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CONTENTS

	Page
Address by Mr. Maurice Rupert Bishop, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Grenada	587
Agenda item 9: General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Beye (Mali)	591
Speech by Mrs. de Amorim (Sao Tome and Principe) .	596

President: Mr. Salim Ahmed SALIM
(United Republic of Tanzania)

Address by Mr. Maurice Rupert Bishop, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Grenada

1. The PRESIDENT: This morning the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Grenada. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Mr. Maurice Rupert Bishop and inviting him to come to the rostrum to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. BISHOP (Grenada): Today it is a great honour and privilege for me to deliver my country's address to the United Nations on behalf of the People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada. It is particularly pleasing to be able to deliver this address in 1979, a year that will undoubtedly be recorded as the year of the fall of the dictators, including from my region Somoza of Nicaragua and Gairy of Grenada.

3. At this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly, I should like to welcome you, Mr. Salim, and to congratulate you on your election as President of the General Assembly. The People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada have the closest ties with the Government and people of the United Republic of Tanzania and we thus hold you and your President, Mr. Julius Nyerere, in the highest regard and we are fully confident that your presidential term will be successful.

4. We also place on record our warmest appreciation for the excellent manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, presided over the work of the last session. I wish also to join with those preceding me to this rostrum in conveying through you, Mr. President, our gratitude for the dedicated and untiring efforts of our distinguished Secretary-General and his staff. History will certainly record the tremendous contribution of Mr. Kurt Waldheim in particular to the cause of world peace.

5. At the same time, I wish on behalf of the People's Revolutionary Government and the people of Grenada to congratulate and warmly welcome the newly inde-

pendent State of Saint Lucia to membership of the United Nations. This is a particular pleasure for us because Saint Lucia is not only our neighbour in the Caribbean, but is also a fraternal friend.

6. As I speak before this body today, I do so as the representative of a small country which intends to speak with a resolute and principled voice on the issues of substantive concern to the world today.

7. The advent of our revolution has signalled the beginning of the end of the most dangerous and vicious stage of the colonial experience, that which we recognize as neo-colonialism. This stage had seen us exposed to various constitutional manipulations, all of which had failed to hide the reality of economic bondage under imperialism. Moreover, this neo-colonial stage has also exposed our nation to the vicious, ruthless neo-Fascist dictatorship of Eric Gairy. To you here at this renowned body this petty dictator was known as "Mr. UFO", but to us in Grenada this amusingly descriptive title did not hide the reality of a dictator whose closest links were with imperialism and international criminal elements and openly Fascist and dictatorial régimes.

8. Apart from his criminal record, Gairy left Grenada in an economic wilderness. Indeed, due to his neo-fascist régime we have a legacy of total dependence on imperialism, a reality which has meant extreme poverty characterized by wholesale repression of the working people and their organizations, massive unemployment, with more than half of the work force out of work; high levels of illiteracy, malnutrition, superstition, "Mongoose Gang" brutality and the murder of our people, poor housing and health conditions; all combined with overall economic stagnation and massive migration.

9. Such a legacy was the motive force behind our revolution on 13 March of this year. Our revolution had its roots with the formation of our party in March 1973. From that date till March of this year, our party was subjected to various forms of the grossest and most openly hostile brutality at the hands of Gairy and his Fascist allies. I am proud to announce to this body today that such abuses of human rights ceased as of 13 March this year and that since that time the democratic rights and freedoms of the people have been restored and expanded.

10. Indeed, our revolution in Grenada is a people's revolution and thus one of the fundamental principles of our revolution is the establishment of the people's rights. Among these rights we include the right to equal pay for men and women, the right to social and economic justice, the right to work and the right to democratic participation in the affairs of our nation. At the same time we also have a firm commitment to the establishment of people's rights in the international

community and we thus firmly oppose imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, racism (including zionism) and fascism. More than this, we strongly condemn any attempt by any country to maintain any of these hostile and repugnant systems and for this reason we particularly join in the chorus of support for the application demanding mandatory sanctions against the racist State of South Africa, as is provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

11. I wish at this time clearly to assert our nation's commitment to this body's Universal Declaration of Human Rights, with a clear understanding that one of the fundamental rights of all peoples is the achievement of economic well-being, a reality that is hindered by imperialism. I emphasize also our nation's unyielding support for the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, and in particular I wish to record our firm commitment to General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) of December 1960 and 2621 (XXV) of October 1970, both asserting the need for an end to colonialism.

12. Grenada has recently joined the non-aligned movement and attended the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to which the fraternal revolutionary Government of Cuba played host in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979. That historic gathering was attended by 91 out of 94 full member States and national liberation movements, several observer countries and guests drawn from all parts of the world. We were greatly honoured at our first non-aligned Conference by being elected to the Coordinating Bureau of the movement.

13. We like to feel that this honour is indicative of our firm adherence to the fundamental principles of non-alignment. We joined this great movement not out of considerations of convenience or selfish gain but because, following the assumption of power of our Government in Grenada, we undertook, as a matter of the highest priority, to elevate our country's foreign policy to the plane of principle and purposefulness.

