escalation of the arms race. The international community has, during the past year, seen Governments giving priority to military preparedness while at the same time espousing the principle of disarmament. This mental attitude has resulted in meagre progress on this problem. The bottom line of all this would seem to be that by the end of the current year, according to the report of the Secretary-General, world military expenditures will exceed \$500 billion, or roughly 6 per cent of total world output [see A/35/1, sect. V]. We are horrified by the findings of a comprehensive study on nuclear weapons, commissioned on behalf of this General Assembly some two years ago, which has just been completed and which highlights the dangers of those weapons in the arsenals of major Powers [see A/35/392]. According to the Secretary-General, "In 13 years the total number of strategic nuclear warheads has reportedly almost tripled" [see A/35/1, sect. V]. Can the international community afford further nuclear proliferation—has the international community become so obsessed with technology that the objective is now to annihilate itself from the surface of the Lord's earth?

22. The Malawi delegation agrees with the view expressed by the Secretary-General that "There must be tangible demonstrations of renewed commitment to the objectives outlined in the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session" [ibid.]. Our delegation also supports the Secretary-General in his assertion that "The Second Disarmament Decade, which began this year, offers a suitable framework for setting politically attainable concrete targets and making substantive progress in that direction" [ibid.]. The Assembly has had more than enough of its share of empty professions flowing from those who claim never to have violated any international agreements on disarmament and arms control. Such professions cannot impress anyone in the Assembly as long as they are not related to what actually goes on in the backyards of those who advance them.

23. The development of the essential political will among nations at the highest levels of Government conducive to the transformation and restructuring of the current international economy seems to have eluded the participants in the eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to development and international economic co-operation. Consequently, yet another opportunity to give effect to the proposed establishment of the new international economic order appears to have been lost last month. However, our

delegation joined the other members of the Group of 77 in taking note with satisfaction of the consensus reached [see A/35/464] on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which is scheduled to come into effect in January 1981. But we were both dismayed and disappointed by the failure to reach total agreement at that session on procedures and a time-frame aimed at launching the global negotiations. However, that failure to reach total agreement notwithstanding, we still cherish the hope that by the beginning of 1981 the three important Western delegations will, after careful reflection on what has been achieved thus far, reverse their original decision and facilitate the launching of the global negotiations on target.

24. Permit us to recall that during the closing hours of the eleventh special session, Canada took the first step in announcing that

"... the Government of Canada has decided to reverse the trend of the last few years under which Canadian official development assistance was declining as a proportion of our gross national product. We shall now move upwards once again and our official development assistance will reach a level of 0.5 per cent of gross national product by the middle of the decade. Our intention thereafter is to accept the need to reach an official development assistance level of 0.7 per cent of gross national product by the end of the decade, and we shall employ all our best efforts to reach this objective".⁴

Clearly, once again Canada has taken the initiative in setting the pace for the major traditional donors. Accordingly, my delegation commends Canada for that gesture.

25. The Government of the Republic of Malawi is pleased to note that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea last August completed its ninth session, at Geneva, on an extremely hopeful note. In terms of the reports that we have received, it is hoped that a convention might be adopted early in the new year and that it might be ready for signature by April 1981. Accordingly, we should like to record our thanks and indebtedness to all the participants for their outstanding contribution to the draft constitution for the seas. We hope and pray that the final conference, scheduled for early next year, will contribute positively to the advent of the new international economic order.

26. The Malawi delegation wishes to be among the first to salute the United Nations system and to commend its loyal, dedicated and hard-working personnel at all levels for the invaluable services that they continue to render and which have sustained the smooth administration of the entire system. We would wish to pay a particular tribute to the secretariat of UNCTAD for their determination to give positive expression to one of the objectives of the international community—the establishment of the new international economic order. In this regard, we would recall that, through UNCTAD at Geneva, yet another major step towards the realization of that goal was taken when on 27 June this year the United Nations Negotiating Conference

³ Ibid., para. 179.

⁴ Ibid., Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 21st meeting, para. 14.

on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities adopted the Agreement establishing the Common Fund.⁵ It may further be recalled that the Final Act of the Conference⁶ was signed by more than 90 States. Thereafter, a Preparatory Commission consisting of representatives of 28 States was set up and charged with the responsibility of preparing draft rules and regulations and other related policy instruments for consideration by the Governing Council.

27. As the Assembly might already be aware, it is intended that the Fund should serve as a key instrument in the attainment of the objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities as enshrined in UNCTAD resolution 93 (IV).⁷ It is our understanding that the Fund will also facilitate the conclusion and functioning of international commodity agreements or arrangements, particularly concerning commodities of special interest to developing countries.

28. From our perspective as a developing country, the significance of the Fund would seem to affect at least six major areas, as follows.

29. First, the Common Fund can be regarded as an important element of the new international economic order and the Programme of Action for the establishment of that order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)]. The Programme of Action envisaged the need for the regulation of world trade in primary commodities with the objective of producing greater benefits to developing countries in terms of prices, earnings, opportunities for processing and marketing and control over their natural resources.

30. Secondly, the Fund represents the first major change that has taken place since the end of the Second World War in the organization of international economic relations. Unlike the immediate post-war financial institutions, that is, IMF and the World Bank, the Common Fund would permit developing countries to play a decisive role in the management of the world economy. The universal membership of the Fund would bring together countries with differing economic and social systems. It is hoped that the problems created by payments made by countries in either convertible or non-convertible currencies might be a non-issue, eliminating the current double standards within the United Nations system which adversely affect developing countries.

31. Thirdly, the operations of the First Account of the Common Fund, that is, activities related to stocking, would make for greater price stability for many commodities exported by developing countries. Price instability, as experience has shown, does affect the export earnings of developing countries. It contributes to inflation and in some instances it could hamper the planning of production, especially agricultural production in the developing countries. Price stability would eliminate these problems and contribute to greater security of investments in raw materials.

32. Fourthly, the operations of the Second Account, that is, activities other than stocking, such as productivity

improvement, product development, marketing and distribution, would generate resources for developing countries to finance long-term developmental projects associated with the commodity sector. These projects will improve the competitive position of natural products exported by developing countries *vis-à-vis* synthetics and substitutes. It will also assist these countries in the processing, marketing and distribution of their commodities.

33. Fifthly, the capital structure of the Fund is such that developing countries should be able to subscribe to it without unduly straining their economies. The ratio of the subscribed to the borrowed capital of the Fund, as agreed, that is, one third subscribed to two thirds borrowed, would enhance the credit-worthiness of the Fund and maintain its financial integrity. For developing countries this is important, as the ability of the Fund to enter into capital market operations could directly affect its stocking operations.

34. Sixthly and finally, the voting structure of the Fund—47 per cent of voting power for the Group of 77, 42 per cent for Group B, 8 per cent for Group D and 3 per cent for China—established a new principle of power sharing in international financial institutions. If all developing countries ratify the Articles of Agreement, they will constitute the largest voting bloc in the management of the Fund.

35. To us, the establishment of the Common Fund is a recognition by the international community of the growing political and economic tensions which tend to undermine international relations and which must be addressed at the earliest available opportunity. The establishment of the Fund, we believe, introduces a new economic partnership in a world of increasing interaction and interdependence. Therefore, mindful of the myriad advantages of the newly created Fund, we would venture to urge all States Members of the United Nations to consider the immediate ratification of the Articles of Agreement, and let us move forward together thereafter. We commend the Common Fund to all Governments of the international community.

Mr. von Wechmar (Federal Republic of Germany) took the Chair.

36. In conclusion, we would appeal to the Assembly to heed the overriding preoccupation of the African continent with the peaceful uses of the sea lanes of the Indian Ocean. Africa's commitment to peace and mutual international friendship is a matter of record. Therefore, mindful of that commitment, one of Africa's distinguished statesmen, the President of Madagascar, in a letter dated 22 June 1980 to the Secretary-General,⁸ made a specific proposal aimed at maintaining the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. Accordingly he has called for a summit meeting of both littoral and hinterland States and of the major maritime users, including the five world major Powers, to be held at Tananarive, the capital of his country. As far as the timing is concerned, it has been suggested that it be held either at the end of 1981 or in early 1982. Therefore my delegation would urge the international community to give that proposal the consideration it merits with the urgency it deserves. Africa is for lasting peace and stability; hence Madagascar's initiative down that path, and we owe it to ourselves to commend and

⁵ TD/IPC/CF/CONF/24.

⁶ TD/IPC/CF/CONF/23 and Add.1.

⁷ 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, sect. A.

⁸ See A/AC.159/L.32, annex.

salute the President of that great African and Indian Ocean Republic.

37. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I wish to congratulate you on your election to the important post of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and offer our wishes for the fruitful and constructive accomplishment of the important tasks entrusted to you.

38. This session of the General Assembly, which marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the work of the United Nations, is being held during a period when, because of the actions of the imperialist and hegemonist forces, the world situation has perceptibly deteriorated and the process of détente is being severely tested. The struggle for improvement of the international situation is a very difficult process which is marked by confrontation between two diametrically opposed trends in world politics: the course adopted by the socialist countries and other peace-loving forces that are in favour of peace, respect for the rights of peoples and détente and, on the other hand, the course adopted by the most militaristic and aggressive circles of the imperialist Powers and the Beijing hegemonists who are trying to bury détente, to eliminate the positive achievements of recent years and to pursue a policy of oppression, militarism and aggression.

39. In disregard of the realities of the contemporary world, in fear of the successes of socialism and the national liberation movements, and in face of the growth of freedom-loving democratic and peace-loving forces as a whole, the imperialists—first and foremost the reactionary circles of the United States of America—have adopted a course of violating the military balance which has been brought about in the world in its favour and to damage détente, security and co-operation among peoples. This is where the root causes of the present exacerbation of the international situation lie.

40. It would appear that the victory in the Second World War over Fascist Germany and militaristic Japan and the development of events in the world during the post-war period have made it clear once and for all to everyone that it is incontrovertibly true that the path of militarism and aggression can lead no where but to total defeat, and that the policy of a position of strength is something which cannot be used to solve a single problem, and in particular to halt social revolutions.

41. However, the United States, which throughout the existence of the United Nations and in defiance of the Charter has more than 200 times used its armed forces against other States, has once again embarked upon a course inimical to the cause of peace, apparently forgetting about the failures of such a policy in the past.

42. Under the cover of trumped-up pretexts, the United States has arbitrarily awarded itself the right to dictate to its allies a high and continually growing level of military expenditures; it has been imposing upon them the decision to deploy on their territories American missiles with nuclear warheads and is attempting to decide with whom they should not maintain economic, trade, scientific, technologi-

cal and cultural co-operation; they are even trying to tell athletes whether or not they should take part in international sports competitions. They demand unquestioning obedience from others, but at the same time the United States refuses to honour commitments that it had earlier assumed—even to its own allies. The United States is toying with plans for building up the manufacture of fissile material for military purposes, for improving even further its nuclear weapons, creating nuclear and chemical binary weapons, announcing deliberate and false military alerts, and carrying out subversive actions and acts of provocation against sovereign States.

43. Recently in the United States, one after another like mushrooms after rain, there have been springing up new and ever-more militaristic doctrines and strategies; but these are poisonous "mushrooms". Among them are the unjustified declaration by the United States of various parts of the world, very far distant from its shores, as its own spheres of vital interests, and a strategy, although limited, of definitely nuclear warfare. In this regard I should like to point out that to plan nuclear war in any form is irresponsibly and cynically to plan world catastrophe.

44. To justify such a dangerous policy, recourse is being had once again to a whole anthology of fallacious myths about an alleged Soviet military threat. In this regard, as long ago as 60 years the founder of the Soviet State, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, warned:

"There are foolish people around who cry out about 'red militarism'; these are political crooks who pretend to believe this stupidity and scatter charges of this kind all around, using for this purpose their lawyer's skills to invent false arguments and to throw dust in the eyes of the masses."

45. Anti-sovietism and anti-communism have become a weapon of combat, not only against the USSR and other socialist States, but also against all freedom-loving and peace-loving forces, and a means of undermining détente and, in these circumstances, the exploiting essence of capitalism and the aggressive nature of its foreign policy are becoming ever more apparent.

46. We are witnessing a *rapprochement* between aggressive circles of imperialism, particularly the United States and the Chinese leadership, built on an anti-Soviet foundation hostile and inimical to the cause of peace. The partnership of imperialism and Beijing hegemonism in, among others, the military field, represents a new dangerous phenomenon in world politics, dangerous for the whole of mankind, including the people of the United States and China.

