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

**Address by Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of
the Republic of Sierra Leone**

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear an address by the President of the Republic of Sierra Leone. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. STEVENS (Sierra Leone): During the middle of this year the heads of State and Government of the continent of Africa conferred a singular honour on my country by graciously accepting our invitation to host the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], at Freetown, from 1 to 4 July 1980. They further conferred upon me the onerous responsibility of chairing their deliberations and being at the helm of the organization's affairs for the current year. It is therefore with diffidence and humility, and conscious of the immense responsibilities and confidence bestowed upon me by my African colleagues and brothers, that I address this Assembly today in my capacity as the current Chairman of the OAU.

3. On behalf of the member States of the OAU and on my own behalf I extend to you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations on your election to the high office of President of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. Africa has over the years maintained very close relations with your country and we are grateful for the various technical assistance programmes to developing countries which today benefit many African States. We in Sierra Leone have vivid evidence of your contribution to our economic development programme.

4. You yourself, Mr. President, have contributed immensely to the high regard of your country in the international

community by your devotion to duty, your intellectual capacity, your integrity and sound judgement as an eminent diplomat and politician. We are confident that with these qualities you will discharge the responsibilities of your office with the honour and dignity many of your predecessors have displayed. This Organization stands in need of such qualities, particularly at this time when the many pressing problems of yester-year cry out for urgent solutions in our day.

5. Africa, which represents a third of the States Members of this Organization, pledges every assistance to facilitate the successful performance of your task.

6. Permit me, Mr. President, to express my thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Salim A. Salim, for the exceptional competence and patience with which he conducted the deliberations of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I extend my Government's appreciation for his immense contribution to the perennial search we make towards peace and security in our world.

7. I must at this juncture crave the indulgence of this body to pay my respects to the memory of one whose contribution to the freedom of man and the peace of our world has been universally recognized and will for long be remembered. I refer to no less a personality than Marshal Josip Broz Tito, President of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. With his death the cause of the dignity of man and the rights of nations has lost a champion. He was a redoubtable advocate for closer international co-operation. His life and actions will continue to be a source of inspiration. May his soul rest in peace.

8. In the same vein I pay tribute to my predecessor, the late President William Tolbert, President of the Republic of Liberia, whose untimely death we all mourn. We also express our deep condolences to the people of Angola for the passing away of our illustrious friend and brother, President Agostinho Neto, whose valuable contribution and selfless devotion to the liberation struggle in southern Africa will always be remembered. All of them in their respective ways contributed to peace and security in our troubled world. Africa and indeed the world were equally distressed at the news of the death of the President of Botswana who was widely recognized as an international statesman. His contribution to the political, social and economic advancement of Botswana will remain in the historical records of that region.

9. For 35 years this fraternity of nations, born of the realization of the futility of war and the need to improve the human condition in an age fraught with tension, social inequalities, bigotry and rabid intolerance, has existed, surmounting the natural obstacles and man-made difficulties in its path. Throughout this period mankind has been engaged

in living at peace with itself, in order to rise above the artificial barriers of race, religion and divergent political ideologies, to reach across the wilderness of self to pursue a common objective.

10. This in itself is an achievement, for it marks the pledge made 35 years ago to free succeeding generations from the scourge of war and to harmonize a world torn by prejudice, mistrust and misunderstanding. These annual gatherings have therefore become yearly rituals to reawaken our consciousness of that thin line separating man from annihilation, and to renew our faith in our pilgrimage to an age of peace and plenty.

11. The progress that has been made so far is considerable and we cannot deny that the prospects for bringing us closer to each other are many, if only we are willing to explore them.

12. Yet if this community of States is to continue to survive not as a fossilized institution of man-made curiosities, but vibrant, viable and relevant to our age, the whole edifice of international relations, hung with the trappings of hypocrisy and cloak-and-dagger intrigue must be torn down and in its place a new structure erected, infused with genuine understanding and forthrightness—a testimony to our honest promise to put aside the instruments of war and carnage and embrace the tools of peace and progress.

13. Whatever progress can be made towards achieving a united world is only possible within the confines of mutual trust and the willingness to view issues honestly and without duplicity. These are basic conditions without which the realization of the objectives of this international community is impossible. It is the lack of these conditions that has plagued our world for decades, rendering meaningless and ineffective the steps that have been taken time and again to improve the human condition.

14. But now there is a growing current of feeling sweeping across our planet that the human race is running out of time, that man is about to make an inevitable rendezvous with catastrophe.

15. These are not alarmist postures. They represent that inner awareness in every individual of the need to change to a new order in the face of the realization that our many political, social and economic ills no longer respond to the trusted conventional therapies of former decades.

16. We must now be galvanized into concrete and sincere action to stem this headlong disintegration of order while there is still time. We must demonstrate that the confidence which our people place in us as determiners of their fate is not misplaced. We must prove, even to ourselves, that we are capable of living up to and discharging our responsibilities. It is for this reason that I believe that a new confidence in international relations must be built up or else we shall make hardly any headway in devising solutions to our many problems.

17. Allow me now to glance at the economic problems facing the continent of Africa. I appear on this rostrum as a representative of the least developed continent, with the

lowest indicator of physical quality of life; a continent that not only has been a victim of colonial and racist exploitation, but continues to be subjected to external forces which seek not only to influence but to dominate the economic policies of our countries.

18. I am representing a continent whose gross domestic product is only 2.7 per cent of that of the world, a continent with 18 of the 25 poorest countries, a continent of poverty and suffering.

19. The overdependence of the economy of the African continent on the export of basic raw materials and minerals has perpetuated the high susceptibility of our economies to external developments, with detrimental effects on the interests of Africa.

20. The bulk of manufacturing in Africa is still centred on import substitution and there are some export-oriented operations almost exclusively related to the primary processing state of minerals, timber and agricultural products. Our industries have been growing more or less according to the trend of the colonial economy which existed at the periphery of the metropolitan economy.

21. It was as a result of that awareness that, for the first time in its history, the OAU held at Lagos, on 28 and 29 April this year, an extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, devoted solely to economic problems in Africa, and adopted what are now known as the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos.¹

22. The Lagos Plan of Action is an attempt by independent African States to cultivate a spirit of self-reliance and to adopt a policy of organizing our own socio-economic progress by raising that Plan to the level of a priority action programme.

23. The Final Act of Lagos recognizes the need to look beyond the artificial boundaries that separate African peoples. It looks at Africa in its entirety within the framework of an African Economic Community. That Community aims at promoting collective, accelerated, self-reliant and self-sustaining development, as well as co-operation among its members.

24. We are fully aware of the important role that will be played by the international community in the implementation of both the Lagos Plan of Action and the Final Act of Lagos. We have consequently mandated the secretariat of the OAU to enlist the active support of the international community as well as of the relevant international organizations. May I make a solemn appeal to all those concerned to give maximum support to the OAU in this enormous task.

25. I should like to comment very briefly on the state of international negotiations. So far, very little hope has been given to those who live in desperation and frustration. Looking at the years 1978 and 1980 alone, we see interminable discussions at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development; the renewal of the Lomé Convention between the European Economic Community

¹ See document A/S-11/14, annexes I and II.

and the African, Caribbean and Pacific States;² the fifth session of UNCTAD and the Third General Conference of UNIDO. We have come out of most of those major world conferences with only some broadly worded declarations.

26. For the past six years mankind has been engaged in drawing up a comprehensive convention under which the resources of the sea could be fairly and equitably distributed as the common heritage of mankind.

27. Africa, as an integral region within the Group of 77, has played an active and important role in those negotiations, to the extent that the Council of Ministers of the OAU, at its thirty-fifth ordinary session, held at Freetown from 18 to 28 June this year, adopted a Declaration on the Law of the Sea [see A/35/463, annex I, CM/ST/17] which succinctly stated Africa's position on the main issues of the Conference. That Declaration in fact affected the negotiations at the resumed ninth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which resulted in the preparation of a third revised informal composite negotiating text of the Conference.³

28. The text, which is to form the basis for further negotiations at the Conference, is on the whole acceptable to African delegations as a compromise text, except that in some areas, particularly the transfer of technology, the text has fallen short of our expectations. Technology that does not include processing, marketing, transportation and the training of personnel is not in the interest of African States. Africa has on a number of occasions emphasized the importance it attaches to this matter. We entertain the hope that this requirement, on which the whole framework of the convention on the law of the sea is based, will be reflected in a subsequent revised text of the convention in a manner consistent with the OAU Declaration on the law of the sea.

29. The decision by certain developed countries to declare unilateral legislation on deep sea-bed mining last spring came as a disappointment to many African States, particularly because negotiations are still going on towards the adoption of a United Nations convention on the law of the sea. Such a decision is evidence of a lack of good faith in the negotiations and in the efforts that are being made to finalize a universally acceptable convention.

30. It is regrettable that, despite all protests against such an act, when it became obvious that there were moves in that direction, some States decided to ignore those protests as if international opinion or condemnation had no direct effect on their decision.

31. We hope that those States have realized the adverse effects of their actions on the negotiations and a future convention on the law of the sea, to the extent that they will endeavour to adhere fully to the United Nations convention when it is finalized and adopted.

32. Conscious of the fact that education and culture constitute the surest means for African peoples to make up for their technical backwardness, African States give high prior-

ity to educational reform and development and the affirmation of our cultural identity.

33. To that end, laudable efforts have been made by the OAU to establish and strengthen co-operation among member States. In order to harmonize educational objectives, programmes and diplomas, technical meetings of experts on different subjects are periodically organized.

34. Conscious that illiteracy constitutes a brake on Africa's economic and social development, African States have made the education of the masses their major concern. With the promotion and utilization of the major widely used national languages in adult education, encouraging results have been recorded in many States in the fight against illiteracy.

35. In the field of culture, the periodic organization of national and pan-African cultural festivals has had a happy effect on the affirmation of our cultural identity. The promotion and revalorization of our cultural heritage are inspired by the African Cultural Charter, supported by an African Cultural Fund.