14. Non-alignment does not imply for us that we must be neutral in the sterile and negative sense, nor does it imply that our country must regard itself as a political eunuch in the conduct of our international affairs. Our non-aligned policy will certainly not lead us to surrender our independence of judgement in world affairs, or to retreat from our right and duty to participate fully in international forums and discussions concerned with issues vital to our interests, concerns and principles. To the contrary, non-alignment for us is a positive concept characterizing a vigorous and principled approach to international issues. It is an affirmation of that fundamental aspiration of all peoples and States to sovereignty, independence and the right freely to determine their own domestic and foreign policies.

15. It is perhaps true to say that during the early years of the history of the movement the major concern of non-alignment was the achievement of independence for colonial countries, and the second was the struggle to maintain and enhance their sovereignty, with all that implies, including, first and foremost, the fight against imperialism.

16. It is undoubtedly true to say that today the anti-colonial aspect of the struggle of the non-aligned move-

ment has become much less important than it was 18 years ago. And this is so for the obvious reason that the vast majority of countries which were colonies in 1961 are now independent. Not unnaturally, in this new situation more and more countries in the non-aligned movement, in common with more and more countries in the third world as a whole, have been focusing their attention on the struggle against imperialism. Our concern increasingly has been concentrated on the fight to regain control over our natural and national resources from the grip of the rapacious multinational corporations backed by their powerful Governments.

17. This has led more and more third-world countries to recognize that imperialism is the greatest enemy of mankind and that the perpetrators of this rape of our resources are to be found in the imperialist world. Nor does the matter end here. We have witnessed, for example, the cold-blooded support of the imperialist countries for the murderous *apartheid* régimes of southern Africa, as opposed to the moral and material support given the freedom fighters by the socialist community. This, more than anything else, exposes the true character of imperialism today. Obviously, not only the socialist community supports this struggle against racism and *apartheid*: the front-line States, which are third world and non-aligned, have also provided crucial and meaningful support. So too has the non-aligned movement.

18. A further important indicator of the character of imperialism is that the high cost of manufactured products and machinery, the refusal to enter into reasonable and just commodity agreements, the stonewalling of attempts to agree on a new international economic order, the refusal to accept that an international régime should be created to exploit the resources of the deep sea for the benefit of all of mankind and not just for a few multinational corporations can all be placed at the doorstep of the imperialist world. It is clear, therefore, that there is an affinity of principle and policy among the non-aligned and the socialist world.

19. Consistent with our opposition to colonialism, imperialism, and racism, we affirm today before this great Assembly our firm support for the struggles being waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the African National Congress of South Africa for their liberation and against *apartheid* and racism. We recognize and applaud the principled and consistent support being given to those struggles by the front-line States.

20. We express our firmest support for and solidarity with the struggles of the people of Palestine, led by their sole and legitimate representatives, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. On this basis, we reject the Camp David agreements,¹ which do not have the support of the Palestinian people, the PLO, the Arab world or the entire democratic, progressive and socialist world.

21. We reaffirm our support for the people of Western Sahara, under the leadership of the Frente

¹ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed in Washington on 17 September 1978.

POLISARIO,² in their struggle for independence and self-determination. We call upon the people of Korea to continue the just struggle for the reunification of their homeland. We express our firm support for the Heng Samrin Government and the heroic people of Kampuchea—a government which we recognized on 20 August last. We support the struggle of the Government and people of Belize for independence with full territorial integrity. We also wish to express our strongest solidarity with the people of Puerto Rico in their struggle for independence. We fully support the ongoing and determined struggle of the Government and people of Cuba in their fight to gain control over Guantánamo Bay. Our profound solidarity also goes to the Government and people of Panama in their just struggle to recover the Panama Canal. We support fully the struggles of all the people of the Caribbean who are today still fighting for an end to colonialism.

22. The peace of the world is a matter that concerns not only the rich and powerful nations, some of which produce, purchase and deploy sophisticated weapons of mass destruction but, more profoundly, the poor, weak and small nations, which are the victims of the squander and waste that are characteristic of militarism. The expenditure on arms and weapons of war is truly colossal and stupendous. As has been expressed elsewhere, more than \$300 billion a year is spent on arms and other military equipment and installations throughout the world. This astronomical sum could, if spent on health, build and equip 30,000 hospitals with 18 million beds. It could construct 20,000 factories with jobs for more than 20 million workers. In fact, \$300 billion represents the budget of my country for 14,000 years at current rates of exchange and taking into consideration a very generous rate of inflation, 17 per cent a year. This says a lot for the small size of my country's budget, which is less than a fraction of the budget of most multinational corporations. But it also says a great deal about the enormous waste of financial resources expended on armaments by nations some of which already have the capacity to wipe out the whole of mankind several times over.

23. Members can well understand the deep concern we harbour for peace. It is for this reason that we strongly support the efforts of the World Peace Council and any and all moves towards détente, peaceful co-existence and disarmament. The people of Grenada are gratified, therefore, that the Helsinki Final Act³ and now the Treaty reached at the conclusion of the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT]⁴ have been signed by both the United States and the USSR. We are, however, disturbed to note that reactionary elements that definitely have a vested interest in the prolongation of the arms race have been making feverish efforts to prevent the ratification of the SALT Treaty in the United States Senate.

