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

Address by Mr. J. W. S. de Graft-Johnson,
Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana. I have great pleasure in welcoming Mr. de Graft-Johnson and invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. de GRAFT-JOHNSON (Ghana): The many speakers who have preceded me to the rostrum have already warmly congratulated you, Sir, on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly and paid you a well-deserved tribute on your outstanding qualities of leadership and statesmanship. My delegation also has the greatest pleasure in expressing to you, on behalf of the Government of Ghana, our hearty congratulations on your election. We are gratified to note that you bring to this challenging task the wealth of experience and wisdom which has characterized your long and distinguished career. We are confident that your tact, ability and sober judgement will be a great asset during your tenure of this high office. Your country and mine share historical bonds of friendship enriched and reinforced by mutual respect and fruitful co-operation. We should like to assure you of our ready and sincere co-operation in the discharge of your onerous responsibilities.

3. My delegation was also privileged and proud to have worked under the guidance of your predecessor, our brother Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim. The firm and able leadership which he gave to the Assembly during the past year's unusually heavy schedule will long be remembered and associated with his presidency. His excellent conduct of the affairs of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and three special sessions lived up to our highest expectations. To your predecessor, then, we express our appreciation for the excellent work done.

4. To our tireless Secretary-General and his selfless lieutenants in the Secretariat we also register our sincere thanks for their priceless dedication and sense of purpose; without them the Organization would not have accomplished so much.

5. Please allow me at this juncture to pay a tribute to the revered memory of our beloved brother Sir Seretse Khama, the late President of Botswana. By his untimely death not only Botswana but Africa as a whole has lost a distinguished patriot, a mature counsellor and an elder statesman who against heavy odds fought courageously, together with the other leaders of the front-line States, against colonialism, racism and *apartheid*. On behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, we convey our heartfelt condolences to the Botswana delegation and to the friendly Government and people of Botswana on their irreparable and grievous loss.

6. We should also like to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the memory of the late President Josip Broz Tito of Yugoslavia. President Tito was a world statesman who will long be remembered for his unshakable devotion to the cause of peace and international co-operation. He was one of the founding fathers and, until his death, a major pillar of the non-aligned movement, to which my country remains irrevocably committed. President Tito has left an indelible mark on history and his memory will long endure.

7. The accession of new States to membership of the Organization is always an occasion for rejoicing as the event underscores our inexorable progress towards universality. It is in this spirit that Ghana extends a very special welcome to the Republic of Zimbabwe which now takes its rightful place within the comity of nations after years of oppression at the hands of a racist minority régime.

8. We salute the gallant people of Zimbabwe. Theirs was a sacrifice which should remind those who would deny to others the freedom they themselves enjoy that the right to self-determination cannot forever be suppressed.

9. We also extend an equally warm welcome to our brothers and sisters of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on their accession to nationhood and membership of the United Nations. It is our sincere conviction that the membership of those new States will enrich the world Organization and render it better able to serve the cause of peace, equality, justice and progress.

10. United Africa does not consider the victory in Zimbabwe as an end to the liberation struggle on the continent. We are all the more resolute in our determination to launch the final onslaught against *apartheid*, bigotry and oppression. No subject has been more thoroughly discussed nor any

social system more universally condemned than this obnoxious doctrine of *apartheid* which the Organization has officially declared a crime against humanity. That *apartheid* is evil cannot be questioned; that it is a threat to international peace and security cannot be denied; that it is an affront and disgrace to the human race cannot be contradicted. Yet Pretoria continues to treat the decisions of the United Nations with contempt and to act with impunity simply because of the support both economic and military, which that minority régime enjoys from some of the most powerful States Members of the United Nations. The *apartheid* régime has developed its present military strength and nuclear capability through the direct purchase of equipment from those collaborators in contravention of United Nations decisions.

11. Botha even boasts that South Africa has a powerful enough arms industry to surmount an international embargo against it and to put up a fight that will astonish opponents seeking to end white domination in South Africa. We in Africa are prepared to take Botha on and fight to the finish, despite his nuclear bluff. We call upon South Africa's supporters to halt immediately any further military, scientific, technical, commercial, cultural or any other form of collaboration with South Africa and rather support the liberation struggle for a better world order. For our part, we in Ghana remain irrevocably opposed to the doctrine of *apartheid* since the right to self-determination is inalienable and non-negotiable.

12. Following the high-level consultations held under United Nations auspices, we had sincerely hoped that the independence arrangements for Namibia set out in Security Council resolution 435 (1978) would have been put into effect by now. On the contrary, the Pretoria régime's reaction to the request to co-operate with the Secretary-General and the Security Council for the peaceful transition of the Territory to genuine independence and nationhood has remained dilatory and disappointing. South Africa has shown every type of insensitivity to international opinion and the true aspirations of the people of Namibia. South Africa continues to commit wanton acts of repression within Namibia and to carry out unprovoked attacks against neighbouring African States in a desperate effort to discourage legitimate support for the liberation struggle.

13. South Africa's forcible and illegal occupation of Namibia has lasted much too long. The United Nations is under an obligation to create favourable conditions which will foster peace, stability and friendly co-operation among all the races in South Africa and southern Africa. The Government of Ghana therefore wishes to express sincere support for the initiative taken by the Secretary-General and also calls upon South Africa to co-operate with the current international effort to ensure Namibia's peaceful transition to independence. As we enter upon this new phase of the negotiations, it would be in South Africa's own interests to lend such co-operation since a failure to do so can only lead to an intensification of the armed struggle.

14. My delegation is equally concerned about grave threats to international peace and security in other parts of the world.

15. The Middle East situation is still potentially explosive because of the doubtful historical claim by one party to territories it has occupied by force of arms and its determination to settle its citizens in those occupied territories in total disregard of international opinion. We reiterate, in this regard, our opposition to the forcible acquisition of territory as the prize of war. Israel's policies in the occupied territories are inconsistent with international law and constitute an obstacle to comprehensive peace in the region. Particularly disturbing is the ill-conceived decision of the Israeli parliament to merge Arab Jerusalem with the Jewish half of the city in a so-called eternal capital of Israel. That action only helps to heighten tensions and exacerbate feelings.

16. Meanwhile the tragic conflict in Lebanon drags on without any prospect of an early solution. We are apprehensive that, unless urgent and immediate measures are taken, the situation might easily lead to a resumption of hostilities with tragic consequences for an area of the world that has endured so much suffering. We are determined, through our contribution of troops, to assist the United Nations efforts in keeping the peace in southern Lebanon. Our participation in those peace-keeping efforts stems from Ghana's tradition of firm support for the United Nations and our commitment to the global search for international peace and progress. But the success of those operations will continue to depend largely on the forbearance and good will of all the parties involved and on the extent of the co-operation enjoyed by the United Nations troops in the field.

17. In this connection, we wish to recall the concern expressed at the meeting of troop contributors held in Dublin in May 1980 on the initiative of the Irish Government following the harassment of the UNIFIL troops and the casualties they sustained. Such incidents hinder UNIFIL in carrying out its mandate as defined in Security Council resolutions 425 (1978) and 426 (1978).

18. We believe that for UNIFIL or any other United Nations field operations to achieve their objectives it is absolutely imperative that all parties to the conflict be made to co-operate fully with the United Nations troops. They are peace-makers and must be regarded and treated as such. Ghana will welcome any new initiatives which this Assembly may take in order to ensure that UNIFIL's peace-keeping role is clearly understood and supported by all.

19. The Middle East problem continues to be a grave threat to international peace and security. No durable peace in the area is possible without due recognition of the right of the Palestinians to a homeland and the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] in any negotiations affecting their future. We gladly welcome, in this context, the decision of the European Community that the PLO be associated with such negotiations [see A/35/299-S/14009]. We regard that encouraging decision as an important step forward in the search for a just and durable peace in the Middle East. We commend that initiative and call upon the international community to make every effort to build upon it.

20. My delegation calls on the Assembly, therefore, to reaffirm its desire for peace in the Middle East, to demand the total withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territo-

ries and to adopt immediate measures aimed at protecting and preserving the international character of Jerusalem.

21. Since the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly new conflicts have developed in various parts of the world, the latest example of which is the current war between Iraq and Iran. My delegation wishes to appeal strongly to the two warring neighbours to heed the call of the Security Council, in its resolution 479 (1980), for an immediate cessation of hostilities and to settle their differences by peaceful means. A continuation of the conflict will not only impose unnecessary suffering on their peoples but will also endanger peace and stability in the region. In the same vein, we call upon all other countries to refrain from direct or indirect involvement in the situation.

22. The conflict situations on the African continent are of particular concern to the Government of Ghana. I refer especially to the current civil war in the Republic of Chad. Unfortunately, the mediation efforts of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] have not succeeded in bringing hostilities to an end. Our own view is that the Lagos Agreement of 21 August 1979 recognizes the Government of National Union and we therefore call upon the various factions in that sister Republic to agree to a cease-fire as a first step in the search for peace. Here again, my delegation hopes that the international community will effectively forbid any type of involvement by outside Powers, so as to create better conditions for an early cessation of hostilities.

23. The world is now witnessing a very tragic phenomenon in the form of an unprecedented refugee problem in the continent of Africa. It is estimated that there are today well over 4.5 million refugees and displaced persons in the continent. The destitution they face is definitely among the most serious anywhere. What is more, host countries have suffered unprecedented aggravation of their own socio-economic conditions through the influx of those refugees. My country warmly appreciates the work of the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and other United Nations bodies, such as UNICEF, which are striving hard to resettle those refugees and displaced persons. It is our hope, therefore, that the proposed International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, which is to deal comprehensively with that phenomenon, will be convened at an early date so that the international community can spell out solutions for that tragedy in Africa. The Ghana Government stands ready to contribute its efforts in that direction.

24. Another issue of grave concern to the international community is that of disarmament and arms control. At the tenth special session, which was expressly devoted to the question of disarmament, the General Assembly in its resolution S-10/2 laid down a programme of action and identified priority areas to which the international community must pay urgent attention if the desired goal of disarmament is to be achieved and the threat to the survival of the human race removed. Furthermore, at its two substantive sessions held in May 1979 and May 1980 the Disarmament Commission identified elements for a comprehensive disarmament programme and recommended goals which the international community should endeavour to reach during the Disarmament Decade [see A/35/42]. The Disarmament

Commission specifically restated the urgency of halting the nuclear arms race and highlighted the special responsibility of the major nuclear Powers in that regard.

25. Yet the arms race is accelerating by leaps and bounds and reliable sources have estimated that total expenditure in that field amounts to the staggering figure of approximately \$500 billion per year. Such expenditure is not only wasteful but demonstrates insensitivity to the plight of mankind, the majority of whom live below the poverty line.

26. It is therefore a matter of deep regret that practically all bilateral and multilateral negotiations on disarmament have come to a virtual standstill, except perhaps for negotiations taking place within the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva. Even the modest ceilings agreed upon under the SALT II Treaty¹ have now been put in serious jeopardy by recent developments in the Middle East and Asia. My delegation is of the view, however, that we must not despair and that it is even more urgent now than ever before that the United Nations should strive relentlessly in exploring all possible ways and means of defusing the present situation so that we can march forward resolutely towards the achievement of the goal of disarmament.

27. About two decades ago our Dr. Kwame Nkrumah said, "Seek ye first the political kingdom and all else shall be added unto it". To us in the developing world the struggle for political independence was not merely an opportunity to reassert our birthright and exercise our sovereign will; it also signified the beginning of a greater struggle for our economic emancipation. We have no illusions about the magnitude of this struggle, compounded as it is by the worsening international economic situation, which is characterized by inflation, recession and high rates of unemployment.