36. The OAU gives a place of honour to the child, the youth and the woman.

37. After having actively organized events dedicated to the International Year of the Child, the African heads of State and Government, at the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held at Monrovia from 17 to 20 July 1979, adopted an historic Declaration on the Rights and Welfare of the African Child.⁴

38. African Ministers of Social Affairs will meet at Addis Ababa next month to prepare for the International Year for Disabled Persons, in conformity with General Assembly resolution 31/123 and the resolution adopted by the OAU on the issue.⁵ The OAU attaches particular importance to the promotion of women, especially to the efforts made for their integration in the development process. To that end a programme of action for the promotion and integration of women in development was inserted in the Lagos Plan of Action adopted at the second extraordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held at Lagos on 28 and 29 April 1980.⁶

39. The second World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, held from 14 to 30 July this year at Copenhagen, in which the OAU and African women's organizations participated actively, did not fully meet our expectations. The activities during the first half of the Decade for Women were inadequate. The international community should contribute more resources towards the attainment of the objectives laid down for the promotion of women.

40. We are pleased with the declaration by WHO of global eradication of smallpox.⁷

⁴ See document A/34/552, annex II, AHG/ST.4 (XVI).

⁵ *Ibid.*, annex I, CM/Res. 724 (XXXIII).

⁶ See document A/5-11/14, annex I, chap. XII.

⁷ See World Health Organization, *Thirty-third World Health Assembly*, Geneva, 5-23 May 1980, *Verbatim Records of Plenary Meetings, Reports of Committees*, eighth meeting.

² Second ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 31 October 1979 at Lomé. See *The Courier*, ACP-EEC, No. 58, November 1979.

³ Documents A/CONF.62/WP.10/Rev.3 and Corr.1 and 3.

41. The attention of African Governments was drawn at our last meeting at Freetown to the advent of the traffic and consumption of narcotic drugs in the African continent. Africa is aware of the dangers of this new scourge. A series of technical symposia and meetings scheduled on this issue will enable African Governments to take appropriate measures to control drug abuse and its illicit traffic in the continent.

42. Since 1973 a relentless drought seems to have settled almost permanently in the States neighbouring the Sahara and the desert areas of Africa. Furthermore, in those same countries the encroachment of the desert is becoming more and more alarming. The joint effects of drought and desertification affect the agricultural resources of those countries. In spite of the laudable efforts made by those countries to control these disasters, they continue to suffer important food grain deficits leading to serious famine and losses of their livestock. According to FAO estimates, the food assistance requirements of African countries for the next five or six months will reach at least 1.2 million tons of cereals. The Sahelian area needs 140,000 tons of emergency relief and at least 150,000 tons to re-establish its food security. Mali, Senegal, Mauritania, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Djibouti, Somalia and Uganda, among others, are undergoing the most serious food shortages.

43. One bright spot in the continent's long and resolute struggle to rid Africa of the scourge of colonialism, racist arrogance and naked imperialist exploitation has been the heroic achievement of independence by Zimbabwe, after seven long years of courageous struggle. The OAU was proud to welcome Zimbabwe as the fiftieth member of that organization during the second extraordinary economic session, held in April 1980 at Lagos. We all join in the well-deserved congratulations already extended by all delegations to Zimbabwe on its recent admission as the one hundred and fifty-third Member of the United Nations family.

44. This historic victory by the Zimbabwean people is an eloquent lesson that the forces of justice will inevitably triumph over the organized might of oppression, that liberty is a birth-right which can never be extinguished by bigotry and massed weapons, however sophisticated, and that the destiny of Africa will be determined by its indefatigable sons and daughters. In the hour of triumph, however, the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of that indomitable fighter, Comrade Robert Mugabe, have displayed exceptional magnanimity towards their former oppressors, to whom they have extended the hand of co-operation in the task of building the new nation. This is a demonstration that the struggle for freedom and independence is motivated not by lust for revenge but by the unquenchable thirst for liberty, which for centuries has motivated African freedom fighters in their sacrifice of all they have, including their own lives, in resisting waves of oppressors or aggressors. As we celebrate with our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe, let us not forget to pay a deserved tribute to the martyrs who paid for freedom with their own lives. We hope the futility of resisting the struggle of a proud people for its freedom will be fully appreciated by the remaining bastions of racism and oppression in southern Africa and that there will be a discontinuance of the slaughter in our tormented continent.

45. I take this opportunity of congratulating Saint Vincent and the Grenadines on its admission to the United Nations.

46. Alas, the lessons of history continue to fall on deaf ears with respect to independence for Namibia. It is now over five years since the Security Council called on South Africa to terminate its illegal presence in Namibia and leave the people of that Territory free to determine their own future; but, true to the nature of that intractable racist régime, South Africa has cynically disregarded international public opinion. Far from withdrawing from Namibia, the régime has resorted to ruses and manoeuvres designed to entrench itself deeper in a Territory in which its presence has not even a figment of legality. With brazen effrontery, designed to hoodwink international public opinion, South Africa has instead resorted to concocting a puppet clique within the country, to which it is now going through the motions of transferring administrative authority.

47. Africans, and indeed the entire international community, totally reject any attempts to circumvent the fact that true self-determination for Namibia can be achieved only through the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the true and authentic representative of the Namibian people. If the South African régime desires a peaceful solution to the Namibia problem, it must be prepared to accept that it can achieve that only by negotiating with SWAPO and not with such bogey men of its own creation as the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance.

48. We commend the gallant freedom fighters and their leadership in SWAPO, who have intensified their armed struggle in Namibia and who have been dealing telling blows at will at the aggressive racist régime and its puppets. We commend the steadfastness of these fighters and the front-line States for their immense sacrifice in defence of freedom. We call upon the international community to express solidarity with them, not only in mere sentiments but also in concrete material, financial and military assistance to help them cope with this unwarranted aggression.

49. The efforts of the United Nations to achieve a negotiated settlement have led to nothing but frustration, because of the chicanery and delaying tactics adopted by South Africa. It is manifest that South Africa has no intention of implementing the United Nations plan for elections. Notwithstanding this, we hope that the further negotiations which have been called for will be speedily held and will result in success.

50. *Pari passu*, it is but right that I should indicate that, in accordance with the resolution recently adopted at Freetown on Namibia [A/35/463, annex I, CM/Res. 788 (XXXV)] and in the light of the negative and obstructionist attitude of South Africa, African States will not hesitate to call on the Security Council, if necessary, to convene urgently to take effective enforcement measures against the racist South African régime and to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. It is our earnest hope that no permanent member of the Security Council will exercise its veto power to block the imposition of economic sanctions. An exercise of veto power might be interpreted as collusion with the racist régime's dilatory obstructionist policies, designed to perpetuate its illegal occupation, for their mutual economic gains. In such an eventuality a special session of the General Assembly should be convened to decide on effective measures to bring independence to Namibia—including Walvis

Bay, which is an integral part of Namibia. Independence for Namibia has been postponed far too long.

51. In South Africa itself, the racist régime continues to refuse to see the writing on the wall and to enter into meaningful dialogue with the majority of the population on the total eradication of the *apartheid* system and the creation of a truly representative multiracial society. *Apartheid*, as an entrenched system of national oppression, institutionalized racial discrimination and Fascist terror against the black majority of the people, remains the corner-stone of the racist régime's policy.

52. At the same time, the archdeacon of the régime, Premier Botha, has embarked on a cunning but shallow and frantic propaganda offensive designed to hoodwink international public opinion, mollify the guilty consciences of his collaborators in the West and make them believe that he is doing everything possible to create a new and just system for the entire population. In this campaign he has gone as far as stating that South Africa does not have any moral justification for the humiliation and oppression of the *apartheid* system and that South Africa is committed to the achievement of equality for both the Coloureds and the black majority.

53. The people of South Africa have clearly demonstrated that there is no more time for racist discrimination and exploitation. Through the boycott of classes by schoolchildren, strikes for better working conditions by workers' movements and demonstrations by church leaders of all faiths, the people have spoken with one voice and defied bullets and police dogs to demand parity of treatment and of rightful expectations. The liberation movements are continuing to strike blow after blow at the very nerve centres of industry. While the régime is far from finished, it is clearly losing its nerve. Yet it continues to offer mere palliatives instead of entering into serious dialogue on the necessary fundamental changes.

54. At its session at Freetown in July this year the OAU expressed its total commitment to the struggle against *apartheid*. We intend to press strongly for total economic sanctions, including an oil embargo, under the mandatory provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, while taking into due consideration the needs of States in southern Africa, such as Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland, which are almost totally dependent on South Africa for their economic life. We intend to intensify our collaboration with all anti-*apartheid* movements, and to this end the OAU called upon its member States to participate fully in the International Conference on Sanctions against South Africa of the OAU and the United Nations [see A/35/22/Add.3-S/14156/Add.3].

55. With regard to the eradication of the *apartheid* system, African States demand that the international community demonstrate its commitment by concrete action and not by mere empty exhortatory denunciations. The time has now come for the international community to make a clear choice between the interests of the African continent and support for the *apartheid* system.

56. This year our continent has continued to experience many crises which have resulted in untold human suffering

and diverted scarce resources from much needed economic development. One of these crises is the tragic, senseless, fratricidal carnage that has continued to afflict the Republic of Chad, despite the tireless efforts of the OAU to bring the warring factions to their senses. As a result, there are now over 300,000 refugees of Chad—not to mention other countless displaced persons—in the neighbouring States, particularly in the United Republic of Cameroon. While we appreciate the international assistance that has been rendered to help these innocent victims of the conflict, particularly by the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the International Committee of the Red Cross, we should like to appeal to the entire international community to come to the aid of these unfortunate victims of the civil war.

57. In its efforts to contain the civil war while seeking to find a peaceful and durable solution to the conflict, the OAU intends to set up a neutral peace-keeping force for Chad. Unfortunately, up to now no conclusive action either to set up the force or to raise the \$62 million required to finance such a force has been taken. I intend to call on the Secretary-General of the United Nations during my visit here to explore possible and feasible means of assistance from the United Nations system.

58. Another crisis situation in Africa is in Western Sahara, where the incomplete task of decolonization has left a situation fraught with tension and the potential of developing into a major confrontation not only affecting the States in the region but also endangering international peace and security. Having displayed commendable courage and foresight, Mauritania decided to withdraw its forces from the southern part of the Territory it occupied and signed a peace treaty with the POLISARIO⁸ Front, recognizing the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination and independence.

59. Unfortunately, that encouraging step in the right direction did not lead to the restoration of peace, as Morocco promptly proceeded to occupy the part vacated by Mauritania. Armed conflict continues to rage between Morocco and the POLISARIO Front, despite strenuous efforts by the OAU and its *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara to try to bring about a cease-fire and organize a referendum giving the people a chance to exercise its right to self-determination in a free and fair manner.