24. These same reactionary elements have been pushing the United States Government to re-introduce "cold war" principles and create new, or strengthen old, military pacts, alliances, arrangements or ma-

noeuvres aimed at serving the interests of expansionism and imperialism and/or trampling upon the struggles of the people against Fascist methods and the suppression of democratic rights. These reactionaries have succeeded in their aim in the Caribbean and Latin American region with the recent statement by President Carter.

25. We view with very grave concern the "cold war" and militaristic steps proclaimed by the President in his national address to the people of America on Monday, 1 October,⁵ in which he announced the establishment of a permanent full-time Caribbean military task force with headquarters in Key West, Florida. Such a force will be made up of men from all the military services and will conduct military manoeuvres in the region. These manoeuvres have in fact already begun with the deployment of some 16 naval vessels in the Caribbean Sea, along with other manoeuvres in Guantánamo Bay, on Cuban soil. And mention of Guantánamo must surely remind us of the absurdity of a country that has bases in Cuba and Panama, against the will of the peoples of those countries, denouncing another country maintaining troops in Cuba with the consent of the Cuban people. We note that, of the seven proposals announced by the President, six are of a military character.

26. We believe that this is a reaction to the recent progressive changes and developments within the Latin American and Caribbean region. A wind of change is blowing through the Caribbean bringing with it a new regional balance of forces as a result of the changes towards progress effected by the peoples of Nicaragua, Grenada, Saint Lucia and Dominica—a situation that has led the United States Secretary of State to define the eastern Caribbean as one of the world's four "trouble spots".

27. It is our view that the new regional balance of forces has serious implications for the profits being made by the multinational corporations and also for geo-political considerations in the region, and this is what is making reactionary elements in the United States desperate.

28. The international community must take this new threat to the region seriously, because the United States Government has an established pattern of using gunboat diplomacy, blockades, destabilization tactics and other "cold war" measures against the peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean. It is an attempt to revive the Monroe Doctrine, under which the United States claims the unilateral right to intervene militarily in the domestic affairs of any country in the region. And it is a matter of historical record that such interventions have taken place in, among other places, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, Guatemala, Colombia, Mexico, Nicaragua and the very Cuba towards which they are today expressing so much hostility.

29. For our part, we uphold the democratic right of the people of the Caribbean to choose their own Government or political system. The Caribbean belongs to the peoples of the Caribbean. We reject the United States plan to set up a Caribbean task force, and we call upon the international community to join with us in

² Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

³ Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

⁴ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in Vienna on 18 June 1979.

⁵ See *Department of State Bulletin*, vol. 79, No. 2032 (November 1979), p. 7.

demanding an immediate withdrawal of this proposal. We join also with our sister Caribbean nations in re-emphasizing our deep determination to preserve the Caribbean as a zone of peace, free from military intimidation. We demand the right to build our own processes in our own way, free from outside interference, free from bullying and free from the use or threat of force.

30. We desire normal and friendly relations with the Government of the United States. Many of our citizens reside and work in this country and many United States citizens are frequent visitors to our country. But it must be manifestly clear that our relations must be based on the fundamental principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, equality and non-interference in each other's internal affairs—a position which in fact applies to all other States.

31. I wish to raise briefly the issue of small States in the international community. Notwithstanding our basic position that all States are equal, sovereign, independent entities, we cannot lose sight of the fact that there are significant physical, demographic and economic differences among us. The issues of small size and small scale are not incidental to the levels of development of small countries or to their significance in the conduct of international relations. Small size must be explicitly recognized as a dimension of international relations. Poverty and dependence can of course apply to both small and large States but there are some special disabilities experienced by small countries that weigh heavily in explaining their economic and social problems.

32. The Caribbean is characterized by several small island-States. Many have populations of about 100,000 people and an area of between 100 and 300 square miles. Most lack significant material resources, being dependent throughout all their history on agricultural production and more recently on tourism and light manufacturing. Additionally, such economies lack adequate capital and skilled manpower resources, while infrastructural and technological under-development abound, and there is great dependence on the export of one or two basic raw materials for foreign-exchange earnings.

33. We also face political disabilities in many ways. As island communities, separated by stretches of water and linguistic barriers, we have experienced the consequences of imperialist domination and cultural fragmentation. Consistent with our struggle to overcome these problems, the new Governments of Dominica, Saint Lucia and Grenada jointly issued the St. George's Declaration which pledged as follows:

"The Governments affirm that the Caribbean area is one entity, regardless of language differences, economic differences, separation by sea or other such considerations. The Governments therefore emphasize the need for developing the closest possible relations between the islands and countries in the Caribbean, regardless of whether they are English, Dutch, Spanish or French speaking."

34. Notwithstanding the fact that as long ago as 1970, the General Assembly unanimously adopted the landmark Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [resolution 2749

(XXV)] which stated that the sea-bed, ocean floor and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as well as their resources, constituted "the common heritage of mankind", we are still today without a global oceans régime. And while the people of Grenada welcome the progress that has been made on the law of the sea, we remain anxious about the absence of a definite treaty because a satisfactory treaty has fundamental implications for our economic well-being and the establishment of a new international economic order.

