



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>):	
Speech by Mr. Daniel T. Arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya	179
Speech by Mr. Tull (Barbados)	185
Speech by Mr. Czyrek (Poland)	189

President: Mr. Ismat T. KITTANI (Iraq).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): This morning we will hear an address by Mr. Daniel T. Arap Moi, President of the Republic of Kenya. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome him to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. ARAP MOI (Kenya): At the eighteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, which was held at Nairobi in June, my colleagues bestowed upon me the great honour and high responsibility of the chairmanship of the Assembly of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] for the next 12 months. In that capacity, it became my privilege to address in Paris the recent United Nations Conference on the Least Developed Countries. Just before that Conference, I also had the privilege of formally inaugurating the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, which was held at Nairobi in August. Today, on the heels of such important commitments and endeavours, I have the truly great honour of submitting, on behalf of Africa, a statement to the General Assembly—the highest representative body responsible for the management of all matters affecting the international community.

3. Mr. President, on behalf of the independent nations of Africa, which comprise one third of the whole membership of the United Nations, I bring and convey to you, to the representatives attending this session of the Assembly and to the Secretary-General warm greetings and good wishes for your deliberations.

4. Allow me, while doing so, to observe as well that the OAU has been unwavering in its support for and loyal adherence to the ideals of the United Nations and its practical efforts to progress towards them. Our continental institution is inspired by the same high principles in the conduct of human affairs and shares with the United Nations the conviction that the noblest causes of development and human destiny must be founded upon the basis of peace.

5. Mr. President, before I proceed any further I would like to congratulate you on behalf of Africa and on behalf of my country, Kenya, on your election to the high position of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly. The work of the current session of the Assembly covers matters of great importance. In addition, many of those matters are of extreme urgency. The international community is therefore most fortunate in having a man of such experience, talent and commitment to the promotion of truly international solutions to global matters presiding over the current session of the Assembly. I assure you, Sir, of the fullest support of the African nations. May I also add that I look forward to working with you as I carry out my responsibilities as Chairman of the OAU Assembly this year.

6. On this occasion I should like to pay a tribute to the work of the outgoing President of the General Assembly, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar. Mr. von Wechmar carried out his responsibilities with great skill, competence and understanding. I know I am speaking for all nations when I thank Mr. von Wechmar for having worked so hard and conscientiously to promote international co-operation and understanding.

7. I should like on this occasion to pay a tribute to the tremendous commitment to the general welfare and future of mankind of the Secretary-General. Mr. Waldheim continues to display an amazing amount of energy and dedication in his job. I know that we in Africa have always found him sympathetic, knowledgeable and quick to listen and take action. We also appreciate the fact that he frequently visits various parts of the world to see at first hand the problems and opportunities facing the regions individually and the international community in general. Mr. Waldheim is now one man who knows all the leaders in all parts of the world, and he has used that knowledge and his well-known diplomatic skills to great advantage in his service to the international community.

8. Turning now to this session of the General Assembly, let me observe that these annual gatherings should never be regarded as routine features or performances of global administration. There must always be fresh vigour on such a great occasion to introduce new ideas, to enhance the effectiveness of programmes earlier established and to bring within reach some potential which hitherto had proved elusive. At this particular session the Assembly will discuss many matters of great importance, some of which I shall refer to later in my speech. I know that under your guidance, Mr. President, concrete progress on many of those matters will be made.

9. I shall begin the main portion of my statement with a review of the tense situation and the circumstances now prevailing in southern Africa. The situation in that unhappy part of the world constitutes a critical test for the whole conception of an organized and stable international

community operating on the basis of democratic principles. It is a critical test because achievement of that objective, which must forever remain the over-all objective, is jeopardized whenever democracy and human rights are threatened, ignored or deliberately undermined in any part of the world.

10. We are not dealing, in this context, with a vexatious administrative detail, but with principles which bear vitally upon human prospects on this overcrowded planet. To shape the evolving destiny of mankind demands as one of the fundamentals the removal of any constraints—whether physical, social or psychological—placed upon the free association and contribution of all members of the human race. There is a corresponding need for the enlightened exercise by all Governments of their responsibility to interpret rather than to distort the feelings of and potential for affinity which are latent throughout human populations.

11. Since the adoption by the General Assembly of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, in its resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, a tremendous contribution has been recorded by the United Nations in work designed to secure the political independence of territories once held in colonial or racist bondage. This global Organization, unique in its nature and experience, has grown to maturity upon the rock of human dignity in freedom. It is recognized as well, reaching back to the first essential purpose of the United Nations, that global peace must be imperiled by any forfeiture of human rights.

12. In dealing with a succession of problems in this whole regard, Africa has been relying to a certain extent on the tangible and world-wide support of the United Nations. It is, of course, perfectly rational that such confidence should be placed in the United Nations, if only because the Organization was designed to represent, to assist and to inspire the concerted striving of mankind for freedom and well-being. We are all glad that in the majority of cases the United Nations, operating within its own Charter, has effectively discharged its responsibilities.

13. Unfortunately, in a few cases the objectives and the efforts of this international body have been frustrated by some nations. One of these cases is Namibia. I am sure that in respect to Namibia representatives will not need the prompting of any catalogue of historical facts. It will be readily recalled that over a period of years many resolutions have been adopted, conferences have been convened, structures have been created, all in the cause of pursuing the mandated task of ushering that Territory by peaceful means towards the elementary right to self-determination.

14. Yet today, despite all the decisions and the patient efforts, Namibia is still not independent. It is not hard to discern within the historical records basic reasons for this failure, but analysis of the past seems to me of far less importance than reappraisal of the future. In my submission the General Assembly must consider most earnestly and urgently whether this is a circumstance requiring the enforcement, at whatever cost, of international law and paramount principles, or whether the United Nations can safely continue to accommodate the burden of weakness and the stigma of futility. This is of course a rhetorical question. The General Assembly has no alternative but to

undertake whatever steps are necessary to bring independence to Namibia on the basis of Security Council resolution 435 (1978).

15. In the broadest context of the tense situation now prevailing in southern Africa, the main obstacle to progress has been the militancy encouraged and nurtured from outside the Republic of South Africa itself. In confronting all these threats and outrages that have so far been manifested, the sincerity of the United Nations has never been brought into question, but its efforts and objectives have constantly been undermined by hypocrisy and subterfuge which continue to prevent any tangible progress in the establishment of human rights for all in that part of the world. And so, during this session of the General Assembly, we must all clarify our minds with regard to our purpose and the hindrances before us as far as the situation in southern Africa is concerned.

16. The system of *apartheid* has been rightly condemned by all those, including the vast majority in South Africa, who want peace for themselves and others and who recognize that human rights for all and in every part of the globe are an essential element in securing that peace. However, after decades of condemnation and protest, we are still faced in South Africa by the evil and inhuman system of *apartheid*, which embraces the total denial of political rights and of human outlet of expression. At times, on occasions of this nature, dictionaries have been consulted to find words which might convey something stronger than mere abhorrence. But the Assembly is not a theatre, and so, rather than elaborate, I prefer to reduce this issue to its basic simplicities.

17. Across the whole spectrum of impact and meaning, *apartheid* torments the conscience of all civilized men. It violates those universal principles of human dignity and conduct which the United Nations has been authorized to codify and to harness. And there is no doubt that it affronts the very foundation of international law. On these three grounds alone, and there are many more, the only conclusion to be reached is that *apartheid* must be destroyed. In any case, there should never be any compromise with evil—and *apartheid* is, in every aspect, evil.