60. During the seventeenth ordinary session of the Assembly, held at Freetown, the Heads of State and Government of the OAU authorized me to convene the *Ad Hoc* Committee once more with a view to reconciling the parties to the conflict and seeking a peaceful and lasting solution thereto. I convened the fourth session of the *Ad Hoc* Committee at Freetown, from 9 to 12 September 1980, and that Committee's recommendations are being forwarded to the heads of State and Government of the OAU.

61. As if we did not have enough problems in the continent, the tension between Somalia and Ethiopia over the Ogaden continues to increase. This has been seriously complicated by the situation in the Middle East in general and in

⁸ Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

the Gulf in particular and the build-up of the presence of major Powers in the Indian Ocean.

62. To lessen these tensions and to prevent the conflict over the Ogaden from becoming the fuse for igniting a major super-Power confrontation, the Good Offices Committee, established by the OAU in 1973 to try to effect a reconciliation between Ethiopia and Somalia, met at Lagos from 18 to 20 August 1980. At the conclusion of that meeting, at which both Ethiopia and Somalia were represented, the Committee recommended that a peaceful solution to the Ogaden dispute could be arrived at on the basis of the following principles, which are already enshrined in the charter and relevant resolutions of the OAU: recognition of territorial integrity, non-interference in domestic affairs, peaceful settlement of disputes, prohibition of subversion and inviolability of borders inherited on decolonization. It further recommended that the two States should resume diplomatic relations so as to facilitate the restoration of peace in this troubled area. Unfortunately, the efforts of the Good Offices Committee do not seem to have been successful and, if anything, tension appears to have increased of late.

63. Major blame for tension in the Indian Ocean region must be assigned to the big Powers, which have recently stepped up their military activities in the entire area, contrary to the principles and objectives of the Declaration making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. Recent agreements leading to the establishment of military bases and installations in the area cannot but exacerbate an already grave situation. I must draw the Assembly's attention to the resolution on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its thirty-fifth ordinary session, held at Freetown which, *inter alia*:

"*Demands* the removal of bases and other military installations belonging to the big Powers in the Indian Ocean and calls upon them to refrain from establishing new ones" [*A/35/463, annex I, CM/Res. 790 (XXXV)*].

64. We must warn the big Powers to take heed of this resolution, as they will be held responsible if their actions lead to major confrontation in this highly sensitive region.

65. In addition to the liberation struggle in southern Africa, we are faced with the conflicts that have contributed to the tragic and phenomenal increase in the number of refugees and displaced persons on the continent. With a growing refugee population currently estimated at 5 million, Africa has to find food and shelter for more than half the world's total number of refugees. It should not be difficult to imagine what a heavy social and economic burden such a large number of refugees places on the host countries. The misery and human suffering of these refugees, the majority of whom are children, women and elderly persons, are all too well known to the international community through the mass media.

66. We welcome with profound gratitude the assistance provided to these unfortunate refugees and displaced persons by international organizations, particularly the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, UNICEF and the International Committee of the Red Cross. But the OAU is seriously concerned at the scant

interest displayed by the rest of the international community in coming to the aid of these unfortunate human beings in concrete terms, as compared to refugees in other regions, who, while equally deserving, are nowhere near the number of those in Africa.

67. It was for that reason that, in its resolution on refugees, the Council of Ministers of the OAU invited the Secretary-General of the OAU

"in collaboration with the UN Secretary-General and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to hold consultations with governmental and non-governmental organizations as well as governments of countries which are likely to offer contributions and the UN specialized agencies, in order to assess the possibility of holding a pledging conference for African refugees under the auspices of the United Nations". [*Ibid.*, *CM/Res. 814 (XXXV)*].

68. It is my most sincere and ardent hope that those consultations will be positive, so that such a pledging conference will be held, and that all States will adequately face up to their common obligation of burden-sharing to alleviate the misery of those human beings who, through no fault of their own, find themselves in a predicament in which they can no longer control their environment.

69. The situation in the Middle East is of the gravest concern to the OAU. Israel's intransigence has reached new heights as the leaders of that country continue a policy of "might is right". The continued occupation of Gaza, the West Bank and the Golan Heights, the growing oppression of the Palestinian people, the repeated acts of aggression against Lebanon and the creation of more and more settlements in the occupied territories all indicate the contempt with which Israel looks upon the principles of international law and morality. The negotiations between Egypt and Israel have amply demonstrated that Israel really has no intention of making any major concessions to the Palestinians, and the whole situation has been aggravated by the Israeli decision to make Jerusalem the undivided eternal capital of Israel.

70. Taking into consideration all these developments in the Middle East, the OAU is of the view that the Middle East crisis can be resolved only in a sincere spirit of give and take. But as long as one of the parties interminably upsets the mechanisms of settlement by engaging in jolting unilateral actions, it can only bring upon itself almost universal condemnation. The OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations cannot be satisfied by the adoption of resolutions which Israel is always ignoring, while the international community looks on helplessly.

71. As I have indicated in my remarks, Africa shares many of the problems and challenges that currently affect the world, but I should like to revert to a problem that will have a particular impact on the development of many African countries in the coming decade, and I am speaking especially of those countries on the continent that are not blessed with petroleum resources.

72. Economic development and economic independence were expected to follow our successful struggle for political

independence. Our plans and hopes are now in jeopardy because we have not successfully confronted the onerous burden that the energy crisis has placed on the poorer nations of the world. We are hit in three ways: by the increase in the price of petroleum, on which we all depend; by the declining price of raw materials resulting from economic stagnation; and by the curtailment of credits, on which many of our development programmes depend.

73. I speak to the Assembly now not only as the leader of an African country that is greatly affected by this economic imbalance but also as a man who has seen much of life and can therefore speak with the candour and directness that are traditional in our society.

74. The General Assembly has just completed the long awaited eleventh special session, devoted to these economic problems. Much was hoped for, but little was achieved. I now call for a renewed effort to address this issue. I call upon the Western industrial countries and the socialist countries and, yes, the oil producers themselves to face up to the plight of those countries which, even before the energy crisis, had already been subjected to serious economic difficulties.

75. Orderly development and the consequent political stability of the continent require that this issue remain on the world's agenda and be tackled with imagination and speed. We must bear in mind that, in a world of global interdependence, economic and political instability in one area, such as the continent of Africa, is bound to have a disastrous impact on other areas. Indeed, we must now accept and practise the age-old truism that we are, each and every one of us, our brothers' keepers.

76. In conclusion, the United Nations remains the effective forum for reconciling conflicting claims of nation States in our one world of today, and the proper forum for the search for acceptable and lasting solutions to some of the problems I have tried to catalogue in my address here today. In our collective venture for a safer and more prosperous world we must have the vision and the goodwill to sustain our efforts. Permit me, therefore, in this regard to register our appreciation and gratitude to our indefatigable Secretary-General and his team of dedicated staff who over the years have endeavoured to keep alive that vision for a safer and more prosperous world.

77. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly I thank His Excellency Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, for the important statement he has just made. On my own behalf, I should like to thank him for the kind words he addressed to me and to my country.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

78. Mr. GENSCHER (Federal Republic of Germany):⁹ Mr. President, first of all I should like to congratulate you most sincerely on your election to the highest office in the United Nations and to commend you on your impressive inaugural address. Your election is for us a token of recogni-

tion of six years' constructive work as the Permanent Representative of the Federal Republic of Germany to the United Nations. We also feel that it can be seen as a recognition of the active participation of the Federal Republic of Germany in the world Organization. This participation is of great value to our policy, which is directed towards peace.

79. I should like to express our thanks to your predecessor, Ambassador Salim, one of the great representatives of the African continent.

80. I am also very pleased to be able to welcome Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as a new Member State of the world Organization.

81. This first regular session of the General Assembly in the 1980s is dominated by anxious questions about the future of our world. We commemorate the twentieth anniversary of the adoption of resolution 1514 (XV) which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. But the recollection of that Declaration also calls to mind the contrast between then and now. In 1960, 17 newly independent African States became Members of the United Nations. At the same time, the economic development of the third world emerged as a task for the community of nations as a whole. By proclaiming the First United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 1710 (XVI)*], the United Nations launched a great effort to cope with that task as well.

82. At the beginning of the 1960s mankind was resolutely setting out for new horizons, and the rate of progress did indeed increase. The process of decolonization has almost been completed. The number of Members of the United Nations has increased from 100 in 1960 to 154 this year. A number of developing countries became new industrial countries or threshold countries. The *per capita* income of the third world rose at an annual rate of 3 per cent. And though this average rate may conceal the disparities between individual developing countries, it was an unprecedented growth which only few had thought attainable at the beginning of the 1960s.

83. In 1966 the General Assembly adopted the two International Covenants on Human Rights¹⁰ and, by specifically defining those rights, imbued them with a force which, despite all resistance, has begun to leave its impression on the lives of nations all over the globe.

84. And, finally, as the 1960s drew to a close, the climate of cold war between East and West gave way to a newly emerging détente. To many it seemed that the time had already come for the States of the world acting as equal partners to concentrate on the great task of our age: the development of the third world.

85. But now, on the threshold of the 1980s, it has become increasingly clear that the path towards this goal is paved with obstacles: the designs of power politics are threatening détente; there is the threat of a new arms race; unresolved

⁹ Mr. Genschler spoke in German. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

¹⁰ International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (resolution 2200 (XXI), annex).

conflicts weigh heavily on the third world and the quest for power creates new sources of crisis; and in the mid-1970s the world economy experienced its first grave set-back since the war. Oil-price explosions are having devastating effects on the industrialized countries and are plunging many oil-importing third world countries into a development crisis.

86. Is this the end of the endeavours for a world community of equal States initiated in 1945, with the foundation of the United Nations, and reaffirmed so impressively in 1960? Has the third world struggled for its independence, only to lose it in the face of new challenges? Is economic advancement in parts of the third world grinding to a halt? Will poverty be with us for ever?

87. In view of these challenges it remains our historic task to establish a world of equal partners based on the right of nations to self-determination and on respect for the inalienable rights of the individual.

88. The fundamental task is to secure—through an active policy for safeguarding peace—the political conditions for mankind's resumption of steady progress.