35. Winning the economic war against imperialism and its concomitants—poverty, high unemployment, poor health, and the alienation of the people from the fruits of their labour—requires us to conduct struggles on both the domestic and international planes. As sovereign Governments we are separately responsible for our own programmes of economic transformation, but our international solidarity and co-operation are critical for meeting our goals.

36. The present distribution of world economic power, wealth and living standards is manifestly unjust. It derives from the long history of imperialist expansion and control of the third world. We seek to change this order and to substitute for it a new international economic order, but we must be clear about our conception of it.

37. By the new international economic order, we mean the assertion of national sovereignty over the ownership and control of our economic resources. We mean the establishment of the freedom to determine the disposition and use of our resources in whatever ways our peoples wish, in furtherance of their own aspirations for economic development. We mean the creation of an equitable system of international trade based on just prices for our exports. We mean the opening up of markets internationally, particularly in the wealthy countries, to facilitate growth in the exports of the third world. We also mean the establishment of an international agreement on the exploitation of the resources of the sea which would secure a just share of those resources and the wealth generated therefrom for the under-developed countries. The importance of this aspect of our concept of the new international economic order cannot be overestimated as the sea is the last frontier, and the oil, fish, manganese, nickel and minerals in the deep sea must be exploited by an international régime for the benefit of all mankind, and not just for the benefit of a handful of multinational corporations and their Governments.

38. We desire a new system of international interdependence, based on mutual respect for sovereignty and a collective will to put an end to imperialist machinations designed to disrupt our unity and purpose.

39. Broadly, the whole thrust of any new international economic order could only lead towards the elimination of the severe economic problems besetting our peoples—inadequate diet, poor medical care, insufficient clothing and other basic amenities. All or any of our grand schemes of economic reorganization and transformation must be designed to fulfill these basic goals.

40. Before closing I would like, on behalf of the Gov-

ernment and the people of Grenada, to express our deepest sympathy to and solidarity with the Government and people of Angola in particular, and the peoples of Africa in general, on the loss of President Agostinho Neto, a truly great revolutionary and patriotic son of Africa.

41. I wish also formally to support earlier calls for urgent assistance to the hurricane-stricken and devastated countries of Dominica and the Dominican Republic. We certainly hope that the response of countries in the United Nations and of international organs and agencies will match the great extent of their needs.

42. The People's Revolutionary Government and people of Grenada salute the outstanding work and achievements of the United Nations over the past three decades. For our part, we confirm our commitment to the noble aims, ideals and objectives of this great body and pledge our contribution to building a new world in which the poor of the world will at last obtain social, economic and political justice.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

43. Mr. BEYE (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): My opening words must be addressed to the valiant people of Angola, whose great sufferings on this sad occasion we share. I refer to the untimely death of President Agostinho Neto, who was struck down at the helm. Agostinho Neto uncontestedly belongs to the line of great men of noble ideals who devoted their lives to the defence of the interests of their peoples and who, because of their thinking and their actions, have shaped history. He was a man of culture, a poet and a humanist, and his loss was painfully felt by all the people of Mali, who admired him and who were planning to welcome him happily during the official visit he was to make to Mali next November. Bowing again in reverence to his memory, we remain convinced that his Party, the MPLA,⁶ will continue to work towards the goal to which he dedicated his efforts.

44. This year, tradition has led us to Africa—to East Africa—and more specifically to the United Republic of Tanzania, a country friendly towards my own and one whose wise policies are well known to all of us, serving a stable and strong nation. Apart from the honour done your people and the continent of Africa, Mr. President, the General Assembly's warm-hearted election of you to guide the work of the thirty-fourth session is without doubt a reflection of your perfect knowledge of international affairs and your own great qualifications as an enlightened diplomat, which have allowed you to preside successfully over the work of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for almost eight years. These qualifications are highlighted by your youth, your dynamism and your affability, which were noted and acknowledged by the representatives of member States of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] when it unanimously proposed you as a candidate to assume the heavy duties of your very responsible post. I am extremely happy, laying aside all protocol formal-

ities, to congratulate you on behalf of my delegation. We are deeply convinced that you will carry out your high duties with the ability, effectiveness, respect and careful attention which have always been the hallmarks of your personality.

45. I have pleasure also in reiterating our appreciation of the great qualifications and vast experience of your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, which he displayed during the course of the last session. A worthy representative of Latin America, he did honour to his continent and to his country, Colombia, and made a valuable contribution to the achievement of the noble ideals of our Organization.

46. I am also happy to express once again our gratification at the positive way in which our indefatigable Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has carried out his own delicate and complex mission. We are convinced that, being able to count on the constant and effective support of his competent advisers, he will continue to persevere in his efforts to safeguard the gains made by and the prestige of our Organization and the achievement of its noble objectives.

47. As a member of the Special Committee on decolonization since its inception, my country is happy at the accession of Saint Lucia to international sovereignty and we express our happiness at seeing that new State join us here. This event is another step towards the implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and brings us closer to that universality to which our Organization is tending. In offering a cordial and warm welcome to the delegation of Saint Lucia, my delegation wishes to assure it of our complete readiness to co-operate with it in a friendly and dynamic way.