28. In the light of the growing interdependence of nations we have all sought solutions to a variety of global problems through international co-operation. We launched the First and the Second United Nations Development Decade with great hopes and in the belief that our interdependence had imposed on us a responsibility for mutual self-help and assistance. It was with the same high hopes and in the same belief that we also launched the new international economic order some seven years ago, only to find that our efforts had not been matched by the requisite political will and international commitment that would enable us to achieve those structural changes necessary for the establishment of a fair, just and equitable order. The eleventh special session, in which, once again, we placed high hopes, fell short of expectation as it failed to achieve the important objectives of adopting the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade and launching the global negotiations on international economic co-operation for development. My delegation regrets that the largely negative results of those international initiatives cannot but undermine the prospects of a fruitful North-South dialogue. We none the less remain confident that the current session of the General Assembly provides yet another opportunity for a veritable breaking of this stalemate.

¹ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

29. The food and agriculture situation has worsened in an increasing number of developing countries. Today hunger and famine are wreaking untold havoc in many parts of the developing world, especially in the least developed countries. The drought situation in several of those countries forcefully demonstrates that no marked improvement in the lot of the affected peoples is possible without the willingness and determination of the international community to adopt bold and far-reaching measures to stem the tide of this growing crisis.

30. In our view, a realistic solution does not lie solely in a perpetual provision of food aid, which in reality amounts to nothing more than a postponement of difficult answers and the prolongation of dependence on others, when self-reliance is so obviously essential. Our strategy should be to encourage sustained food production in the developing countries to enable them to be self-sufficient as regards their basic food needs.

31. It is clear that the success of any programme to feed the starving millions will to a large extent be determined by our capacity to cope with the energy crisis and to develop alternative sources of energy. It is in this regard that we anxiously look forward to the forthcoming United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy to be held at Nairobi. We trust that the decisions which result from the deliberations of the Conference will inspire a firm international commitment to provide adequate financial and technical resources to assist the developing countries to explore and exploit their energy potential to the full. In this connection my delegation appreciates the value of the Energy Fund to be set up by UNDP.² We are also greatly encouraged by the discussions taking place within the World Bank system aimed at instituting similar measures for the benefit of the poorer members of the international community.

32. The thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly holds a very special significance for my delegation since it coincides with the first anniversary of my country's return to civilian rule after seven years of military administration.

33. The events which preceded that change-over and the complexity of the social and economic problems bequeathed to my Government are already well known to the international community, which has shown much sympathy and understanding. My Government assumed the reins of power on the basis of a full commitment to democracy and the promotion of human rights. Those concepts, which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, are also embodied in the Constitution of the Third Republic of Ghana. As we mark this first anniversary, therefore, my Government wishes to rededicate itself to the noble ideals which inspired the founding fathers of this Organization.

34. Experience has taught us in the developing world that our salvation lies essentially in our own hands and that our progress and prosperity can be guaranteed only if we concert our efforts through collective self-reliance. The convening at Lagos of the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, devoted solely to economic problems, demonstrates Africa's

collective determination to pursue a course of self-reliance. My delegation renews the appeal to the international community to lend maximum support to the Lagos Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Monrovia Strategy for the Economic Development of Africa³ in order to supplement Africa's efforts to achieve its social and economic goals.

35. The problems which face the international community are as grave as they are varied. It is none the less true that we possess the means of resolving them all. What is required is the unequivocal political will and determination on the part of the international community to find solutions which will bring real benefit to every one of its members. All of us are concerned about the survival of the human race. We must therefore strive together to remove all sources of fear, prejudice and injustice and to establish a world order which will guarantee the peace and progress of all nations. I need hardly assure the Assembly that in this task the Government of Ghana will continue to play its full role.

36. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank Mr. J. W. S. de Graft-Johnson, Vice-President of the Republic of Ghana, for the important statement he has just made and for the kind words he addressed to my country and to me.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

37. Mr. PUJA (Hungary) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, I should like first of all to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of this thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I trust that, under your guidance, our work at this session will be successful.

38. At this as at every session we have to analyse the main tendencies and phenomena of the international situation, to explore the underlying causes of both the favourable and unfavourable processes and to work together to adopt resolutions which will promote stronger peace and security and facilitate social progress, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. As most of the speakers before me have pointed out, the present situation dictates a special need for sober deliberations and for the encouragement of constructive endeavours.

39. The people of my country welcomed with satisfaction the impressive achievements of the 1970s in the consolidation of international peace and security, the settlement of certain complex international problems and the co-operation among countries with different social systems.

40. Today we maintain our firm belief that preserving peace and warding off the danger of a new world war are vital for mankind in our age. My Government still regards this as its primary task and is doing its utmost to contribute to preserving and increasing the results of détente.

41. In the current situation it is of particular importance to maintain and strengthen the ties which have been established in recent years among countries with different social

² See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 12, paras. 90-93.*

³ A/S-11/14, annex I.

systems, on the basis of peaceful coexistence. So far as possible, bilateral relations should be developed still further and any effort to block that road should be opposed. Paramount importance attaches to ensuring that dialogue between leaders of countries will not cease even for a moment in this period of tension, which we trust will be but transitory. We are convinced that there is no single international issue in dispute which, given the necessary good will, could not be settled by political means.

42. The present situation is characterized by elements of détente and tension, which exist concurrently in world politics. Recent years have witnessed sober endeavours followed by various steps which have worsened the international climate. In our view, the principal causes lie in the fact that the leading countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] launched a new wave of the arms race at their summit conference in Washington as far back as 1978, and made no secret of their intention to obtain military superiority over the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty. To that end they increased the military expenditures of the NATO countries, the long-term programmes for building up arms, the deployment in Western Europe of new American nuclear missiles of medium range but strategic in nature, the postponement of the ratification by the American Senate of the SALT II agreement and the creation of rapid deployment forces for purposes of intervention—to mention only the most striking instances of that effort. If one adds the undeclared wars, the acts of political and ideological subversion carried on by imperialist circles to weaken progressive régimes in numerous countries of the world, then there looms ahead a by no means negligible danger to peace and security.

43. The anti-peace manoeuvres of the extremist circles of imperialism are supported and even encouraged by the leaders of China. This is today another important element in the increase in international tension.

44. There are some who believe that what the extremist circles of imperialism are aiming to do by increasing the arms build-up and taking political steps reminiscent of the cold war is no more than to influence certain events in domestic policy or to achieve similar ends. However, nothing could be further from the truth. If that were so, then before long the world would be able to breathe a sigh of relief. We believe that the new phase of the arms drive has deeper roots, namely the aims of extremist circles to exert political pressure on the peoples of other countries, to contain progress and to regain their lost position by applying the well-known formula of the policy of strength. Although we know that that is a futile attempt, it should nevertheless be condemned for jeopardizing peace and security.

45. Mankind today has, however, an ardent wish for and a vital interest in quite the opposite, namely, to uphold peace, strengthen security and expand co-operation. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, like the other countries in the socialist community, is ready to work together with the peoples of progressive and other peace-loving countries and with all Governments of the world that are committed to act together with a sense of responsibility for the destiny of their peoples, in order to achieve those grand aims.

46. My Government agrees with the appraisal of disarmament tasks as contained in the memorandum which the Soviet Union has submitted to the Assembly [see A/35/241] and it lends full support to the adoption and realization of the Soviet proposals, which envisage urgent measures for reducing the danger of war.

47. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic believes that the continuation and speeding up of the disarmament talks, the adoption of effective measures to curb the arms race and the attainment of equal security at ever lower levels of armaments are absolutely necessary.

48. I wish to reaffirm my Government's readiness, which is shared by the other States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, to negotiate and to assume treaty obligations on the limitation, reduction and complete destruction of any type of weapons on the basis of equal security and reciprocity. It is on that basis that the socialist countries have put forward initiatives in different fields of disarmament.

49. It is a matter of concern to us that the Committee on Disarmament, at Geneva, has once again failed to make any notable headway in the current year. The Committee has spent too much time dealing with organizational and procedural questions. At the opposite pole from the socialist countries with their initiatives for the solution of disarmament problems, certain Western Powers are seeking to avoid undertaking any commitments. There is little hope for progress if some members of the Committee on Disarmament fail to summon up the political will necessary in the quest for solutions to the issues under discussion.

50. My Government has repeatedly stated that it attaches great importance to the conclusion and implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII)]. We cannot but deplore the failure of the second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty⁴ to produce the results hoped for. We believe it necessary for all Members of the United Nations, even without formal adoption of a final document, to promote the observance of the provisions of that Treaty, the strengthening of its universality and the prevention of the spread of nuclear weapons.

51. We can brook no further delay in finding solutions to tasks of common concern, such as the prohibition of the manufacture of chemical weapons and the development of new types of weapons of mass destruction, as well as the prevention of the spread of radiological weapons.

52. It is our conviction that the entry into force of the SALT II agreement would be of key importance to the success of the ongoing bilateral and multilateral disarmament talks at Geneva and in other forums. This is the pre-condition also for starting a third round of talks, SALT III, on considerable reductions in strategic arms. Furthermore, efforts to press for the implementation of the NATO decision on the deployment in Europe of new nuclear missiles of medium range but of a strategic nature should also be abandoned.

⁴Held at Geneva from 11 August to 7 September 1980.

53. The stationing of new American medium-range missiles in some countries of Western Europe would pose a direct threat to the security of the Hungarian People's Republic. My Government fully supports the relevant Soviet proposal submitted in this regard which provides a good basis for the settlement of this issue. We hope that the forthcoming Soviet-American talks will be useful and successful.

54. Progress must also be made in the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe. NATO tactics have doomed those talks to a stalemate. While the socialist countries present new and positive proposals, the NATO countries evade a constructive response to any of those proposals. However, we do not give up hope. The conclusion of a mutually acceptable agreement is a task of increasing urgency.

55. The Political Consultative Committee of the States Parties to the Warsaw Treaty in its declaration of 15 May [see A/35/237-S/13948] complemented the earlier proposals made by socialist countries, each and every one of which serves the cause of reducing international tension and promoting peace and security. We deplore the fact that those to whom they are addressed show much less interest in them than they merit in view of the importance of the cause they promote.

56. The Hungarian People's Republic continues to pay particular attention to the cause of security and co-operation in Europe. It is consistently striving to develop its relations with all countries of the region on the basis of the Helsinki Final Act⁵ and is guided by the spirit thereof in preparing for the Madrid meeting of representatives of the signatory States. In the course of preparatory work for that meeting, Hungarian diplomacy has, through bilateral channels, made several new proposals designed to strengthen confidence and co-operation among the peoples of Europe. We believe that the Madrid meeting should focus attention on questions of common interest. It is inadmissible that certain Western circles should again try to use that forum for a propaganda campaign against the socialist countries and to aggravate the situation, even though some evidence of this is already available. The interests of the peoples of the countries signatories to the Final Act of Helsinki would not be served if scope was left in Madrid for unbridled mudslinging and accusations in connection with matters that are not within the competence of that Conference. What is needed is a constructive spirit and forward-oriented proposals.

57. The people and Government of the Hungarian People's Republic, acting in keeping with their national interests, are doing their utmost to ensure the implementation of the proposals made by the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty for the continuation of the process of security and co-operation in Europe. We believe that the chances of a successful outcome of the Madrid meeting would be greatly enhanced if at the meeting it was decided to convene a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe and its date determined as well as its procedure and the

agenda for the first phase. Such a decision would have a favourable impact on the atmosphere in all disarmament forums.

58. The position of my Government concerning the conflicts and hotbeds of crisis that poison the international climate is unchanged. In urging action to remove the causes of the crisis situations, we reaffirm our solidarity with and support of the peoples in their struggle for progress, national independence and self-determination, as well as against colonial and neo-colonialist oppression and neo-colonialist designs. It is in this spirit that we have taken our stand on the situation in southern Africa, on the policy of *apartheid*, on the questions of Western Sahara and Cyprus and on the revolutionary processes in Latin America. While I do not intend to repeat our position on all questions, I nevertheless deem it necessary to state our views on a few issues that have a particular bearing on the world political scene.