89. What is required in the first place is to continue undiminished efforts to reduce tensions and foster co-operation between East and West. This policy, on a basis of equality, is of vital importance not only for peace between East and West but also for peace and peaceful economic development in the world as a whole. A policy for safeguarding peace is inconceivable without a general determination for détente and co-operation. Such determination cannot do away with the fundamental conflict inherent in contrasting values and political systems. But it can help to prevent avoidable conflicts and to keep unavoidable conflicts under control by means of diplomacy. It can also build bridges to span the gulf and promote co-operation for mutual benefit. Seen in this way, détente and co-operation constitute a realistic and long-term policy for peace.

90. My country, firmly embedded in the European Community and the North Atlantic defence alliance, has from the outset been among the chief protagonists of détente in Europe. Acting on the basis of shared convictions of freedom and human dignity, these two communities have long been champions of freedom, stability, security and peace in the world. We firmly abide by the policy of détente and co-operation—aware that we share responsibility for peace and that the Germans who have to live in two separate States would be especially affected by a relapse into the cold war.

91. The basic tenet of our policy continues to be to work for a state of peace in Europe in which the German nation will recover its unity in free self-determination. We know that history is on our side.

92. The Treaty on the Basis of Relations between the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic¹¹ has established the conditions for co-operation which take account of the responsibility of Germans for peace and pave the way for improvements in the humanitarian sphere for all Germans. We are guided by the goals of

this Treaty in our efforts to develop further, wherever possible, our co-operation with the German Democratic Republic.

93. Federal Chancellor Helmut Schmidt and the Chairman of the State Council of the German Democratic Republic, Erich Honecker, have both expressed the view that never again should war originate on German soil.

94. We want to play our part in keeping the situation in and around Berlin stable and peaceful. Berlin is the barometer of détente in Europe.

95. Ten years ago the Treaty between the Federal Republic of Germany and the Soviet Union¹² laid the foundation for the development of fruitful mutual relations. Chancellor Schmidt and I went to Moscow on 30 June and 1 July 1980; that visit was an expression of our will to maintain direct contacts in difficult times and to do everything to keep the way clear for a policy which we regard as long term. We consider the signal given by our visit, after months of stagnation, for the commencement of talks on medium-range weapons to be an incentive to continue our efforts.

96. We shall also maintain our efforts to develop co-operation with the Polish People's Republic and the other Eastern European countries.

97. Furthermore, we attach great importance to the multi-lateral process of détente in Europe. At the Second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, soon to be held at Madrid, we shall discuss the implementation of all parts of the Final Act of Helsinki¹³ in all its parts, in a sincere and realistic manner, but we shall also talk about what remains to be done. We want to achieve even progress in all fields. The Conference should be neither a tribunal nor a forum for empty rhetoric.

98. In the economic field we advocate an East-West conference on energy, and in the field of human relations we urge the solution of humanitarian problems, the fostering of contacts between people in the East and West and a wider exchange of information.

99. Considering the importance which the Madrid Conference holds for the future, we hope that all participating States will, by their policies, make it possible to achieve progress.

100. Disarmament is the great task of the 1980s. We must not be discouraged, despite all the disappointments and set-backs. We know that détente and co-operation between East and West can be lasting only if they are founded on military equilibrium. Seeking a position of superiority only serves to create instability and, hence, insecurity. Disarmament cannot, therefore, mean the preservation of superiority, but rather must mean a stronger commitment to disarm on the part of those in a position of superiority. In the field of armament and disarmament, all States must be judged solely by what they actually do. My country and its allies are striving to achieve equilibrium at the lowest possible level of armaments.

¹² Signed in Moscow on 12 August 1970.

¹³ Signed on 1 August 1975.

¹¹ Concluded at Berlin on 21 December 1972.

101. The defence efforts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] are determined exclusively by its own security requirements. The Federal Republic of Germany is not seeking superiority, nor are the other European members of the Western defence alliance, the United States of America or Canada.

102. We are disturbed by the superiority in conventional weapons of the Warsaw Pact countries in central Europe, and we are particularly concerned about the rapid build-up of the Soviet Union's new SS-20 medium-range nuclear missiles, which are not trained solely on Western Europe. That arms build-up goes beyond the Soviet Union's own security needs. That is a fact which nobody can deny.

103. Since it is our serious intention to achieve equilibrium at the lowest possible level of armaments, the Western defence alliance put before the Warsaw Pact countries, in December 1979, a comprehensive package of arms-control and disarmament proposals.

104. The Western defence alliance also linked its decision to modernize its nuclear systems to the offer of negotiations on limiting the medium-range land-based missiles of the two sides. It is now a question of getting those negotiations under way as quickly as possible.

105. I am glad that the United States Secretary of State and the Soviet Minister for Foreign Affairs will be discussing here in New York tomorrow the commencement of the preparatory talks on this subject. I am also glad that the President of the United States has stated his intention to seek ratification of the SALT II agreement¹⁴ at the earliest possible date.

106. The second review session of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, to be held at Madrid, should decide on the establishment of a European conference on disarmament with the clear mandate to agree on confidence-building measures for the whole of Europe, from the Atlantic Ocean to the Urals. Confidence is indivisible, also, in geographic terms. The achievement of concrete results at the Vienna Talks on Mutual Reduction of Forces, Armaments and Associated Measures in central Europe can also help to stabilize the situation in all of Europe.

107. Verifiable arms limitation and disarmament are among the primary objectives of German foreign policy. We pursue that objective in Europe and we pursue it world-wide.

108. Success in arms-control negotiations is dependent upon openness and sufficient information about military capabilities in the world. For that reason, we should like to see all nations disclose their military expenditures. In that connexion, the United Nations has worked out a matrix designed to make military budgets comparable. The Federal Republic of Germany, other Western States and third world countries have reported on their military expenditures on the basis of that matrix and given an example of its practical application.

¹⁴ 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.

109. It is now necessary to encourage all countries to disclose their military expenditures according to that system.

110. Just as in Europe, so also on a global scale confidence-building measures are necessary. In response to a suggestion for which we were responsible,¹⁵ the General Assembly last year appointed a working group to study the possibility of confidence-building measures in various regions and throughout the world [see resolution 34/87B].

111. One crucial task of our active policy for safeguarding peace is to frustrate all hegemonic aspirations. This must apply world-wide. Hegemonic policies and resultant military intervention destroy the right of nations to self-determination. The East-West confrontation must not be transferred to the third world.

112. In an interdependent world, one of the foundations of which is respect for the right to self-determination, interventionism is not a matter which concerns only those who intervene and their victims; it is a challenge to the entire community of nations. This is also the essence of the principle of the indivisibility of détente.

113. The signatory States to the Helsinki Final Act expressly declared their intention not only to base their relations with one another on the principles embodied in the Final Act, which include the renunciation of force and respect for equality of rights and for the right of nations to self-determination, but also to conduct their relations with other States in the spirit of those principles.

114. Accordingly, the Federal Republic of Germany and France, in their joint declaration of 5 February 1980, described as unacceptable the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan and stated clearly that détente would not be able to withstand another blow of that kind.

115. The non-aligned movement is becoming an increasingly important force in international politics. The more all its members associate themselves with the aim of true non-alignment, the greater will be their contribution to stability in the world.

116. The conflicts in the third world must also be resolved through negotiations.

117. The agenda for this session of the General Assembly includes four major crisis areas: the Middle East, southern Africa, Afghanistan and Cambodia. To these must be added the Iraqi-Iranian conflict, a source of great concern.

118. In the Middle East, new obstacles have been piled up on the road to a comprehensive peace settlement. The positions of the parties concerned have hardened and tension has again built up to a dangerous level.

119. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Thorn, who is currently presiding over the European Community, has explained the position of the nine member States on all aspects of the Middle East conflict [6th meet-

¹⁵ Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting, para. 253.

ing]. Together with our European partners, we shall do everything in our power to bring about a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in the Middle East. The Palestinian people must be enabled to exercise fully its right to self-determination. That right must be implemented, just as much as the right to existence and security of all States in the region, including Israel.

120. We are convinced that the Middle East problem can only be solved if all the parties concerned forgo exclusive territorial demands. There must be no "all or nothing" attitude. On none of the issues should one side confront the other with a fait accompli. That applies to settlements in the occupied territories, and it applies especially to Jerusalem, of whose importance for the three major religions we are particularly aware.

121. A necessary step on the road to comprehensive peace is the renunciation of force or the threat of use of force by all the parties concerned. This is the only way to create in the area the climate of confidence that is indispensable to a settlement.

122. Our intention to give a new impetus to the Euro-Arab dialogue by adding a political dimension to it, and the continuing willingness of the Europeans to participate in international guarantees, indicate our determination to take our share of the responsibility for peace.

123. The Government of the Federal Republic of Germany views with grave concern the armed confrontation which has flared up in the past few days between Iraq and Iran. We appeal to those involved not to add yet another conflict to those already existing in the Middle East, but rather to settle matters at the negotiating table. And we appeal to all States to exercise the greatest restraint so as to prevent the conflict from spreading. The United Nations must shoulder its responsibility for peace.

124. In Africa, the year 1980 has brought crucial progress towards eliminating the remnants of colonialism.

125. The people of Zimbabwe have exercised their right to self-determination through free elections under international supervision, and have obtained their independence. This shows that negotiated solutions to even the most difficult subjects are possible.

126. In Namibia a solution will only be possible, in our view, if based on the United Nations plan for Namibia. Attempts to achieve an internal settlement would have no chance of bringing peace and freedom to the country; Zimbabwe has confirmed that. Security Council resolution 435 (1978) must now be implemented without delay.

127. At the sixth emergency special session of the General Assembly, held from 10 to 14 January this year, the international community condemned by an overwhelming majority the armed intervention in Afghanistan and called for the immediate, unconditional and total withdrawal of the foreign troops [resolution ES-612]. It urged that the people of Afghanistan be enabled to determine their own form of government and choose their economic, political and social systems free from outside intervention, subversion, coercion

or constraint of any kind whatsoever. This resolution must now finally be implemented.

128. We welcome the endeavours of the Islamic and other third world States to find a political solution to the Afghanistan problem.

129. It is also necessary to find a political solution to the crisis in Cambodia. Here, too, the United Nations has categorically called for the immediate withdrawal of all foreign troops [resolution 34/22]. Here, too, it has demanded that the people of Cambodia be enabled to choose their own government by the democratic process—without outside intervention, subversion or coercion.