18. The word "destroyed" can often seem to have some particular implication. Permit me, therefore, to make it clear at this point that nobody is anxious for Africa's clear duty in this matter, or, indeed, for global obligations in this matter, to be approached and discharged by violent means. We do not advocate violence. Our quarrel is with the system of *apartheid*, not with the people who live in South Africa. Further, we are of the view that the system should be changed peacefully. But when all such methods have failed, and logic has failed, what alternative is left? The significance of that question is that in some cases, as history shows, violence may have to be undertaken as a last resort.

19. I should like to assure you that in this whole context, the OAU has examined all possible alternatives. In fact, resolutions passed during the thirty-seventh ordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held at Nairobi in June 1981, have been circulated to all States Members of the United Nations [see A/36/534, annex I] for endorsement or adoption if deemed appropriate by the General Assembly. These cover a diversity of tactics and topics. For example, there was condemnation by the OAU

of acts of blatant aggression by South Africa against the neighbouring African States. Apart from representing an outrage in terms of the Charter of the United Nations, the consequences of such acts have ranged widely into fields of economic and social disruption. It is my own view that all members of the United Nations family should now regard and declare themselves as "front-line States" in confrontation with South Africa, making it known that aggression against one will henceforth be resisted by all.

20. Already, some of the countries around South Africa have reported to the General Assembly and the Security Council acts of aggression against them by South African forces. To give a recent example, there has been an invasion and occupation of Angola by South African military forces. This clearly constitutes a most dangerous threat to international peace and security. The OAU demands the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African forces from Angola. We are confident that the Assembly has no alternative but to support that demand, for not to do so would betray the very principles for which the United Nations stands.

21. Then, as another instance, we have reaffirmed what the OAU previously had insisted—that one of the effective weapons for dealing with the situation in South Africa is the complete isolation of that country. The effectiveness of that weapon is blunted every time commercial ties and sporting links with that country are established, maintained or strengthened. And this is why we regret so deeply the concessions recently made by certain States which have accepted the continuation of sporting links with South Africa. We in Africa have an increasingly impressive record of contribution and achievement under many headings of sport and athletics. Indeed, we find no enjoyment or relish whatsoever if sport anywhere in the world is disrupted. But we cannot stand idly by without protest or countermeasures while some countries encourage South Africa through sporting links to continue with its defiance of world opinion and accepted standards of human behaviour.

22. Even more damaging, albeit less widely publicized, is the economic support by some nations of the South African régime. In this regard, I must call attention to the resolution adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU [*ibid.*, resolution CM/Res. 865 (XXXVII)] on sanctions against South Africa, including a global ban on the supply of oil to that country.

23. We are all well aware that in the past a majority resolve—indeed, an overwhelming resolve—to take such punitive economic action against South Africa was blocked, finally and technically, by veto in the Security Council. Here again I would submit that the General Assembly must urgently concern itself with those procedures and motivations which permit the system of veto to continue to be deployed as a protective shield around any State which poses a threat to world peace. Let there be no doubt that the South Africa situation constitutes, directly and indirectly, a serious threat to world peace and stability.

24. Much of this whole question of South Africa concerns the exercise of responsibility to the paramount interests of mankind by those Member States commonly referred to as the big Powers, and here I refer to the United States of America and to the Soviet Union. Africa will

forever be grateful if they leave us to develop and help us economically, rather than take us simply because we are weak and unable to defend ourselves in terms of weaponry.

25. All of us in this Assembly Hall are members of the human race, whether we be white, black or what have you. God created us all. And those whom we represent would like to have peace, and only peace can enable them to prosper. We understand the language. For me, should anyone act to undermine human dignity, even if he be a friend, I shall tell him straight: you have made a mistake. This planet is too small for us to quarrel. We should work for the common good. Those who have had the advantage of advancing in their technology should help those of us who have not. One day we may be able to advance. We may offer our own contribution in the humblest way, but not in terms of what the super-Powers can offer.

26. While the United States and the Soviet Union meet peacefully in a room to discuss global matters, people outside, especially in Africa, quarrel, fight and shoot each other, while others flee as refugees in their own countries instead of enjoying stability. I hope that people will see reason and be able to discuss human problems as they are, and I appeal to the two super-Powers to help the world maintain peace. We may not have powerful weapons, but at least as far as God is concerned we are all equal. All of us here, and those to come, will have to depart, but we should leave the world better than we found it. All the super-Powers have solemnly affirmed their loyal adherence to the principles and obligations of the Charter. One would then expect that the demands of integrity would cause them to subordinate narrow self-interest so that the objectives set for all humanity could be achieved.

27. I frequently find it impossible to comprehend where the big Powers stand on this matter of South Africa. There have been promises to "exert pressure" as a means of securing some solution, but all such assurances have proved to be empty of meaning. The big Powers have in fact positively declined to exert, or even to support, the kind of influence which, emanating from such sources, could not fail to have an instant impact. They have said to us that we should never think or plan in terms of military force or in terms of economic sanctions or even in terms of psychological pressure. Instead, they still exhort us after all this time to fall back upon the comfortable and unproductive cushions which suit them so well of moderation, tolerance and patience. I can only urge, with due respect for sensitivities within this body, that this hypocritical approach be brought to an immediate end. Further, it is abundantly clear that unless that is done relations between nations will rapidly grow sour, with immense dangers to all, at a time when all those who want peace and stability should be working even more closely together.

28. I repeat that Africa believes that there is a moral duty devolving upon all peoples and all nations to defend and sustain above all else the fundamentals of human dignity and human rights, for these are the prerequisites for any worth-while evolution and destiny of mankind. Those who deny that such a duty exists should at least have the courage to make their viewpoint plain, so that we would know where sanity is enshrined and where evil is befriended. We in Africa are determined to destroy by what-

ever means the last vestiges of segregation and discrimination within our continent. This is the basic aim of the United Nations, and unless it is upheld steadfastly and without modification the United Nations will become a mockery of the faith, hope and treasure invested in it by mankind.

29. I should now like to refer briefly to a few other issues which reflect upon political events in Africa. In some of these instances there is a welcome glimpse of progress and promise. Then in respect of all of them, I would make the point that negotiations and ultimate settlement should be left to the leaders and people of Africa. I say this because in the past many problems have been made more complex or more intractable by external intervention. This has often been part of the ideological power game, but even well-meaning interference has often proved clumsy in its impact.

30. To begin with, I would mention a recent disagreement between the Federal Republic of Nigeria and the United Republic of Cameroon which might very possibly have escalated into a serious collision between these two neighbouring States of Africa. Today, happily, the danger has passed, and I am left only with the pleasant duty of commending the two Presidents concerned for their adroit handling of the situation and for agreeing that the border dispute between their two countries should be solved in a brotherly atmosphere.

31. The second issue concerns the difficulties in Western Sahara, which have been persisting for some time, but I am glad now to inform the General Assembly that during the most recent session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU the way was finally cleared for the holding of a referendum by means of which the people of that Territory will determine their own future. An Implementation Committee was established by the OAU for the task [*ibid.*, *annex II, resolution AHG/Res.103 (XVIII)*], and I am again glad to report that it held a very successful meeting at Nairobi towards the end of August. This Committee will work alongside the United Nations in ensuring that referendum procedures are so designed and supervised as to encompass, without challenge, the popular will.

32. Then there is the case of Chad. Here also a number of concrete steps have been taken to re-establish peace and good order [*ibid.*, *resolution AHG/Res.102 (XVIII)/Rev.1*]. Within this framework, the OAU has declared its support for the Transitional National Union Government while at the same time reaffirming unqualified opposition to any aggressive intrigue from outside. It also recognized the urgent need to assist the Government and people of Chad in their programmes of economic reconstruction.