59. I think it is now sufficiently clear to all that the Camp David accords—the separate deal between Egypt and Israel—have solved nothing and have proved a blind alley. The complete withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied Arab territories is, in our opinion, indispensable for a comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East crisis. The Palestinian people must be allowed to exercise their legitimate rights, including the right to establish a State of their own, and the security of all countries in the region should be guaranteed. We condemn Israel's decision on the annexation of Jerusalem. We support the resolutions of the seventh emergency special session of the Assembly, on the question of Palestine, and urge full implementation of their provisions.

60. The victory of the popular forces in Afghanistan in 1978 and later the turn of events in Iran have changed the situation in the Middle East. The extremist circles of imperialism will stop at nothing to regain their lost positions, resorting to means ranging from overt intervention in the domestic affairs of other countries, through economic boycotts and sanctions, to the supply of arms to counter-revolutionaries scheming abroad against the legitimate Government.

Mr. Kamanda wa Kamanda (Zaire), Vice-President, took the Chair.

61. The Government of the Hungarian People's Republic is of the view that the key to the solution of the situation in that country is the halting of intervention by outside reactionary forces. Acceptance of the proposals made by the Afghan Government for a settlement on 14 May of this year would remove the tension whipped up around Afghanistan and would allow that Government to carry out its progressive policy measures that broadly respect the country's historical and religious traditions. My Government finds it unacceptable that on the pretext of Soviet military assistance to Afghanistan the extremist circles of imperialism should be mounting an over-all attack against international détente and co-operation. The slanders cast at the Soviet Union are simply a screen for efforts to carry out long-standing and well-known schemes.

62. The greatest problem in South-East Asia results from the expansionist and great-Power policy of the Chinese

⁵ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

Government. China's aggression against Viet Nam and its threats to "teach it another lesson", as well as its subversive acts against the neighbouring progressive régimes and its open intervention have given rise to tension in that region.

63. The plight of the Kampuchean people is gradually improving, despite intrigues from outside, and the results of the effort to build a new society are already in evidence. The people of Kampuchea, upon whom a terrible tragedy was visited, is rallying more and more firmly behind the People's Revolutionary Council. This has met with favourable response from the progressive forces. Recognition and acceptance of the realities, international recognition of the sole legitimate representative of the Kampuchean people and its participation in the work of the United Nations would contribute greatly to the alleviation of the tense situation. The prestige of our world Organization is impaired while the seat of people's Kampuchea is still occupied by the genocidal Pol Pot clique, which represents nobody.

64. It was with a view to restoring tranquillity in South-East Asia that 13 Member States, including Hungary, proposed [see A/35/193] that the item entitled "Question of peace, stability and co-operation in South-East Asia" be placed on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly [item 119].

65. The latest events in South Korea have again focused attention on the long-outstanding question of Korea. My Government still holds that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from the Korean peninsula and that the peaceful reunification of the two parts of that country should be encouraged. We support the relevant proposals made by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

66. Twenty years ago, the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was adopted by the General Assembly [resolution 151 V (XV)]. Since then a number of countries have become free from colonial oppression as a result of the persevering struggle of socialist countries, national liberation movements and other progressive forces, and they have taken their place in the community of nations. Among them now are Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, the newly admitted Member States of our world Organization. On behalf of my Government I wish to welcome our new Member States and I take this opportunity to express satisfaction at this fresh result in the liquidation of the colonial system, and this new achievement of the struggle for national liberation. We wish those countries every success.

67. In our opinion, the anniversary of the Declaration imposes an obligation on Member States to take joint and still more efficient measures with a view to the final liquidation of the remnants of colonialism and the guaranteeing to all peoples of their right to self-determination.

68. While indisputable results have been achieved, there is more to be done. Now that the independence of Zimbabwe has been proclaimed, the situation of Namibia becomes even more striking and untenable. We condemn the machinations of South Africa to delay Namibia's accession to independence and to set up a puppet régime subservient to

neo-colonialist interests. My Government demands the granting of independence to Namibia in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations and OAU. It recognizes the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] as the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people and lends its support in its struggle to attain independence.

69. The Hungarian People's Republic has a paramount interest in ensuring that international economic co-operation develops smoothly, facilitates the full use of advantages offered by the international division of labour for the improvement of the welfare of peoples, and enhances the peaceful coexistence of countries with different social systems.

70. We deplore the fact that owing to the negative attitude of a few countries the eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to questions of the world economy failed to produce results. The restructuring of international economic relations on a democratic and just basis and the removal of obstacles to the development of economic co-operation remain an urgent task that must be discharged, as required by the interests of mankind as a whole and by the extremely grave economic situation in some of the developing countries.

71. During the present session my country is commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of its admission to membership in the United Nations. In the course of the past quarter of a century it has been the constant endeavour of the Hungarian People's Republic to conduct its activities according to the letter and spirit of the Charter and to help the world Organization fulfil as fully as possible its main function of maintaining and strengthening peace and security.

72. We maintain that on the whole the United Nations has so far lived up to its mission, but we are convinced that its role in the solution of international issues can be still further increased. We highly appreciate the activity of the Secretary-General in enhancing the effectiveness of the Organization.

73. My Government is of the view that the Charter of the United Nations has laid down norms of conduct for States, a set of rules for coexistence among nations and a procedure against its violators that are still valid today. We are convinced that this carefully balanced Constitution of the community of nations is not in need of amendment. The role of the United Nations can be enlarged, as is desired by the majority of Member States, through fuller use of the possibilities inherent in the Charter and through strict observance of its provisions. At the same time, however, the successful solution of the complex international issues confronting us presupposes stronger co-operation among Member States, mutual respect for the interests of others, understanding of one another's problems and an active search for solutions and arrangements.

74. I have endeavoured to state concisely my Government's position on the current international situation, outlining the pressing tasks facing us and presenting our ideas concerning ways in which these problems might be resolved. The Hungarian delegation will work in that spirit throughout the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly.

75. Mr. FREITAS do AMARAL (Portugal):⁶ I should like to begin by extending to Mr. von Wechmar my warmest congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. It is with deep satisfaction and confidence—inspired by his outstanding personal qualities and wide diplomatic experience—that we see presiding over this session the representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, a Western European country with which Portugal maintains the closest links of co-operation and friendship and with which Portugal is bound by culture, geography and history.

76. I should like also to express our admiration to his predecessor, Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania, with whose country we also maintain warm and friendly relations, for the most praiseworthy way in which during the course of the past year he presided with the greatest efficiency and distinction over four sessions of the General Assembly.

77. Finally, I wish to welcome the admission to the United Nations of its newest Member, Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, whose Government and people we warmly congratulate. We hope that our delegations will soon establish a close relationship of fruitful co-operation.

78. Once more the General Assembly is meeting to debate and analyse the problems that beset the world and to attempt to find solutions enabling us to overcome the grave obstacles that lie in the path of peace and progress, to which we all aspire.

79. The seriousness of the questions facing us and of certain situations that endanger our collective security has already been stressed by the speakers who have preceded me. We share those concerns and we are aware of the responsibilities incumbent upon our Governments and of the difficult task facing the General Assembly.

80. It is, nevertheless, satisfying to begin by pointing out that during the course of this year some positive and indeed highly encouraging events have taken place. Foremost among them undoubtedly is the independence of Zimbabwe. I should like to pay a special tribute to all those who have contributed, through their efforts and perseverance, to the solution of a grave problem that had dragged on for nearly 20 years: to all the front-line States, particularly Mozambique, for the spirit of sacrifice and solidarity they have shown throughout; to the people of Zimbabwe and its leaders for the courage and tenacity with which they led the struggle for independence and for the outstanding civic maturity and patriotic spirit they have shown since peace was achieved; and, lastly, the United Kingdom for the deep sense of history which once again it demonstrated by initiating and carrying out successfully the Lancaster House talks. I would express the hope that, once the wounds of war have healed, the Government and people of Zimbabwe will succeed in their efforts towards national reconstruction and the building of an harmonious, non-discriminatory and tolerant society that will provide a prosperous future for its people.

⁶ Mr. Freitas do Amaral spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

81. I should like also to express my satisfaction at the successful completion of yet another important event: the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, at Geneva. Portugal, which had closely followed the lengthy negotiations at this Conference, hopes that the progress recently achieved in matters that we consider to be of primary importance, such as the delimitation of the exclusive economic zone, the protection of living resources beyond the 200-mile limit, the regulation of scientific research and the protection of objects of archeological and historical interest, will be appropriately reflected in the final text of the convention. The long-awaited adoption of the convention on the law of the sea will no doubt be one of the great achievements of the United Nations.

82. The almost universal character of the General Assembly constitutes undeniable proof that, despite all the divergent interests and at times the very hostility that separates the peoples of the world, we are all prepared to persevere along the path of dialogue. Indeed it is only fair to recognize that the institutionalization of the dialogue that the United Nations has made possible is certainly one of its most valuable contributions to the cause of peace. However, the preservation and continuation of that dialogue demands of all Governments an unflinching respect for the rules and principles on which international relations and co-operation among States are based.

83. What do we see in the world today? We see States Members of the United Nations ignoring or flouting international law and the very principles of the Charter; some, invoking the most questionable pretexts, intervene blatantly in the internal affairs of others, violating their sovereignty and territorial integrity. We see other States refusing to co-operate with the Organization and ignoring its recommendations and resolutions, including those that are binding under the Charter. Finally, we see yet others violating formally established principles, namely, those of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

84. A State Member of the United Nations has for almost a year held diplomats of another country tages, notwithstanding the injunctions of the Orga.....tion and the decision of the International Court of Justice of 24 May 1980⁷ demanding that this situation be ended forthwith. Such an attitude, besides constituting a flagrant violation of international law and a grave offence against the human rights of the detainees, undermines the very basis of peaceful relations between States and threatens the very instrument that makes them possible, namely diplomacy. It is imperative for the leaders of Iran to understand that, in attempting to hurt a country against which they claim to hold grievances, they are, above all, jeopardizing Iran's own international image and the rules that govern the relations between States and, I dare say, even imperilling the weaker countries whose security rests mainly on the observance of international law.

85. On the other hand, some States, moved by clearly hegemonistic aims, do not hesitate to violate the frontiers of defenceless neighbours, to occupy their territory and to oppress their peoples by force of arms, in spite of repeated

⁷ *United States Diplomatic and Consular Staff in Tehran, Judgment, I.C.J. Reports 1980, p. 3.*

calls to withdraw by the international community. The Soviet aggression against Afghanistan has continued uninterrupted for almost one year, although condemned by the vast majority of the international community.

86. That unlawful and appalling act of force is a serious breach of the principles of the Organization and undermines the whole process of détente which we have so painstakingly sought to carry out.

87. Détente is in essence global and indivisible, as is in fact laid down in the Final Act of Helsinki: global, because the States participating in the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe have the duty to respect its Final Act even in their relations with non-signatory States; indivisible, because, since détente is based on mutual trust, it is not possible to appear to adhere to it in some areas while violating it in others. Détente is indeed a dynamic process nurtured by the proper attitude of States and, for that reason, susceptible to both progress and retrogression.

88. In this respect, I would add that the position my country upholds is—and will continue to be during the second review session at Madrid of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe—that all the participating States should show their Government's sincere support for détente, not through mere declarations of intent, but through clear attitudes and concrete actions. For without a climate of mutual confidence, true détente will never be possible.

89. At this very moment, two brother countries, both non-aligned and sharing the same religion, Iran and Iraq, are fighting one another in an open war. Despite the efforts undertaken by the Islamic Conference, the Secretary-General, the Security Council and others, they have not yet laid down their arms to seek to resolve their differences through dialogue. The Portuguese Government appeals to those two countries to seek a negotiated solution to their conflict, which only increases the threat to security and peace that for so many years has been latent in the situation prevailing in the Middle East.

90. The General Assembly is aware of the position of my Government on the question of the Middle East. We believe that the problem in that region can be resolved only through a comprehensive solution that on the one hand respects the right of all States in the area to a secure existence and on the other hand guarantees the Palestinian people the right to self-determination.