48. The yearly meetings of the members of the international community which the sessions of the General Assembly have become show without doubt the noble ambition to open the road to a collective search for ways and means to maintain and strengthen international peace and security, the primary concern of the United Nations.

49. However, peace and security cannot be strengthened when millions upon millions of human beings are still suffering brutalizing misery, daily humiliation, unpunished racial discrimination, anachronistic colonial exploitation and unacceptable foreign domination. The United Nations must redouble its efforts not only to settle conflicts but also to adopt applicable and urgent measures to encourage the economic and social development of all peoples.

50. That is the only way to establish an era of true peace, and when our Charter was drafted 34 years ago its authors were aware of that, for the Preamble firmly states that the peoples of the United Nations are determined "to promote social progress and better standards of life". There can be no doubt that peace through justice is more fruitful than peace through law—a very unprofitable mission which finally exhausted the defunct League of Nations.

51. Peace is the work of justice. Peace and justice are one. But what is justice? First and foremost justice is respect for the inalienable rights recognized as belonging to all human beings. It is that simple reality that led

⁶ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

those who lived through the Second World War to proclaim in the Charter of our Organization their "faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small". Human rights, which cannot be dissociated from the rights of nations and peoples, are at the basis of an essential principle set forth in many provisions of our Charter and taken up in numerous resolutions of our Organization, namely, the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination.

52. Justice, without which there can be no peace, lies first in the recognition of the right of each people to decide for themselves, but justice, the sole guarantor of true peace, also involves the recognition of economic, social and cultural rights. Human rights are so indivisible and interdependent that the authors of the Charter have assigned to our Organization the primary task of achieving "international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character". In other words, 34 years ago all was foreseen, all was said and reiterated about the need to put an end to all forms of domination.

53. Taking together all we have done since the last session of our General Assembly, we are forced to note that many are the problems which still concern us and that there are still many to be solved. This has happened purely and simply because some of our partners who are now present in this hall of peace violate with impunity the principles of our Organization, principles according to which the rights of our peoples to self-determination and to a decent existence are still the most flouted.

54. The right of peoples to self-determination is not only a principle set forth in the United Nations Charter; it has become the prime moving force and a general and constantly reaffirmed principle. There can be no doubt that it is a typical example of one of the imperative principles of general law. It is a norm accepted and recognized by the international community as a whole. But we are forced to note that disregard of this sacred principle of the right of peoples to self-determination is the true cause, if not the only cause, of tensions and wars that continue to contaminate international relations.

55. In this world of upheaval and suffering Africa is still the continent in which that principle is ignored by those who do not wish to learn the lessons of history. The persistence of anachronistic colonialism in Namibia and in Zimbabwe, the tolerance shown to the contemptible system of *apartheid* in Azania, are the result of the refusal of the white minority in southern Africa to respect this cardinal principle of our Organization, namely the right to self-determination.

56. The valiant people of Namibia under the leadership of its sole representative, because it is its authentic representative, SWAPO will continue their struggle for liberation and will defeat all the manoeuvres which seek to stifle its heroic struggle in the maze of a so-called internal settlement. The outcome of the struggle is known because it is a natural battle to insist upon a natural recognition of the right that belongs to the Namibian people, namely that of self-determination. The struggle of the Patriotic Front has finally led to the present negotiations in London, which have not been successful because the Ian Smith clique and its sorry

puppets have resorted to sordid electoral manoeuvres and have refused to accept the prior condition of respect for a people's right to self-determination.

57. In Azania the black majority of that African country is still being deprived of its elementary rights to dignity in its own land of Africa. Certain Western Powers, which are so prone to seek out respect for human rights throughout the world, assist and even encourage the *apartheid* régime to continue in its role of denying the very principle of people's right to self-determination.

58. My country has constantly struggled for just causes. Therefore, from this rostrum we wish to reaffirm our unshakable support for these martyred brothers, with whom the people of Mali identify. We are ready to give all material, military, diplomatic and political assistance to speed the inevitable process of their liberation.

59. This is the moment at which to pay a well-earned and solemn tribute to the brave peoples of the front-line States who, with courage, calmness and determination, are fulfilling their sacred duty together with the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania.

60. It is also timely to repeat the pressing appeal made recently by the Head of State of Mali, General Moussa Traoré, during our national holiday and addressed to certain Western Powers who were invited:

"... once and for all to hear the anguished appeal of Africa and decide to serve the cause of justice and all mankind by helping the international community to force perfidious, arrogant but unfortunately tolerated South Africa to obey the rules".

61. The principle of the self-determination of peoples, so clearly stated in the well-known charter of decolonization, namely resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted on 14 December 1960 by our Assembly, cannot be ignored by the independent and new States of Africa, who appreciate its weight since they judiciously used it when they themselves recently achieved their own independence.