33. The Horn of Africa is a region in which genuine economic co-operation could hold out immense promise for human development. It is most regrettable therefore that, over some period of time now, this potential has been frustrated by the unceasing encroachment of cold war politics and ideological divisions. More recently, however, there have been some heartening signs of new awareness about the common interests and opportunities which should constructively link the various nations and people in the Horn of Africa.

34. Against that background, I am saddened that dispute and conflict still persist between Ethiopia and Somalia. The report of the Good Offices Committee which had been established by the OAU¹ was received and endorsed at the Nairobi summit meeting [*ibid.*, *annex II, decision*], and all of us are now fervently hoping for an era of peace. This would not be hard to introduce and to sustain if both sides would formally recognize and apply the fundamental OAU principle in regard to the sovereignty of independent States, respect for boundaries as existing at the time of independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States.

35. Finally, regarding specific issues relating to Africa, I should include mention of the refugee problem in the continent. This problem was examined sympathetically during the International Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa held at Geneva last April. There are now about 5 million refugees in Africa, driven away from their homelands by fear which has its roots in turmoil or oppression. But mere figures cannot adequately portray all the misery for innocent families and the colossal squandering of human resources.

36. This whole crisis—it can hardly be described as anything less—is the primary responsibility of African Governments and peoples themselves. Thus, working in conjunction with United Nations agencies and with non-governmental organizations, including the African churches, we have embarked upon many programmes for immediate aid and relief in the fields of food, clothing, shelter and medical care, while beginning as well to introduce education and training projects.

37. In all this compassionate work, we require and would appreciate additional assistance from the international community. In giving such support, the international community and individual donors should be assured that the OAU and its member countries recognize the urgent need to deal decisively and comprehensively with the ultimate challenge—that of eradicating from the continent the diverse causes of the refugee problem.

38. I should also like to record some disappointment, which must be shared by all representatives, in respect of issues which have for too long remained unresolved despite all the anxious efforts and dispassionate recommendations of this global body. I would submit yet again that the General Assembly might usefully examine the reasons, in certain particular cases, for the ineffectiveness of decisions taken and resolutions passed. It must be regarded as disturbing and a most serious matter whenever Member States fail to honour their obligations under the Charter. Difficulties are then compounded whenever Member States ignore or contravene provisions and principles of international law. Such considerations, however, are merely two components of the total dilemma—which remains that of how to introduce and implement consensus in a more positive way while somehow keeping intact the vital concept of the sovereignty of nations.

39. In the Middle East, for example, it is clear that all States, including Israel, have the right to enjoy recognized and secure boundaries, within which they are entitled to defend and sustain their lawful interests and freely to conduct their internal affairs. But equally, the Palestinian people are entitled to speak for themselves and to pursue their just aspirations within a recognized national home-

land. There can never be peace and stability in that area without a national homeland for Palestinian people. If there could only be mutual respect for the basic simplicity of these ideas, then, surely, it would not be beyond the reach of human genius to find some rapid accommodation, under which years of physical attrition and galvanic emotion could give way to a whole new era of creative human enterprise.

40. As I mentioned before, we all belong to the human race. We in Kenya stand on three principles: peace, love and unity. There can never be peace if people have no love for the human race. There can never be unity unless there is love for the human race. There can never be understanding and confidence created unless people have love for one another. We may pass 101 resolutions in the Assembly and not achieve anything if there is no love for one another. I hope that all of us will have respect for humanity if we are truly members of the human race.

41. Another example, also of primary concern to Africa, is the question of preserving the entire Indian Ocean area as a zone of peace. This has in fact been stipulated by the General Assembly [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] for the noble purpose of strengthening the foundations of human development over a large and productive segment of the third world. But it seems, in the event, that a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean is already, or potentially, being eroded by military adventuring and ideological rivalry among the big Powers. And I wonder, we in the OAU wonder, just what attitudes or measures might be formulated within the General Assembly in response to challenges of this kind wherein a yearning for peace as the fulcrum of progress by so many nations and peoples is threatened by a few nations.

42. I wish now to turn to some matters bearing upon economic and social development within Africa, and at the outset I should thank most genuinely those nations which have lent support to development projects in Africa for motives which have added a whole new dimension to the concepts and the potentials of a growing global human fraternity. In other instances, of course, seemingly attractive aid programmes have been dangled before Africa, but with a great deal of small print in all the qualifying clauses. There should really be widespread recognition nowadays that the hapless and vulnerable period when colonialism could be practised has passed into history. Yet still there have been some persistent attempts to chain Africa as the periphery of the so-called donors and benefactors.

43. The African nations are aware of this danger of neo-colonialism, and as a form of reaction to that wearisome impulse the OAU, as it acquires more sophisticated executive machinery and economic infrastructures, is now determined that Africa itself must play a new and principal part in the planning of development on a continental scale. In this connection, and following studies and negotiations throughout the 1970s, at an extraordinary session held at Lagos in April 1980, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government adopted the Lagos Plan of Action,² which in turn was incorporated by the General Assembly into the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 35/56, annex*].

44. I should like to say a little more about our fundamental thinking in regard to the economic evolution of Africa. Years ago, when many of the OAU member States were struggling to assert themselves and to establish themselves after the triumph of political independence, there was an assumption in many economic circles that in Africa underdevelopment was inevitable and could be overcome only through stronger bilateral economic links with the former metropolitan Powers, primarily through financial aid, technical assistance and foreign investment. We do not believe that underdevelopment is inevitable. Moreover, we know that new strategies of development, based upon collective self-reliance and the immense overall resources of Africa, are needed. This means, among other things, that many of the old systems and patterns will have to be changed. For example, as we move further into this newly dawning era there can no longer be an almost total reliance by Africa upon the export of raw materials, coupled with an almost total dependence on external sources for capital goods and manufactured products.

45. To bring about a number of such fundamental changes, we are rapidly engineering far-reaching measures of economic and technical co-operation among ourselves. This strategy of collective self-reliance will result in more effective deployment of resources, the expansion of existing enterprises, the better use of managerial skills and the full harnessing of human and material ingredients for rapid and diversified development in general.

46. I am not suggesting that Africa does not need financial and technical support from outside or that Africa is going to isolate itself from the rest of the world. But it is clear that past strategies, with their great dependence on foreign aid and export of primary commodities, have failed to produce real development in Africa. For example, the aid given is often more than offset by lower export prices and higher prices for Africa's imports.

47. In addition, the dangers of neo-colonialism are visible. It is basically for these reasons that the most effective way in which the international community could help Africa in its development of collective self-reliance would be to agree on the early establishment of a more favourable and just international environment in terms of peace and stability and in terms of economic justice. This is essentially what the new international economic order is all about. And that new order would be in the best interests of all, the developed and the developing, the rich and the poor, the small and the big.

48. It is within that kind of international environment that efforts in such things as financial aid and technical assistance take on real meaning. It is also within that kind of framework that they will be what aid efforts should be, namely, international programmes for international development for all. I am sometimes asked to identify a few of the priority areas within which such international programmes for genuine co-operative development might make the most profound impact. In response to this, especially in the short term, there is no difficulty in singling out the precarious food situation.