91. As we have repeatedly stated, the foregoing implies that the parties concerned, in particular Israel and the PLO, should take steps that will make it possible at last to put an end to the mutual mistrust that at present impedes any progress towards peace.

92. The Palestinians and the other Arab peoples must accept the fact that the State of Israel is an unquestionable reality and that its legitimate aspirations to security must be recognized and met. Israel, for its part, must understand that its right to statehood cannot be founded on the denial of that same right to the Palestinian people. Nor does that right justify violation of the frontiers of other States, such as

martyred Lebanon, or the unlawful occupation of foreign territory.

93. Like the problem of the Middle East, many other situations that are a cause of serious regional and international tension can be resolved only through an open and patient dialogue, established without pre-conditions and with the participation of all interested parties.

94. May I recall briefly some examples that are no doubt present in all our minds. The situation in Namibia is a problem whose solution we hope will be positively affected by the example of Zimbabwe. The Portuguese delegation understands and shares the concern of the international community, particularly that of the African countries, like Angola, over the obstacles that have thus far prevented the implementation of the United Nations plan to resolve that problem. We believe, however, that the long and continued negotiations initiated by the five Western countries, and arduously continued by the United Nations since, have created irreversible conditions that will shortly lead Namibia to the independence to which its people is entitled.

95. I also have in mind the intolerable practice of *apartheid*, which Portugal has condemned in the past and continues to condemn today. Here again, however unacceptable that practice may be, we face a problem that will be resolved only through a long process of transformation of South African society, a process that the international community should encourage and promote.

96. Let me also recall the question of the self-determination of Western Sahara, in respect of which there cannot be a just and lasting solution unless the legitimate interests and aspirations of all the parties involved are taken into account.

97. Although this last is a problem of a different character, I shall finally mention the question of Cyprus. In relation to that question, my delegation would like to take advantage of this opportunity to express its satisfaction at the resumption of intercommunal talks, an event brought about thanks to the unceasing and unremitting efforts of the Secretary-General.

98. Obviously, all those processes are of necessity slow and require patience, perseverance and clear thinking on the part of all the participants.

99. The foregoing also applies to the item on the agenda which most directly affects my country—that of East Timor [*item 85*], regarding which my Government issued a communiqué on 12 September⁸ that clearly defines Portugal's position.

100. We have no claims on the Territory of East Timor, to which we continue to be linked by the ties of human solidarity existing between our peoples, which were forged through a long and today closed chapter of history, but which we believe have left a lasting and profound cultural legacy.

101. The question of East Timor is a sensitive one, as indicated by the attitude of the international community,

⁸ See document A/C.4/35/2.

which has insisted that it be solved in accordance with the principle of self-determination. Portugal cannot and does not wish to renege on its responsibilities towards the Timorese people; that is why it has announced a plan of action that will shortly be implemented. But we feel justified in emphasizing here that it is fundamentally within the framework of the United Nations that a solution to that problem must be found. In this respect, my country is also ready to co-operate closely with the United Nations and with all the interested parties in searching for a solution that, in conformity with the principles enshrined in the Charter and in the relevant resolutions, would be acceptable to the international community. Given their special urgency, we must finally express our concern with the humanitarian problems that have arisen out of the situation in East Timor. We hope that through the negotiations which we, for our part, are ready to undertake, those problems can begin to be properly tackled and finally solved.

102. I should now like to make a very brief comment on the question of disarmament. At the tenth special session the General Assembly recommended through consensus, in which my country participated, the priorities to be followed in the process of disarmament [see resolution S-10/2]. We believe, however, that all relevant measures must respect the security of States in such a way that their safety will not be diminished and that they will continue to enjoy the same level of security. For that reason, the problems of disarmament must be considered from a global point of view in order to keep in mind, in so far as possible, the structural differences that exist primarily between the armed forces of the militarily most powerful States.

103. The promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms, without discrimination based on race, sex, language or religion, constitutes one of the most important aims of the international community. The Portuguese Government attaches the greatest importance to the furtherance of this objective, as was demonstrated by our adherence to the principal international instruments concerning human rights, as well as by the positions we have adopted in all forums where this matter has been discussed, in particular in the Commission on Human Rights, of which we are privileged to be a member.

104. Portugal will continue to devote itself to the defence of civil and political rights, which we identify with the highest principles and values of a civilization that should not, on the other hand, be oblivious of the economic, social and cultural rights which are inseparable aspects of the same reality. Unfortunately, there still exist many cases in which the human rights of whole populations are systematically ignored and denied, and peoples are condemned to the most implacable repression, to hunger or to forced exile, victims of supposedly liberating ideologies which end up creating the most inhuman oppression. This aberrant situation has resulted in the creation of an ever-growing flux of refugees that has become one of the most disturbing scourges of our time—and this is true and especially obvious in South-East Asia, but also significant in other regions of the world.

105. We believe that it is wrong to ignore both the political origins of those exoduses and the disruptions and problems that they cause by endangering the prosperity of those who

harbour the refugees. We cannot but stress that this is an unacceptable subversion of the international order, which if not corrected in the short term can pose a serious threat to peace.

106. However, other problems still lie on the horizon. Of those I have especially in mind the grave consequences for future generations of the very serious deprivation of food, health, housing, education and employment, which even today affects such large sectors of humanity. This is doubtless an area in which the work under way within the United Nations system can and must assume a true universal dimension. Only thus will it be possible to avoid results such as those arising from the recent eleventh special session of the General Assembly. On the one hand, we consider the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade a very positive fact, but on the other we view with deep concern the failure to reach a consensus in regard to the global negotiations.

107. Allow me also to stress that the dichotomy to which the North-South dialogue is reduced—that of the developed countries versus developing countries—is not helpful to the resolution of the difficulties faced by the international community and does not even correspond to the reality which confronts us. Just as there sometimes are substantial differences in the wealth and levels of economic and technological development of developed countries, not to mention the diversity of their economic and social systems, so there are also considerable distances separating the developing countries.

108. We believe that there would be much to gain if proper account were to be taken of the real conditions prevailing today. Such a recognition would be most advantageous to all, for it would allow for a more equitable sharing of efforts by all and for a more adequate distribution of available resources. My country, which is at an intermediate stage of economic and technological development and which is simultaneously a recipient and a donor of assistance, feels this problem most acutely. We understand full well the demands of the developing countries because we face those very problems ourselves. But we are also aware of the difficulties arising from the present international economic crisis which prevent their full and immediate satisfaction.

109. Despite its own difficulties, Portugal has none the less assumed its responsibilities and sought to contribute to the extent of its ability to the common efforts to assist the most needy sectors of humanity.

110. My country has always held that only through constructive dialogue and co-operation in the search for common goals will it be possible to achieve victory in the battle for development. Our candidature to the European Community is based on our identification with the countries that comprise it, because we share their commitment to a free and democratic society. But we also see it as a way to cope with and overcome the problems of development that confront us.

111. This solidarity, rooted therefore in political, cultural and geo-economic factors, does not, however, exclude other deep ties and affinities, such as, for example, those that bind us to the countries which have Portuguese as their official

language and to other non-European nations with which we have created close links throughout our history as a maritime nation and in many of which there live large communities of Portuguese origin, of which my Government and my country are justifiably proud.

112. The most important role of the United Nations is to promote understanding among peoples and strengthen the solidarity that should unite us. In a world that has the capacity to destroy itself, that solidarity should take precedence over interests that are selfish and ephemeral when compared with the very survival of the human race. My country believes that if such is our common will we can overcome the difficulties faced by the international community. The main weapon that we possess to achieve this aim is the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes and conflicts through dialogue and conciliation. It is unfailing respect for that principle that has guided our conduct in the United Nations and inspired our work in the Security Council.

113. We firmly believe in the capacity of man to devise the means to free himself from all oppressions and alienations that hamper him. We believe that we can unite our efforts to overcome poverty, hunger, disease and war so that together we can tread the path of peace, progress, freedom and justice.

114. We believe, above all, that history moves inexorably towards the conquest of freedom and that the evolution of mankind will continue to be marked by progressive steps in the direction of the final liberation of individuals and societies.

115. Mr. BANGUI (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Every year since San Francisco, 35 years ago, the General Assembly, inspired by its determination to achieve peace, discusses the future of the human race in an effort to find in a spirit of co-operation solutions to the many complex problems confronting the world. This is also an opportunity for us to give thought to what is becoming of the Organization, to think about our vocation, our responsibilities as the guardian of international peace and security, and to discuss ways of enhancing the effectiveness of our action.

116. This is the basic reason for the presence here of so many statesmen who have come from all corners of the world to bring their contribution, in their own manner and with their own conviction, to a collective undertaking involving all nations, large and small, rich and poor, in a community of interests that are often different but in the final analysis complementary.

117. But too often numerous questions facing the General Assembly on such occasions remain without appropriate answers because of the lack of political courage and will, the lack of a firm and resolute commitment on the part of certain Member States. Such a situation inevitably reduces the effectiveness of the United Nations and damages its reputation and its credibility.

118. The primary responsibility of the Organization is to seek new ways and means of enabling the international community to reduce the number of conflicts and cease the

tensions that disrupt this world and so we feel that everything possible should be done in order to give effect to the purposes and principles of the Charter.

119. Accordingly, I should like first of all to convey to the Assembly the warm wishes for complete success of Mr. David Dacko, President of the Central African Republic, who has always demonstrated total belief and trust in the destiny of the United Nations.

120. I should also like to congratulate Mr. von Wechmar most warmly on his unanimous election to the presidency and to tell him how happy we are to see him guiding the work at this session. We welcome him as President, not only because of his distinguished qualities as an experienced diplomat but also because of the sincere friendship and the ties of co-operation between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Central African Republic, both on a bilateral basis and within the context of the European Community. I am fully convinced that his great experience of the United Nations will enable him to carry out his very difficult task with success.

121. I should also like to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim for the exceptional brilliance with which he guided the work of the four preceding sessions of the General Assembly. The unanimous congratulations he has received fill us with pride and do honour not only to the United Republic of Tanzania, his country, but to Africa as a whole.

122. As for the Secretary-General, the indefatigable apostle of peace, whose merits are well known to all, I should like to assure him of the total support of my Government in his often difficult, delicate and tireless work to strengthen and ensure the fulfilment of the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

123. I should also like to welcome with pride and warmth the admission this year of two new Members to this great family of the United Nations, the Republic of Zimbabwe and Saint Vincent and the Grenadines. On behalf of my country I sincerely wish them every success in their very difficult task of national reconstruction and development.

124. The admission of a new Member of this concert of nations is always an important event, bearing witness to the vitality of the Organization and also strengthening its universality, and it is an encouraging sign that our noble ideas are being spread throughout the world.

125. As this thirty-fifth session begins, the international situation is one of particular concern to us all: conflicts and tension between States continue to become stronger; national sovereignty and territorial integrity, which are sacred principles, are constantly being violated. Indeed, we have to say that little progress has been made in the evolution and democratization of international relations.

126. As for the world economic situation, it seems to be in a very distressing state of stagnation. This is a challenge to the human imagination, which is so fertile and inventive in other areas. We must find bold solutions to the problems causing this very grave structural crisis that is disrupting the international economy.

127. At this session the General Assembly must try to analyse the situation with a view to responding more effectively to the requirements of the world today.

128. The threats of the cold war were dissipated long ago and had ceased to be the focus of international concern; we were freed for the time being from the nightmare of a cataclysm, thanks to the conclusion, in spite of the existence or persistence of certain local or regional tensions, of agreements. There was the Helsinki Final Act, then there were the SALT I and SALT II agreements, signed by the two super-Powers, and they brought a ray of sunshine to the cloudy skies of international politics. But in the hotbeds of conflict that have erupted in various places we can see a resumption of tension in international relations. There is now an atmosphere of cold war that creates suspicion, distrust, concern, fear, all of which give rise to a lack of understanding, which often in turn gives rise to conflicts between peoples and nations.