47. The attempts of the aggressive circles of imperialism to win military supremacy over the socialist community and threats to "punish" such a powerful State as the Soviet Union simply demonstrate the total loss of any sense of reality among the ruling circles of certain Powers. Surely everyone must understand that the Soviet Union can stand up for itself, for its own interests, and for the interests of its allies and friends. It is also obvious that the peoples of the world understand perfectly well the true price of peace, the strength of mutual support, and they will never give this up, because they see in it a guarantee of success in the struggle

for a better future, peace and social progress. And that is something that should also be understood by those who are still trying to view the world of today from a standpoint of imperialism, hegemonism and selfish and even ambitious personal interests.

48. Faithful to its international duty, the Soviet Union responded to the appeal for assistance to the Afghan revolution, acting on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Good-neighbourliness and Co-operation between the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan and in full compliance with Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations. The USSR took into account the repeated appeals by Afghanistan for assistance in defending the country against penetration from outside by counter-revolutionary forces instigated by Washington, Beijing and their accomplices in order to strangle the Afghan revolution and to create a pro-imperialist spring-board for military aggression on the southern frontiers of the USSR and against independent countries of the East.

49. It should be pointed out that those who are shouting the loudest at this session of the General Assembly about the presence of a limited contingent of Soviet troops in the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan are themselves doing everything to make sure that the possibility of the withdrawal of that contingent is made as remote as possible, that is to say, they are doing nothing to eliminate the causes of the need for this assistance.

50. A political settlement of the situation that has arisen in Afghanistan is entirely possible. The path to it has been outlined in the proposals made by the Government of Afghanistan on 14 May of this year. Obstacles to such a settlement are being created by the United States and China which, to this end, are using Pakistan in particular and artificially fanning the flames of tension.

51. I should like in particular to stress that no attempts—whether at this session of the General Assembly or elsewhere—to resolve the problems of the Afghan people in defiance of its will, no plans affecting the sovereignty of the Afghan State or disregarding its lawful Government and which fail to guarantee the security of Afghanistan against the intervention of bandits from outside in its internal affairs can possibly be successful. Such attempts and plans are totally hopeless and doomed to failure.

52. Mankind needs lasting peace. Peace engenders co-operation among peoples; co-operation strengthens peace. But lasting peace will not descend of its own accord on our planet; peace and disarmament, détente and the just settlement of conflicts must be fought for. In the present complicated international situation, all States—large and small, developed and developing—are in duty bound not to relax but to intensify common efforts to improve the international climate, to curb the arms race and to organize a decisive rebuff to all imperialistic and hegemonistic forces which are dragging the peoples of the world into the abyss of tension, “cold” war, and even “hot” war. There is no room for a wait-and-see attitude in the circumstances.

53. The Byelorussian SSR is firmly convinced that there are in the world social and political forces capable of ensuring the normal, peaceful coexistence of States with different

social systems, and capable of averting the threat of a world thermonuclear conflict. The path to attainment of this objective is that of talks based upon strict observance of the principles of equality and equal security.

54. We note with satisfaction that, along with the States of the socialist community, an overwhelming majority of countries hold a similar view—primarily, members of the non-aligned movement—as demonstrated, among other things, by the statements that have been made in this debate. Responsible representatives of a number of Western countries have also stated their intention to maintain normal relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist States. Thus we can see that there is a possibility of continuing our joint work for the sake of maintaining détente as the dominant trend in world politics.

55. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community strongly oppose the imperialist doctrine of the arms race and war hysteria in favour of their own doctrine of unrelenting struggle for peace and security on earth.

56. As the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, in his message to the participants in the World Parliament of the Peoples for Peace, recently held at Sofia, reconfirmed:

“The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated, and substantiated by its practical steps, that we are prepared to take all necessary measures aimed at reducing the threat of a destructive military conflict. We do not want to compete in the production of lethal weapons and we are genuinely in favour of limiting and reducing military arsenals, in favour of disarmament. We are prepared for a political solution to all international problems.”

57. A further convincing manifestation of this clear-cut and lucid policy of the unremitting concern of the Soviet State for peace is the proposal submitted by the Soviet Union at this session of the General Assembly [see A/35/241] to include in the agenda the important and pressing item entitled “Urgent measures for reducing the danger of war” [item 121].

58. In the present circumstances of a worsening international climate and the slowing down of talks on disarmament matters, the appeal contained in the draft resolution submitted by the USSR in the First Committee under that agenda item⁹ is particularly timely and relevant: it is an appeal to all States to refrain from expanding the membership of existing political and military groupings or from creating new ones, *inter alia* by endowing with military functions those regional organizations which do not at present have such functions. That measure, together with the proposed renunciation by all States, with effect from 1 January 1981, of a build-up of their armed forces or of conventional armaments, would be a first step towards the subsequent reduction of armed forces and conventional weapons.

59. A pressing and urgent measure in the field of the limitation of nuclear weapons would be, as is proposed in

⁹ A/C.1/35/L.1.

the aforementioned draft resolution, the earliest possible elaboration and conclusion of an international convention on the granting to non-nuclear States of guarantees against the use or threat of nuclear weapons against them, and of an international treaty on the full and total prohibition of nuclear weapon testing. Success in this area would be promoted by a positive response from all nuclear Powers to the appeal of the USSR to make similar solemn declarations, approved by the Security Council, on the non-use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear States which do not have them on their territory, as well as by an understanding among nuclear States not to conduct any nuclear explosions for a year, starting from an agreed date.

60. We are confident that a careful, thorough consideration of the Soviet proposals, widespread support for them, and their immediate implementation can thwart the apologists of nuclear folly and adventurism and create, at the present stage, conditions that would give new impetus to the struggle for international peace and security, for the preservation and development of détente and for disarmament.

61. In this tenth anniversary year of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*], the United Nations should take further decisions in the interests of international peace and security and the preservation and development of détente, as well as strict and universal observance of the Charter.

62. A central problem of ensuring just and lasting peace has been, and remains, achievement of progress in the field of military détente, limitation of the arms race and genuine disarmament. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community have, in recent years, submitted quite a few specific proposals on this range of issues. I would recall just a few: cessation of the nuclear arms race and the elimination of nuclear weapons; conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations; non-employment of nuclear weapons on the territories of States where no such weapons exist at present; prohibition of radiological and chemical weapons, as well as of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction; strengthening of the non-proliferation régime; creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace; reduction of military budgets; and the convening of a world disarmament conference.

63. It is imperialism and its accomplices that are to blame for the fact that these and other proposals have not yet been implemented. The arms race is the very foundation of their aggressive policies. The inability to ensure social progress for the broad masses of the people is driving the monopolies and the ruling circles of imperialist Powers to violence in domestic and foreign affairs.

64. We proceed from the belief that it is possible to put an end to the arms race. The States of the socialist community have repeatedly expressed their readiness to limit and ban all forms of weapons on terms of complete reciprocity and without prejudice to anyone's security. This is attested to by the memorandum submitted by the delegation of the USSR at this session, "Peace, disarmament and international security guarantees" [*see A/35/482*].

65. Of primary importance before the quantitative and qualitative limitation and reduction of strategic arms would

be the entry into force of the SALT II Treaty, ratification of which has been unjustifiably delayed for more than a year now by the American side, although—and this is worth recalling—President Carter said on 13 May 1979, that if it failed to ratify the Treaty, the United States would find itself in the role of a warmonger refusing to participate in a joint attempt to limit the proliferation of the most destructive weapon mankind has ever known.

66. A broad programme of strengthening détente and of confidence-building measures and also the halting of the whirling fly-wheel of the arms race have been put forward at the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty held at Warsaw on 14 and 15 May [*see A/35/237-S/13948*].

67. The Soviet Union also proposed that a start be made on a discussion of the question of medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe at the same time as, and in organic connection with, the question of American forward-based nuclear systems. The conclusion by 1 August this year of the withdrawal from the territory of the German Democratic Republic of 20,000 Soviet military personnel and 1,000 tanks and other military equipment and the proposal of the socialist States at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe to reduce in a first stage a further 20,000 Soviet and 13,000 American military personnel would create genuine possibilities for the conclusion of an agreement on a first stage and the production of other mutually acceptable decisions. All that is necessary is for the Western States to evince a sense of responsibility and in a spirit of good will respond to the new Soviet initiatives, which are in keeping with the genuine vital interests of the peoples of Europe and the whole world.

68. Underlying the Soviet peace initiatives are the profound analysis of the demands of the international situation, and a sober assessment of the real possibilities; due account has also been taken of the unquenchable thirst of the peoples of the world for peace and social and economic progress.

69. A little over two months ago we marked the fifth anniversary of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which adopted a Final Act at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, constituting a major event in the history of post-war Europe and opening up broad prospects for the peaceful development of the continent.

70. Our task now is to see to it that every State party to the Conference observes the Final Act in all its parts and is ready to participate constructively in the second review session of the Conference, at Madrid, and conclude it with important results, as well as to ensure the convening of a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe, which was proposed by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty as early as last year.

71. The duty of the United Nations is to promote a just settlement of existing conflicts by political means and to eliminate hotbeds of international tension.

72. That applies primarily to the Middle East, where the designs of imperialism are for ever complicating the situation.

73. The United States has embarked upon an open assertion of its military presence in that region and the Asian and African areas surrounding it. On trumped-up pretexts, it has thrown in powerful naval and air forces and is feverishly building a network of American military bases and showing its fist ever more often through the so-called rapid deployment force. And all this is aimed at one thing: while keeping the Arab and other Islamic countries in the sights of their lethal weapons and to remain in control of their natural resources.

74. At the same time, with the sponsorship of Washington, Israel, which is spending for military purposes per capita four times as much as the countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], is becoming more arrogant than ever in its actions to suppress the rights of the Palestinian people, its acts of aggression in Lebanon and its continued occupation of Syrian territory. It has even gone so far as cynically to declare the annexation of the eastern part of Jerusalem. The Israeli Government is flagrantly flouting all the decisions of the United Nations on the Middle East problem, including resolution ES-7/2 adopted on 29 July 1980, at the seventh emergency special session of the General Assembly, on the question of Palestine, which is the key to the whole Middle East problem.

75. It is time now to call a halt to the protracted hullabaloo about the anti-Arab policy of separate deals. The only path to a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East is that of collective efforts by all parties concerned, including, of course, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], on the basis of the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967, including East Jerusalem, the implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including its right to self-determination and the creation of its own State, and the ensuring of an independent existence and development for all States of the area.

76. The situation in South-East Asia remains tense. This tension is being created above all by the expansionist policy of China, which is carried out in complicity with the United States. At the same time, naked pressure is being exerted on States members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], in particular Thailand, in order to subordinate them to their diktat.

77. The establishment of an atmosphere of peace and stability in this area would be in keeping with the vital interests of the countries of South-East Asia. Constructive ideas on this subject have been put forward at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of three Indo-Chinese States, which was held last July in Vientiane [see A/35/347-S/14071 and Corr.1], as well as in the proposal of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on talks and the conclusion on a bilateral basis with Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Singapore of treaties on mutual non-aggression with a view to converting that part of the world into a zone of peace, independence, freedom, neutrality, stability and prosperity. We welcome the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" [item 119].

78. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR favours an immediate and full restoration of the lawful rights of the People's Republic of Kampuchea in the United Nations and the expulsion of the bloody criminals of the Pol Pot clique, thrown out by the Kampuchean people on to the scrap-heap of history.

79. The Byelorussian SSR believes that we must resolve the problem of Cyprus on the basis of the decisions of the United Nations providing for unconditional and total respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus, its status as a non-aligned State, the withdrawal from the territory of Cyprus of all foreign troops and the elimination of all foreign military bases.

80. The Byelorussian SSR supports the just position of the Korean People's Democratic Republic and the struggle of the Korean people for the reunification of their country by peaceful democratic means without any outside interference and favours the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea.

81. In the year of the twentieth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples we welcome a new victory of the national liberation movement—the defeat of one more bastion of colonialism and racism in southern Africa and the constitution of the Republic of Zimbabwe. We congratulate Zimbabwe on its admission to membership of the United Nations and we welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as the one hundred and fifty-fourth Member of the Organization.

82. The Byelorussian SSR has consistently supported the national liberation, anti-colonial and anti-racist struggle of the peoples of Africa and other continents. We are in favour of the independence of Namibia and we oppose the annexationist policy of the United States with regard to Micronesia. The historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, which was adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, must be fully implemented.

83. Mankind is today faced with a range of vitally important problems which can be solved only by means of broad and constructive international co-operation. Guided by the desire to develop such co-operation in preserving the natural environment of our planet, defending it against the pernicious effects of the arms race and using natural resources in the interests of the economic and social progress of all peoples and in order that this may be done on a rational and scientific basis, the Soviet Union has taken an important initiative at this session of the General Assembly by proposing [see A/35/194] the discussion of the question of the "Historical responsibility of States for the preservation of nature for present and future generations" [item 120]. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR expresses the hope that all States Members of the United Nations will manifest good will and adopt a constructive approach to the consideration of this important proposal of the Soviet Union and that the General Assembly will adopt an appropriate decision.