49. The African States recognize the food crisis facing them and the fact that their own survival and political independence are at stake. They also recognize the need for comprehensive solutions to the problems and the vital

requirement of collective self-reliance as the foundation of such solutions. The international community can help Africa to overcome this serious crisis by supporting the measures and policies designed by Africa itself. Indeed, considering the huge and untapped natural resources of Africa, including climate, for diversified agricultural development, the aim should be to assist Africa to become a substantial exporter of food to the rest of the world. Africa now exports coffee, tea, cocoa and a range of horticultural items. There is no reason why the continent should not also become a vast source of meat and grain for the rest of the world. Programmes designed to promote this objective would clearly benefit both industrial and developing countries. They would truly be international programmes for international development.

50. The other area is manufacturing. In terms of industrialization, Africa is the least developed of all regions. Although some of the OAU member States have an industrial sector that is far from negligible in size and diversity, over the African scene as a whole there is boundless scope and need for expansion. Here again, therefore, is an important and worthwhile field of human effort within which there could be rapid and effective response to international investment. I should like to be able to discern, in practice, firm global support for an industrial development decade throughout Africa, with its provisions and locations and end-products all sensibly mapped out. The OAU would be greatly heartened if real progress along such lines could be made prior to the Fourth General Conference of UNIDO, to be held at Nairobi in 1983. Here again, such a programme would have clear international benefits.

51. As a third and final answer to the question posed, I would identify as another urgent necessity the development of transport services and facilities and the improvement of all kinds of communications throughout Africa. This is yet another field in which global and bilateral initiatives would be most welcome. It is easy enough to head towards Africa or consign goods to Africa from anywhere in the world, but within the large continent of Africa the lack of well-maintained internal routes and modern communications has served as a constant frustration. This situation must be swept aside so that trade within Africa can be made to flourish, so that areas which are at present untapped may be developed and so that what I have described as collective self-reliance can have at its command the nuts and bolts, the working parts, that will enable it to function. I therefore take this opportunity to call upon the international community to support the programmes already designed within the strategy of the transport and communications decade in Africa.

52. What may loosely be termed the global or international economy is really structured upon a series of long-standing assumptions and arrangements, which so frequently serve either to overlook or to distort the facts of life. I should now like to discuss this situation briefly.

53. Thinking back 20 years or more, all of us can remember the so-called wind of change which, within a concentrated period of history, made a tremendous impact upon the political shape of human values and relationships. Wrapped up in so much transformation, we find the origin of expressions like "developing countries" and "third world", which today have become part of our commonplace vocabulary. During the 1950s and 1960s

the revolution in political approaches and ideas was in some cases freely manifested and in other cases hastened or enforced by struggle. But, one way or another, everything occurred and then fairly rapidly moved into a phase of easy acceptance or even welcome. Despite many obvious frailties and uncertainties, the global prospect then appeared encouraging and hopeful. The world was moving forward, with new teams of players and what appeared to be the promise of a new set of rules. The only thing lacking—tragically lacking—was the vision to appreciate that without an equally dramatic change in economic relationships the new game must become chaotic because the field of play itself would be progressively destroyed.

54. There has been no sharing, no spread, no move towards regional balance. As the economic system has evolved since 1960, the majority of developing countries has continued to be regarded as sources of cheap raw materials and as markets for manufactured products. That has not only perpetuated—indeed, worsened—problems that were clearly inherent at the time of independence, but has also made the developing countries increasingly vulnerable to the economic trends and pressures which have come to have serious effects upon advanced and industrialized nations.

55. As years went by, the analysis of global realities became more accurate, more sophisticated and always more ominous. On the strength of such analysis efforts to secure redress became more urgent and persistent. There was much basic wisdom in the designs underlying the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which was launched by the General Assembly in 1970 [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. It was hoped that under that broad heading world economic relations could be sensibly restructured, but the outcome, in practice, was negligible. Then came debates and negotiations for a new international economic order, to which I referred earlier. But endeavours to reach and to activate that hard-headed and practical ideal, efforts made by the entire international community and by many specialized assemblies, have resulted so far in failure. Consequently every bright human prospect continues to be thwarted, at this very hour, by disorder and disparity.

56. There is sometimes said to be a lack of political will among the advanced and industrial nations to support the development of the poor countries. What seems to me even more extraordinary is an evident lack of perception: the blinkers that are worn against the gleam of simple common sense. No one can really believe that the systems, attitudes and provisions combined in some new international economic order could represent some plot hatched by the weak to undermine the strong. A new order would so obviously be for the benefit of all.

57. We occupy a planet on which all nations and human communities are now completely interdependent. And the whole existing system, apart from being clearly inequitable, is also extremely inefficient in practical terms. How can there be benefit, either for the advanced or for the developing countries, when there is such a high rate of inflation and such vast idle capacity of plants and manpower in the North? How can there be benefit for the advanced and developed countries when there are such huge untapped and idle natural and human resources in the South? How can benefit be drawn from wasteful use

of resources? How can there be benefit when the industrial nations lean towards greater protectionism for themselves while at the same time insisting, often through multilateral organizations like IMF, on greater liberalization of trade on the part of the disadvantaged? How can there be benefit when, through the lack of global economic sense and through the lack of any purposeful co-ordination, major human problems are never realistically observed? How can any country or community benefit when the consequences of existing economic patterns make a mockery of all our hopes and prayers for peace?

58. The meeting last month in Mexico of the foreign ministers of 22 States will be followed by a summit meeting next month at Cancún, which is projected as a dialogue between the advanced and the less developed countries. The task of that meeting, as it has been described, will be to reach some understanding on key negotiating issues, which may then be debated and translated into effective processes by the General Assembly. Never will the work of this world forum have enshrined a more critical responsibility.

59. I should like to conclude this part of my statement on a rather whimsical note relating to the coming dialogue. For decades there has been constant affirmation of the fact—which is perfectly true—that the South could never advance and prosper, as we would all like it to do, without the North. But when all considerations and criteria are taken into account, there is another side to this coin as well: the North could not even survive without the South.

60. I am told that there are animals called lemmings, which periodically gather in some great concourse and hurtle towards mass destruction by casting themselves from cliffs into the sea. There are moments when I wonder whether the human race is any more intelligent or can hope for any more exalted outcome. As I have said, we occupy a small and, in many ways, fragile planet, with a narrow biosphere made functional by rather delicate balances and cycles which alone can support human life. And on this planet we proceed to behave, metaphorically speaking, just like the lemmings. Oxygen is vital to us, yet we constantly deplete the phenomena and systems which govern water-flow, while silting or polluting lakes and rivers. Soil is vital to us, yet each year huge quantities of topsoil, which cannot be replaced in the foreseeable future, are lost through practices giving rise to its erosion. Plant cover is vital to us, yet we destroy it and create spreading deserts. All the processes of natural growth and decay are vital to us, yet we inhibit them through the liberal use of toxic chemicals. Wildlife is essential to us, inasmuch as without ecological diversity there can be no full enjoyment of life, yet we set out to destroy or thrust aside all other living creatures.

61. Mankind has gone on blindly decimating and disrupting the natural environment, thereby compounding an overriding human peril which is often obscured beneath the more popular obsession with economic failures and shortcomings. If we are not to be like lemmings, there will have to be a further revolution in the scope of human intellect and in the sense of values commanded and exerted by the human mind.

62. Leadership today must not be narrow-minded. Domestic success or contentment must henceforth be mean-

ingless unless they lie within the matrix of universal advancement and contentment. The absolute interdependence of all human communities, once deemed to be impractical or even undesirable, is now a reality which can never be set aside. And so perspective is transformed, and the world as a whole, through its local leadership in power and through investing the United Nations with more authority and vitality, must move away from little squares and corners onto the sweep of the whole vast human canvas.