129. This return to the cold war and this atmosphere of confrontation tend to produce a strengthening of military blocs and the development and proliferation of nuclear weapons. This rapid deterioration of the world situation certainly gives no grounds for optimism. The United Nations, whose primary responsibility is to ensure international peace and security, must do its utmost to restore an atmosphere of trust and détente in relations between States in order to ward off the danger of a general conflagration that still hovers over the world.

130. I should like to examine more closely the hotbeds of tension and conflict that I mentioned earlier and that continue to be matters of great concern to my Government.

131. In Africa the Central African Republic is seriously concerned over the continuation of fighting and bloodshed in Chad, a neighbouring and fraternal country which for several years has been suffering the horrors of civil war. We cannot but feel for that country because of the tremendous loss of human life, the great suffering of the population and the considerable damage and destruction. Faced with that situation, my delegation can only deplore the foreign and African intervention carried out in an attempt to divide the country, and we condemn all exploitation of that crisis as well as all attempts at selfish domination, to the detriment of the interests of the people of Chad.

132. The Central African Republic for its part will continue to support the efforts undertaken within OAU and by all countries that love peace and justice to put an end to the fratricidal fighting in Chad. My Government believes that the return of true peace to Chad is impossible without understanding among all the parties involved and without national reconciliation. Accordingly, and as far as we are able, we are willing to contribute to a real and swift solution of the problem.

133. In northern Africa the development of the Western Sahara conflict runs the risk of becoming internationalized and engulfing the subregion. So far it has indeed proved extremely damaging to understanding and a spirit of cohesion among African countries.

134. The Central African Republic trusts that a solution can be found quickly and we associate ourselves fully with all efforts undertaken to bring peace back to that part of the continent.

135. In southern Africa the delaying tactics of the racist Government in Pretoria which have so far prevented the implementation of the mandate of the United Nations Council for Namibia and delayed Namibia's accession to sovereignty are doomed to failure. My delegation believes that the independence of the Territory under the leadership of SWAPO is inevitable.

136. The Central African Republic would like to reiterate once again its full support for SWAPO, the sole legitimate representative of the Namibian people, in its heroic struggle to condemn the acts of aggression by South Africa against neighbouring African countries.

137. The South African régime is continuing to defy the international community by persisting in its shameful policy of *apartheid*, the violation of human rights and repression of the majority of its population. Basically, the so-called reforms of Pretoria have changed nothing.

138. The South African Government and those Powers that support it must realize that the system is doomed. Indeed, the radicalization of opposition to *apartheid* within the country and the successes won by the liberation movements are eloquent proof of that. It is in the interests not only of the peoples of South Africa but also of the international community as a whole that the policy of *apartheid* be eliminated as quickly as possible, for it contains within itself the seeds of a serious threat to stability and peace in that part of the world.

139. In the Middle East, the situation remains of concern. The Central African Republic continues to believe that a just and lasting peace in that region can be achieved only within the context of an over-all settlement. In this respect, consultation and dialogue among all the parties concerned in a sincere spirit of mutual concession would seem to be the best way of arriving at an equitable solution to the problem.

140. We would state once again our belief that it is indispensable for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to be respected and restored and for the right of the State of Israel to exist within secure and guaranteed boundaries to be recognized, in accordance with Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), if we wish to have a lasting and peaceful settlement of the conflict.

141. However, my delegation considers the Camp David accords⁹ as a positive and significant step forward towards a solution of the problem. We regret, however, that the peace process has been compromised by Israel's policy of *fait accompli* and we call for a resumption of negotiations as soon as possible.

142. The situation in Lebanon is also a matter of continuing concern. The Central African Republic fully asso-

⁹ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of A Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed in Washington on 17 September 1978.

ciates itself with the efforts made by the United Nations to restore peace to that country and we trust that all parties will co-operate with the United Nations to that end.

143. In the eastern Mediterranean area, my Government welcomes the resumption of the dialogue under the auspices of the United Nations between the two Cypriot communities and we trust that that dialogue will lead to a lasting and just solution of the crisis in order to preserve the unity, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-alignment of Cyprus.

144. The delegation of the Central African Republic deplores the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq, two non-aligned countries, and we would add our voice to the voices of all the other delegations that have spoken here and called upon those two parties to cease hostilities and to settle their dispute by peaceful means.

145. With respect to Afghanistan, the implementation of General Assembly resolution ES-6/2 adopted at its sixth emergency special session in January 1980 would, in the view of my delegation, allow the crisis to move rapidly towards a satisfactory solution.

146. Hotbeds of tension persist in South-East Asia. This is dangerous and poses a threat to international peace and security. Accordingly, my Government would call for a return to peace and tranquillity in that nerve centre of the world.

147. The General Assembly should devote particular attention to the problem of disarmament. To date, little progress has been made in that area. On the contrary, arms expenditures continue to increase. Those expenditures divert to destructive purposes vast sums which could better be used to improve the well-being of mankind. They simply feed international tension and create hotbeds of conflict throughout the world. It is imperative that a solution be found to that problem and that we give serious consideration to the possibility of allocating to the economic and social development of the least developed countries an increasingly larger share of the amounts currently spent on arms.

148. The problem of refugees is one of the most tragic problems facing the world today. Millions of human beings have been driven from their homes and families because of intolerance, civil war and international conflicts. Often in anguish they are forced to wander in search of food and shelter. The international community owes it to itself to furnish aid, support and comfort to them.

149. The delegation of the Central African Republic also hopes that more attention will be given than has been given in the past by the international community to the fate of the 5 million African refugees.

150. Like all developing countries, the Central African Republic had placed great hopes in the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, devoted to economic problems and international co-operation. Unfortunately, the results were far from living up to our hopes. The eleventh special session ended in a semi-failure as a result of divergencies of views on the question of the procedures and time-

table for the global negotiations, despite many concessions made by the Group of 77 in an effort to reach a consensus.

151. The delegation of the Central African Republic cannot but express its disappointment over that situation, which may well delay the negotiations that, in principle, were to begin in 1981.

152. Nevertheless, we feel that the thirty-fifth session does offer us another opportunity to hold discussions and to reach a compromise that would be satisfactory to all. In this connection, my delegation welcomes the good will demonstrated by the United States in the statement made on 22 September 1980 by the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Muskie [4th meeting] and we hope that other countries will follow that example.

153. Despite the semi-failure of the eleventh special session, my delegation cannot but express its satisfaction over the consensus [see A/35/464] that emerged on the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which will begin on 1 January 1981. We welcome the set of measures advocated for more active and more equitable North-South co-operation.

154. We hope that the international community will give effect to those measures as a whole, with a view to the real establishment of a new international economic order, once they have been adopted by the General Assembly.

155. My delegation has always, here and elsewhere, expressed its views on the major economic problems facing our world today. My delegation believes that the international monetary system that was set up at the end of the Second World War is unjust and unsuitable because it responds more to the interests of the developed countries than to those of the third world. A fundamental reform of that system is imperative in order to respond to the realities of the world today and to the concerns of the developing countries, which must definitely be involved in the reform of the system and in all decision-making procedures, on a footing of equality with the industrialized countries.

156. With respect to the current world trade system, my country believes that a structural change is one of the priorities of the new international economic order. That change must be in the interests of the countries of the third world. They must be granted facilities on a non-reciprocal basis and their products should be given unrestricted access to the markets of the industrialized countries. It is imperative to proceed without further delay to improve the generalized system of preferences in accordance with the agreed conclusions reached at the fourth session of the Special Committee on Preferences of the Trade and Development Board,¹⁰ in order to increase the share of the developing countries in international trade.

157. With respect to commodities, which constitute the bulk of the exports of developing countries and also their major source of income, the Central African Republic believes that the measures adopted at the international level to raise and to stabilize prices at remunerative levels must be implemented.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Trade and Development Board, Tenth Session, Supplement No. 6A*, part one.

158. In this respect, we welcome the agreement reached at Geneva on the establishment of a Common Fund¹¹ for financing buffer stocks for commodities, despite the few difficulties that remain. It is our sincere wish that that Fund, an essential instrument for attaining the objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities, may become operational as soon as possible.

159. Regarding industrialization, the importance of which for the acceleration of development no longer need be demonstrated, my delegation regrets that it is inadequate in most developing countries. Their share of world production amounts to only 7 per cent, although the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation,¹² set a target of 25 per cent by the year 2000. Considerable efforts must therefore be made to industrialize the developing countries and to encourage exports through a major transfer of financial and technological resources to them.

160. The developed countries must accordingly take the necessary measures to facilitate freer and broader access by developing countries to science and technology. It is highly desirable that the Vienna Programme of Action on Science and Technology for Development¹³ be effectively implemented.

161. In the area of the transfer of resources for development, adequate provisions must be made quickly in order to improve the financial situation of developing countries whose balance of payments shows a chronic deficit.

162. Those developed countries whose official development assistance has not yet reached the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product must in a spirit of solidarity make the necessary efforts to reach that target. It is urgent that those developed countries that have not yet done so take the appropriate and necessary measures to convert debts into grants or to relax their terms in accordance with resolution 165 (S-IX) of the Trade and Development Board.¹⁴

163. On the question of the least developed and land-locked developing countries, which include the Central African Republic, my delegation believes that the international community must urgently implement the Programme of Action for the 1980s that UNCTAD decided to launch under its resolution 122 (V) of 3 June 1979.¹⁵

164. I should like to take this opportunity to express our satisfaction at the special provisions contained in the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade for the least developed and land-locked countries. They are to be given increased assistance from the developed countries and international financial institutions to help them overcome their handicaps.

¹¹ See TD/IPC/CF/CONF/24.

¹² See A/10112, chap. IV.

¹³ *Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21 and corrigenda), chap. VII.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Supplement No. 15*, vol. I, part two, annex I.

¹⁵ 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.

165. My delegation would also appeal to all developed countries to contribute generously to the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries. We welcome the decision taken by the General Assembly to convene in 1981 the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries, pursuant to General Assembly resolution 34/203 of 19 December 1979.

166. The special disadvantages arising from the geographical situation of the land-locked countries are so evident that there is no need for me to comment on them. I would just say how pleased my delegation was at the historic success of the ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Geneva. After seven years of long and difficult negotiations the informal text of a convention on the Law of the Sea has at last been drafted. It is our sincere hope that that convention can be signed by the end of 1981, at Caracas.

167. Before concluding this part of my statement, I should like for a few moments to dwell on the very serious food situation in the developing countries.

168. While \$500 billion is wasted annually by the industrialized countries on the arms race, approximately one billion human beings are suffering from, and indeed dying of, hunger and malnutrition in the poor countries. We cannot remain insensitive to that tragic situation. That is why my delegation believes that we must as a matter of urgency implement the recommendations contained in the Declaration of Principles and the Programme of Action adopted by the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development in Rome in July 1979.¹⁶

169. We welcome the recent signing of the new Convention on Food Aid,¹⁷ which raises the guaranteed volume of aid from 4.2 to 7.6 million tons. My delegation trusts that all efforts will be made to ensure that that objective, which is the absolute minimum for aid provided, be reached before the renewal of the Convention, scheduled for 1981. We fully support the carrying out of food strategies, an idea launched by the World Food Council at its fifth ministerial session, held in September 1979 at Ottawa.¹⁸

170. I should now like to make a few comments on the situation in my country one year after the restoration of the Republic.

171. Fourteen years of dictatorship and plunder brought economic ruin to my country and indeed traumatized the people of the Central African Republic. Since 20 September 1979 my Government has been dealing with this tragic situation in its efforts to achieve national reconstruction. A biennial plan for economic and social recovery for 1980-1981 has been adopted. It emphasizes economic recovery, the improvement of public financing, and mobilization of financial resources over the short and medium-term.