84. Among the urgent problems now facing many States are those of the necessity of providing vast masses of people with food, raw materials and sources of energy and of

overcoming the economic backwardness, engendered by colonialism and capitalism, of countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Imperialist monopolies continue to plunder developing countries, to disregard their legitimate interests and to impede the restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis. According to data provided by UNCTAD, foreign corporations are exporting many millions of dollars from developing countries in the form of profits alone, an outflow which is more than double the inflow of new investment.

85. Because of the major Western countries, the eleventh special session of the General Assembly held recently could not fulfil the hopes of the peoples of the world for substantial progress towards organizing truly equitable international economic co-operation and supporting the efforts of developing countries in accelerating the rate of their economic growth.

86. Guided by the principles of internationalism, the States of the socialist community have provided and are continuing to provide assistance to developing countries in the acceleration of their economic development and the strengthening of their political and economic independence. At the present time, the member countries of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance are giving economic, scientific and technological assistance to 90 developing countries in various parts of the world.

87. For the developing countries co-operation with socialist countries is one of the most important prerequisites for reducing their dependence on imperialist States and transnational corporations. The socialist community has consistently favoured the restructuring of international economic relations on a basis of equality and respect for the sovereignty of all States, and it supports the progressive and just demands of developing countries for the elimination of all manifestations of discrimination, inequality, exploitation and diktat in those relations.

88. With all the complexities of the current international situation and despite the designs of those in aggressive circles on peace and détente, the will of the peoples for peace, harmony and co-operation is prevailing and, we are convinced, will finally triumph.

89. The Byelorussian people, which in the course of the Second World War lost one fourth of its sons and daughters and more than half its natural resources, knows as well as anyone the meaning of war. It is something we must not allow to happen again. Together with the peoples of all the countries of the socialist community, our people is fighting vigorously for lasting peace and international security.

"Socialism, in an historically brief space of time, has revealed its incontrovertible advantages over capitalism and is now emerging as a decisive factor for social development, the improvement of the international political climate and the creation of a solid system of international security and as a consistent advocate of the elimination of war from the life of mankind."

Those optimistic words were uttered with cogent force and insight in September of this year, shortly before his tragic death, by an outstanding leader of the Communist Party

and the Soviet State, Alternate Member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR, Pyotr Mironovich Masherov. Having emerged from the flames of the great patriotic war, when he had more than once looked death in the face, he was an ardent champion of peace, a man of principle and a consistent fighter for the freedom of the peoples, economic and social progress and the shining ideals of communism.

90. All the people of our planet need peace, for they want to live in tranquillity and to work creatively; they want to see the most important human right of all, the right to life, made secure.

91. As one of the founder Members of the United Nations, the Byelorussian SSR believes that it is necessary to stress once again that the duty of the United Nations is to do everything in its power to achieve the major objective proclaimed in the Charter, that of saving succeeding generations from the scourge of war.

92. Mr. BEYE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): After the signing of the Charter of the United Nations mankind thought the nightmare of the scourge of war had been for ever laid to rest. A new world was open to mankind; universal and permanent peace was at hand. The weapons of war were to be cast aside and the spirit of tolerance and brotherhood was to reign; mankind was to unite to make everybody content with his way of life, his destiny.

93. But the scourge of war did not disappear and the dream came to naught.

94. You, Mr. President, on assuming the heavy but ennobling burden of the presidency of the Assembly, emphasized that the thirty-fifth session is taking place at a time when the world is entering upon a difficult decade [*1st meeting*]. But you went on to say that we are capable of solving all the problems facing us and of concern to us all as long as we approach them with the firm determination, the true political will, to resolve them.

95. Such a keen perception of international problems and such lofty thinking in setting them in their proper context and finding universally valid solutions to them further demonstrate your outstanding human and political qualities.

96. The people and Government of Mali welcome your unanimous election for two reasons: first, because your country, the Federal Republic of Germany, my country's friend, was the first to establish diplomatic relations with the young Republic of Mali; secondly, because the bonds that have been forged over 20 years have increased and strengthened, thereby offering a notable example of international co-operation. The remarkable manner in which you have been conducting our debates augurs for the success of our work. In conveying to you our best wishes for success, we assure you of the full and sincere co-operation of the delegation of Mali.

97. Permit me also to congratulate once again Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, President of the thirty-fourth session, for his wisdom, competence and skill which left a special imprint

on the work of an exceptionally busy inter-sessional period. It also gives me pleasure to recall that it was only logical that, as an African and as Chairman of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it should have been he who welcomed into our midst the heroic Republic of Zimbabwe, that republic to which the people of Mali once again renews its militant support.

98. We also take this occasion to convey to the Secretary-General and to the competent team which surrounds him our appreciation for their invaluable service in the cause of peace and understanding among peoples and nations.

99. Sir, your distinguished predecessor transmitted to us the following message:

“... our world is now at a critical crossroads and that we must choose between the road which will lead mankind to its own fatal destruction and the road towards mutual understanding, peaceful coexistence, progress and prosperity.” [*1st meeting, para. 25.*]

100. Indeed, the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly is opening in a world in crisis, which has been brought about by distrust in the relations among States and the serious deterioration in the international economic situation.

101. On 3 September last, in the general debate of the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, we stated from this rostrum¹⁰ that the crisis which is shaking our planet to its deepest foundations illustrates once again the common destiny of nations and peoples, the great hopes of which we are bound to translate into concrete realities. Unfortunately, one of those hopes is about to fade away.

102. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, convened amidst turmoil in the world economy in order to deal with one of the most difficult, albeit most important, questions of our time, has closed without attaining any profound perception of the future or even succeeding in meeting the legitimate hopes of millions of people who once again live in fear of the future.

103. Just as it was termed special, so the measures which the Assembly was to adopt at that session in order to bring order to and revive the world economy should likewise have been exceptional, because the challenge which it was to meet concerned our common fate. The encouraging statements of some speakers about the need to establish a new balance in international economic relations and the meritorious efforts made by others to initiate global negotiations next year on vital questions for the maintenance of international peace and security have only yielded watered-down results and this will have the effect of overcrowding the already impressive agenda of this session of the General Assembly.

104. The recognition by everyone of the serious and disturbing deterioration of the world economic situation and the need to correct it immediately has led to the preparation

of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, the text of which will, we hope, be formally adopted at this session.¹¹ Nevertheless, the absence of unanimous and firm political will prevented the Assembly, at the eleventh special session, from reaching the anticipated positive results regarding the procedure, which has become unavoidable, for beginning negotiations towards a new international economic order.

105. As a result the extreme interpretation of the notion of consensus introduced into the economic sphere the power to block action, which the Charter conferred on some Member States in other fields. Thus, that lack of flexibility has led to the deferment of this crucial question, which has once again been held in abeyance.

106. Not having dared to act, we run the risk of allowing the infernal spiral of inflation, recession and unemployment to continue. We risk seeing the most terrible threat to peace emerge on the horizon, the threat of millions of people mounting an assault on an economic system which for them is synonymous with frustration, poverty and absolute destitution.

107. “Absolute poverty” is the expression used by the World Bank to refer to the condition of 800 million human beings on our planet, among whom are included the populations of most of the African States south of the Sahara and particularly States members of the Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, an organization which comprises the eight countries of the Sahel which since 1973 have been severely hit by the scourge of drought and desertification.

108. One of the most tragic consequences of that climatic hazard is the chronic grain deficit besetting that region, which is thus converted into a famine area that requires the care of the international community. That community should step up its efforts with regard both to its emergency assistance, rendered even more indispensable by the recent low levels and uneven distribution of rainfall and to its actions in the medium and the long term aimed at ensuring self-sufficiency in food based on the complete control of the surface and subterranean waters.

109. The head of State of Mali, President Moussa Traoré, in his capacity as current President of the Summit Conference of that group of countries which is coherent in the geographical, economical and ecological senses, will once again in the coming days issue an anguished appeal to the international conscience.

110. Because of its anachronistic nature the present international system, which is intrinsically unequalitarian, must inevitably lead to trouble. The present world situation is characterized by severe tensions, among them the phenomenon of decolonization, local conflicts and the unbridled arms race, all of which are causes of instability and threats to peace.

111. Only the strict application of the excellent principles inscribed in golden letters in the Charter of the United

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 13th meeting.

¹¹ Subsequently adopted by the General Assembly as resolution 35/56 of 5 December 1980.

Nations can prevent the advent of the direst of consequences. Among those principles we note especially the right of every people to control its fate. There is no force in the world which can destroy forever the will of peoples to decide their own destiny.

112. This December we shall celebrate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of the historic resolution 1514(XV), which subsequently came to constitute the basic charter of decolonization, thanks to which oppressed peoples obtained their inalienable right to self-determination, a universal and eternal right. It was on the basis of that principle that the General Assembly 20 years ago consecrated the international sovereignty of 18 young States, among them my own, the Republic of Mali. Subsequently, the international community became prouder and richer with the accession to independence of 53 new States. The accession to membership in the international Organization of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on 16 September last is a two-fold symbol—of the irreversibility of the phenomenon of decolonization and of the political maturity of peoples which are still dependent, regardless of the size of their population or the geographical configuration of their territory.

113. The United Nations moves year after year towards the universality which it upholds because it is that universality which is its strength and which determines its future. I was going to say because it is our strength and determines our future. We have resolutely chosen to hasten such a future and support with all our strength both those peoples that achieve their independence and those that continue to fight, devoting all their energies to the affirmation and the exercise of their national rights. For want of obtaining them by persuasion, they are wresting those rights by force of arms.

114. It is because the doors to negotiation on its future have remained closed after a long wait and much bloodshed that the valiant people of Namibia, after other heroic peoples, has undertaken the stubborn struggle for national liberation.

115. The plan for a peaceful settlement of the Namibian crisis adopted by the United Nations which the Secretary-General is endeavouring to implement with his usual tenacity and the proposals made along the same lines by the five Western Powers are at an impasse. The racist and illegal administration of South Africa, unable to rise above the level of violence, hatred and duplicity, continues to use all kinds of excuses to delay matters, in the absurd hope of imposing "its peace" on the heroic people of Namibia, resorting at the same time to the use of arms, organizing masquerades of popular consultations, with constant evasions and interminable requests for clarification after receipt of every letter sent by the Secretary-General.

116. On the initiative of the late President Neto, the settlement plan of the United Nations provides for the creation of demilitarized zones between Namibia and its neighbours, which would permit the initiation of talks on the future accession to independence of the international Territory of Namibia. But Pretoria has responded to this initiative of peace with bad faith and acts of war. The delaying tactics it uses are designed to gain respites so that it may satisfy its hegemonistic ambition.

117. Actually, while South Africa pretends to pursue dialogue with the Secretary-General and the representatives of the five Western Powers, it continues to attack the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Angola.

118. The illegal and racist régime of South Africa has no option but to engage in dialogue with the sole authentic representative of the Namibian people, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], its fighting flank which embodies its hopes and has shown it the road to national liberation.

119. SWAPO has taken up arms in order to liberate its homeland. Negotiations are with those who fight.

120. It is in that context that we urge the Secretary-General, the five Western Powers and the international community to make use of all available resources so that the Namibian people may exercise its sacred right to self-determination.

121. South Africa not only will never reverse the course of the liberation struggle of the Namibian people but will never realize its dream of maintaining in slavery the population of Azania under the heinous system of *apartheid*.

122. The chameleonic characteristics of the leaders of Pretoria whenever international pressure makes itself felt and whenever internal resistance deals them fatal blows do not in any way change the true nature of *apartheid*. That hideous policy continues to be the apotheosis of racism and hatred, of hatred of the black.

123. Men who love peace and justice are not duped by this. They redouble their efforts in order to awaken man's conscience to this new scourge which threatens our civilization. The fires they have started in the oil installations at Sasolburg will continue to light the long and difficult struggle that they will have to wage to recover their dignity in their own homeland and to save humanity from that cancer which saps it.

124. It would be work for peace to isolate South Africa and impose on it the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter.

125. It is also in order to speak of peace that we now turn to one of the most sensitive areas in Africa, Western Sahara in the north-west of our continent.

126. As is well known, the United Nations continues to be seized of the question of Western Sahara, a decolonization problem. However, in its wisdom and in keeping with the provisions of Chapter VIII of the Charter, the Organization has allowed, as a first resort, the OAU to search for an appropriate solution.

127. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, after having debated this matter many times, set up, at its seventeenth ordinary session, an *Ad Hoc* Committee to which it gave the imperative mandate of assisting it in finding a peaceful settlement of that crisis.

128. The *Ad Hoc* Committee has heard all parties concerned or interested in the question of Western Sahara in the

context of on-the-spot visits at the highest level and by listening with patience and interest to all the spokesmen who have come forward. That Committee, which has just met again at Freetown, has adopted a number of recommendations which, being precise and realistic, should secure the unqualified adherence of all parties to the conflict. It would, in any case, be very wise of them to act thus because, as President Moussa Traoré has frequently said, when a people is denied its right to speak, it seizes that right, and it resorts to violence to do so.

129. Mali and the rest of Africa ask the international community, the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, the League of Arab States and the Islamic Conference to trust them to resolve this delicate question of Western Sahara.

130. My country is motivated only by the desire to put an end to the spiral of violence which would internationalize the conflict. My country also asks all interested parties to listen to the voice of reason and to place their trust in history in order to ensure the success of their demands however legitimate they believe them to be—in short, to see to it that that fertile area of Africa is freed from a war the outcome of which is inevitable.

131. As the philosopher said, the greatness of a nation, especially of a nation with a history, is not measured by its capacity to wage war but by its capacity to make peace.

132. For its part, the Republic of Mali is resolved to co-operate loyally in the *Ad Hoc* Committee. In so doing, however, it will not depart from the principles and political ideals to which it is deeply committed. It will never compromise on the right of peoples to self-determination.

133. The Malian people and their leaders will never depart from the African positions which they have freely chosen and which, need we recall, are summarized in two themes: first, for nothing in the world will the people and the leaders of Mali be accomplices, not even passive accomplices, in a plot against the right to self-determination of peoples in general and the people of Western Sahara in particular; secondly, the people and the leaders of Mali will be scrupulous in ensuring that the circumstantial and therefore ephemeral dispute among peoples that are friends and neighbours of Mali, peoples that have the same history, the same culture and the same faith, does not dangerously compromise the stability of the region.

134. The sequel to colonization is seen not only in the African continent. The Middle East feels it painfully on its flank owing to the expansionist policy of Israel and its lack of respect for the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to self-determination.

135. We will not cease to repeat that the Palestinian problem is at the heart of the Middle East crisis. To disregard that would be to accept political illusions. Nevertheless, this evidence has not yet enabled the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People to lead the Security Council to face its responsibilities, given the growing deterioration of the situation in Palestine.

136. However, the world has seen the Palestinian reality. Suffice it in this context to refer to the resolutions adopted

on the question by the Islamic Conference and by the OAU; to the Venice Declaration issued on 13 June by the Heads of State and Government and Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the nine member States of the European Community; the Declaration of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries; and the appeals made everywhere in the world by democratic organizations and high-level international political and moral leaders in favour of recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people and its sovereign exercise of that right under the dynamic direction of its political organization and sole legitimate representative, the PLO.

137. Israel has clearly learnt nothing from history. If it had, it would not have set Lebanon ablaze with its expansionist actions; it would not, in its vanity, have declared Jerusalem its eternal and indivisible capital, thus flagrantly and arrogantly violating the provisions of resolution 181 (II), adopted by the General Assembly on 29 November 1947 concerning the future Government of Palestine, and thus also seriously offending the conscience of millions of people who believe in the Eternal.

138. In fact, Jerusalem, because of its historic and religious characteristics, transcends the dimensions of a single State. That thrice holy city, eternal testimony to the spiritual heritage of the three revealed religions, certainly belongs to mankind and must continue to do so.

139. The international community must vigorously denounce the policy of Judaization of the Holy City which has been undertaken and pursued by the Zionist entity in contempt of international law. There is no doubt that the appeal made and the specific measures advocated on the subject at the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Fez from 8 to 12 May 1979,¹² will find a ready response in the Assembly.

140. Nor has the political situation developed in Korea since the joint North-South communiqué of 4 July 1972¹³ and the adoption by the General Assembly of its resolution 3390 B (XXX). The events currently taking place in the southern part of that country, which are of concern for more than one reason, call for the early implementation of the five-point peace proposal formulated by the People's Democratic Republic of Korea.

Mr. Marinescu (Romania), Vice-President, took the Chair

141. A glimmer of hope may be perceived in Cyprus. The two Cypriot communities—Turkish and Greek—have agreed to resume the talks on the political future of their country, thus showing that the maturity of peoples will always win out over the most subtle political machinations.

142. The situation in Chad continues to be one of the main concerns of O.A.U. and especially of the Republic of Mali, a member, like the battered country, of the Organization of Saharan States. The fratricidal war which has set in there seriously threatens the territorial integrity and independence of that country, the security and stability of our region and,

¹² See A/34/389 and Corr.1.

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex 1.*

if we are not careful, may well jeopardize international peace.

143. As with all African conflicts, the solution to that problem must first of all remain an African one. Of course, organized Africa must be able to count on the very precious support of the international community with the aim of safeguarding national unity, of which the Lagos Agreement of 21 August 1979 is the sole guarantee.

144. It is also the lack of respect for the principles of the Charter—the principles of non-recourse to force, avoidance of foreign military intervention, non-interference in the internal affairs of States and the peaceful settlement of disputes—which has given to the crises in Afghanistan and Kampuchea dimensions which go beyond the national borders of those countries.

145. From this rostrum, the people and leaders of Mali, through our delegation, would like to make, in conformity with our traditions of respect for the will of all peoples and for the sacred principles of effective non-alignment, an urgent appeal to all the parties involved in these regrettable crises to replace guns with ballot-boxes and negotiating tables so that the peoples concerned may in full freedom have the opportunity to choose the final solutions to their concerns.

146. Hotbeds of tension have not only continued; they have unfortunately multiplied. The current session of the General Assembly began during the border conflict between Iran and Iraq, two countries friendly to mine, members of the Islamic Conference, and of the non-aligned movement. Mali supports the opportune initiatives of the Islamic Conference and the non-aligned movement towards the complete cessation of hostilities and a quest, by peaceful means, of a lasting solution to the crisis.

147. Alliances forged by war have been shattered by the demands of opposing ideologies. While international relations suffer less and less from the clash of ideologies, they are more and more subject to the efforts of nationalism and selfish interests to the detriment of the ideals of peace and justice so dear to the international community.

148. Détente, to be real, must be extended to all the nations of the world, all the peoples of the world because of the correlation of their interests and their equal ability to direct the course of international affairs.

149. Because this profound reality has not been recognized, because it has been forgotten that the Charter recommends uniting the strength of all to maintain international peace and security, fear continues to hover over the world. The balance of fear has returned in the form of the fear of tomorrow.

150. Ratification of the SALT II Treaty on the limitation of strategic offensive weapons, which we earnestly desire, has been thwarted by the resurgence of international tension. The Disarmament Decade which the General Assembly decided to proclaim at its thirty-fourth session [*resolution 341/75*] has opened to the clash of weapons. Furthermore, the arsenals are stuffed with engines of devastation

as though to clear one's conscience by having, out of a love for peace, prepared for war.

151. In fact, despite international agreements, despite the legitimate concern of peoples, nuclear explosions have not halted during the past year. Existing stockpiles of strategic weapons would suffice, according to experts, to reduce our planet to ashes 1,001 times over. But this is not enough: arsenals are to be stocked with neutron weapons. Chemical weapons, although banned, have rediscovered their patent of nobility. According to the international press, the flash of light recorded by an American satellite over South Africa was that of an atomic bomb jointly developed by South Africa and Israel.

152. What could be more absurd than to note that more than \$500 billion a year continues to be spent on armaments, when a far smaller sum would suffice to bring the Sahel back into bloom, to open schools and hospitals for hundreds of millions of people and to drive back the advance of hunger and malnutrition.

153. But the arms race has demonstrated its own futility, for it has not decreased the policy of zones of influence, prevented the maintenance and strengthening of blocs or extinguished hotbeds of tension.

154. Mankind must necessarily, then, respond to all the different challenges with which it is faced. Zones of influence and blind distrust are among the ills in modern international relations, the sole remedy for which, we believe, lies in non-alignment, steadfast and dynamic non-alignment, a non-alignment which goes beyond blocs, a non-alignment which will lead to true interdependence, in which a community of interests will replace conflicts of interest in a world in harmony.

155. Such ambition requires the mobilization of the political will of all. The establishment and maintenance of peace is not a matter for the Powers alone, however militarily developed they may be, or for blocs; it is right and truly a matter for all.

156. The problem of the democratization of international relations, the need for which was affirmed in September 1970 at Lusaka at the Third Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, is thus clearly posed.

157. Respect for human rights is among the questions of world-wide importance, and it must therefore be placed in its precise context and comprehensively if we wish correctly to resolve it.

158. To grasp thoroughly the import and scope of the question of fundamental human rights, we must first of all rid ourselves of ideological contingencies which do not merely circumscribe our consideration, but also tend to permit the notion of a selective approach to take root, while, in fact, the basic rights of the individual cover all aspects of daily life—political, civil, economic and social. To emphasize political rights at the expense of social and economic rights would be tantamount to depriving millions of people who live in sordid and abject conditions of their freedom to

escape starvation, ignorance and disease. Conversely, not to consider civil and political rights is tantamount to believing that man can live by bread alone. Economic, social and cultural rights are inseparable from civil and political rights. They all move towards the same goals: development and peace.

159. On the one hand, since man is the be-all and end-all of development, the right to development—the recognized right of each individual to meet his needs in accordance with his legitimate aspirations and in harmony with the degree of development of the society in which he lives—must be the first human right to be respected by Governments.

160. On the other hand, since there can be no peace and security in the world if the enjoyment by all people of their fundamental rights is not an effective reality, equal rights for all the members of the human family remains the cornerstone of peace and justice in the world.

161. In this connection one should be convinced once and for all that human rights apply to all people, irrespective of race, sex or creed. This implies the effective participation of all people in the development of the society in which they live. Human rights cannot be discriminatory, applicable, for example, to the whites who immigrated into South Africa, but withheld from the blacks, who are the authentic children of the country.

162. Man is but an element of society, the harmonious evolution of which requires respect for the collective right of all the elements which make up that society. In other words, because the right to development is first and foremost a collective right, human rights cannot and must not transcend the right of peoples.

163. The right to self-determination, the right to the free exploitation of natural resources, the right to organize societies according to political, economic and social rules that each people must freely choose—in sum, the right to exist, the right to live, the right to be must be admitted and applied by all.

164. In Mali, a young State but an old country, human rights are part of our ethic. There, as in all societies of an old civilization, man is happy because he is never alone, he is never lonely, he is never in despair because he can trust in his family, his clan, his country, to which he remains attached by an emotional and therefore indestructible bond, which is nevertheless destroyed by a certain form of development.

165. My country, Mali, on acceding to international sovereignty, of course, adhered to the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, both of 1966 [*resolution 2200 A (XXI), annex*]. Moreover, on the national level, the sacred rights of the human person are protected by our laws and above all by our Constitution, in which they are embodied not only in several provisions of its preamble but in an entire chapter, the first.

166. This means that my country, our people and its leaders have no complex as regards the question of human

rights, which has suddenly become a useful instrument for the destabilization of young States. No nation, no people, no State, can claim to have attained perfection in such a fundamental and delicate field as this. The critics of today must first be convinced that while it is undeniable that human rights are intangible at the level of principle, the daily modalities are in general a function of many factors, many contingencies, among which are the ethic of each society, the preoccupations of the moment, the political circumstances and the economic and social conditions.

167. These few thoughts should lead the manipulators of consciences and public opinion, which, unfortunately, certain mass media have become, to show more circumspection, more restraint, more justice.

168. Such a policy, although quite common, is all the more unjust in that there is this imbalance in matters of information. The unequal exchange of information between North and South, the distortions which are found, the concentration of the mass media in developed countries, the increasingly commercial nature of the important press, which in the main practises crisis journalism, are the major themes of the important debate taking place in UNESCO on a new world information order, which we heartily wish to see emerge so worrying is the present dangerous tendency to treat the news from the third world in a distorted way in the service of what are often unworthy ends. The media in the major industrialized countries often give our countries a false and distorted image. The familiar demand for the free circulation of information between the strong and the weak incontestably has negative consequences for the latter. The disadvantaged passively receive second-rate cultural works and values which alienate them because they are foreign to them. It is therefore essential to correct this other imbalance, which is detrimental to the South in its exchange of news with the North.

169. The freedom of the press, which is a fundamental right, must cease to be an unrestricted freedom, a commercial product or an instrument of power. The press should not seek only to free itself from control by the political power. It must also be on its guard, perhaps, above all, lest it fall under the in some ways more severe yoke of the economic power, whose subtle enormous and powerful methods are still more restrictive.