62. It is for these reasons that at its sixteenth ordinary session the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Monrovia in July, with political courage and maturity which warrants emphasis here, upheld clearly this principle of self-determination as the key to the fratricidal and distressing conflict in the Western Sahara [see A/34/552, pp. 90-91]. Colonized by Spain in the past, the population of that north western zone of our continent cannot be denied this principle, which allowed the brother people of Morocco, of Mauritania and of Algeria to recover their own dignity and freedom.

63. Speaking of this crisis which besets an area very close to the heart of my country leads me to state the principle of self-determination and to say again that this right is not being enjoyed. The OAU clearly defined the new mission entrusted to the new *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara which, in order to improve the climate in the region, must properly define the modalities required for a final settlement on just and acceptable lines agreed to by all the interested and concerned parties, and I stress the word "all".

64. The voice of wisdom of Africa, the voice of maturity of the leaders of the region, has always spoken out in favour of the brother peoples, with the same history, culture and primary concern for development in order to avoid the confrontations which must inevitably lead to a loss of our sovereignty through the actions of those who wish to internationalize this dispute by dramatizing it in order subsequently to play the part of arbiters.

65. That is why my country, the Republic of Mali, wishes this General Assembly of the United Nations, while supporting the historic decision taken in Monrovia, because it is based on the principle of the right of people to self-determination, to continue to place its trust in the African process which has already proved that it can succeed as long as the Powers outside Africa keep out of the dispute.

66. Outside of Africa there are hotbeds of war and sources of tension also deriving from the same disregard of the right of peoples to self-determination.

67. The crisis in the Middle East and the question of Palestine, which is still its epicentre, continue to beset us because the leaders of Israel in their arrogant intransigence refuse to recognize the right to self-determination of the brave Palestinian people.

68. Many of the aspects of the Middle East conflict have been linked to that refusal to accept that principle, respect for which would have prevented the occupation by force of Arab territories and allowed Jerusalem to achieve a status more in keeping with the glorious religious past of that historic city. The Republic of Mali is deeply attached to the search for solutions to conflicts by peaceful means and will never reject any initiative for peace. At the same time, we believe that any peace process must take into account the following facts that are germane to the conflict.

69. First, the inalienable right of the people of Palestine to self-determination, including their right to national independence and the creation of a sovereign State, must be unambiguously accepted by all parties signatories to a peace agreement. In that regard, Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), which were adopted in circumstances of a balance of power that is well known, would be enhanced as a useful source for a true peace agreement by being supplemented in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which recognizes the national rights of the people of Palestine.

70. Secondly, the PLO, being recognized as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people by the summit conferences of the Arab countries and the OAU, being a full-fledged member of the non-aligned movement, enjoying a privileged status at the United Nations and in the specialized agencies, being represented in more than 100 countries of the international community, and making its voice heard constantly in the public opinion of Europe and even America, must imperatively be closely associated in the search for any true peace in the Middle East.

71. Thirdly, the total and unconditional evacuation of the Arab territories occupied by force in the course of the 1967 Israeli aggression is, in our view, a prerequisite for any true peace agreement.

72. Fourthly, Jerusalem must be given a status more in keeping with the religious past of that Holy City, and that, too, is a basic condition for peace.

73. Fifthly, Arab unity, which alone can guarantee that peace will be true and comprehensive, must be maintained.

74. For these reasons Mali, which at the appropriate moment expressed its doubts regarding Israel's good faith in negotiating a true peace treaty, once more—specifically in July in Monrovia and in September in Havana—freely took the part of those who have indefatigably supported the PLO in its struggle to ensure that the Palestinian people succeed in their efforts to achieve self-determination.

75. Those doubts regarding the true will of Israel to live in peace with its neighbours were reinforced by the unspeakable actions committed by the Israeli forces which, with full impunity and with the complicity of the international news media, worked themselves into a rage against the peaceful population of troubled Lebanon, whose southern portion—despite the unfortunately only symbolic presence of United Nations forces—is now no more than a province of Israel, which blithely continues its expansionist and annexationist policies.

76. The other areas of tension warrant the same type of analysis: the crisis of Cyprus, the conflict of Korea and the dismemberment of South-East Asia.

77. The problem of Cyprus comes up each year before our Assembly, which has been dealing with it since the distressing events of 15 July 1974.

78. As a member of the contact group set up by the non-aligned movement, the Republic of Mali, after much discussion, is convinced that only the renewal of the talks between the Greek and Turkish communities, under the auspices of the Secretary-General and with the assistance of an even more limited contact group that could be set up by the present session of the General Assembly, can possibly lay the groundwork for the implementation of the 10 points contained in the agreement of 19 May 1979⁷ and allow the people of Cyprus to exercise their right to self-determination so as to safeguard independence, their sovereignty, their territorial integrity and their national unity.

79. If the principle of self-determination of peoples were to be recognized in the case of the valiant people of Korea who for 30 years have struggled for the legitimate reunification of their occupied country under peaceful circumstances, that nation, having become a democratic and unitary State, would take its rightful place in this Organization and make a fine contribution to our work. United by its history, its geography, its civilization, its genius and the profound aspirations of its peoples, Korea must be reunified in accordance with the pertinent provisions of the agreement contained in the joint communiqué of North and South Korea dated 4 July 1972,⁸ and of the important General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX).