172. Priority has been given to the productive sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture, to development of the

¹⁶ See A/34/485.

¹⁷ See TD/WHEAT.6/13.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Supplement No. 19*.

rural areas and the improvement of roads and other communication networks, all of which have received special attention from the Government.

173. In the field of public finances the Government has adopted a policy of budgetary austerity, eliminating all unnecessary expenditure on luxury items, reducing operating expenses and reorganizing the administrative structure.

174. In the field of health major efforts are now under way to improve health services and the general well-being of the population in order to ensure that our people are more able to work for national development. The educational system is now being reformed, and it is being directed towards the productive sector in order to respond to the real needs of our people and to halt the rural exodus.

175. Our Government has also taken a number of measures to restore the confidence of foreign investors. At our request, several missions, including one by the World Bank, have visited the Central African Republic to bring the files up to date on the public debt inherited from the previous régime. Despite difficulties at the financial level, we have begun to organize our debt servicing system and to pay outstanding debts. We have also developed a new investment code which offers generous guarantees to foreign capital.

176. Major efforts have been made to meet the needs of the Central African Republic to ensure that we can reconstruct our own national economy. However, what is required is a tremendous amount that is often more than we are able to provide. Accordingly we need considerable foreign capital to support our action at the national level. That is why my Government welcomes the fact that at Bangui from 23 to 28 July 1980 we had a meeting of partners to finance the biennial recovery plan.

177. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all those friendly countries and international bodies, including several specialized agencies of the United Nations, that were kind enough to participate in that important meeting. I should also like to express our hope that the pledges made by participants at that meeting will be honoured so as to support the efforts being made by my country.

178. With respect to the political situation, all the fundamental freedoms have been restored. Citizens' rights are respected and guaranteed, and independence, sovereignty and justice have been restored. A draft constitution has been prepared and will be submitted to the people of the Central African Republic for approval. After it is adopted new institutions will be set in place, and the President of the Republic and the members of the National Assembly will be elected by universal suffrage. That will ensure the restoration of democracy.

179. I should like here again to tell the international community that the Central African Republic is determined to ensure its reconstruction in peace and dignity. We are willing to co-operate with all countries that love justice and freedom and that respect our sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations and that of OAU.

180. This review of the current international situation has highlighted the need for greater independence and solidarity among nations, rich or poor, large or small. That requires a greater sense of collective responsibility in the face of the problems, upheavals and tensions confronting us, so as to enable our Organization to carry out the changes necessary if we are to respond to the demands of a constantly changing world. Freedom, the well-being of man and world peace require it.

181. My country intends, in so far as its modest means permit, to contribute to the attainment of the noble ideals contained in the Charter of the United Nations.

182. Mr. CORADIN (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to associate myself with those who have spoken before me on this rostrum in congratulating Mr. von Wechmar, on behalf of the Haitian delegation, upon his election to the presidency of the General Assembly. The success of this session has thus been ensured, by virtue of his great personal qualities, his experience and his dynamic nature. I should not like to let pass this opportunity of expressing to him the satisfaction of my Government at the development of relations between Haiti and the Federal Republic of Germany. I would assure him of the full co-operation of my delegation.

183. I also wish to acquit myself of the pleasant duty of presenting once again my warm congratulations to our brother from the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Salim, who presided with such rare skill and remarkable talent at the thirty-fourth session and three special sessions of the General Assembly.

184. My delegation wishes to reiterate its gratitude to the Secretary-General for his untiring efforts to make this Organization an active international force, a home of conciliation, justice and peace.

185. The admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership of the Organization fills us with joy. My delegation is happy to convey to its people and Government the wishes of the Haitian Government for a future of peace and prosperity.

186. I should like to take this opportunity to welcome again the delegation of Zimbabwe and to wish it much success in its participation in the thirty-fifth session.

187. A period has elapsed between the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and the current session of which the best that can be said is that it was not particularly good for international relations: a period in which hopes of peace appear to have grown weaker and new hotbeds of tension have arisen in various parts of the world. The situation in Afghanistan, the Middle East, Indo-China, the Horn of Africa, and the war between Iran and Iraq are causes of deep concern for the international community. The continuing arms race, the widening gap between rich and poor countries, the world economic crisis and its effects on socio-economic systems: all stress the broad outlines of the work that lies ahead for the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. More than any other session, it will have to give the international community new reasons for hope. It

should on an urgent basis arrive at a solution of the problems of international peace and security and co-operation among nations. The world expects the Assembly and the United Nations to avert the threat of a third world war and, to that end, to reduce injustice and inequality on this earth, to reduce the numbers of the tortured and the slain and of those suffering from hunger, poverty and ignorance.

188. The objectives of the Assembly at the present session will be achieved only to the extent that delegations realize the urgent need to halt the arms race, to denounce as inadmissible the policy of the use of force against the territorial integrity and political independence of States, to eliminate centres of poverty in the world by establishing a new international economic order and thus consolidating peace and co-operation among nations.

189. If at the thirty-fifth session those objectives should fail to be achieved, the world will remain confronted with today's problems as well as with the problems of tomorrow, which may be even more serious. In Kampuchea there will still be an army of occupation and a people which suffers and which aspires to independence. On the outskirts of Middle Eastern cities there will still be a Palestinian Diaspora in quest of a homeland and an Israel on the alert and on a footing of war. The war between Iran and Iraq will become a threat to peace; the racist leaders in southern Africa will continue to practise with impunity and with the help of their allies their policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination and the poor countries will become even poorer because they will be affected to a greater degree by the pressures of galloping world-wide inflation, while remaining deprived of the means of escaping from underdevelopment.

190. During the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on development and international co-operation, I had the honour of putting forward the views of the Government of Haiti¹⁹ on the prospects for success of the North-South dialogue, in keeping with the urgent and immediate needs of the developing countries. At the same time the Head of State of Haiti, Mr. Jean-Claude Duvalier, made a statement for the periodical *Leaders*, which he published under the title "A challenge to the world leaders". The President listed the following development objectives of the third world nations: to create more employment; to become self-sufficient in the production of food; to intensify educational programmes; to improve housing, health and social services; and, for the attainment of those objectives, to give priority to agriculture, industry, tourism, infrastructure and housing.

191. That approach to the problem, to the extent that it presupposes efforts for development on the part of the countries concerned, would be bolstered by the implementation of a production programme. That approach would make it possible to remove the obstacles to the search for a solution likely to bring to bear on the core of the problem the rational use of international aid. That approach would lend itself to the compromise that it is desirable to envisage during the debates which the Assembly is called upon to resume at the thirty-fifth session on the refinement of the text of the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade.

192. My delegation is confident that, despite the difficult circumstances prevalent in the world, the reopening of the North-South dialogue is still a sound prospect for a third world ravaged by disease, hunger and ignorance.

193. In that regard, the President of the World Bank, Mr. Robert McNamara, did not conceal his concern in a speech made last week at the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Bank and IMF. He stated that 600 million human beings were called on to live in the most absolute poverty until the year 2000. He then made a dramatic appeal to the large share-holders of the Bank, particularly the United States, Japan and the United Kingdom, to increase their assistance. Given those bleak prospects, it would be desirable to prevent the possible consequences for the North and for the South of any delay in moving towards action.

194. Of course there is the World Bank, but its operational criteria are ill-adapted to the present situation in the developing countries. There are the multilateral economic institutions, but they do not sufficiently meet the special needs of our countries. There are the developed countries, but they in their relations with the South maintain obsolete practices that slow down trade, the financing of projects and the positive applications of science and technology in the service of development.

195. Apart from that, it is urgent to find a solution to the problems of energy, balance of payments and foreign debt. It is urgent to establish a new international division of labour to facilitate access by the third world to financial markets and to take a step towards reforming the monetary system.

196. And, since all the problems confronting the world are related, it is difficult not to link the success of the dialogue with a reduction of the arms race. No rich country can devote 1 per cent of its gross national product to international assistance if military expenditures exceed \$500 billion.

197. In the context of those concerns my delegation urges that agreements be concluded that would lead the rich countries not only to freeze and to reduce their military expenditures but also to disarm. The Haitian Government considers it extremely urgent that the General Assembly intensify its negotiations on disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. The countries of Latin America have already expressed their interest in the creation of a zone in the subcontinent that would be effectively denuclearized. My Government makes an appeal in the strongest terms to the great Powers that, within the time limits provided for the Second Disarmament Decade, they conclude the current negotiations in a manner satisfactory to all those peoples which hope to see peace and co-operation among nations established on lasting foundations.

198. The United Nations is the only universal forum charged with ensuring international peace and security and where States, large and small, can unite their efforts with a view to collective action.

199. Haiti, as a founding Member of the Organization, has always followed the line of conduct of encouraging the establishment of an international order based on peace and

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 16th meeting.

co-operation among nations. It is, incidentally, in that spirit that at all times it expresses its desire to live at peace with all the countries of the world, in particular those in its region, while respecting international commitments and the principles of self-determination, non-interference and sovereignty.

200. With the Dominican Republic, a sister and neighbouring country, our relations have been established under the sign of these principles. The already historic meetings between President Duvalier and President Guzmán have led to the conclusion of agreements on co-operation and development, which show the common interests and aspirations of the two peoples and their desire to exist in peace and mutual respect.

201. My delegation has listened with great pleasure and satisfaction to the lengthy friendly passage that Mr. Emilio Ludovino Fernández, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Dominican Republic [24th meeting], devoted to Haiti in his brilliant address. In truth, we could not express better than he what our relations were in the past and what they are today, nor better forecast what they will be tomorrow. We are both certain that between two peoples which wish to live in peace there is room only for co-operation, mutual assistance and understanding.

202. Haiti contributes to the extent of its means to the strengthening of Latin American participation in international gatherings. Our country brings its solidarity and co-operation to problems affecting our region and considers that its action will only be positive in the global perspective within which those problems may be solved.

203. We have affirmed our will to establish stable relations with all countries in the world. However, some are confronted with situations which threaten world peace and security. My delegation wishes, in this connection, to put forward the views of the Haitian Government.

204. Concerning the Middle East, the Haitian position was clearly stated last July at the seventh emergency special session²⁰ on the question of Palestine. A just and durable peace can be found only if the following objectives are achieved: recognition of the right of Israel to exist within secure boundaries accepted by its neighbours; recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination; acceptance by all the parties to the conflict to renounce the use of force, in particular in Lebanon. The Camp David accords and the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt²¹ are important steps towards the peaceful settlement of the conflict.

205. The situation in Kampuchea and that in Afghanistan are still a source of concern for the world community. Despite General Assembly resolutions 34/22 and ES-6/2 calling for the immediate withdrawal of foreign troops from those countries, those peoples are still suffering from the rigours of war.

206. Those military interventions endanger the essential principles of balance and peace in the world. They affect the

territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of the nations concerned. For the Haitian Government, they are unacceptable. If there is a situation that prevails in Kampuchea and Afghanistan, only the peoples of those countries are called upon to solve it—and that without foreign interference.

207. In southern Africa, the independence of Zimbabwe has highlighted the little progress recorded by the international community as regards Namibia and the policy of *apartheid* in South Africa. The Haitian Government, which bases its foreign policy on respect for historic traditions, the struggle for the total elimination of all forms of colonialism and racial discrimination and the principles of self-determination, freedom and independence, considers it intolerable that South Africa continues to practise *apartheid* and its acts of aggression against the neighbouring countries and Namibia.

208. With respect to Namibia, the Haitian Government deplores the delay—attributable to South Africa—in the organization of free elections enabling Namibia's people fully to enjoy its right to self-determination. The problem that remains to be solved is that of South Africa. The international community should increase its pressure against the Government of that country, whose policy obstinately runs counter to history, and in order to make that pressure effective, certain countries must disengage themselves. The support they give that Government in contravention of United Nations resolutions encourages South Africa to perpetuate with impunity a policy that the whole world has condemned.