170. The freedom of the press must be at the service of man, and this must be its only purpose. As a means of education the press must contribute to the formation of the individual personality. As an instrument of progress, mass media must be at the service of development.

171. These are the few thoughts which my delegation wished to express in this debate as a modest contribution to any efforts to seek solutions to the major problems of our time. We are pressed for time, for, as was recognized by the non-aligned movement in 1970: "We are at a crossroads in history, and every passing day brings new proof of the exceptional power of the human spirit and points to the dangerous paths into which man may be led by his imperfections". We must apply that exceptional power of our creative spirit to international problems.

172. The sovereignty of States, the equality among them recognized by the Charter, the development of the international situation since the end of the Second World War and the necessary democratization of international relations enable us to hope that no effort will be spared to be worthy of the trust which the peoples place in us and to provide ourselves with more effective instruments in order to give dynamism to our action.

173. We have already said that we are at a crossroads in history. Serious events assail us on all sides. Decolonization has not been achieved, *apartheid* takes innocent lives, brother countries are tearing each other to pieces, the world economy is undergoing an unprecedented crisis. In short, peace has never been more seriously threatened.

174. On 26 June 1945 men of good will signed at San Francisco the finest instrument of peace that has ever existed, the Charter of the United Nations. They did this because of their horror of war, to spare future generations the torment and untold sufferings, through their love of peace, that vibrant love which animates us all, the peoples of the world.

175. Mr. ABDALLA (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I have the pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan, of extending to Mr. von Wechmar our sincere congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Sudan, which enjoys cordial and developing relations with his country, is confident that his varied experience in the political and diplomatic fields, especially in the work of the United Nations, qualify him to occupy the Chair and to contribute to the success of the deliberations at this session.

176. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim, the outgoing President of the General Assembly, which during his term held four important sessions to consider international political and economic issues of great concern to the international community. The achievements under Mr. Salim's presidency are a source of pride for the peoples of the third world in general and to the peoples of Africa in particular.

177. My delegation welcomes the accession of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership of the United Nations. We are confident that this new Member will enrich the work of the Organization. The admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to the United Nations proves that the Organization is about to achieve its universality.

178. We meet at this session at a time when the world is passing through a critical period characterized by complexity and escalating tension that further diminishes the chances for peace and détente. With the exception of the achievement of independence by Zimbabwe, the gloomy predictions and apprehensions regarding the state of international relations voiced by many delegations during the thirty-fourth session have been confirmed by the events of the past year. It was a turbulent year, in which the world was buffeted by serious political and economic crises which presented a tough challenge to the United Nations and which necessitated holding two emergency special sessions in January and July and a special session in August and

September. The situation, however, remained unchanged: deterioration in international relations, continuous flaring up in regional conflicts and an increase in the use of force, persistence of the economic crisis and deadlock in negotiations on international economic issues. The United Nations is thus faced with insurmountable difficulties which render incapable of carrying out its responsibility and playing its role in the political and economic arenas and in realizing its noble objectives in promoting international co-operation and preserving world peace and security.

179. It is regrettable that even today the policy of dividing the world into spheres of influence is still actively pursued. As a result some of the countries of the third world are denied the exercise of their legitimate right to independence and to sovereignty over their natural resources. The Sudan, in reiterating its commitment to and respect for the Charter and international law and conventions, has rejected and will continue to reject an international system that is based on power politics and the division of the world into spheres of influence. We reject such a system because it contradicts and suppresses our aspirations to true independence, sovereignty and true democratic international relations. Therefore we condemn and denounce any foreign intervention or interference, from whatever source, in the domestic affairs of any country. Foreign intervention, in whatever form, is irreconcilable with the duties and obligations of the States Members of the United Nations. It threatens not only the independence and sovereignty of countries but also international peace and security.

180. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, to take a recent example, is still a source of concern to the international community because of its serious repercussions and implications in the region and the world at large. The General Assembly has, of course, met in emergency special session and has clearly pronounced itself on the issue in its resolution ES-6/2. However, today, that resolution notwithstanding, the situation in Afghanistan remains unchanged. Therefore we call on the Assembly to consider the situation in Afghanistan, in order to take the appropriate measures that will ensure the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan and guarantee its independence, sovereignty and non-aligned status.

181. The ongoing war between Iraq and Iran, two neighbouring Moslem countries that have strong historical ties, is deeply deplored by the Government and people of the Sudan. It is also deplored by all Moslem peoples, who are saddened and pained at this bloodshed between Moslems. We appeal to those two brotherly countries to put an end to this bloodshed and wasting of potential, to renounce the use of force and to resort to the procedure of dialogue and negotiations. We hope that the initiative of the Islamic Conference and other initiatives will succeed in containing the conflict and in bringing about an immediate end to the war, so that Islamic capabilities and potentialities may be spared and properly oriented towards social and economic reconstruction and the confrontation of the common enemy.

182. The situation in the Indian Ocean is deteriorating at an alarming rate. The conflict is widening to engulf new areas. The fleets of the big Powers are rushing to the scene.

We in the Sudan, alarmed and concerned, are closely following these serious developments. We believe it is imperative that urgent and serious action be undertaken now to defuse this explosive situation which threatens the security and the very survival of us all. The Sudan emphasizes once again the importance of adopting practical measures to implement General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), which contains the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. This cannot be achieved unless we opt for a genuine international collective security system and refrain from joining military alliances. Therefore the Sudan calls upon all the States of the region to refrain from joining in military pacts and alliances of any kind. We declare our support, once more, for the right of all States to free navigation of the Indian Ocean for peaceful purposes, in accordance with international law and conventions. This is an international objective and responsibility that calls for a collective commitment and solidarity. The concerted efforts of the littoral and hinterland States of the region, though indispensable, will not be enough to achieve that objective unless reinforced and supplemented by the co-operation of the big Powers and the major maritime users. Now that the Sudan is a member of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean, we take this opportunity to reaffirm our commitment and readiness to work seriously within that Committee towards the crystallization of the objectives and principles we have already mentioned and for the preparation of the Conference on the Indian Ocean to be held at Colombo in 1981.

183. Another important factor is that peace and security in the Indian Ocean will not be realized unless the littoral and hinterland States of the region cultivate and pursue friendly and good-neighbourly relations among themselves. We, for our part, have always believed in that principle and have always been guided by it in our relations with our neighbours.

184. The situation in the Middle East is increasingly and menacingly deteriorating every day. The mass media keep assiduously informing us of the dangerous and catastrophic incidents occurring there which threaten world peace and security. The numerous urgent meetings held by the Security Council on the situation in the Middle East during this year bear testimony to that fact. In his report on the work of the Organization the Secretary-General has pointed out that the Middle East question is unique in its complexity and widespread repercussions [see A/35/1, sect. IV]. Eventually the Assembly should devote most of its time and efforts at this session to taking positive measures to ensure the implementation of the resolutions already adopted instead of adopting more resolutions. The origins and dimensions of this question are no longer subject to any manoeuvres, tricks or pretence at justification. The international community has become fully aware of it and has clearly pronounced itself on it on many occasions, most recently at the seventh emergency special session, last July.

185. The Sudan has repeatedly expressed its belief in the possibility of a just and peaceful solution to the Middle East problem, provided that the genuine will exists and that expansionist and hegemonistic ambitions are disavowed. Peace cannot be established permanently in that area except on a just and comprehensive basis.

186. The inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to self-determination and the establish-

ment of an independent State on their territory need no reiteration since they are completely recognized by the international community represented in this Assembly as well as other forums. The cause of the rights of the Arab Palestinian people is the core of the Middle East conflict, therefore no permanent, peaceful and just solution can be achieved if that question is neglected or bypassed. The barbaric Israeli acts against the Palestinians in the occupied territories and refugee camps aimed at exterminating them and defeating their cause are criminal acts. In spite of various policies of torture, expulsion and intimidation, Israel will never be able to defeat and suppress the will of the valiant Palestinian people in their struggle for liberation, which is supported by the Arab nation and all friendly and peace-loving nations. Israel, after 30 years of illegal existence, should learn the lessons of history. The recent example of Zimbabwe proves that the will of the people can never be defeated and that their aspirations to freedom and dignity will sooner or later be realized.

187. The recent Israeli legislation declaring Al Qods—Jerusalem—the eternal capital of Israel confirms the arrogance and intransigence of the isolated Zionist entity. While the Security Council and the General Assembly frequently meet and adopt resolutions condemning and denouncing Israeli brutalities against and torture of Arab citizens and their leaders in the occupied Arab territories, the establishment of new settlements and the violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, Israel continues to defy the resolutions of the highest international organs responsible for the maintenance of peace and security. Such defiance and disregard of United Nations resolutions, the Charter and the will of the international community are the direct causes of the deteriorating situation in the Middle East. Unless the international community adopts concrete measures to put an end to the Israeli arrogance and intansigence and its continuing defiance of resolutions of the highest international organs responsible for the maintenance of peace and security, it will have to face the serious repercussions of the conflict in the area.

188. The Arab nation has confirmed its belief in a peaceful, just and permanent solution of the Middle East question. In declaring its commitment to a peaceful settlement, the Arab nation has also reaffirmed its position, namely, that the Middle East conflict is not amenable to compartmentalization or partial solutions. However, it is a source of hope that the international will represented in the General Assembly, at its seventh emergency special session, confirmed that Arab conception and demonstrated that partial and unilateral solutions would not affect the roots of the conflict. At that same session it emphasized the need to give effect to the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people under the leadership of their sole and authentic representative, PLO.

189. The creation of obstacles in order to delay the peaceful, comprehensive and just solution desired by the Arab nation and the international community as a whole, could cause tension to escalate and lead the region to a devastating war. To avoid that explosive situation, which endangers all nations and indeed all human heritage, the United Nations should shoulder its responsibility for the achievement of a peaceful, comprehensive, just and permanent solution to the Middle East conflict. The United Nations, in our view, is the

appropriate body for the attainment of a peaceful settlement of the Middle East conflict, in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter. At this session the General Assembly is called upon to put all issues pertaining to the Middle East question in their proper perspective and to adopt appropriate measures to enable the United Nations to carry out its responsibility for the achievement of the peaceful, comprehensive and just settlement that will resolve the conflict in an area which is of vital strategic, political and economic importance to the whole world.

190. In southern Africa the situation is deteriorating steadily and is a serious threat, to the peace and security not only of Africa but of the entire world. On the question of Namibia, we, together with the rest of Africa, have repeatedly expressed a genuine desire to resolve the problems of southern Africa peacefully and have welcomed and supported the initiative of the five Western Powers regarding Namibia. Within the group of African States, we have also affirmed our commitment to exert every effort to ensure implementation of the plan for a peaceful settlement. However, the machinations and delaying tactics employed by the racist régime of Pretoria to abort that plan have greatly diminished the chances of a peaceful settlement in Namibia.

191. We therefore condemn the perpetuation of the occupation of Namibia and the looting of its natural resources by the racist régime of Pretoria. We condemn and reject all the measures and steps implemented by racist Pretoria to deny the Namibian people the exercise of their right to self-determination and national independence and to install a puppet régime in Windhoek that represents and defends the interests of the racists in Pretoria, not the interests of the Namibian people. My country reiterates here its declared firm stand on the illegality of the unilateral elections conducted by the racist régime of South Africa in Namibia and of the institutions that resulted therefrom. Any government that emerges in Windhoek must be the result of free elections conducted under United Nations supervision according to the agreed plan.

192. The serious and deteriorating situation in Namibia makes it imperative for the Security Council to carry out its responsibilities as specified in the Charter by urgently imposing on the racist régime in Pretoria the necessary effective sanctions for the maintenance of international peace and security. If the Security Council fails to carry out its responsibilities, there will be no alternative to armed struggle by the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, their sole legitimate representative, with assistance and support from the African people and friendly nations which cherish peace and freedom. I should like to reiterate here the commitment of my Government to continue to extend all possible support to SWAPO until the Namibian people have regained their independence and sovereignty.

193. We also hail the heroic role played by the African front-line States in the battle to liberate Namibia and reaffirm our commitment to support them in their struggle. In this connection, we call upon all sister and friendly nations and all nations which love peace and freedom to give SWAPO and the front-line African States the support that will ensure victory in the struggle for the liberation and independence of Namibia.

194. Many years have elapsed since the international community condemned the inhuman policy of *apartheid* viciously pursued by the white racist minority in South Africa. Numerous resolutions have been adopted by the United Nations and other regional and international organizations denouncing that policy, but the racist régime in Pretoria, persisting in its intransigence and its defiance of international will, made it impossible to implement those resolutions, and as a result the majority of the people of South Africa are still denied the exercise of their fundamental human rights.