63. There have been some signs—heartening signs—that leaders of the international community have recognized sporadic warning lights of crisis, of such a nature and scale as to demand countermeasures having the effective impetus of world administration. This fact broadly underlies the recent examination, organized by the United Nations, of environmental questions, food prospects, employment, water resources, the problem of desertification, human settlements and renewable sources of energy. But these approaches have been cautious. Judgements have not been unanimous. Co-ordination has been lacking. Implementation has been most disappointing. And we are running out of time.

64. All world spokesmen henceforth must be moulded in common awareness that leadership is not only an immense responsibility, but also a new kind of responsibility—not to an electorate or a party machine or an ideological purpose, but to the service of mankind. For on this planet, already brought close to catastrophe by the undisciplined pillage of resources and the futilities of economic injustice, only from this concept of dedication to mankind might there be snatched, before it is too late, some lustre with which human destiny could finally become adorned.

65. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank the President of the Republic of Kenya and the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity for the important statement he has just made.

66. Mr. TULL (Barbados): The delegation of Barbados wishes to add its congratulations to those which have already been expressed on your election, Mr. President, to preside over the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

67. The decade of the 1980s is probably the most dangerous, certainly the most critical, since the Second World War. The world economy is in crisis. Inflation in all countries, rich and poor, has got out of control. The recession in the developed market economies has generated a concomitant downturn in the economy of the developing countries. There was a sharp slowdown of world economic growth in 1980. The year 1981 has so far not provided much hope for economic comfort, and politically the prevailing atmosphere and forecasts for the future are equally dismal. The level of violence across the globe is awakening the consciousness of world leaders to the need to look for solutions to the social, economic and political problems confronting us. Under your guidance, Mr. President, we hope to resolve some of the problems which paralyse the world community and to arrest some of the numerous disturbing trends in the international situation.

68. My delegation wishes to place on record its appreciation of the efforts of the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar. He dedicated himself effectively to the variety of issues that confronted the Organization and that also threatened the maintenance of international peace and security.

69. As we bid farewell to a President from the North and say welcome to you, Sir, a President from the South, my delegation continues to observe the overwhelming economic and social disparities between North and South. We note that repeated attempts to thrash out the manifold problems of North-South co-operation have so far produced little. It is indicative of the cynicism and lack of political will of the developed countries that the Brandt report,³ a useful blueprint for economic co-operation between the developed and developing countries, is gathering dust in the chancelleries of the North.

70. Unless there is significant progress in North-South co-operation in the immediate future, the lives of the peoples of the South will continue to be ravaged by poverty, starvation and disease. My delegation, therefore, regrets that the Governments of the United States and the United Kingdom are cutting back further on aid to the developing world.

71. It may be timely to warn that continuing mass unemployment, mass poverty and mass starvation will destroy the world community as we know it today. The third world will not collapse and die in splendid isolation. Either we eat together, work together and prosper together or we die together. It is time for those developed countries to reorder their priorities and spend more on foreign aid to alleviate the suffering of peoples in the developing countries.

72. Barbados has given unstinting support to General Assembly resolution 34/138, calling for comprehensive negotiations on international relations in the fields of raw materials, development, energy, trade and the monetary system. Barbados itself has, as far as its resources would permit, laid great stress on policies such as the proper management of the economy, improved trade relationships, the development of new sources of energy and the more equitable distribution of its resources. We are firmly convinced that economic development has a better chance of being achieved if there is a commitment to social justice, for then the entire population of each one of our countries will believe that they have a stake in their country's prosperity.

73. To illustrate the general slowdown in the rate of economic growth, it may be noted that world output has fallen steadily from the modest growth rate of 4.7 per cent in 1976-78 to 3.8 per cent in 1979 and to a mere trickle of 2.2 per cent in 1980.

74. The economic indicators point to an even gloomier outlook for 1981-82. The *World Development Report 1981*, recently published by the World Bank, warns that if the world economy does not reduce poverty and expand international trade, 220 million more people will become absolutely poor by the year 2000. Unfortunately, there is every indication that rather than an expansion of international trade there is an ever increasing tendency towards protectionism. And we shall suffer as a result. The inter-

dependence of the economies of our nations is too well known to need repetition here.

75. As we have repeatedly affirmed, in concert with other developing countries, any attempts to contravene the principle of universality as far as the third programming cycle, 1982-86, is concerned are doomed to failure as far as correcting the causes of the world's economic malaise is concerned. In this regard, we view with grave misgivings any attempt to differentiate unilaterally and arbitrarily among and classify developing countries.

76. But this is exactly what the *World Development Report 1981* does. Continued use of per capita gross national product and population size as basic criteria for allocation of resources works seriously against small developing countries like Barbados. The *Report* states that, unfortunately, aid flows to the third world are unlikely to grow, that they are already too heavily biased towards the middle-income countries and that reallocating concessional aid from the middle-income to low-income countries is almost as important as increasing its over-all amount.

77. This ominous admission suggests that it will become increasingly difficult for developing countries to receive the assistance necessary for their economies to take off. But there is a solution. The Brandt report referred to it when it stated:

"One-half of one per cent of one year's world military expenditure would pay for all the farm equipment needed to increase food production and approach self-sufficiency in food-deficit low-income countries by 1990."⁴

78. For all these countries there is no substitute for increased development assistance. In 1979 the combined current account deficits of the non-oil-producing countries amounted to \$43 billion, while their accumulated debt burden totalled \$330 billion. At the same time, net official development assistance to them from member countries of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD] fell from a level of 0.4 per cent of the latter's gross national products in the late 1960s to 0.3 per cent in 1978. Those developed countries which have attained the agreed objective of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product are to be commended for their efforts.

79. The *Report* states that for the developing countries the 1980s will be a difficult decade of adjustment to external conditions and recommends that third-world countries should adopt an outward orientation that includes export promotion and import substitution in line with international prices.

80. Is it not a fact that after the Second World War some developing countries attempted to develop industry to achieve import substitution but failed because of inherent infrastructural weaknesses? Their base was weak because the local market was small. They were faced with such drawbacks as limited technological infrastructure. Products were of inferior quality, and their prices were far higher than those of similar products in the international markets.

Mr. Hacheme (Benin), Vice-President, took the Chair.

81. Not only did this import substitution policy have disappointing results, but it coincided with a period of neglect of agricultural development which has had dire consequences for the world's peoples, especially those of the developing world. It is acknowledged that the policy did not achieve its objective of improving the balance of payments. The external debt of Latin American countries 40 years ago was \$6 billion. It is now \$70 billion.

82. The lesson that the world has become an interdependent unit and that it is impossible for countries really to develop and achieve autarky in isolation has obviously not sunk in, in spite of all the evidence so far. During the Second United Nations Development Decade a number of possible solutions to the deep-seated structural imbalances in the international economy were identified. Although some of the quantitative targets have been achieved, the social aims in particular have not been realized.

83. Barbados was among those countries which welcomed the opportunity to start afresh with the International Development Strategy for the Third United Nations Development Decade, which was adopted at the thirty-fifth session of the General Assembly. It set a clear framework of realistic objectives and targets. The obligations and commitments placed on both developed and developing countries should form a major plank in our efforts towards a transformation of the world economic order.

84. We also believe that collective self-reliance and economic co-operation at all levels among developing countries should be encouraged. Particular emphasis should be placed on regional co-operation. In this respect, Barbados will continue to exert every possible effort to achieve effective economic integration with its neighbours in the Caribbean area and to develop further economic and other links among the peoples of the wider region.

85. My delegation represents a tiny but proud and industrious Caribbean nation-State. We are peace-loving, forward-looking and rigorously democratic. We support the principle of the equality of States and the principle of the universality of the United Nations. My Prime Minister said from this podium at the thirty-first session that "we island people from the Caribbean stand at the cross-roads where history meets and where alien civilizations converge." [26th meeting, para. 5.]