209. As regards the taking of hostages in Iran, we express the hope that a solution will be found. In this connection, we already support the initiative taken by the Nordic countries to include on the agenda of the thirty-fifth session the question of the protection of diplomatic and consular missions and representatives [item 114].

210. The ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea concluded its work on 29 August last. We noted with much satisfaction that it concluded with general agreement on the adoption of a convention on the peaceful uses of the resources of the seas and oceans. The Haitian Government is gratified at the happy results of that Conference.

211. The World Conference on the United Nations Decade for Women unfortunately did not meet our hopes. The Haitian Government considers it, however, of great importance that the General Assembly at its present session should adopt the results of the Copenhagen Conference²² on the legitimate rights of women. There is much profit to be drawn from that Conference as regards the status of women and the work of UNITAR.

212. At the eleventh special session of the General Assembly, on development and international co-operation, we stressed the situation of Caribbean migrant workers coming from countries along the cyclone route. In a broad approach to the problem we should understand "migrant workers" as

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Seventh Emergency Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 11th meeting.

²¹ Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

²² See Report of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, Copenhagen, 14-30 July 1980 (United Nations publication, Sales No.E.80.IV.3 and corrigendum).

cheap labour imported from the poor countries of the third world to meet the needs of the Christian West. These workers for decades have been making a remarkable contribution to the industrial development of the rich countries. Living as minorities, they are subject to police and security laws where they work, but they have no recourse to justice to defend the rights which barely exist. They have difficulty in securing decent living standards for their families, or educational, health and recreational benefits. In addition, the employer has no obligations. Moreover, since the recession has reduced employment, they are confronted with a deplorable situation where, together with bad treatment and harassment by the police, they are the victims of racism and racial discrimination. These are flagrant violations of the principles contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

213. That is why my delegation is gratified to see that the problems of these workers have been included on the agenda of the Third Committee of this Assembly under item 12. In addition to the international convention on the protection of all migrant workers and their families which is to be drafted during this session, the relevant drafting committee is certain to suggest the establishment of a high commissioner's office for migrant workers.

214. Here we have another problem to be included under the heading of protection of human rights. The Haitian Government reiterates its irreversible attachment to this principle in keeping with the ideals of equality, fraternity, justice and freedom, which form the ideological bases of the struggles of Haiti for independence. It is in the legitimate desire to make respect for human rights a militant national enterprise that my Government has felt it necessary to create the Haitian Bureau of Human Rights. It is charged with ensuring liaison between the public services concerned and various national and international specialized institutions which champion human rights. All of this eloquently demonstrates the determination of President Jean-Claude Duvalier to spare no effort in advancing the process of the liberalization and democratization of my country.

215. Lastly, my delegation deplores the regrettable events taking place at present between Iran and Iraq. It hopes to see those countries respond as quickly as possible to the appeal for a cease-fire launched by the Security Council and the Islamic Conference. It enjoins the Powers concerned to do everything they can to keep the conflict circumscribed to the geographical limits within which it has broken out. This is the only way of avoiding its generalization and of reaching a settlement.

216. We cannot remain silent on the question of Belize, a happy solution of which could only be beneficial for Latin America. In this connection, the Haitian delegation, in voting on 21 November 1979, in favour of General Assembly resolution 34/38, only reaffirmed one of the principles which have always characterized the foreign policy of the Haitian Government.

217. Today still, it is determined to give its unconditional support to the inalienable rights of the people of Belize to self-determination, independence and territorial integrity. It hopes to see the Governments of the United Kingdom and

of Guatemala respond to the wishes expressed in that resolution by reporting to the General Assembly on the measures that have been taken to enable the people of Belize to exercise its rights as a free people.

218. We must recall other questions of which the United Nations has been seized of late. I am referring to Cyprus and Western Sahara, two points in the world where ravages of war continue, sowing disarray and grief among families. The United Nations would have put an end to these crises if the parties concerned had complied with General Assembly resolutions 34/30 and 34/37. We appeal for a settlement of such situations in order that the people of Cyprus may again find peace and that those of the Western Sahara may be in a position to exercise their right to self-determination, by the rigorous implementation of resolution 34/37.

219. At its thirty-fourth session the General Assembly adopted three resolutions—34/61 on African refugees, 34/161 on women refugees and 34/174 on student refugees from Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa—which stress the acuity of the problem and the imperative need to do everything to improve the condition of the millions of men, women and children who desperately hang on to life and hope for a less tragic future.

220. My delegation is gratified by the programme of assistance to refugees implemented by the United Nations. We hope that those resolutions will be followed by concrete action on the part of States, governmental organizations and non-governmental organizations called upon to contribute to them.

221. We have stated before this Assembly the position of Haiti on certain questions included in the agenda of the current session. It is not surprising that we should attach special importance to problems of development; they are and will remain for a long time responsible for all the imbalances which disrupt the world. The recommendations which we shall be called upon to make on that issue encompass new living conditions for man, his anxieties, his hopes and the great changes that all of this implies.

222. The quest for the happiness of all, the quest for justice, the right to live in freedom, to think, to speak, not to be afraid, are the commandments of man's new destiny. It is up to each and every one of us to follow them, so that peace and justice will triumph on earth, so that there will no longer be people suffering and dying in Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the Middle East, southern Africa or elsewhere.

223. We express to the members of the General Assembly the hope that at this session it may give to mankind, if not immediate results, at least new reasons for hope.

224. Mr. CERRUTO CALDERÓN (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Having the great honour of representing my country before this great Assembly, I wish to put before you the views of the Government of National Reconstruction of the Republic of Bolivia, under the leadership of General Luis García Meza.

225. However, before doing so, I wish to refer to the election of the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, as Presi-

dent of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. The Bolivian delegation knows full well and fully appreciates the personality and the ability of Mr. von Wechmar. We know his dedication and his active and intelligent participation in the search for solutions to the problems affecting the peace of the world.

226. We also wish to express our appreciation to the President of the previous session, Mr. Salim Ahmed Salim. His ability, his fine diplomatic skill, allowed him to carry out effective and fruitful work.

227. We should also like to stress our acknowledgement of the work of the Secretary-General, who has continued his dynamic and efficient mediating efforts. It is undeniable that he has never failed in initiatives or negotiations where his ability and experience could open the road to positive contribution, to the achievement of peaceful solutions.

228. Our Organization has given a warm welcome to Zimbabwe and to Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, two new States which have joined the United Nations, thus stressing again its universality. My delegation is extremely pleased to tender its welcome to the new Members of our Organization.

229. Now, may I pay a very warm tribute to the history of two brother peoples: Bolivia and Peru. This is the second time that Bolivia has been called upon to speak in the General Assembly at a memorable moment in the history of our two countries. Yesterday we commemorated the immolation of Admiral Miguel Grau on the bridge of the warship *Huascar*. The figure of Admiral Grau is loved and respected by the people of Bolivia. His glorious feats performed in an unequal battle on the coasts of Angamos, in defence of part of the Bolivian coastline, are a symbol and a mandate that the people of Bolivia will never forget.

230. My country, land-locked in the centre of South America, with a diverse geography which is a challenge to the creative imagination of man, struggled with a history at once turbulent and heroic. It would appear that our mysterious and changing landscape has been reflected in the past of a small but proud nation, determined to overcome the vicissitudes that fate had in store for it.

231. That turbulent history is not only due to the slow and painful apprenticeship of a young nation: foreign interference was also a fundamental factor in hindering the Bolivians' ability to win from fate a successful, just and free country.

232. Now, quite recently, we have witnessed a profound change in the domestic order. The Government, under the leadership of General Luis García Meza, was born of the resignation of the former President, Lydia Gueiler. An untenable situation, bearing the seeds of total destruction, led the head of the country at that time to hand over public office to the head of the armed forces of the nation. Consequently, it was not a *coup d'état*, it was rather a very difficult transition from the chaos in which the Republic found itself to the order and freedom required by all Bolivians.

233. Events have been deliberately distorted. Discrimination in the treatment of our country has shown us how in the

world today principles of justice and equality can be distorted in accordance with sectarian interests. But this does not frighten us. We are convinced of the justice of our cause. We have acted in accordance with the dictates of a profound and sincere nationalism.

234. My people is a witness to the fact that we are acting with prudence and exceptional tolerance, that three abortive elections revealed in their outcome the characteristics of fraud and cheating, with the encouragement of outside influences that tried to prepare the way for adventurers and demagogues.

235. That was why the people were happy to accept the established authority and voluntarily supported the crusade of national reconstruction. Thus the Government of National Reconstruction has achieved unchallengeable legitimacy.

236. The people of Bolivia have deeply engrained principles of democracy. A state of life based on those ideals cannot be replaced by the mere holding of spurious elections. Democracy is far more than that. It is the mutual respect and converging interests of majorities and minorities. It is the rule of law. It is the people organized to undertake great common enterprises. It is the co-ordinated work of the entire social corpus of the country to achieve an atmosphere of peace, justice and freedom.

237. This is our concept of democracy, with special characteristics that allow a country with different races, customs and languages, and with completely different outlooks to merge them. Bolivians have to make efforts, and they are doing so, to create that democratic model that is just in the political, economic and social spheres, with full solidarity and respecting the interests of all parts and of the whole. Together with that concept is one that is born of the unshakable determination to dignify the human person, to ensure respect for his spirit and future, to assure to each individual his right to freedom, justice, education and the benefits deriving from culture, work and just payment for it—in sum, a task that will allow the individual to enhance himself and widen and improve the atmosphere in which he lives.

238. To protect those fundamental freedoms of mankind, we must act within the confines of the law, so that a few will not overshadow and endanger the future of the others and assume an authoritarian attitude that is alien to the feelings of the nation.

239. Bolivia has been a victim of flagrant interventions. It would appear that minorities are to be favoured, however small they are, when trying to achieve public power, with imperialist attitudes, receiving assistance from great and small, from nearby and distant interests, distorting and misinterpreting the events and thus trying to maintain themselves in power.

240. The Government of Bolivia is firmly determined to practise tolerance and to live in peace with all nations of the world, as the Charter of the United Nations so wisely states in its notable Preamble; but there have been certain acts which turn back the hands of time in an attempt to revive colonialist intentions which seemed to have been left behind for ever.

241. The tasks imposed upon themselves by the armed forces of Bolivia in filling the vacuum created by corruption, fraud, uncertainty and the divisive actions of extremism are obviously to meet the imperative needs of rebuilding the nation. We must set our country back on the road to progress, and this can be achieved only by the re-establishment of individual guarantees, social justice, the rule of fruitful and creative work and, over and above all, the formation of a new civic awareness which will return to the Bolivian his faith in his future.

242. With efforts and sacrifices, we have arrived at the time of reconstruction, and therefore the Government of Bolivia is determined to change structures, and it has started transformations of an institutional nature to ensure to the citizens, to whatever level of society they belong, full participation in the management of public interests. We intend to guarantee a system of life that will safeguard the democratic values of my people.

13. On this matter the President of Bolivia has stated:

“The strengthening of the cultural and historical traditions of the Bolivian people and its constant will to achieve social progress and transformation will be the basis on which we shall build a national democracy with popular participation.

“In the construction of this new institutional reality, the world must know that the armed forces of the nation, together with its people, will never again fall prey to fraudulent elections and the foreign involvement that paralysed our political and institutional life.”

244. The task is gigantic. The road to be followed leads to a certain goal: that of a free, just and sovereign nation with hopes for a better future. Furthermore, the temporary function assumed by the armed forces of Bolivia aims at a true restoration of democracy—not just a formal one—and thus at the participation of the people of Bolivia in an effective and efficient way in the construction of the country's future, with an electoral system and the establishment of parties which guarantee respect for the plurality of ideologies.

245. The failure of the pseudo-democratic experiments has created only institutional instability, domestic frustration and a loss of credibility abroad with regard to our potential and our possibilities as a modern, free and sovereign State.