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I*.

80. The worthy people of Asia have by force of arms wrested their right to self-determination from colonialism and then from imperialism, and have all acceded to international sovereignty.

81. We in Mali had thought that the peoples which had for more than 30 years made enormous sacrifices would have turned their victories over the forces of domination and "puppetry" into an unprecedented effort to reconstruct one of the most promising areas of the globe.

82. But recent events have led us to doubt, and almost to pessimism. Yet we still nourish the hope that the lucidity, courage and age-old wisdom which characterize those peoples and which allowed them to emerge victorious from even greater trials, will help them to solve the problems that have been created by untimely foreign interference in their affairs—which seeks to prevent them from freely achieving economic, social and cultural development.

83. After this review of the international realities, it is inevitable that we note that all these areas of tension and of war are strictly confined to the third world. A leader of one of the great Powers even declared recently and with justification that "we live in a world without major conflicts; we live in a world where we are constantly concerned over matters of security; but we no longer fear that war is just around the corner". He added, it is true, that "... there are local conflicts, repression, troubles, but the idea of 'the next war' has somewhat evaporated". This may perhaps be the best description of the present stage of international affairs; while one part of the planet, that occupied by the so-called developed nations, enjoys the benefits of détente, the other half of the world, where "the wretched of the earth" are dying, still suffers from tensions which are cunningly maintained to ensure the continued well-being of about a quarter of the population of the world.

84. To be sure, the present world political system is not automatically being drawn into a major conflict. To be sure, while events in Africa, in the Middle East and even in South-East Asia do create situations of confrontation, it has been possible to prevent them from setting off a world confrontation. Nevertheless, let us remember that for the first time since its appearance, mankind has found the means of self-destruction.

85. The causes of tension, namely, the mad arms race, especially with the intensive production of nuclear weapons and the maintenance and even reinforcement of military alliances, bases and presences, remain matters of concern. Nuclear proliferation carries with it the seeds of a possible world war. The Republic of Mali, one of the founder members of the non-aligned movement, is pleased with the results, albeit modest, obtained since the tenth special session of our General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament.

86. Therefore we are following with interest the efforts under way within the SALT negotiations, even if progress is slow and uncertain.

87. It is essential for us to continue to work together openly in order to make headway along the difficult road to general and complete disarmament, to the dismantling of all military bases forcibly stationed in third-world countries and to the stopping and reversing of the

arms race. It is only that type of co-operation that can lead to the creation of a more secure world where peace would depend less on weapons and would no longer be founded on the outmoded theory of a balance of terror and mutual destruction.

88. My country, the Republic of Mali, true to its policy of dynamic and intransigent non-alignment, continues and will continue to make its modest contribution to this necessary relaxation of tension in international relations. As soon as it recovered its sovereignty, the Republic of Mali demanded the evacuation of all foreign military bases on its soil, and since, aware of its national and international responsibilities, my country has signed and will sign no bilateral or multilateral agreement which does not give it a completely free hand in defence matters.

89. It is in order to remain faithful to these cardinal principles of the non-aligned movement that my country often preaches prudence regarding regional or subregional military projects or even defence pacts between countries that, while belonging to the same geographical area certainly, are often linked bilaterally to Powers outside Africa. We must always bear in mind that any military bloc with links, however tenuous, with Powers outside Africa can only lead to the creation of a new bloc, without taking into account the fact that a defence pact, whatever precautions are taken, is always perceived as machinery for warfare against one State or group of States.

90. That is why the Republic of Mali, fully concerned with development, the only guarantee of stability in our States, reiterates its political and legal commitment never to attack any State, even less a neighbouring one, and to give full fraternal assistance to any State in our region which may be the victim of an attack.

91. The right of peoples to self-determination, disarmament and détente are not the sole components of international peace and security.

92. We have already said that peace is also and perhaps above all economic and social justice. There is no doubt in anyone's mind that peace depends largely on the solutions we find together for the serious imbalances which characterize the world economy.

93. Poverty is not only a scandal which the third-world peoples reveal to wealthy tourists. Poverty is also a danger to the balance of the world.

94. The reality of this poverty can be seen on all the street corners of the proletarian nations and the figures which sum up this tragic condition of the majority of mankind are so huge that they even lose all meaning. Some of these figures are really discouraging: according to the World Bank, 800 million people in the world live beneath what is termed the "line of absolute poverty"; more than 800 million human beings are illiterate; 400 million suffer from serious diseases; 500 million, or more than three quarters, suffer from chronic or permanent malnutrition; and 50 million—I repeat, 50 million—die of hunger each year, while elsewhere, in countries which get much of their riches from third-world resources, people sometimes die from over-eating.

95. These statistics are global and impersonal. Their

very size helps to make them abstract, removing any elementary emotional content.

96. However, behind the figures we should look for reality: the extreme poverty of most of them; a large proportion of illiterates; a runaway population growth with a meagre economy; malnutrition and mediocre infrastructures; a third of the children dying before the age of five; and denial of the right to education, hygiene and employment, and of every vestige of dignity. In short, they drag out their existence in shame, exploitation and degradation.