86. At this time, as we look across the Caribbean Sea and to our brothers and sisters to the south of us, we are painfully aware that history, politics, economics and alien civilizations have merged seemingly to negate the peaceful development of the islands of the archipelago and our continental neighbours.

87. It is with grave concern that we view the open competition in this region between the two major super-Powers. It is unfortunate and frightening that Moscow and Washington should choose the internal conflicts of Latin America and the Caribbean to extend their theatre of war. We reiterate our firm commitment to ensuring that the Caribbean will remain a zone of peace. Barbados believes that the problems of Latin America and the Caribbean must be solved by the people of Latin America and the Caribbean.

88. Latin America and the Caribbean suddenly erupted on to the world agenda as a major trouble spot. As we view conflict in Nicaragua and El Salvador devastating the peoples and economies of those sad countries, my delegation once again appeals to the super-Powers to respect the tenets of the Charter, which they were instrumental in framing.

89. Only ethnocentrism and neo-colonial ambitions could inform the super-Powers that the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean cannot settle their problems themselves. Implicit in the fact of political independence and national sovereignty in the Caribbean and Latin America is the rejection of imposed solutions.

90. My delegation does not claim to have any unique insight into how the numerous and seemingly intractable problems of the world can be solved. Indeed, we have no particular optimism that they can be easily solved. We are aware, however, of the primary motivating factors born of *realpolitik* priorities in Latin America and the Caribbean.

91. In recent times plans have been designed to revitalize the economies of the Caribbean and Central American States and provide what is categorized as "sustained economic development". While my delegation welcomes capital and other development assistance in the region, I would caution that the essential objective of such activity should be the genuine and unfettered economic development of the area, rather than the promotion of the security interests of exogenous Powers.

92. The development of any plan for the Caribbean and Central America should involve at all stages the people of the region and the indigenous regional financial institutions. This would help us to avoid the adverse socio-cultural appendages and the political and social consequences that could result from imposed solutions to the area's problems.

93. The decade of the 1980s is a period of challenge, contradiction and rampant cynicism. On the one hand, the march of science and technology has pushed back the frontier of ignorance that inhibited our understanding of our environment and of ourselves. The potential for the improvement of the quality of the human condition is vast. On the other hand, mankind seems unwilling fully to come to terms with and effectively to harness the vast potential of science and technology which could significantly improve the human condition.

94. It is a cruel cynicism that the human race seems to have identified as its imperative mission and ultimate destiny the annihilation of itself. An endless torrent of meetings, speeches and mechanisms has failed to promote real progress in halting the arms race or lowering the tensions among nations. The goal of general and complete disarmament remains elusive. Mankind continues to live in the lengthening shadow of burgeoning nuclear arsenals.

95. The economic and social problems which form the basis of the North-South dialogue cannot be viewed in isolation from the arms race and the ever-increasing military expenditure. Nations cannot fulfil the just aspirations of their peoples in an atmosphere of tension. Peace and security cannot coexist with immense stockpiles of armaments.

96. The world has embarked on a dangerous new round in the arms race. As more nations think it necessary to acquire more sophisticated weapons, the arms race becomes more competitive, more complex and more dangerously compelling. It is a sad paradox of twentieth century life that third-world economies, buffeted by recession in the developed market economies, are spending better than 12 per cent of their gross national product on the procurement of weapons of war. It is a dramatic commentary on the alleged intelligence of mankind and his choice of priorities.

97. The continuing absence of the required political will to adopt national policies and implement appropriate strategies to engender confidence among States has resulted in the persistent squandering of scarce resources on military budgets. Today's announcement on the new round of talks on the reduction of nuclear arms gives the world a small ray of hope. The extent of the misuse of the world's resources and the contradiction between urgent human needs and tardy and reluctant responses call for no recapitulation here. It is necessary only to remind ourselves that more is spent on the means of self-extinction than is available to the poor of this world to spend on the means of survival.

98. It is a fact of life that in 1980 the two super-Powers accounted for 58 per cent of world military expenditure. In collaboration with their respective allies they accounted for 80 per cent of all military budgets. Military expenditure tends to contribute to the aggravation of inflation and to adverse balance-of-payments problems. It should be remembered that more money spent on the military increases inflation and consequently generates a reduction in foreign aid to the developing world. We ignore at our peril the nexus between the menace of the arms race and the encroaching economic, social and security crisis.

99. The five nuclear Powers, which bear special responsibility for safeguarding peace and international security, and in particular the two super-Powers, should assist the United Nations to make general and complete disarmament a triumph of experience over seemingly spurious hope.

100. It saddens me to have to say that the studied avoidance of the serious and pressing problems facing the continent of Africa is nothing short of scandalous. Too many words have been spoken on the problems of *apartheid* and Namibia, and far too little realistic action has been taken or even attempted. *Apartheid* and Namibia are matters that have been the subject of debate in one form or another since the first regular session of the Assembly. They have also been subjects of consultations and discussions in the Security Council and at special conferences and meetings.

101. The General Assembly and Security Council have passed resolutions, and special conferences have formulated declarations. There is not a single delegation here that is prepared to stand up in public and defend South Africa for its adherence to the inhumane system of *apartheid*, or for its occupation of Namibia. Indeed, 15 years ago the United Nations declared that occupation illegal [*General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI)*].

102. Yet now some Member States are urging, in the second year of the decade, a gradual solution of the

Namibia problem. Some of these same nations are reluctant to interrupt their lucrative economic ties with South Africa and balk at imposing sanctions for fear, they would have us believe, of hurting the African States that have the misfortune to border on or to be encompassed by South Africa. In other words, the same countries are so concerned about the welfare of the front-line States that they continue to prop up the economy of South Africa. They are so mindful of the need for democracy in Angola that they will ignore their own resolutions while continuing to support the illegal occupation of Namibia.

103. The Government and people of Barbados were distressed when we realized that the Springbok rugby tour of New Zealand was to proceed as planned. Our distress was, however, somewhat relieved by the large number of countries that not only spoke out against the tour, but took action which was aimed at stopping it, or at least making it more difficult for it to proceed. We were particularly gratified by some of the positions adopted and the actions taken by some of the older members of the Commonwealth and by a large number of New Zealanders themselves.

104. I will not attempt to dictate to those who have for centuries been dictating to others and have been determining the course of history in less powerful countries all over the globe. I will not attempt to tell them how to end the misery of millions of black people who are held hostage and captive in the lands of their birth in Namibia and Azania. They know what should and must be done as well as anyone else—and better than many.

105. The illegal and racist régime in Pretoria should not be allowed to defy further the collective decisions of the international community. I call upon this body today to end the charade, to close ranks and to move with dispatch to bring the South African Government to its senses, or to its knees, before we meet here again for the thirty-seventh session of the General Assembly.

106. Another important matter about which my Government feels very strongly is the question of mercenaries. The General Assembly has already touched on this matter at two sessions without making any notable progress.

107. From the point of view of a small developing country, for which self-defence is difficult at the best of times, the need for ensuring combined and concerted action against mercenaries is of vital importance. I need do no more than to cite the designs on the Commonwealth of Dominica by a group of Fascist adventurers, including some members of the Ku Klux Klan.

108. Barbados will continue to do all in its power to work towards the early preparation of a convention against the recruitment, use, financing and training of mercenaries and urges all concerned countries not only to join in this attempt, but to apply the spirit of the future convention even before its letter has taken shape.