246. Our resolve is to create a political model in keeping with the characteristics of the Bolivian nation. We also firmly intend to reject any interference, pressure or adventurism. It is a matter of pride for the Bolivians that they should manage their own affairs, and the Government of National Reconstruction is acting accordingly. Imperialist or neo-colonialist positions will not reflect this ardent determination. However small peoples may be, when they pursue vital and just causes they inexorably triumph.

247. Thus, Bolivia is not going to interrupt its march towards a future of happiness. In these times through which the nation is living, despite the organized calumnious attacks on our Government, we are taking a positive forward step towards the reorganization of the nation. The concept of national reconstruction is not merely a promise

or a circumstantial goal. It is an historical imperative to return to the country a collective awareness and pride of direct participation in the life of the nation.

248. Fortunately, many important countries of the world have been able to comprehend the popular massive will of the Bolivian people, our sacrifices and our concern, and our decision in true autonomy to follow the road traced for us by destiny. We pay a tribute to those countries, because they are thus correctly interpreting the most noble principles of international coexistence.

249. I should not have added anything to what I have just said, but the repeated accusations, all false and one-sided, concerning violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which govern coexistence in civilized societies, force me to point to certain situations that have arisen in my country and on this matter to make public the view of my Government.

250. However, before doing so, we must admit, if we do not wish to run the risk of becoming naïve or of blindly and stubbornly believing misinformation, that there are moments of upheaval in the lives of peoples. Transition often makes it impossible to preserve order, and therefore to restore it is imperative to put an end to the violence that is unleashed and the anarchy that is rampant through the exercise of authority.

251. Furthermore, we know that it is very easy, in matters of human rights, to criticize and to demand, even though the critics themselves are obviously guilty of having violated those very rights. But this distorted viewpoint, very often maliciously exploited, cannot provide a smokescreen to allow the shirking of responsibilities in matters of human rights. It is not going to be allowed to do so, for it is the will of the Government to live within the law, so that these actions will serve the purposes of the law, and, in the words of a great Bolivian, this is the only servitude that does not humiliate.

252. We must not live under conditions of subterfuge and misinformation. The armed forces took the responsibility of leading the nation because they were forced to do so by the need to correct the existing pseudo-democracy and anarchy. We could hardly fall into the same pretence, since we know that it leads to nothing positive or substantially permanent in the country.

253. Bolivia is determined to play the true role in international life, which it must by reason of its history and geographical location. That exceptional location makes Bolivia a very important factor within the framework of Latin America, which is now seeking the development of a unified personality. The geo-political situation of Bolivia has given it a multiple interrelationship with five Latin American nations, and thus it has become a meeting ground of interests which move it nearer to all its neighbours and give meaning to the fact that, as was said many years ago, “Bolivia is the land of contacts”.

254. My country stands full square among those nations that wish to consolidate the national State through the creation of a political, economic and social model that will

fulfil its own characteristics and peculiarities without foreign interference and without adopting ideologies that will distort the aspirations and the feelings of the Latin American people.

255. The nationalism practiced by the Government of National Reconstruction in Bolivia is not exclusive to the nascent Latin American nationalism that is manifested in the region's many efforts at integration. The Government of National Reconstruction continues an integrationist policy that is well defined, since we consider that political differences must not hinder, because of current circumstances, any possibility of continental unity. We endeavour to follow an independent international line based solely on the permanent interests of the Republic itself.

256. Furthermore, we reaffirm our absolute adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations, particularly those concerning the legal equality of States, respect for the self-determination of peoples, the obligation not to interfere in the domestic affairs of other States, international co-operation, and determined action to maintain international peace and security by encouraging relations of friendship that are indispensable among nations if we are to achieve civilized and peaceful coexistence.

257. The position of my Government concerning international policies is defined in the recent statement made by the President of Bolivia, General Luis García Meza. The Government of National Reconstruction reiterates its respect for international agreements and maintains relations with all countries of the world in conditions of reciprocal respect for ideological pluralism, self-determination of peoples and the sovereignty of States.

258. Ours is a position of anti-colonialism and non-alignment. It is a position of solidarity with the dependent countries of the world and a rejection of all forms of racial discrimination.

259. The Government of National Reconstruction not only adheres to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, we intend to give real meaning in social terms to its principles which must not simply remain formulas of international pressure. As far as we are concerned, those principles must guarantee to men and peoples the right not to be exploited and the right to build up their capacity to overcome misery and backwardness.

260. While enjoying the best relations with the Powers of the West, and more especially with the countries of our continent, the Government of National Reconstruction of the Armed Forces is extremely interested in strengthening our relations with the socialist countries, whose experience in moving ahead from levels of backwardness similar to ours can be very useful to countries like Bolivia, aside from any political and ideological considerations.

261. The Government of National Reconstruction is deeply interested, too, in the achievement of a new international economic order, and we contend that continental integration is a means of freeing our people and not an instrument for a pseudo-democratic continuation of dependency.

262. We wish to stress the geo-political role of our country in its multiple effects on all the regions, subregions and basins within the political diversity that constitutes an accepted principle of international coexistence. In our attitude in favour of integration, we are interested, obviously, in the Andean region, whose human and natural centre lies in Bolivia and the basins of the Rio Plata and the Amazon, as well as the Pacific area, of which we are historically, naturally and undeniably sovereign participants.

263. Thus we reaffirm an unshakable Bolivian policy, which sums up the fervour of a people and seeks to redress an injustice: the return of my country to the sea.

264. The nations of America agreed with this when, at the ninth session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, they adopted resolution 426, which offers Bolivia continental solidarity and urges negotiations on a sovereign access by my country to the Pacific Ocean. Thus, at this international meeting, I wish to express my gratitude and thanks to our brothers in the inter-American system and to express our hope that those efforts will be continued with greater vigour and thus meet the dictates of international justice.

265. These days bring to our attention another zone that creates tension—the Middle East. The decisive influence of energy-producing resources on the world economy has led to confrontations that are designed to perpetuate dependency and flaunt peaceful coexistence and the combining of interests.

266. Bolivia, whose own natural resources were the object of long exploitation for unilateral benefits, considers that we must guarantee respect for the interests of peoples that have, with their raw materials, created the wealth of the powerful. Thus we will avoid greater hatred and events that could well shake the very foundations of our society.

267. The situation in the Middle East also touches on the need to achieve peaceful coexistence on the well-known basis, which Bolivia supports, of respecting the rights of the Palestinian people and the right of Israel to assure its lasting life as a sovereign nation.

268. From that standpoint, we reiterate our belief that only civilized dialogue can be employed to overcome the difficulties that confront the Middle East.

269. At a moment when the world is watching a most painful armed confrontation that is draining the blood of two peoples, Bolivia reaffirms its vocation as a peaceful nation and demands from the United Nations firm and prompt action to put an end to that ghastly and tragic conflict.

270. Bolivia shares the suffering of those countries which in their regional struggles, incited by hegemonic centres, are paying their painful tribute to universal peace.

271. Famine, ignorance and, in brief, general poverty, cause greater tension than the nuclear threat, the arms race or racial intolerance. Inequality should be the concern of mankind, now disunited by the prosperity of the few, a mankind faced by the yearning of the majority for a better

life. This is both a problem and a challenge that we must take up bravely and with determination, because justice demands that we do so.

272. In our concept of development we give pride of place to the achievement of true economic independence so as to wipe out the relations of dependency that some countries would like to perpetuate.

273. The crisis in which the international community finds itself today has shown incontrovertibly the flaws in the present international economic order. The consequences of such a crisis are particularly unfavourable for the countries of the third world, dangerously aggravating and multiplying the problems of their underdevelopment. In the light of that desperate situation, it is imperative that a series of steps be taken internationally within the framework of the United Nations in order to find a way of restructuring international economic relations.

274. In the General Assembly in 1974 the international community, with historic perspective and vision, solemnly proclaimed its determination to work with the necessary urgency to establish a new international economic order [see resolution 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. Today more than ever the peoples of the third world, the peoples which are suffering, are fully aware of their right to conditions of life in keeping with human dignity. The privileged nations under the present order can no longer deny them that right.

275. Bolivia recognizes and supports as instruments of that new order the International Development Strategy and the global negotiations on international economic co-operation and co-operation among the developing countries.

276. Unfortunately, six years after the proclamation of that new order and despite arduous preparatory efforts, the international community has just seen another failure in international co-operation. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly did not have the desired results: it did not adopt the International Development Strategy, nor did it launch the global negotiations.

277. However, my country still believes it to be the responsibility of this Assembly to overcome those obstacles and increase the possibility of taking a great step towards the establishment of a new concept of international co-operation.

278. The developing countries have decided to make a joint effort to establish a system of co-operation among their peoples to give new content to the spirit of solidarity among the countries of the third world.

279. In the more specific sphere of raw materials it must be noted that, despite the fact that the international community has approved principles of policy and the machinery of operation, some States have persisted in the unilateral practice of placing on the international market non-commercial reserves of minerals, as in the case of lead, which has adverse effects on the economies of the producer countries.

280. Bolivia reaffirms its faith in the San Francisco Charter. The United Nations, overcoming tremendous obstacles,

has persisted unceasingly and unswervingly in its efforts to preserve peace.

281. Bolivia sees peace as the result of solidarity and co-operation, rather than as the mere absence of confrontation. We must not only avoid international conflicts but also guarantee the future of the inhabitants of each continent, each country and each region of the world. We cannot justify our continued effort to eliminate collective violence unless we try also to eradicate misunderstanding, violations of the human person and the denial of freedom. Without freedom there can be no guarantee of justice.

282. I have expressed the views of a nation which is courageously facing its future. That courage can be seen in its decision to build a country enriched by work, respected for the practice of justice, adorned by culture and ennobled by its faith in the solidarity of mankind.

283. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We have just heard the last speaker in the general debate for this afternoon. I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

284. Sir Anthony PARSONS (United Kingdom): I am exercising my delegation's right of reply to certain remarks made about Belize by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala in his statement to the General Assembly on Monday [25th meeting].

285. My Government's views on Belize are well known and have been repeatedly stated in this Assembly. It has always been my Government's view that the people of Belize, like those of so many other former British dependent Territories, should be allowed to exercise their right to self-determination without any threat or hindrance from outside. The Government of the United Kingdom will continue to make every effort to find a negotiated solution to this problem, as we have been enjoined to do by the General Assembly in resolution 34/38. Indeed, there will be a further round of negotiations here in New York next week for precisely this purpose. But the people of Belize cannot be prevented indefinitely from exercising rights which have been consistently upheld by my Government and this Assembly and which are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

286. Mr. BENHIMA (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): Since the beginning of the debate in the General Assembly, the overwhelming majority of representatives who have spoken from the rostrum have dealt with the most urgent questions of the day in international affairs in a measured and responsible manner that should give the Organization real grounds for satisfaction.

287. Unfortunately, certain speakers have indulged in oratory to the detriment of sound argumentation. They falsify facts, distort reality and make accusations against others. My country has been the object of some of these accusations on the subject of the so-called question of Western Sahara. The heads of the delegations of Nicaragua and the Seychelles, in particular, have exercised their talents as verbal mercenaries here: the former, no doubt, in the interest of subversive and destabilizing ideas and the latter in the inter-

est of an idealism suggested to him, if not inspired in him, but which he preaches without conviction. My delegation forgives him for his arrogance because of his youth and inexperience.

288. At the preceding meeting the representative of Uganda sang an ode to the liberty and democracy of his own country, but his lyricism misleads no one. He claims self-determination for a people which does not exist, but imposes silence and repression on the people of Uganda, with the assistance of the tanks from a foreign army which

occupies its capital and dictates its will. On behalf of his Government, the representative of Uganda asks for food aid for the victims of famine in his country, but maintains silence about the diversion of that assistance for the benefit of a handful of corrupt mercantilists. The representative of Uganda would have done better to deal with the problems of his people instead of having the impudence to give lessons to countries which do not need them.

The meeting rose at 6.30 p.m.