195. The recent minor reforms and legislative measures introduced by the racist régime of Pretoria, which were applauded by some circles as positive developments, are nothing more than superficial cosmetic changes in the ugly face of *apartheid* to stem the rising tide of resentment and resistance internally and to buy acceptance and approval abroad.

196. The atrocious policies and practices of that racist régime, which include discrimination, repression, torture, daily organized violation of human rights and the establishment of new bantustans, are glaring evidence that no real change or reform is taking place and that the régime is still defying and disregarding the will of the international community as embodied in resolutions adopted against *apartheid*. The international will and determination that defeated and eliminated nazism and fascism is called upon today to stand firmly in the face of *apartheid* and to help the majority in South Africa to regain its freedom, dignity and basic rights. We call upon all Member States to uphold the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to desist from engaging in any kind of co-operation with the racist minority régime in South Africa.

197. As well as being concerned over the international situation as a whole as it pertains to the Middle East and Africa, we are concerned also with areas of conflict and tension all over the world. With regard to Cyprus, we note and appreciate the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, which came to fruition in the high level 10-point agreement of May 1979.¹⁴ We are pleased that intercommunal talks are now underway and that agreement has been reached to proceed to the substantive stage of the talks. We sincerely hope that this positive step will result in peace and national unity for Cyprus.

198. As regards Korea, we are concerned that the country is still divided, in spite of the aspirations of its people to achieve reunification by peaceful means. The continuation of the present situation poses a serious threat to peace and stability in that area. It is gratifying, however, to note that the Korean people in the North and the South are exerting serious efforts to reunify the peninsula peacefully and without foreign intervention.

199. The serious economic crisis facing the world today necessitates that the international community confront it with wisdom, objectivity, universality and far-sightedness, shunning confrontation and the pursuit of narrow national interests. The destiny of the world today is more interlinked

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

and interdependent than at any time before. It is therefore evident that only through collective and positive action can we achieve development and prosperity for all peoples of the world. International action through international economic co-operation to establish the new international economic order will undoubtedly be in the common interest of all countries of the world, rich and poor. Neglecting serious and fruitful co-operation will surely lead to certain international disaster. It is fitting here to refer to the recently published 1980 annual report of the World Bank, in which it is stated, as a conclusion to the analysis of the world economy during the past decade, that all countries, rich and poor, will face a bleak future in which their stability and survival will be threatened unless they engage in serious co-operation in all economic fields. It is only natural that such an effort should entail greater concessions and sacrifices by the richer developed countries, since the end result will be in the common interest and to the mutual benefit of both developed and developing countries.

200. By proposing the launching of a new round of global economic negotiations, the developing countries have tried to give new impetus to the stumbling North-South dialogue and to accelerate progress towards establishing the new international economic order. The results of the eleventh special session were, however, frustrating and disappointing. The Assembly could not reach an agreement on the procedures of the proposed global negotiations and has failed to launch the negotiations. The developing countries have exhibited great flexibility and a genuine willingness to co-operate, in recognition of the importance of the global negotiations and in the conviction that the failure of the special session will have serious repercussions on the future of international economic co-operation and even on world peace and security. The failure of the special session is the inevitable result of the lack of political will on the part of a few developed countries and the fact that some major Powers are still prisoners of the traditional attitude towards the international economy, as pointed out by the Foreign Minister of Sweden before the Assembly on 23 September [7th meeting, para. 245].

201. The setback to the North-South dialogue should not discourage developing countries from the pursuit of economic and technical co-operation among themselves. In this context, we laud the results of the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Lagos in April this year, the first such session devoted to economic matters. The Sudan has declared its full commitment to the African development strategy and to the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa.¹⁵ We are convinced that solving the economic problems of Africa, the poorest and most underdeveloped continent, must start first in Africa, and that collective self-reliance is the only approach to the realization of economic and social development in Africa and the third world. It is also the principal means of achieving economic independence and actively participating in the economic activities directed towards the establishment of the new international economic order. We are confident that the international community will support Africa's efforts by

supporting the Lagos Plan of Action to implement the African development strategy.

202. In unanimously adopting General Assembly resolution S-11/4 regarding the critical economic situation of the least developed countries, the international community reiterated its concern over the problems of those countries. We hope that this attention and concern will result in concrete measures to assist those countries to overcome their basic structural problems and to proceed towards the realization of economic development. We also hope that the international community will, during the current session, continue its efforts to ensure adequate preparation for the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, to be held in 1981. We attach great importance to that Conference, as it symbolizes the climax of international action in favour of the least developed countries. We expect that Conference to adopt urgent and concrete measures to ensure massive transfer of financial and technical resources to those countries in the context of the Substantial New Programme of Action for the 1980s¹⁶ to be elaborated and adopted by the Conference. We also expect the Conference to consider seriously the recommendations of the UNCTAD Intergovernmental Group on the Least Developed Countries, with a view to implementing them.

203. The Sudan, one of the least developed countries, is deeply concerned at the fact that vast resources are being squandered annually on the arms race. The sum of \$450 billion is spent on military installations and hardware, while millions of people around the world are starving to death and others are victims of poverty and disease. The international community is called upon to put an end to this irrational state of affairs and this irrational rule. Serious and urgent action must be undertaken towards complete disarmament and the utilization of the financial and human resources thus freed in developing the developing countries, particularly the least developed among them, and for the prosperity of all mankind.

204. In concluding my statement before the Assembly, I find it fitting to address myself to the refugee problem. The Secretary-General has pointed out in his report that natural disasters and military and political conflicts have created millions of refugees around the world [see A/35/1, sect. VII]. That the majority of these refugees are in Africa is a fact which is often neglected, together with the fact that African countries hosting these refugees are facing serious difficulties. The situation of African refugees in the Sudan deserves special attention and consideration. The Sudan, because of its particular geographical location, is adjacent to many African countries which suffered or are still suffering natural disasters, political crises or civil wars resulting in the exodus of about half a million refugees into the Sudan looking for refuge and sustenance. Because of the heavy burden of taking care of half a million refugees, the Government of the Sudan declared 1980 a Year of Refugees in the Sudan. The objective is to highlight the plight of these refugees and solicit international assistance. The focal point of the programme for the Year was the International Conference on

¹⁵ A/S-11/14, annex I.

¹⁶ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one, sect. A, resolution 122 (V).

Refugees in the Sudan, held at Khartoum in June 1980. We take this opportunity to express from this important rostrum our appreciation and gratitude to the States and regional and international voluntary and intergovernmental organizations, particularly the United Nations and its agencies, whose effective participation and contribution made that Conference a success. We are particularly grateful to the Secretary-General and his senior assistants for the personal interest they have shown in the Year and the Conference and to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and his aides for the positive role they played in preparing for and participating in the Conference. We are also grateful to the States members of the Economic and Social Council, which unanimously adopted its resolution 1980/10 calling upon Governments, the United Nations and other organizations to render all possible assistance to the refugees in the Sudan. We are particularly grateful to the head of the United Nations interagency mission and its other members who prepared a report on the situation of refugees in the Sudan and on programmes of assistance to them [see A/35/410].

205. The Khartoum Conference has studied all aspects of the problems of refugees in the Sudan and indicated the size and the quality of the assistance required to provide them with basic necessities. We are confident that the international community, represented in this forum, will respond generously to the appeal of the Conference for the financial and material assistance necessary for the implementation of the measures and recommendations adopted by the Conference, which are reflected in the report of the interagency mission.

206. This is the international situation on the threshold of the 1980s—one characterized by tension, instability, lack of peace and security and gloomy economic and social prospects. If this precarious situation is allowed to deteriorate further, the outcome will inevitably be disastrous. As the world today is inextricably interdependent, international co-operation stands as the only option for satisfying the common interest and maintaining peace and security. But this will not be achieved in the absence of the necessary political will to act collectively. We harbour great hopes that this Organization will, if we adhere to its noble principles and objectives, succeed in maintaining world peace and security and achieving prosperity for all mankind. My delegation will therefore spare no effort to work together with other delegations towards the achievement of these goals, and we shall sincerely cooperate with all delegations believing in the objectives of the United Nations and committed to their attainment.

207. Mr. JABANG (Gambia): I should like first of all to extend to Ambassador von Wechmar my sincerest congratulations on his election to the high office of President of this important regular session, the thirty-fifth since the General Assembly first convened more than three decades ago. His election coincides with a momentous period in the history of the United Nations and, indeed, of humanity, when the dangers and challenges facing nations, individually and collectively, are unprecedented in the second half of the twentieth century. However, with his brilliant record and experience in international affairs, and his country's exemplary record in the field of development assistance to developing countries like the Gambia and its contribution to

world peace, we are confident that the momentum of progress generated at the preceding session will continue and even accelerate at this session.

208. At this juncture, I should like to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Ambassador Salim, whose brilliant performance and enlightened leadership at the thirty-fourth session have enhanced the image of Africa, the third world and the United Nations as a whole.

209. We also thank the Secretary-General for the excellent services he has continued to give the Organization and for his deep understanding of current international problems, particularly, the special problems of the poorer members of our family of nations.

210. Many, if not all, the speakers who preceded me have, as a previous sessions, brilliantly dilated on the current international situation and, as the debate continues, such questions will receive the close attention of representatives at various levels. The significance of this coincidence of thought and approach in so diverse a group is that it demonstrates and underscores the common concern of all States, big or small, powerful or weak, to sensitize mankind to the urgent need for peace as the only alternative to conflicts. It also brings into sharp focus the fact that we are not lacking in ideas and that what we need is action and the firm will to act before it is too late.

211. It was 35 years ago that the nations of the world, horrified at the devastation of a war that had never been equalled in dimension and intensity, committed themselves, through the Charter, to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". Yet, as we meet today, we know that the legacy from the old to the new generation is an estate of insecurity, conflicts and stagnation. Indeed, as the year 2000 approaches faster than we realize, the earlier expectations of a better life are eluding humanity, which is caught in a web of escalating tension and conflict, economic dislocations, food crises, energy problems and the contagion of inflation.

212. The history of the United Nations has shown that its first two decades were significantly dominated by political issues which represented residual problems for which peace in 1945 did not adequately provide. Today, it is very clear that the greatest threat to world peace is caused by economic problems affecting, on the one hand, the internal stability, especially of developing nations and, on the other hand, aggravating the already inequitable relations between the industrialized countries of the North and the third world countries of the South. It is natural, therefore, that at this session the Assembly will need to focus attention on the current economic issues that underlie the more visible and explosive political crises.

213. In this regard, it is important to stress the need for a general awakening to the evolved state of international economic relations. Today, we live in a world in which there is no room for domination and power. Rather, there is growing interdependence in which global interests must be decided by consensus. It is inevitable from this mutual dependence that new economic arrangements and relationships must be forged to consolidate that kind of interdependence between the industrialized and developing countries

that will be based on the sharing of power and responsibilities. This new situation is born out of the fact that since 1945, over 100 new countries, mainly from the third world, with over one billion people, have become involved in international life. This calls for new dimensions of international thinking and action. Indeed, we are in an era of negotiations.

214. What is Africa's position in this evolving and complex economic framework? The problems and preoccupations of Africa in this regard, and indeed in every sphere of international relations, have been eloquently stated by the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, Mr. Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone, in his keynote address at this session [8th meeting]. I can only, therefore, modestly give complementary support to that eminent spokesman for our continent.

215. While we do not ignore the universality of contemporary economic problems, it is equally incumbent upon the community of nations to recognize the special plight of the developing countries in general, and Africa in particular. The case of Africa is illustrated by the stark fact that our continent is the least developed, with gross domestic product stagnating at 2.7 per cent of the world level, and per capita income averaging \$166. Perhaps these economic indicators are the ominous reflections of the fact that 20 out of the 31 least developed countries of the world are African countries. Yet the picture should not have been so bleak for Africa, for the continent has immense human and natural resources that should ensure its development. This was eloquently highlighted in the report of the Secretary-General of the OAU at the second extraordinary session of the OAU Assembly, devoted to economic matters, in which it is stated that

"In addition to its reservoir of human resources, our continent has 97 per cent of world reserves of chrome, 85 per cent of platinum, 64 per cent of manganese, 25 per cent of uranium and 13 per cent of copper; 20 per cent of hydroelectrical potential, 20 per cent of traded oil, . . . 70 per cent of cocoa production, one third of world coffee production, 50 per cent of palm produce."¹⁷

216. Is it therefore not a paradox that with all this wealth, Africa remains the most underdeveloped region of the world, despite all the efforts made by its leaders to emerge from such a state of underdevelopment? It was in search of an answer to this question that African leaders met at the first OAU economic summit at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980 and adopted the Lagos Plan of Action. As stated by the current OAU Assembly Chairman, the plan is a "priority action programme" and is born out of the frustrations and unfulfilled promises and expectations of successive global strategies over the last 20 years, more sharply felt in Africa than in any other continent.