109. We are extremely concerned by the recent turn of events in the Middle East, which would seem to put any hope of a reasonable solution further out of reach. It is our hope that the actors in the area, as well as the reactors from other areas, will find the magnanimity to look beyond purely narrow self-interest and work towards guaranteeing peace and security in the region.

110. At its thirty-fifth session, the Assembly adopted resolution 35/20, in which it declared that Belize should become an independent State before the conclusion of the thirty-sixth session and in which it called upon the administering Power to do whatever was necessary to ensure the effective and continued existence of an independent Belize.

111. We note with satisfaction that, after a series of negotiations between Belize, the United Kingdom and Guatemala, the terms of the resolution are being implemented and that three days ago Belize became independent and will tomorrow, we hope, become a Member of the Organization. Barbados rejoices with the people of Belize. However, there is a tinge of sadness in all this, because Belize's neighbour has not acknowledged its independence.

112. We call on all countries in the area to give general support to Belize, whose territorial integrity and sovereignty must be upheld. We hope that there will be no necessity to take any action other than the steps which have already been given full publicity.

113. Last week we had the pleasure of welcoming Vanuatu to the family. Later in this session, we may have the pleasure of welcoming another State, the Caribbean island of Antigua.

114. These developments underline the continuing success of the United Nations in achieving solutions to seemingly intractable problems. The Government of Barbados believes the Organization has the capacity to influence world opinion for the good of all mankind. Let us together keep that faith alive.

115. Mr. CZYREK (Poland)* We should like the President to accept our sincere congratulations on his well-deserved election to the exalted and responsible post of President of the thirty-sixth session of the General Assembly.

116. Let me also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Rüdiger von Wechmar, for the manner in which he presided over the proceedings of the thirty-fifth session.

117. I wish to address our grateful appreciation to the Secretary-General for his dedicated and unflagging efforts to strengthen international security and promote peaceful co-operation.

118. As a founder of the United Nations and an unswerving advocate of the liberation of all colonial and dependent peoples and countries, Poland welcomes its one hundred and fifty-fifth Member, the Republic of Vanuatu, and wishes its people every success in developing its statehood.

119. The thirty-sixth session is convening in the first year of a new decade of efforts aimed at the implementation of the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The decade that ended last year will pass into the history of international relations as a period of painstaking, though not always successful, endeavours

to improve the political atmosphere in the world and to develop a wide-ranging dialogue and all-round co-operation among nations, as a time of construction of the fabric of détente. It is precisely the efforts of the past and preceding decades which have justified the inclusion in the declaration of May 1980 of the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty of the verdict that "it has been possible to break the tragic cycle in which peace has been no more than a pause between world wars and to develop a broad effort to eliminate war forever from the life of human society."⁵

120. The policy of détente has brought tangible benefits to the whole world, to all States and peoples. It has proved above all that among the participants in the process of détente there are no losers, that within humanity's practical reach there lies the possibility not only of banishing and burying the spectre of war, but also of embarking on specific action towards the just settlement of international disputes by means of negotiations and towards the development of equitable and mutually profitable co-operation between States with different social and political systems. We are greatly disturbed, however, that the world is entering its new decade in a qualitatively different situation, fraught with serious threats that impair many of the achievements of the seventies.

121. Contrary to the noble objectives of the current Second Disarmament Decade, the arms race continues unchecked. We are confronted with a situation in which it is becoming not only more intense, but also more universal. It constitutes the central problem of our times; it adversely affects the security of all States; it saddles national economies with a huge burden, especially in the case of those countries which are at this stage overcoming the effects of underdevelopment. Decisions concerning deployment of new medium-range nuclear weapons in Western Europe and the production of new kinds of nuclear arms, like the neutron weapons, offer a striking illustration of the intensification of the arms race.

122. Extremely disturbing in present international relations are the attempts to revive the ill-famed policy based on strength. They are governed by a short-sighted logic, since the unequivocal message of the whole of the past 36 years is that in the present-day world an imperialist policy based on strength is a throwback, both dangerous and risky. It undermines confidence in international relations. Its effect has been and still is to generate tensions which push humanity towards the quicksands of self-destruction.

123. Regional and local conflicts continue to be a source of growing tensions. Not only have most of them remained unsolved thus far, but new flashpoints have appeared.

124. This unfavourable picture of the international situation also includes a stalemate in the implementation of the new international economic order. Attaining prompt agreement on effective measures to increase the rate of growth of the developing countries has become a particularly burning problem.

125. In the world of today, the connection between the establishment of peaceful relations on our planet and the requirements of the social and economic development of nations and of the whole international community is becoming clearer than ever. It rests on two crucial premises.

* Mr. Czyrek spoke in Polish. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

First, that every nation and every human being has an inherent right to live in peace and that respect for this right is in the common interest of all mankind; secondly, that every nation and every human being is entitled to exercise, without hindrance, a natural right to development.

126. Respect for these rights is especially important for us in Poland. In the recent historical past, their total violation resulted in a holocaust for millions of Poles, victims of barbarian Nazis. It took the great common victory over fascism, the transformations of the socialist system and our alliances to guarantee us a peaceful existence and to give us the chance to tackle the challenges of development in today's world.

127. The Polish delegation has arrived at the present session well aware of the necessity of firmly counteracting everything that worsens the international situation and ready to make an active contribution to the Organization's joint efforts to reverse world trends of negative development. We conceive of Poland's traditional involvement in moulding peaceful relations in Europe and in the world at large also in the context of our efforts to surmount the serious problems and difficulties which our country is currently experiencing.

128. I said from this rostrum at the previous session [10th meeting] that we are tackling and solving those problems with absolute openness and discretion, within the framework of our nation's indisputable record of accomplishment and in accordance with our principles, our socialist political system and the rule of law. We have remained faithful to this policy. It was reaffirmed in full by the Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party last July and in the successive resolutions of the Polish Parliament. We shall firmly defend it against all anti-socialist internal threats, aided as they are at times from the outside.

129. We are aware that the situation in Poland is followed with keen interest in the world. We understand the concern and anxiety of our friends that we successfully overcome our difficulties, in the interest of strengthening socialist Poland as a steadfast member of the socialist community of States, in the interest of that community's strength and security, and as a stabilizing factor of peaceful order in Europe. All this is our common concern. We are grateful for the great assistance and understanding which at this trying time we are receiving from our allies and friends, most of all the Soviet Union.

130. We highly appreciate the sympathetic approach to our problems of many States with which we have traditional ties of co-operation. It must, however, be noted that there are also forces which would wish to trade on events in Poland for purposes of discrediting socialism, undermining the cohesion of the community of socialist States, interfering in our internal affairs, fomenting tensions and justifying the arms race, for purposes of threatening international peace and security. To such forces our answer is a categorical "No". Poland needs peace, both internal and external. Poland will defend these supreme values consistently and with unyielding determination.

131. Poland's present and future are inseparably bound up with socialism. This is also in keeping with the fundamental axioms of the Polish *raison d'état*. It is only such

a Poland, a socialist Poland, a credible ally of its friends, that could and can make a constructive contribution to the cause of peaceful relations in Europe. For a stable Poland is an important and indispensable factor of a stable Europe.

132. The quality of international relations depends and will continue to depend substantially on the state of Soviet-American relations. Indeed, they represent an objective element of the relationship of forces and of the process of ensuring security in the contemporary world.

133. Poland would welcome improvement of relations between the Soviet Union and the United States. It would be to the benefit not only of the two nations concerned, but also of the peaceful existence and co-operation of all nations. This is, in fact, the objective at which numerous Soviet initiatives are aimed.