130. The conflict must not now be carried even beyond Cambodia's borders. The people of my country are shocked by the terrible fate of the Cambodian people. My Government and the private relief organizations in my country will continue to render humanitarian assistance as best they can. I appeal to all responsible: open up all channels necessary to allow assistance to reach the starving people in all parts of Cambodia.

131. We must tackle the problem of the world's refugees at its roots. It constitutes a growing challenge to our conscience, an increasing disregard for basic human rights and a growing threat to good-neighbourly relations between States and to the international order as a whole.

132. Today, all over the world, people are fleeing their home countries and seeking refuge in camps. Their number is estimated at about 15 million. Anyone who has visited a refugee camp is aware of the abject misery suffered by these millions.

133. I refer to the mass exodus from Indo-China, Afghanistan and Ethiopia, which has greatly aggravated the refugee problem. In Somalia 30 per cent of the population are refugees, according to government estimates. The development of that country threatens to collapse under this tremendous burden. In the border region between Thailand and Cambodia, refugee problems have led to an acute danger of war. These examples indicate that the refugee problem has become a threat to peace in many parts of the third world and a threat to the political stability and economic development of the countries receiving the refugees.

134. So far the United Nations has concentrated on the humanitarian task of mitigating the consequences of flight and expulsion. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has rendered an outstanding service in this field.

135. We must increase further the humanitarian assistance for refugees and make it more effective. But we must also face up to the political task of counteracting the causes of their flight and expulsion. We must work together to avert new refugee flows. We must elaborate rules governing the conduct of States. We must prevent racially and ideologically undesired minorities from being forcibly expelled by their Governments or compelled to flee as a result of unbearable living conditions. This, too, is part today of a comprehensive and active policy for safeguarding peace. I therefore suggest that this session of the General Assembly include in

its agenda a new and urgent item entitled "International co-operation to avert new refugee flows".

136. Without development of the third world there can be no lasting and secure peace. Nor is peace in the world possible if the gap between the rich and the poor countries grows larger, if hunger and want in the developing countries spread further. What we need is accelerated economic development in the third world and the recovery of sustained growth in the industrial countries. Co-operation in the development effort is an indispensable part of a world order based on partnership.

137. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly that has just ended and at which I presented my Government's views¹⁶ unfortunately met only some of our expectations. Admittedly, agreement was reached on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [see A/35/464]. It was also agreed that the aid extended to the least developed countries must be stepped up considerably. This consensus is a good starting point for the United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries to be held in 1981.

138. The special session was not, however, able to complete the preparations for the global negotiations. It is precisely in view of the difficult world economic situation that my Government considers such negotiations important and urgently necessary. At the present session, therefore, a consensus must be attained on the procedure and the agenda for the negotiations so that they can start in January 1981 as planned. The Brandt Commission has presented an important document on North-South issues.¹⁷ We advocate a North-South summit meeting, as recommended by the Brandt Commission. Such a meeting can give important impetus to the negotiations in the United Nations.

139. Resolution 34/138 establishing the global negotiations relating to international economic co-operation for development, specified five main subjects: commodities, energy, trade, development, money and finance. In all of these fields we must recognize the common interests of industrialized and developing countries. We shall establish a new international economic order not by destroying the existing one but by developing it further. We must preserve free world trade as the driving force behind growth and development. We must solve the world's energy problems and thus safeguard the basis of economic growth and development. We must ensure a stable world monetary system and safeguard the effectiveness of the competent institutions. We must step up the flow of resources to the third world so as to accelerate development and thereby provide important stimuli for growth in the industrial countries and create new jobs there.

140. Despite its adverse budgetary situation, the Federal Republic of Germany has, between 1977 and 1979—that is, within two years—doubled its official development assistance from 3.2 to 6.1 billion deutsche marks. In absolute terms, my country is, therefore, together with France, the

second largest donor country. Furthermore, its official development assistance amounts to 0.44 per cent of its gross national product and thus exceeds the average of the industrial countries.

141. An indispensable part of the global negotiations is a comprehensive dialogue on energy between oil-importing and oil-exporting countries. The energy issue has now become so crucial and has such far-reaching effects on all other economic sectors that the aim of global negotiations would not be achievable without an energy dialogue.

142. Successful co-operation for development in the new decade will also depend, to a decisive extent, on whether all countries participate to the best of their ability. Support for the development of the third world cannot be seen as the responsibility of the Western industrial countries alone. It is the responsibility of the entire international community, and everyone must shoulder his portion.

143. Here I appeal particularly to the Communist industrial countries. In recent years their assistance has amounted to only about 0.1 per cent of their gross national product. Almost three quarters of that aid went to just two developing countries.

144. The world's total arms expenditure will exceed \$500 billion this year. Military spending is increasing everywhere—in the East and the West and not least in the third world. The success of development depends more and more also on whether it proves possible to halt the global arms race. What the world needs is not an arms race, but a race in the provision of aid for the developing countries.

145. I consider it necessary to set up two registers in the United Nations. The first should record how much every industrial country spends *per capita* on armaments and how much on development assistance. The second register should cover world-wide exports and imports of weapons.

146. We must not look on passively while arms expenditure is growing and while expenditure on development aid is lagging behind or even stagnating. We must not remain idle when weapons are poured into developing countries which need not guns but schools and hospitals, tractors and lathes.

147. A world of partnership and an active peace policy call for world-wide respect for human rights. We know how far we still are from this great goal. We have witnessed, especially in recent years, a number of massive violations of human rights. The United Nations has introduced procedures and institutions with a view to promoting the effective implementation of human rights throughout the world. These procedures are still comparatively weak, although their effectiveness is increasing as evidenced by the work of the Human Rights Commission.

148. It is now necessary to strengthen and develop the instruments of the United Nations for the protection of human rights. These instruments must include a United Nations court of justice for human rights.

149. Nobody can overlook the appalling abuse in the imposition of the death penalty in many parts of the world. In his annual report, Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Eleventh Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 5th meeting.

¹⁷ *North-South: A program for survival: report of the Independent Commission on International Development Issues under the chairmanship of Willy Brandt* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, the MIT Press, 1980).

condemned the summary execution of individuals without regard for due process of law [A/35/L. sect. IX].

150. Article 6 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights limits the death penalty. Today, 14 years after the signing of the Covenant, it is time to seek the abolition of that penalty. My Government will therefore propose a convention to eliminate capital punishment. This convention could be given the form of a second optional protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

151. It is stated in the Constitution of my country that "Capital punishment shall be abolished". This important decision is the result of painful experiences in our recent past. We know that different historical developments, legal traditions and religious beliefs have prompted different attitudes towards the death penalty in other countries. But this should not make anyone less conscious of the frequent abuses in the imposition of capital punishment. Such abuses can only be eliminated by the total abolition of the death penalty.

152. Our world is in a state of transition. It is moving towards a new order, the first truly global order in history to be founded on the concept of equality and partnership. The outlines of this new order are already discernible, even though reactionary trends are blurring the picture. I should like to emphasize two basic principles of the new order: the self-determination of all nations and the regional integration of equal States to form larger communities.

153. Self-determination means the full development of each country's own potential and independent political, economic and cultural development. This aim must be realized today especially in the third world. There would be no genuine and sustained development in Africa, the Arab States, Latin America and Asia if these vast cultural regions merely tried to copy Western or Eastern industrialized countries. Development must build on a country's own culture and, with due respect for inalienable human rights, must use modern science and technology to enhance these cultural values.

154. Anyone who opposes such independent development and seeks to impose alien, prefabricated concepts upon the third world acts against the interests of the developing countries and the world as a whole. The national, religious and cultural identity of nations must remain intact. Mankind needs a variety of cultures to prevent its creative forces from dwindling. To reject a pluralistic world and to force humanity under the yoke of a single ideology would be tantamount to halting progress.

155. Regional integration is becoming increasingly important as a means of creating political and economic areas in all parts of the world which will ward off hegemonic designs by foreign Powers and permit the development of modern economies. The European Community provides a model of a regional grouping of States on a basis of equality, a union in which no one dominates. We consider the emergence of regional communities of States in all parts of the world, including Africa, Asia and Latin America one of the most important international developments.

156. The European Community promotes this development wherever it can. It has already instituted special forms of co-operation with most of these groupings which provide forward-looking models for co-operation between industrialized and developing countries in a spirit of partnership.

157. The increasing regional co-operation in the third world, the large groupings of the non-aligned countries and the Group of 77 are also developments of great consequence for our work in the United Nations. Without these groupings the political opinion-forming process and agreement on solutions in the United Nations would today be almost unthinkable.

158. It is clear that regional and interregional co-operation supplement and facilitate global co-operation, but do not replace it.

159. The universal Organization of the United Nations will be more than ever the centre of a new world order based on equality and partnership. It is our task to strengthen it, to make it more effective and, above all, to make use of it for the good of the whole world and not merely to safeguard individual interests. This is a task which my country will help to accomplish to the best of its ability.

160. Mr. FRANÇOIS-PONCET (France) (*interpretation from French*): In electing you, Sir, to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of our General Assembly, the United Nations wished to pay tribute to the great democracy of the Federal Republic of Germany and to Europe, of which it forms one of the pillars. The United Nations has conferred a distinction on a diplomat whose competence, experience and human qualities are appreciated by one and all. In the name of the friendship which unites our two nations and the trustful co-operation which they have established, allow me to say, Sir, how glad I am to see you presiding over the work of this Assembly.

161. I should also like to express once again my gratitude to our Secretary-General for the distinguished services he has constantly rendered to the United Nations, and for his skill, his authority and his talent.

162. Finally, I am happy to greet the young State of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines as it enters our Organization.

Mr. Muzenda (Zimbabwe), Vice-President, took the Chair.

163. Last year I began my address here¹⁸ by stating that in spite of the upheavals and dangers that had threatened it, the global peace of the world had been preserved for over 30 years. In addition to being a statement of fact, my words were also grounds for hope and an act of faith in the future.

164. Why does this observation today appear almost unseemly? Why has the hope it brought us given way to a mute feeling of uneasiness?

165. The reason is, of course, the events taking place at this very moment on the Iranian border which, quite rightly, are in our minds and deeply concern each and every one of

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings, 9th meeting, paras. 85-162.*

us. But in reality—since the uneasiness reaches further back—it is above all because the world has witnessed a number of serious events over the past year, because disturbing trends have developed and, although world peace has not been broken, the confidence we placed in the soundness of its foundations has been shaken.