217. The Plan of Action is an African option for collective self-reliance that must have primacy over other protracted negotiations which have not made any significant progress. It can be called an African order based on horizontal co-operation leading to the establishment of an African Economic Community by the year 2000. We believe that it is only through our combined economic strength that it will be

possible to establish a new universal economic order in which domination and power will give place to equality, justice and solidarity.

218. It is no less ironic that the preceding two development decades have witnessed a marked aggravation of the world food situation, especially in Africa, where it has been accentuated by drought and other natural disasters. The food crisis in the Sahel is one of the most serious effects of drought in Africa in recent times. This problem was eloquently brought into the limelight when our head of State, Alhaji Sir Dawda Kairaba Jawara, addressed the thirty-third session of the General Assembly¹⁸ in his capacity as Chairman of the Conference of the Heads of State and Government of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel. The Assembly, as well as the entire international community, was sensitized to the drought and its long-lasting effects on the Sahel. It is my duty, therefore, to remind the international community that despite national efforts and international intervention, the situation in the Sahel has not improved significantly. This year, the rains came very late, and most Sahelian countries have been hit by drought. Consequently, by mid-August, the Sahel had an estimated deficit of 800,000 tons of cereal grains needed to feed its populations. We therefore call upon the international community to rally to the timely appeal made by the current Chairman of the Inter-State Committee, President Moussa Traoré of the sister Republic of Mali.

219. Apart from the direct effects the shortage of food has on the populations of our agrarian economies, food insecurity is a major constraint on the development of our countries. It causes increased food imports, resulting in a loss of much-needed foreign exchange earnings. The magnitude of the problem is illustrated by the disclosure by FAO that Africa's grain imports will increase from 11 million metric tons in 1978 to 15 million metric tons in 1985. Imports had already risen from 4.2 million metric tons in 1970 to the 1978 level. Thus, our foreign exchange earnings, already eroded in real terms by the increased worsening of the terms of trade, are consequently being consumed by this rising import bill, instead of being augmented through domestic investments for economic development.

220. Because we recognize that the primary responsibility for increasing food production is ours, our aim is an immediate improvement in the food situation and to lay the foundations for the attainment of self-sufficiency. To this end, we in the Gambia continue to pursue, as a matter of priority, the execution of the Trans-Gambia Barrage Project within the framework of the Gambia River Basin Authority, an organization that brings together Guinea, Senegal and the Gambia in a collective effort to develop the entire basin of the River Gambia. As President Jawara said here in 1978, we see the development of our entire water resources as the solution in the matter of increased food and cash crops in the region.

221. Our own efforts, however, need to be complemented by international assistance on a scale that will induce a real breakthrough in this important matter of human need and economic development. That is why we appreciate food aid

¹⁷ See A/S-11/14, annex I.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 4th meeting, paras 2-62.

only in the context of emergency relief. What we really need in the Gambia and in the Sahel in general is greater financial participation in infrastructural projects such as dams which, once operational, will reduce and perhaps eliminate total dependence on the weather. Indeed, by enabling us to harness our water resources for agricultural self-sufficiency objectives and for our energy needs, food aid will significantly decline or even disappear and thereby make available scarce resources for more development projects.

222. While food and armaments occupy the opposite extremes in the international spectrum, their relationship was brought out in staggering clarity in the Brandt Commission report.¹⁹ The Commission found that one modern tank costs \$1 million, an amount that could provide storage facilities for 100,000 tons of rice, and that 1½ per cent of one year's world military expenditure could pay for all the farm equipment needed to increase food production and approach self-sufficiency in food-deficient low-income countries within a decade. These facts call for a halt in the arms race so that the resultant savings could be channelled to productive economic activities in the more disadvantaged regions of the world.

223. It is against this unfavourable economic background that the eleventh special session of the General Assembly convened here just a few weeks ago. I recall that on the eve of that much-heralded session the ministers of the Group of 77 expressed the hope that, in a spirit of co-operation, interdependence and mutual benefit, the industrialized countries would approach the negotiations with a new sense of purpose and with the political will indispensable to the success of the special session. The appeal was not heeded and, as we all know, the eleventh special session did not achieve its objectives. It only confirmed that the main impediment towards progress in the establishment of the new international economic order is the opposition of many developed and industrialized countries to measures for the restructuring of the international economic system in a way that will ensure equity, justice and stability in global economic relations. The failure of the session is not only a great disappointment but also a matter of serious concern, as it has far-reaching adverse implications for international co-operation, world peace and security.

224. Despite this unexpected setback and the present stalemate, new efforts should be deployed during the current session for the resumption of meaningful negotiations in January 1981, which will, significantly, coincide with the coming into operation of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade. Already our expectations have been raised by the consensus that emerged from the eleventh special session of the General Assembly in regard to measures to meet the critical situation in the least developed countries. We trust that the measures called for in General Assembly resolution S-11/4 will be accorded the speedy implementation which they deserve and that concrete steps will be taken in the current session to ensure the success of the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, which will

launch the substantial new programme of action for the 1980s.

225. In this regard we must stress again that only a massive flow of official development assistance, in real terms, as untied grants to least developed countries, will help the least developed countries to surmount their structural problems and achieve the desired levels of socio-economic development. The proposed establishment of an international development fund, through which substantial disbursements of official development assistance resources for the least developed countries will be channelled, should significantly facilitate the successful implementation of the substantial new programme of action called for in UNCTAD resolution 122 (V).

226. This is the bleak economic climate in which the General Assembly at its thirty-fifth session is debating world issues. I now turn to political matters.

227. While economic questions have dominated the world scene in the last decade, serious political problems continue to threaten world peace. The international situation in the past few years has been characterized by widespread unrest, conflicts and crises which have threatened the survival of some States and the very foundation of our community of nations. Even as we meet now to discuss world problems, many of our populations, especially in the third world, are living in fear and insecurity and under the spectre of war. In Africa, the Middle East and Asia particularly, the evil forces of militarism and war have already been unleashed to the detriment of our peoples and our development objectives.

228. The African scene has already been effectively represented by Africa's spokesman, the current Chairman of the OAU Assembly, Mr. Siaka Stevens of Sierra Leone. Permit me, however, to refer briefly to some of these burning issues.

229. Against the gloomy political climate that prevailed in parts of Africa, we have scored a major success in southern Africa. The date 18 April 1980 will long be remembered in Africa's long struggle for freedom as the date on which Zimbabwe was born out of the blood of its martyrs and the indomitable character of its valiant people. We hail the independence of the fiftieth member State of the OAU under the enlightened leadership of that great statesman and son of Africa, Prime Minister Robert Mugabe. Indeed, the victory of the Patriotic Front over the forces of colonialism and racism is a great triumph for Africa and a major step towards the total decolonization of our continent, an objective that is entrenched in the OAU Charter. It is also a victory that demonstrates the iron will of the people of Africa to be free, and an inspiration for the oppressed peoples of the rest of southern Africa to continue, with our support, their legitimate struggle for freedom, justice and human dignity.

230. Zimbabwe is a lesson that demonstrates the magnanimity, generosity and virtue of the African who, in the hour of victory and glory, can forgive the defeated oppressor and extend the hand of co-operation to a minority in the task of national reconstruction. That is the essence of the African struggle: love of freedom in fraternity and equality for the good of all. It is also a lesson to South Africa's friends.

¹⁹ *North-South: A program for survival*; report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt (Cambridge, Massachusetts, The MIT Press, 1980).

231. As we celebrate the birth of the one hundred and fifty-third Member of the United Nations, let us not be led into complacency and the consequent relenting of the momentum and intensity of the struggle in Namibia and South Africa. Our steadfast aim must be the attainment of independence by Namibia at the earliest opportunity. To this end we urge the Security Council to take effective action to terminate South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia so that our brothers and sisters there, led by SWAPO, their true and authentic representative, may exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. At this juncture I must remind the international community that, as long as any portion of African territory, even as little as a square metre, remains under foreign domination, the independence of Africa will be incomplete and insecure. The struggle will therefore continue.

232. With regard to inter-African problems in Western Sahara, Chad and the Horn of Africa, we, especially in the Gambia, are satisfied that OAU is the only machinery that can effectively resolve them. Extra-African interests must therefore desist from interfering, in any manner, in the process of mediation and reconciliation already started by the OAU.

233. Another success that marked the African calendar this year is the significant progress made in the important area of human rights. When African leaders meeting at Monrovia in 1979 decided to have an African charter on human and people's rights, many were the cynics outside Africa who doubted our will, our seriousness and even our ability to implement decision 115 (XVI) adopted at the sixteenth session of the Assembly of the OAU.²⁰ Yet by December 1979 African legal experts had met and elaborated at Dakar a draft charter, to the surprise of the enemies of Africa. This was the context in which, together with our firm commitment in the Gambia to respect for and promotion and protection of human rights, we were privileged to act as host to the first OAU Ministerial Meeting to study the draft African Charter on Human and People's Rights.

234. Although the Banjul conference of June 1980 did not complete its work, much progress was made, given the magnitude and importance of the task and the expeditious manner in which the Monrovia decision was implemented. Furthermore, we must recall that, while the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted by the United Nations in 1948, it was only recently that the very important International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights were adopted and brought into operation. But Africa is not going to delay the adoption of the draft Charter, and already the OAU Ministerial Meeting will reconvene in Banjul in the coming months with the mandate of the Council of Ministers of the OAU at Freetown to finalize the draft for submission at the eighteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU [see A/35/463 and Corr.1, annex I].

235. The significance of this development is that it shows the importance that Africa attaches to human rights. We in the Gambia are firmly committed, under the leadership of

our great son and humanist, President Jawara, to the protection of and respect for human rights. It is a commitment that is built upon the solid foundation of our domestic laws and that is the major determinant of our foreign policy. Respect for fundamental human rights being the cornerstone of Gambian democracy, it is also the catalyst for our socio-economic development, for we firmly believe that it is only in an atmosphere of freedom and security that the individual can effectively contribute to the collective good of all. Indeed, the struggle against colonialism, oppression and racism is one for human dignity.

236. The situation in the Middle East has deteriorated since we assembled here a year ago. Contrary to the expectations of peace through dialogue, Israel has now escalated its expansionist and oppressive policies. In total disregard of and contempt for international law and morality, the Zionist régime of Tel Aviv has not only been establishing settlements in occupied territories, but has decided to make Jerusalem the undivided eternal capital of Israel.

237. On the fundamental question of Palestine, we must reiterate that only the PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinian people, can negotiate on behalf of that people for their inalienable right to self-determination and independence. If a durable peace is to come about in the Middle East, there must be an independent Palestinian State established through the restitution of their ancestral lands usurped by Israel. We therefore feel that there should be a negotiated peace between the parties directly concerned, that is to say, the PLO must be involved at all stages as an equal partner.

238. But if we, especially in the Islamic Conference, are to attain our objective of reversing the *status quo* in the Middle East so that lasting peace may return to the region, we cannot afford to dissipate our efforts on fratricidal conflicts. Such armed confrontations will merely weaken our collective action and strengthen the enemies of Islam. I therefore add my own voice to the appeal made to Iran and Iraq, especially by the Islamic Conference and generally by the United Nations and all peace-loving nations, to normalize their relations.

239. This is the background against which the thirty-fifth session is being held. It is a period unprecedented by economic uncertainty, in which the gap between the rich and poor is not narrowing. It is a time of political crises when the peace, however fragile, that has prevailed since 1945 is now seriously threatened. Yet there is hope of overcoming these difficulties, since those who genuinely want peace outnumber the forces of evil. And as I said at the beginning, we have the United Nations, whose machinery can be strengthened and better used, together with our regional organizations, to translate ideas inspired by the quest for development and peace into action for the common good of humanity.

240. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

241. Mr. ORTIZ SANZ (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): At the 9th meeting of the General Assembly, my

²⁰ See A/34/552.

delegation replied to some erroneous statements made in reference to the Bolivian situation.

242. So as not to take up the time of the Assembly, which has a very heavy agenda, we shall confine ourselves today to drawing the attention of representatives most respectfully to the verbatim record of the 9th meeting of 24 September last, in view of other offensive comments made in a sectarian manner. In that verbatim record the Bolivian reality is clearly and objectively stated in the respectful language that this assembly of nations merits. We do not accept, and certainly shall not repeat, the violent and insulting dissertation that we heard this morning about our Government. Bolivian representatives are bound by the rule that men's words reflect their souls, and those who speak with violence and turpitude know why they do so.

243. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believes in the Charter, the principles of the United Nations, the non-aligned movement and the vital importance of the security and stability of the Mediterranean region. In response to the representative of Malta [28th meeting], our country would like to affirm that it harbours no aggressive intentions against Malta. On the contrary, it has always supported Malta and its people in their struggle for liberation, independence and non-alignment. It has co-operated with Malta in the political, cultural and economic fields, on the basis of the historical relationship which binds the peoples of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and Malta. As an example we should say that there are approximately 24 conventions and agreements between the two countries for co-operation and assistance in various fields. There are nine joint ventures under way, with a total capital amounting to more than \$100 million. In addition, there is a holding company with many affiliated firms. At the same time, Libya has offered many loans and contributions to Malta and in the field of oil, Libya has offered oil supplies to Malta at reduced prices, that is, at the same prices given to Libyan consumers, between 1975 and June 1980.

244. With respect to the continental shelf, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya was eager to solve the dispute by friendly means and through direct negotiations, within the framework of good-neighbourly relations. A preliminary agreement has been put forward to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice, and this agreement will be submitted to the legislative authorities very soon. In general terms, the Jamahiriya expresses its full readiness to go to the International Court of Justice as long as Malta refrains from drilling in the disputed area and abides by the decision to go before the Court.

245. Agreement might be reached between the two parties on the following terms: first the International Court of Justice would arbitrate the case; and secondly, both parties would have to refrain from any prospection or drilling in the disputed area until an agreement is reached.

246. The Jamahiriya has expressed its readiness to accept the mediation of the heads of the non-aligned movement and welcomes this mediation. It is ready to conduct direct negotiations either by welcoming a Maltese delegation to Libya, or by sending a Libyan mission to Malta at any time to seek the best solution.

247. The representative of Malta has referred on more than one occasion to the legal rights of his country. As all members of the Assembly know, it is premature to discuss the issue of legal rights in regard to a disputed issue such as that of the continental shelf. Libya does not dispute Malta's right to prospect in its own territorial waters. It is an unavoidable fact that this matter is technical and that the issue is still the subject of negotiations in the largest specialized international conference, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, while the norms for the delimitation of maritime boundaries are still the subject of dispute. The question of the continental shelf, which is being disputed between the two countries, is but one of these issues, and Malta cannot unilaterally determine the line of demarcation of a disputed area. Thus, no prospecting or drilling can be carried out until the dispute is settled and the line of delimitation determined.

248. Therefore, as soon as the Jamahiriya learned of Malta's intention to start prospecting in the disputed area, it protested to the Maltese authorities and requested that the drilling be halted until an agreement was reached. But this was totally disregarded by Malta. However, the Jamahiriya is still convinced that the issue of the continental shelf is a purely technical matter which could be solved through bilateral agreement or by recourse to the International Court of Justice. For the Security Council or the General Assembly to become involved in a technical matter like this on the grounds that the peace and security of the area and the world are threatened is an exaggerated reaction.

249. In conclusion, the Jamahiriya wishes to affirm its concern about peace and stability in the region and in the world. It is eager to preserve its friendly and co-operative relations of good-neighbourliness with Malta to which country it wishes peace and prosperity.

250. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): I am sorry to take up the time of the Assembly at this late hour but, considering the fact that Libya has had sufficient time to study the point of view of the Maltese Government on this very important question, the reply just made by the representative of Libya seems at first glance to be a mere continuation of the delaying tactics Libya has been employing to prevent Malta from exercising its legitimate rights.

251. I mentioned this morning [28th meeting] not only that the facts shown in the photograph which I have available were witnessed by citizens of other countries working on the oil rig, but that the photograph contains the precise co-ordinates of the geographical position at which the armed threat took place. If the representative of Libya wishes to have a copy, I shall gladly provide him with one and he will then be able to see not only the actual nature of the incident, but also the fact that the co-ordinates fall outside—I repeat outside—those provided officially by the Libyan Government in its letter to the concessionaires dated 8 June 1975 in which the Libyan Government stated the co-ordinates of the maximum area they were claiming. This proves that the oil rig was not operating within the area of Libyan jurisdiction. The area in which Malta authorized activities was around 20 miles within the outermost part of Malta's legitimate jurisdiction, upheld by current international law. In other words, the activities were carried out in an area which had not previously been claimed by Libya.

252. Now it seems that, in accordance with the well-known Italian proverb, "l'appetito vien mangiando"—appetite grows with feeding—the Libyans are increasing the area which they claim to be under their jurisdiction. This goes against all established international law and practice and this is the point at issue between the two Governments.

253. The Prime Minister of Malta replied to the Libyan suggestion of continuing contact between the two Governments in a letter dated as far back as 1976, in which he replied that the Maltese Government was not interested in going back on the agreement which had already been negotiated over a period of four years. If the Libyans are insisting that agreements already reached are to be renegotiated from the very beginning, then there is no point in accepting an invitation from Libya to discuss these questions. We do not want to put the clock back; we want to move forward.

254. As I indicated in my statement this morning, the proposed law of the sea convention provides for interim arrangements and on this basis we have made a specific suggestion to Libya. Libya has not replied to that, and the Libyan statement made today does not constitute a reply.

255. I think I owe it to the Libyan Government and to the Assembly to study the statement just made by the Libyan representative, but at first glance it seems that Libya is only going back on what it agreed to four years ago. This, of course, is no way to conduct a dialogue; it is no way to conduct negotiations. This is the point at issue between the two Governments and unless there is a favourable reply to the latest proposal put forward by Malta, I am afraid relations between the two countries cannot proceed favourably.

256. I think I put the questions this morning in a very specific manner and it is regrettable that the representative of Libya has not seen fit to give a specific reply to those specific questions. As I have said, at first glance the Libyan reply does not seem to take us any further forward, and I am afraid that after having had an opportunity of studying it, that will prove to be the case.

257. Mr. GONZÁLEZ (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We believe that Nicaragua has been not offensive but objective. What is offensive is the reality of the situation of our brother country, Bolivia. We have been told that words indicate the existence of a certain type of soul, but it is difficult to define the kind of soul any one has.

258. Besides having witnessed at first hand the bloody events in Bolivia, the international press has also recorded with full objectivity the massacres of workers, miners and peasants in places like Animas or Caracoles, the outrages and torture committed by the armed police who violate the civil rights of that country. The world's press, including *The Washington Post*, *The New York Times*, the *Daily News*, *The Times* of London, *Time* magazine, *Le Monde*, *Der Spiegel*, *The Financial Times* of London, *El Nacional* of Caracas, *El Espectador* of Bogota and hundreds of other newspapers and publications of all kinds have repeated these facts.

259. The Bolivian Episcopal Conference and other religious organizations have given their truthful testimony.

260. The painful series of coups which Bolivia has suffered can be understood only in the light of the consistent firmness of the democratic aspirations of this people which, every time oppression was reimposed, demonstrated afresh the destiny of the freedom for which it has struggled for more than 150 years and which only in 1952, at the time of the national revolution, initiated a process which was frustrated 10 years later. For a long time now the image of a Bolivian miner in arms has had a place in the hearts of all the revolutionaries in the world.

261. The democratic interlude of less than three years was a victory for the Bolivian people. The inevitable return to the rule of law will be the fruit of its resolution. The civil disobedience of the people has prevented the internal consolidation of the régime and the solidarity of the democratic nations means that there cannot and must not be any international consolidation.

262. We have no doubt that Bolivian resistance will be successful because it is impossible to govern a country against the united and resolute will of the people.

263. To sum up what Mr. D'Escoto also said this morning [28th meeting], Bolivia needs to be freed from its geographically enclosed situation and to obtain its sovereign outlet to the sea. It must be freed also from those who today oppress that heroic people, by the consolidation of a régime of democracy, peace and social justice.

264. Mr. CASTILLO-ARRIOLA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Guatemala is speaking in the exercise of its right of reply because of a comment made this morning by a speaker with reference to my country which obliges my delegation to make the following statement.

265. The Republic of Guatemala, although it suffered many years ago from prolonged dictatorships, institutionalized after a glorious struggle by its people the change of governmental power through a system of direct elections by the people, and we have had no more dictatorships, whether of 5, 10 or 45 years' duration. In the last 14 years Governments in Guatemala have succeeded each other through the exercise of the popular vote at four-year periods. Several times the Government has become the Opposition according to the decision of the electorate, and political parties of every stamp have taken part in this process. At present we have a Government democratically elected within that system; a Government which respects and guarantees all human rights and existing freedoms under the Constitution of the Republic; a Government which carries through major projects of direct benefit to the masses in every area and which definitely has the support of the people.

266. For all these reasons, which are nationally and internationally recognized, the delegation of Guatemala rejects what was said this morning by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Nicaragua with reference to our national order because it contradicts his profession of non-interference in the internal affairs of neighbouring States since it constitutes obvious interference in internal affairs which are the exclusive concern of the Guatemalan State.

267. As for the matter of Belize, we need not repeat Guatemala's position as expressed in the General Assembly by

the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country in his statement on 6 October [25th meeting].

268. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has asked to speak again. Before calling on him I would venture to remind representatives of General Assembly decision 34/401, according to which replies are limited to 10 minutes for the first reply and five minutes for the second.

269. Mr. BURWIN (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Maltese representative brought up the subject of photographs as evidence. I should like to say that the photographs cannot constitute evidence, and that the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has never used force and never had forces in areas under the jurisdiction of Malta.

270. He mentioned in his statement a distance sometimes of 15 miles and at other times of 20 miles, and this proves that he is not sure what he is talking about.

271. Libya says that prospecting took place in a disputed area, and this is in contravention of the most elementary legal rules. Colonel Khadaffi, the leader of the Libyan Revolution, stated in his speech on 1 September that Libya was ready to go to the International Court of Justice. We reiterate that it is a technical question that needs further study, and therefore it requires time. What the representative of Malta mentioned in regard to tactics is not true. Was the fact that the Conference on the Law of the Sea lasted for such a long time the result of some kind of tactics?

272. Mr. TINOCO (Nicaragua) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We wish to apologize to representatives for taking up their time, but we feel it essential to make a brief statement.

273. My country, which is deeply democratic and has a wide-ranging system of popular participation, is aware of the deep attachment of all the peoples of Latin America and of the world to democracy. Therefore we wish to make it clear that our country, as a democratic country, respects the right of self-determination and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. However, we do not think it is correct to regard that as in any way conflicting with the right of all sovereign States to have and to state their views on the developments and progress of democracy, which is the only hope for the world.

274. In this regard, we wish to point out that Nicaragua, as a democratic and revolutionary country, considers it its duty to express its opinion on the trampling underfoot of democracy in different parts of the world. The beast stalking the

world today is the beast attacking democracy in different parts of our continent and throughout the world.

275. Therefore we reaffirm that we are not interfering in the internal affairs of any State. But we reaffirm also that our people and our Government will maintain inviolate their right to point out any difficulties besetting democracy.

276. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): In order to help the representative of Libya to get his bearings, I will explain to him that the precise geographic locations of the incident are as follows. The distance from Malta was about 50 miles. The distance from Libya was about 138 miles. The 20 miles that I referred to was 20 miles short of the demarcation line between Malta and Libya—in other words, 20 miles on our side of the median line—and that was in accordance with the latest compromise offer that we made to the Libyan Government in the course of the fruitless negotiations that have already taken up eight years of our political life. In case he wishes to have further information, the Libyan warship that was threatening the peaceful and legitimate activities carried out by Malta on its side of the median line was numbered C-411. As I indicated in a previous statement, it moored itself to the buoys of the oil rig, it pointed its guns at the oil rig and it threatened that unless there was an immediate cessation of activities the situation would get out of hand.

277. If he wishes to have the exact co-ordinates, as I said to him before, he will find if he consults the official records that the co-ordinates were away from the area that was originally claimed by Libya as the maximum area within its jurisdiction. I think I should not bore our colleagues with more detailed repetitions. The facts are clear. We have not questioned the other aspects of our relations with Libya. They were as advantageous to Libya as, we hope, they will be advantageous to us. But this question is extremely disadvantageous to Malta and advantageous to Libya. It is on this question that there is an issue between us, and it is on this question that we wish the Libyan Government would be more forthcoming than it has been.

278. This morning I mentioned that there were some difficulties in interpreting obvious circumstances, but when it is a question of evidence and geographic co-ordinates, witnessed by citizens of other countries, I think there should be no question of equivocation. You cannot call black white and try to get away with it. That is what the Libyan representative seems to be attempting to do. That, of course, my Government and my country will not accept, and it is not for the United Nations to accept it either.

The meeting rose at 7 p.m.