134. The second requirement is intensification of positive action in the area of international security and disarmament. The experience of the past few years has shown that fomenting distrust, the influence of the military-industrial complexes, the argument that the armaments of the other side must be matched and, most recently, the highly dangerous doctrines of military superiority and the possibility of a limited nuclear war rob disarmament negotiations of their essential dynamism and effectiveness. What is needed, therefore, is the will and political perception of the imperative of real disarmament.

135. We view the following points as of special importance: the readiness to resume negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms and on medium-range nuclear weapons in Europe; the proposal for an agreement on widening the scope of confidence-building measures; and creative support for the idea of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in northern Europe. A significant means of limiting armaments would be the conclusion of a treaty on the prohibition of the stationing of weapons of any kind in outer space. A proper platform for fundamental negotiations on the basic problems of the contemporary world might be created by a high-level meeting of members of the Security Council and possibly leaders of other interested States. It is with special attention that we have noted the important proposal contained in the statement made from this rostrum by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Andrei Gromyko, concerning the adoption by the General Assembly of a declaration on preventing a nuclear catastrophe [7th meeting, para. 116]. Particularly noteworthy is the profoundly humanistic essence of the new initiative. We extend our full support to all these proposals.

136. We place considerable hope in the second special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. An appropriate contribution to a well-prepared special session would be long-awaited progress in the Committee on Disarmament, at Geneva, at least over the issues where it is being held up not so much by substantive disagreement as by the absence of the political will necessary for their successful resolution. We set great store by universalization and strict implementation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, tied to guarantees of the peaceful utilization of nuclear energy.

137. There is an organic link between efforts on behalf of disarmament and international security and the principles of the Declaration on the Preparation of Societies for Life in Peace [*General Assembly resolution 33/73*], adopted three years ago on Poland's initiative. Time has borne out the total relevance of its principles. In conjunction with the review of its implementation that is to be made at the current session, the Polish delegation hopes there will be a constructive exchange of views serving to develop the lofty purposes and principles of the Declaration.

138. The third condition for a fairer outlook on the international horizon is the elimination of conflicts and focal points of tension. There is now an ominous prospect of a dangerous belief in the "normality" of wars taking root in the minds of societies and desensitizing them to human injustice and suffering. There is, therefore, in the first place, a very pressing need for discontinuing the imperialist policy based on strength, for rejecting hegemonism, and for eradicating the remnants of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. The vast majority of current conflicts and crisis situations are precisely a direct product of these negative phenomena. They are also derived from failure to recognize the realities and historical processes.

139. This is the situation in the Middle East, where we still await a solution of the basic problem, that of assuring the Arab people of Palestine independent statehood. Until such time as this issue is made an integral part of a comprehensive rather than a separatist formula, attempts to ease tensions in this region will remain fruitless.

140. This is the situation in southern Africa, where a glaring example of neo-colonialism has been the recent aggression by the racist régime in South Africa against Angola. We roundly condemn this brutal new step and support in full the decisions taken so far by the United Nations against the policies of *apartheid* and on the question of Namibia as summed up to resounding effect at the recently completed eighth emergency special session of the General Assembly.

141. This is the situation in South-East Asia, where the peoples of Indochina are plagued by non-recognition of realities and interference in their internal affairs. They are revealingly disclosed in the absence from this Hall of the representatives of the People's Republic of Kampuchea. In our opinion, the solution to problems in this region must spring from the position of the Governments directly concerned. We therefore support the latest proposals of the three Indochinese States in this regard [*see A/36/86, annexes I and II*], which we find constructive.

142. As timely as ever remain the initiatives of the Government of Afghanistan regarding normalization of the situation in South-West Asia. They have our full support.

143. I also voice our firm solidarity with the struggle of the Korean people for the settlement of the question of Korea on the basis of the proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea.

144. Our growing concern is aroused by the mounting tide of international terrorism, both in its State form, as exemplified by the unprecedented Israeli attack on Iraqi nuclear installations, and in its individual manifestations.

Our own countryman, head of the Roman Catholic Church, Pope John Paul II, has lately fallen victim to a terrorist. We rejoice in his complete return to health.

145. Finally, there is the fourth, though not least important, factor in improving the climate in the world: establishing a new and just economic order and surmounting through joint efforts the crisis developments in international economic co-operation. Destructive attempts continue to be made to subordinate economic relations with other countries to political and strategic considerations. Equality, non-discrimination and reciprocal benefit are the basic principles of a healthy world system of economic relations.

146. Their present condition has pinpointed with particular clarity the necessity of their restructuring, taking specific account of the interests of the developing countries, particularly the least developed ones. A creative rôle can and should be played here by global negotiations consistent with the progressive objectives of the new international economic order and the International Development Strategy. Focusing as it does all shades of interests and needs, the United Nations system is best equipped to meet these requirements. The sooner there begins to be an improvement in the world political situation and the more tangible the effects of disarmament agreements in bettering standards of living, the more quickly can this goal be achieved.

147. The Organization is after all a mirror of the complicated condition of the surrounding world. This requires all the more a joint effort of all who are genuinely ready to strive to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war" and who look upon the United Nations as indeed a "centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends".

148. It is with such an approach that the Polish delegation is participating in the thirty-sixth session. Stemming from the humanistic nature of the socialist system, our foreign policy has complete endorsement in the Charter of the United Nations. Even in periods of gravest tension we have patiently sought solutions and explored avenues to keep international dialogue alive. We are following the same course today in spite of the domestic problems we are facing.

149. Together with its socialist allies, Poland has been unsparring in its efforts and perseverance with a view to improving the international climate, particularly on the continent in the heart of which we are situated. Europe is the common home of the peoples inhabiting it. Poland has been and will be among the pioneers of the struggle for peace, for European détente, security and co-operation. This accounts for the efforts we had made in convening the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and in the process of implementing the Final Act of the Conference. It also determines our stance at the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. For this same reason, we uphold the proposal discussed at the Madrid meeting of representatives of European and North American States to convene in Warsaw a conference on military détente and disarmament in Europe. By the same token, we are actively participating in United Nations disarmament efforts. This, too, is the meaning of the appeal addressed by the Ninth Congress of the Polish United Workers' Party to our part-

ners in the West to increase the frank dialogue in exploring ways of preventing cold war threats and safeguarding what has so far been accomplished by détente. It would represent a very appreciable contribution by Europe towards universalization of the processes of détente on a world scale.

150. On a number of issues crucial to the world an ever-growing role is being played by the active movement of the non-aligned States. We particularly appreciate the enormous efforts being made by the overwhelming majority of its members to preserve the authenticity and the progressive ideas of the movement.

151. We feel close to the just aspirations of the developing countries. Aside from our traditional solidarity with their struggle for full political and economic emancipation, we declare our readiness to co-operate on a partnership basis in all areas of mutual interest. In order to serve their further development we are ready to make available a substantial number of Polish experts and specialists. We positively view the endeavours of the many developing nations which treat social progress as an integral part of development.

152. In conclusion, I wish to express my strong belief that the current session will prove to be yet another at-

tempt to strengthen the role of our Organization in the world. The extent to which it succeeds depends on all of us. Not so many years ago a session of the General Assembly could be counted a success only if there was no deterioration in the international climate in the course of its duration. Today, that is no longer enough. Let us therefore do everything in our power to see that the results of our proceedings measure up to the authentic ambitions and aspirations of our respective peoples for a secure and dignified life in peace.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.

NOTES

¹ AHG/105 (XVIII).

² See A/S-11/14, annex I.

³ *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).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fifth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1980*, document S/13948, annex II.