166. In fact nothing, unless it be peace itself, is more important than that confidence. It is that confidence that has deteriorated. It is that confidence which must be restored; no task is more urgent.

167. Never, perhaps, have our peoples and our States been more keenly aware of the solidarity of their destinies and the fragility of peace. Similarly, never before has it seemed so necessary to counter the blind workings of fate with clear-sighted analysis, courageous action and effective structures for international co-operation: a clear-sighted analysis in order to assess, without empty complacency, the gravity of the crises besetting us, and also to acknowledge that, directly or indirectly, those crises affect us all; courageous action in order to reject the dangerously simple recourse to force and to seek with determination the only solutions that are valid, namely, those of law and justice; lastly, effective structures for international co-operation in order to ensure that, at all levels of responsibility and organization within the international community, selfish interests and ideological preferences make way for the higher needs of peace.

168. It is to this threefold aim of clear-sightedness, courage and co-operation that I have come here to make France's contribution.

169. It would be both simplistic and incorrect to attribute **the critical world situation to a single factor. The new element** introduced into the situation by the current military confrontation between Iran and Iraq should be sufficient to remind us of this. We know well that whether long-standing or recent, political or economic, there are many causes of tension. We are aware that they are responsible for the proportions and gravity of the critical world situation. We should not, we cannot ignore any of them.

170. The critical situation has taken on a very special significance since the intervention of the Soviet army in Afghanistan. The Afghan crisis is not simply an addition to other crises; it is of a different order of gravity and so are its implications, for three main reasons.

171. Looking beyond the tragic suffering it is inflicting on 15 million Afghans, the crisis calls into question, first and foremost, respect for a fundamental and universal principle, namely, national independence, the right of a people to determine its own destiny. This cannot be concealed, however artfully the situation is presented.

172. The issue is also the fate of a country and a region whose security and stability are essential to world equilibrium and peace.

173. Lastly, the issue involves the conduct of one of the two Powers which alone have the means to start a global conflict and on which special obligations devolve by virtue of this fact.

174. The crisis in Afghanistan also has other implications. One has only to look at its consequences in East-West relations: the course of détente has changed for the worse and momentum has been lost; a shadow has fallen over the **prospects of the Madrid Conference; efforts towards disarmament are at a standstill in some places and have been interrupted in others.**

175. It is pointless to think that the crisis in Afghanistan can be reduced to local or regional proportions. By degrees it has come to affect international relations as a whole. It has repercussions on other crises; it increases their dangers and makes them more difficult to resolve.

176. I am thinking in the first place of the Middle East. The conflict which continues there and which is growing more acute is as old as our Organization itself. How many hopes have been disappointed over the past 30 years, how many paths explored that led nowhere? To limit myself to the last 12 months, how can one fail to note once again, with sadness, that in spite of the efforts made and even in spite of the progress accomplished, thanks to the evacuation of a large part of the Sinai, when it comes to fundamentals the end is far from being in sight.

177. What is more, the unilateral and illegal decisions of the State of Israel, whether in regard to the West Bank or **more recently to Jerusalem, are new impediments to the search for a peaceful settlement.**

178. Lastly, what can one say of the attacks on Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and on the mission and authority of the United Nations Force in that country? The friendship that links France to Lebanon and my country's rôle in UNIFIL make these actions all the more abhorrent to France.

179. Is it conceivable to imagine the situation in that region of the world continuing without presenting the gravest dangers to peace?

180. As regards South-East Asia, last year we deplored the occupation of Cambodia by the Vietnamese army. This occupation continues. The Cambodian people have escaped annihilation only thanks to the massive humanitarian effort by the international community. The conflict of which they have been the unfortunate object has even recently threatened to spill over Cambodia's very borders.

181. Concerning southern Africa, the satisfaction we feel at welcoming the presence of the delegation of an independent Zimbabwe to our Assembly should not blind us to the slow pace of progress in Namibia's decolonization nor to the obstacles still blocking its path. Moreover, it should not cause us to forget that in South Africa the system of *apartheid* maintains millions of human beings in a state that is an offence to human rights and to the dignity of Africa.

182. I shall not dwell on the latest developments in the crisis between Iran and Iraq, except to say that it is vital to avoid interventions that might widen the conflict, to prevent interference in freedom of navigation in the Gulf, which is of **world-wide importance, and lastly to foster the search for a political solution.** That is what France requests. That is what the European Community requests. That is what we expect

of the consultations currently taking place on the initiative of our Secretary-General.

183. Afghanistan, the Middle East, Cambodia, southern Africa, those major areas of crisis are by themselves sufficient to warrant the most serious concern.

184. The picture would, however, be incomplete if I did not mention the formidable problem which forms the backdrop to them all, namely, the problem of hunger and development.

185. The recent debates of the special session of the General Assembly on that subject are fresh in all our minds. They did not enable us to reach complete agreement. That was a serious disappointment. We must not resign ourselves to that setback, however. What is at stake is, indeed, far too important. It commits us all, morally, economically and politically.

186. Hunger, poverty and under-development do more than breed misery. They feed frustration and lead to despair. They are felt to be the worst injustices of all and are a permanent factor of instability.

187. Such, then, is the state of the world. We should not be lulled by the comforting illusion that crises will take care of themselves and problems will be solved of their own accord. But we must not give way to discouragement either.

188. Because there are, indeed, solutions to those problems. I should even venture to say that they are within our grasp. They are based on the principles that form the foundation of our international community. Those principles are embodied in our Charter. They give us the law as our rule, and dialogue and consultation as our methods.

189. Law implies self-determination for peoples, independence and security for States, dignity and equality for mankind. Dialogue and consultation mean the refusal to accept unilateral action and the condemnation of recourse to force.

190. In the light of current events, those time-honoured words, which we mistakenly view as worn out, acquire an immediate practical value. They provide a much-needed compass that can guide us through the turbulent waters the world has entered. That compass will show us that, despite differing circumstances in the four crises that, in the long term, weigh most heavily on international relations—I refer here to Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Middle East and Namibia—the same causes lead to the same effects, the same obstacles stand in the way of the same goals, the same problems call for the same solution.

191. In Afghanistan the goal is the right of the Afghan people freely to determine its own future. What are the obstacles? The first is the intervention of a foreign army; the second is the temptation to turn that country into a stake or a threat. The first obstacle must be removed and the second avoided. The two things must go hand in hand. So the States that are in a position to influence Afghanistan's destiny by virtue of their close proximity or power must agree to eliminate those two obstacles. If they pledge to respect Afghanistan's sovereignty, if they cease trying to bring it into their zone of influence and, more importantly, if they

refrain from introducing military forces into that country or maintaining them there, that will be enough to restore to the people of Afghanistan their freedom and independence, to give equilibrium and calm to the region, and to give security and hope to the world.

192. In South-East Asia the goal is to lead ill-fated Cambodia out of the hopeless impasse in which it has been locked by a conflict that is beyond its control and foreign to it. The Khmer people did not escape the barbaric oppression of a bloodthirsty tyranny in order to submit to the protectorship of someone else. That people is entitled, after all its tribulations, to live in freedom and stand on its own feet. The countries of the region are entitled to have among them a partner that wants to practise peace and friendship with all its neighbours. France has known that people long enough to realize that, left to itself, it would aspire to no more than that. The military occupation still has to end and an agreement has to be reached if Cambodia is to re-emerge free, peaceful and neutral. Providing those two conditions are met, the accumulation of physical and human ruin can be rebuilt and a lasting peace restored throughout South-East Asia.

193. As far as Namibia is concerned, no one can any longer dispute the fact that that country is entitled to accede to international sovereignty, or that the genuine independence it seeks can come only from the free choice of the peoples living there. To create the conditions to make that possible, here again, the obstacles standing in the way must be cleared. In this case, that means neutralizing those forces which, by their presence or their action, could unfairly influence the outcome of the national elections. The example of Zimbabwe shows that stability in southern Africa could only gain thereby.

194. What is true in all those cases is also true of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Complex though the many factors in that situation may be, the basic facts are still analogous. Two rights are in conflict in the territories now under military occupation—which occupation neither confers legitimacy nor provides a basis for peace: they are the State of Israel's right to security and the Palestinian people's right to self-determination. Neither can be affirmed by negating the other. Passionate and violent confrontation must be replaced by rational and fair reconciliation. It will then become clear that those rights, far from being incompatible, can become complementary, providing that the guarantee of one and the exercise of the other are equally ensured in the framework of an over-all settlement based on withdrawal from the territories occupied since 1967 and the universal recognition of Israel's boundaries. The way must be paved for the indispensable negotiations in which all the interested parties, and therefore the Palestine Liberation Organization [P.L.O.], must necessarily participate.

195. In every case, in view of the dangers raised by crises, there can be only one response: the rule of law, and not the rule of force, is the key to peace.

196. That applies just as clearly to the threat weighing on the future of the world in the shape of under-development, which is persisting and, in some cases, is growing worse.

197. The eleventh special session of the General Assembly, which was held in this same hall a few weeks ago, made no

mistake about that subject. True, the session did not come to an agreement; but let us at least give it credit for having emphasized the importance of the subject and for having pointed the way for us to proceed on the crucial subjects.

198. While there was no formal adoption of a text, the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade won a consensus. Aims were defined, main lines mapped out, and pledges made. There is no need for these to be modified. France, for its part, will uphold them firmly.

199. Next, resolution S-11/4 which was adopted by the Assembly with regard to the least developed countries expressed a deep-rooted, widespread conviction. The new international economic order must operate to the benefit of all, but primarily to that of the poorest and the most impoverished. This priority and the concrete measures it implies can no longer be forgotten. They will serve to guide France's actions.

200. There remains a last obstacle before global negotiations can be opened and the balanced text proposed by the Chairman of the negotiating group provides us with the means to overcome it. My country, which within the framework of the European Community has consistently directed its efforts towards compromise, believes this text should be acceptable to all. It invites this General Assembly not to disband without arriving at the agreement that is indispensable on this point if global negotiations are to begin by 1981. Indeed, my country could not understand how procedural differences could prevent or delay what must constitute a major step in the construction of a new international economic order.

201. The critical period we have entered calls for a longer-term effort to strengthen the structures of international co-operation at all levels: first, the world level, then the level of East-West relations and, lastly, the level of regional co-operation.

202. The world level is pre-eminently the level on which, within the framework of our Organization, universal law is both defined and affirmed. All States are equally called upon to play a part in shaping that law. No State can escape its duties.

203. That is why it is so important for the membership of our Organization to be enlarged by the entry of new States and why its activities benefit from their participation. In particular, that is why my country is glad to see China playing a more and more active role in the work of our Organization after having been for too long unjustly kept outside.

204. The law we want to see become the norm must henceforth be a universal one.

205. This law must be universal with regard to human rights, which it defines and protects and whose progress it untiringly ensures. That is undoubtedly why the **World Conference on the status of women,¹⁹ held at Copenhagen,**

¹⁹ World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace, held at Copenhagen from 14 to 20 July 1980.

has evoked such a wide response in all quarters. That is also why so many countries, among them France, have taken and are continuing to take a stand—in spite of the friendship they continue to bear towards the Iranian people—against the violation of law constituted by the holding of American diplomats as hostages in Teheran. By liberating them, Iran will once again assume its place within the international community.

206. This law is universal, also, with regard to defining a new international economic order and with regard to the question of disarmament. It applies even beyond the context of the global negotiations which, as I have already said, France firmly expects to see started in 1981, and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is a good and important example of this universality. On this subject, I should like to welcome and express the great hopes aroused by the progress that has recently been achieved in this area and that augurs well for a favourable conclusion in the near future. By the same token, France, which has pleaded more strongly than any other country for disarmament to become the concern of us all, is extremely pleased with the new impetus given to the work of the Committee on Disarmament at Geneva, from 5 February to 29 April and from 12 June to 9 August this year, and with the birth of the United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, which is now assured.

207. Finally, the law is universal in the political area. False realism cannot make us accept as irreversible situations which have been created by force alone. When law is violated, silence acts as an accomplice. One cannot support the self-determination of peoples in one area and show indifference to it in another.

208. Law, like peace, is indivisible. It would be a mistake to think it is powerless when it expresses itself through the unanimous voice of the international community. In this respect, the role of our Organization is one that cannot be replaced. Its effectiveness is in direct proportion to the support we give it.

209. However important it may be to strengthen the structures of international order on a world level, we cannot forget that the relationship between East and West remains, in many respects, one of the key elements of that order.

210. At this level the main factors hinge on two States, which are called super-Powers precisely because they alone have the power to thrust the world headlong into general conflagration. These factors hinge first on their conduct and next on their relations with each other.

211. As far as their conduct is concerned, my country is the friend and ally of one of them. Looking beyond ideological differences, it has with the other relations of co-operation which it values and hopes to be able to maintain and develop. In the past my country did not conceal its feelings about United States policy in Viet Nam. Today it is compelled to say that the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan is unacceptable; that no security considerations can justify such action and that it is essential, in the interests of everyone—and that includes the Soviet Union itself—to find a political solution to the crisis that is consistent with

the legitimate aspirations of the Afghan people and the requirements of international peace.

212. Next, as far as the relations between the two super-Powers are concerned, it is in the first place up to those that possess the most formidable arsenals and are constantly striving to increase and perfect them to put an end to the arms race. Last year, the conclusion of the SALT II agreement offered some hope in this direction. Although this undoubtedly was not genuine disarmament, it at least constituted a beginning, and I said at the time that France recognized the importance of the step that had just been taken. Even though I understand the extent to which the international climate puts a strain on that agreement, I should like to repeat here that my country hopes to see it take effect as soon as possible.

213. In addition to the world dimension and the East-West dimension of international relations, there is increasingly nowadays a regional dimension.

214. There are, of course, large continental organizations such as the Organization of American States and the Organization of African Unity, and they are constantly reaffirming their vitality and usefulness.

215. But there are also other new associations which are **demonstrating their solidarity and taking common initiatives** and actions on a more limited scale. The phenomenon is too widespread not to reflect a profound need. We may rest assured that these groupings, associations and communities will be the pillars of peace and the relay stations on the road to the development of the world of tomorrow. Many examples show that they have already begun to do just this and that the hope is already in the process of becoming a reality.

216. We all remember that the so-called front-line States made an essential contribution to the decolonization of Rhodesia at its most delicate stage. We all remember the initiatives taken by the Islamic Conference and the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN]. I also have in mind the efforts made by a number of West African countries to help recreate the conditions needed for national reconciliation and civil peace in Chad. I should also like to pay a tribute to the appeal made recently by the President of the Republic of Djibouti for a truce and a negotiated settlement in the Horn of Africa.

217. Lastly, in mentioning the role of the European Community, I should like to recall that France was one of its founding members. The nine member countries are not satisfied merely to cast a brotherly look towards those new associations. They have established direct contacts with several of them, with ASEAN in particular and the Andean Pact.²⁰ The nine Community members are preparing to take new initiatives. As a European community, they have long devoted the main part of their efforts to contributing to development. They will continue to do so. But their action is increasingly directed also towards détente and peace. They are less able than ever before to retreat into indifference or a wait-and-see attitude in the face of the increased dangers. They are no longer satisfied simply to make their voice

heard. They have decided to make their presence felt. The mission that Mr. Thorn, current President of the nine members of the European Community, recently undertook to the Middle East on their behalf both implies and announces that decision.

218. Periods of crisis are not the time to stay on the side-lines or abdicate responsibility; they are, on the contrary, a time for responsibility and initiative. The State on whose behalf I speak is the first to be aware of this. France is committed to the free determination of peoples, both for itself and for others; it has shown this many times over the past 20 years. It respects the free choice of the peoples for which it has responsibility. It did so only recently by terminating, on the date arranged, the condominium it had administered with Great Britain in the New Hebrides. It would not allow this free choice to be dictated by others either. France would not allow predetermination to take the place of self-determination.

219. France has experienced the oppression and the trials of war, it understands the suffering caused by violence, intolerance and poverty, and it opens its borders wide to refugees of all origins who seek asylum on its soil.

220. France is party to no conflict and has claims against no one. But it knows the price of security and it is determined to pay it. Having formed many faithful friendships on five continents over the course of a long history, France is open to co-operation with everyone. But it will never compromise on its independence.

221. Do not be surprised if France speaks in grave tones today. Conflicts are multiplying and becoming entrenched; international dialogue, when it is not actually interrupted, does not even manage to get started; and whether the subject is détente, disarmament or peace, it looks as if the world does not dare either to deny these principles or to advance them further.

222. **In concluding today on a note of warning and an appeal**, France is remaining true to its tradition and its calling. France, like every other State, has national interests to protect, but it recognizes no higher interests than those of peace, justice and progress for mankind.

223. Mr. VRHOVEC (Yugoslavia): I wish to congratulate Ambassador von Wechmar on his election to the presidency of the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. I am confident that, with his vast experience and skill, he will guide our deliberations to a successful conclusion.

224. We highly appreciate the important contribution of his predecessor, Ambassador Salim Ahmed Salim, in guiding the work of several sessions of the Assembly.

225. The dedicated efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to strengthen the role of our Organization in preserving peace and promoting co-operation in the world deserve our full recognition.

226. At the last special session we welcomed with particular joy the admission of the Republic of Zimbabwe to our community of nations. Today we rejoice equally on the

²⁰ Signatory countries to the Cartagena Agreement for Subregional Integration, done at Bogotá on 26 May 1969.

occasion of the admission of Saint Vincent and the Grenadines to membership of our Organization.

227. This has been a year of grief for the peoples of Yugoslavia. Implacable death took away our President Tito. At that moment of trial, we found great consolation in the fact that the world sincerely shared our sorrow.

228. We wish to convey our profound gratitude to this Organization and to the representatives of Member States for their expressions of sympathy, the words of encouragement extended to us and the respect paid to President Tito and his life-work. That showed that Tito, his ideas and his achievements do not belong to Yugoslavia alone but to all mankind. This is a source of pride and adds to our obligation to follow his path.

229. We are gathered here to examine the situation in the world and to see what should be done to improve it.

230. The problems and challenges are so pressing that we need more than ever before a high degree of political realism and shared responsibility if we wish to survive on our turbulent planet. We have to face the fact that the vast majority of mankind refuses to reconcile itself to the existing situation, which is more and more intolerable.

231. We are entering an era in which people and nations insist on the right to take an active part in shaping world development. Numerous contradictions have piled up in our world: the question of war or peace in various parts of the globe; poverty and hunger; privileges and exploitation; problems of development and the dangerous arms race; and various forms of domination. But there is also resistance to such a state of affairs.

232. Today we can communicate only in the language of equality and independence. Solutions that do not take into account the interests of all are not acceptable any longer. That is the only basis on which the new international relations can be built.

233. The policy of non-alignment is a quintessential expression of the aspirations of peoples to full independence, freedom, and a life worthy of human beings. Almost two thirds of the membership of this Assembly have found in the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment the broadest common denominator in their striving to build a new international order.

234. Non-alignment offers a vision and a concept of the world in which we shall live tomorrow. Today few would deny the great contribution that non-alignment has made to mankind. In this respect may I recall the words of President Tito at the Sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries.²¹ During the past two decades, President Tito emphasized, we have reaffirmed the original principles and objectives of non-alignment as permanent values; we have resolutely fought for peace, security and freedom in the world; we have made a substantial contribution to the successful outcome of the anti-colonial revolution; we have opposed the policy of force and foreign interference in all their forms; we have

codified the principles of active and peaceful coexistence, and resolutely advocated their implementation; we have initiated long-term actions for the establishment of the New International Economic Order; and we have contributed to the goal of the universality of the United Nations and to the strengthening of its role.

235. The policy of non-alignment has asserted itself as a vital and independent factor of stability and positive changes in the world. We note with satisfaction that it is gaining ever wider acceptance, in the name of political realism.

236. Experience has long taught us that the existence of a balance based on fear and the absence of global conflict between the great Powers is not likely to secure lasting peace. On the contrary, it often gives rise to further rivalries, obstructs the emancipation of peoples and prevents them from freely choosing their own way of life. All this engenders local wars and conflicts in various parts of the globe in which thousands of lives are lost daily, immeasurable suffering is inflicted on people, and tremendous material damage is done.

237. The past year has shown that the only possible solutions to existing crises, and the only realistic answers to the major issues, are those based on the aspirations of nations to live and work in freedom, aspirations which are firmly rooted in the Charter of the United Nations.

238. The victory of the people of Zimbabwe, attained after a long and arduous liberation struggle, confirms that there is no power that can thwart the determination of a people to achieve its freedom and become the master of its own destiny. This victory is one of the greatest contributions that the peoples of southern Africa have made to the liquidation of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*.

239. The colonialist and racist policy of South Africa is untenable and unacceptable from the political, social and humanitarian standpoint. It is inconceivable that a certain number of States continue to co-operate with the racist régime in Pretoria while the latter flouts the decisions of the United Nations, launches aggressive attacks against neighbouring countries and perpetrates brutal acts of violence against the oppressed people of Namibia.

240. It should be recalled that the United Nations—and that means every Member State—is directly responsible for the liberation of Namibia. From that stems our obligation to adopt at the present session decisions calling upon the Security Council to ensure the full implementation of its resolution 435 (1978), and to apply all possible measures at our disposal, including the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, thus supporting the just struggle of the people of Namibia headed by SWAPO.

241. At this critical juncture we must demonstrate our readiness to bring to an end the era of colonialism, one of the most shameful pages in human history.

242. Let us turn to another global crisis. In the Middle East, by its permanent aggression and usurpation of the rights of Arab peoples, by the annexation of Jerusalem, as well as by constant attacks on the independence of Lebanon,

²¹ Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

Israel persistently violates the principles of the Charter and the decisions of the United Nations.

243. No one with a sense of political realism can any longer deny that the Palestinian question is at the core of the Middle East crisis and that the PLO is the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. Without its equal participation there can be no just, lasting and comprehensive solution of the crisis. It is our duty to secure for the Palestinian people its basic rights to self-determination and to the establishment of a State of its own, as well as its right to make sovereign decisions about its destiny. This calls, in the first place, for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

244. In recent times the world has witnessed a growing tendency towards the use of force in international relations. Sovereignty, territorial integrity and the right to free national and social development have constantly been jeopardized.

245. We consider that the only way out of this situation would be a return to consistent implementation of the norms of international life, from which force, pressure and interference must be resolutely excluded. Our approach to all the crises in the world is guided by those ideas.

246. One such crisis has been developing in South-East Asia. There is a serious threat of its escalation into a conflict of wider proportions. We wish to reiterate that, in our opinion, a way out of this danger would be through an urgent search for a political solution. That of course implies the withdrawal of foreign troops and the creation of conditions that will enable the people of Kampuchea to decide on its socio-political system and to re-establish the independent and non-aligned status of its country.

247. We also view with anxiety the developments in the region of South-West Asia, the Gulf and the Indian Ocean. They warn us that rivalries aimed at extending spheres of influence threaten to turn that region into an arena of constant instability and new global conflict.

248. We wish all disputes to be solved by peaceful means, and in this regard we are ready to exert maximum efforts within the framework of the United Nations. We believe that in the case of the Afghanistan crisis, which is fraught with great danger, a political solution will be sought too. That means that a solution should include the withdrawal of foreign troops, ensuring normal relations and strengthening the independence and security of all the countries in the region.

249. With regard to the Korean question, we welcome the position of the Government of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea calling for the solution of that question by peaceful means, without foreign interference, and the readiness of that Government to resume the dialogue on unification is a constructive contribution which is in keeping with the legitimate aspirations and the right of the Korean people to be united.

250. With respect to the crisis in Western Sahara, we wish to emphasize that that is, to our mind, a colonial question which can be solved justly only on the basis of the Declara-

tion on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the relevant United Nations resolutions. This implies the realization of the right of the people of Western Sahara to self-determination. Therefore, we welcome the efforts exerted within the OAU aimed at finding a peaceful solution to this problem.

251. In our view, prolonging the Cyprus crisis perpetuates a constant hotbed of conflict and instability in the eastern Mediterranean. The resumption of intercommunal talks is, we believe, the right way to reach a solution acceptable to both parties. The framework for this was laid down in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and in numerous documents adopted at conferences of the non-aligned countries which show that a lasting and just solution can be based only on the withdrawal of foreign troops and the preservation of the independence, territorial integrity, sovereignty and non-aligned status of Cyprus.

252. Bearing in mind the dangers arising from a continuous multiplication of global crises, we attach particular attention to the initiative of the non-aligned countries in elaborating a declaration on the inadmissibility of intervention and interference in the internal affairs of States.²² We believe that its adoption by the General Assembly would contribute to more responsible behaviour by States in their mutual relations and would reduce the danger of intervention.

253. Let us bear this responsibility together and act in a spirit of constructive co-operation and mutual confidence. Ideological differences or differences in our socio-political systems should not, we are deeply convinced, be an obstacle to the consistent application of active and peaceful co-existence as the basic characteristic of international relations and the common responsibility for the future of the world in which we live. In this regard we wish to stress the responsibility of all countries, including the non-aligned, strictly to observe the principles of international behaviour enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

254. At this point I should like to express our deep regret and serious concern over the armed conflict between Iraq and Iran. We sincerely hope that those two countries, which belong to the non-aligned movement, will find a peaceful solution to the conflict on the basis of the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the policy of non-alignment.

255. I should particularly like to emphasize our conviction that the policy of non-alignment is a universal concept whose spirit and basic values can also be successfully applied to intra-European relations and co-operation.

256. The maintenance of a bloc approach to the decisions of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki in 1975, would amount to a lasting endorsement of the division of Europe, with grave consequences for the whole world. Therefore, we feel that the time has come when the bloc concept of détente, which to a certain extent is prevalent in Europe, must increasingly evolve into genuine all-European détente. We feel that the neutral and non-

²² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 46, document A/34/827, para. 9.*

aligned countries of Europe can play a significant role in the strengthening of this process. We hope that the review session at Madrid of the Helsinki Conference will successfully overcome all obstacles.

257. Europe cannot keep peace for itself alone and close its eyes to what is happening in the rest of the world. It cannot ensure its own economic progress without contributing to the solution of the economic problems of the world. It cannot successfully control armaments on its own soil, if it does not contribute to the process of general and complete disarmament. There can be no lasting relaxation of tensions in Europe in the absence of solutions to crises on other continents.

258. I should like to lay particular stress on the fact that the arms race serves to strengthen various forms of monopoly and domination. There is no need to point out that such practices constantly threaten the vital interests of the independence, security and development of the developing and non-aligned countries.

259. Preparations for two important conferences in the next few years are before the General Assembly of the United Nations: first, the new special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament, scheduled for 1982; and, secondly, the international conference to be held by 1983, under the auspices of the United Nations, aimed at finding a political solution to the question of unhindered realization of the nuclear energy programmes of all countries for peaceful uses of nuclear energy. Yugoslavia is of the opinion that all States should actively contribute to the success of those conferences.

260. International economic relations are going through a deep crisis and the developing countries are its first victims. The existing system of old privileges is a source of a number of major disruptions in the world economy and of inequality in political relations which cause chronic instability in the world. We also believe that new realities make it imperative for international economic relations to be organized on the basis of equality, interdependence and mutual interests.

261. Precisely for that reason we attach exceptional importance to the recently concluded eleventh special session of the General Assembly devoted to problems of economic development. Regrettably, the special session did not adopt a decision on the launching of global negotiations owing to the absence of political will on the part of some of the most developed countries. However, we have avoided complete failure and thus have preserved hope for tomorrow.

262. In saying that, we bear in mind the fact that the consensus reached on the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade is a significant admission of the interdependence of the world and opens avenues for international co-operation.

263. We also consider the adoption of resolutions on assistance to the least developed countries [*resolution S-11/3 and S-11/4*] to be a positive result of the special session. That constitutes a step forward by the international community in dealing with this important question. We hope that this regular session will successfully complete the unfinished

work of the eleventh special session and thereby give expression to new needs and realities.

264. The over-all work of the special session, both by what it has done and by what it has not done, has dramatically shown the close interconnexion of the political and economic dimensions of international relations. No one can dispute that any longer; unfortunately, not all behave in a way that confirms their acceptance of that fact. The historic merit of the non-aligned countries is that they have generated awareness of this linkage. Our next step should be directed towards overcoming the major paradox of our time: the simultaneous existence of interdependence and the division of the world economy. Only the New International Economic Order can bridge that chasm.

265. We see in its establishment a way for the developing countries to embark on the road of accelerated economic development, which is a prerequisite for the emancipation of peoples and developing countries from subordination. This is also a pre-condition for general stability in the world.

266. We attach great importance to human rights, which we consider a serious international issue to which our Organization should devote due attention. It seems to us that the treatment of this problem in the United Nations so far has reflected, despite certain shortcomings and digressions, a dynamic process of enrichment of the content of human rights and of the ways of protecting them.

267. This positive evolution is primarily reflected in an ever-increasing awareness that, in solving this complex question, one must proceed from the fact that people and nations cannot be free socially and politically unless they are free economically and nationally.

268. Proceeding from these principles, we attach particular importance to the realization of the rights of all nations and national minorities and ethnic, religious and other groups. In our view, the position of national minorities is not only an important internal issue for a country; it is also of vital importance for strengthening co-operation, good-neighbourly relations and peace and security in various parts of the world.

269. We believe that the adoption of the draft declaration on the rights of persons belonging to national, ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities, which is before the Commission on Human Rights,²³ would make a significant contribution to the promotion and protection of the rights of national minorities, as an important aspect of the realization of human rights in general.

270. This year marks the thirty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. Throughout this period, the United Nations has been an active participant in the positive transformation of international relations, a scene of great effort and an arena of struggle for a better and more just world.

271. We cannot, however, turn a blind eye to the fact that the United Nations has been restricted in solving crucial problems.

²³ See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, 1980, Supplement No. 3, chap. XXVI, sect. A, resolution 37 (XXXVI)*.

272. We wish the United Nations to be a forum for an enlightened exchange of ideas and for effective negotiations on the most important international issues. This makes it incumbent upon the United Nations to reflect aspirations for the democratization of international relations.

273. Let us not betray the hopes that we have aroused by our work so far. If we want a new world in which peace, security and prosperity for all will be a constant and stable

condition, we must realize that this world will not come about by itself.

274. Yugoslavia will continue to contribute to the realization of these noble aims. In this it will be constantly guided, as it has always been, by the principles and objectives of the policy of non-alignment.

The meeting rose at 1.35 p.m.