97. This is the especially revolting reality, even if it exists far from the eyes of an overfed world which wastes and destroys its surplus food. The citizens of the developed countries should know that beef cattle in a so-called developed country are better protected and better fed than peasants in Asia or Africa.

98. For how much longer must millions die in order that thousands shall live?

99. In the face of this situation, which it is difficult to describe, it is no longer enough to profess the correct sentiments as a sop to one's conscience.

100. It is just as dangerous to regard this situation as a matter for academic speeches, a sterile ritual at seminars and international conferences, and a repetitive litany of statements, reports and studies made in order to gain time while hunger and injustice increase. It is intolerable and explosive that three quarters of the world's population should represent less than one fifth of the general economic weight. To be selfish or unaware in the face of such a situation is an insult not only to morality, but also and above all to the common interest of all of us.

101. Now what do we see? On 1 May 1974, at the impetus of the developing countries, our General Assembly, at its sixth special session, proclaimed in its resolution 3201 (S-VI) the urgent need to set up a "new international economic order", that is to change the institutions and laws which govern the world economy, to reorganize monetary, scientific, technical and material exchanges and the distribution of the power of the rich countries, and to create a more democratic world—in sum, to decolonize the world economy which, during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, was dominated by Western Europe and its offshoots.

102. After the last 10 years and session after session of UNCTAD and various meetings within the framework of the North-South dialogue, we are now convinced that most of the proposals concerning structural changes in the international system, as well as those put forward with a view to the taking of urgent measures on pressing problems, have unfortunately not been the subject of any agreement.

103. What is a more significant phenomenon is the fact that stagnation, if not regression, is taking place in official development assistance. In a word, the financial flow, including bank loans, to the third world in 1978 represented some \$77 billion as compared to \$65 billion in 1977. It will be noted that, because of inflation, the financial flow has hardly varied from one year to the next at 1978 prices. It will be noted that the debts owed

for this reason by the developing countries exceed \$300 billion whereas expenditures on armaments exceed \$1 billion a day while official development assistance is 20 times less than that.

104. Such is the state of the world, an unhappy world, unhappy because it does not know where it is going and because it imagines that if it did know, it would find that it may be heading towards a catastrophe. That was a prophecy made by one of the great Powers, certainly a prophecy of doom hanging over us because it means that the problems of economic and social balance have not been solved. The needy and the wealthy have to get together to seek ways of overcoming the economic and social phenomena.

105. The Republic of Mali considers that we should still trust in measures of concerting our efforts rather than resorting to the strategy of confrontation. We must seek to progress through peaceful negotiations. Doubtless the way will be difficult because these negotiations would have to take place among more than 150 sovereign States that are unequal throughout the range of economic and social activities. The task may appear to be a Utopian one, but it is still within the grasp of mankind.

106. The North-South dialogue already taking place will have at least allowed contacts and helpful clarifications to be made, particularly since it has shown the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries. But in the course of these talks they will have to realize that they will be assuming a tremendous responsibility if they continue to limit themselves to empty promises. More and more, political action for change is prompting the cry for a more rational management of the world economy.

107. In that regard, some new ideas are receiving greater attention. First of all, under-development is no longer taken to mean slow development, that is, as a phase in a process of expansion from which the countries of the third world will one day emerge. Under-development is indeed a result of development, a distortion resulting from the relations between the dominant States and the dependent States. Under-development is the result of the exchange relationship in raw materials and the consequence of the exploitation of our resources. A second, very fruitful idea is to study the fact that the life of human society largely depends on factors other than economic ones. There does not exist any human action without its spiritual dimension.

108. These are realities that increasingly lead to a certain conduct that is seen above all in the developing countries—to fall back on their own resources and to organize the collective power of the poor countries in negotiations with the rich ones.

109. It is, however, true that among the wealthy nations a certain slow awareness is growing of the need to overcome these economic phenomena. The most concrete expressions of this took place at the meetings of the Guadeloupe Summit, held from 4 to 6 January 1979, and of the Tokyo Economic Summit, held on 28 and 29 June 1979. If they have not yet finally understood that an economic organization on a collective basis, even if it disturbs and upsets selfish interests, would be a global system that would be more advantageous for all, they

have at least become aware that a world monetary and economic system must be established. This calls for an agreement on the part of the principal partners, an agreement that is difficult to achieve because of their great number and the extent of national self-interest.

110. The true problem, the true debate—and it is in this Assembly that it is most appropriate that we discuss it—lies in knowing whether the necessary political conditions exist in the developed countries to allow this new strategy for development to take root and grow. There is where the most difficult task to be accomplished lies, because there are many who enjoy privileges that they wish to retain within the framework of their present anachronistic orientation. But, on the other hand, they cannot blind themselves to the changes made necessary by the deadlocks and inevitable contradictions.

111. It is up to the authorities of the developed countries to convince themselves and their peoples that they must adapt to the new state of the world, that they cannot return to the previous situation of exploitation of foreign resources and that the era of a general prosperity that was most unequally shared is definitely over.

112. They must try to adjust to a world that is bound to arrive and not wish to stick to a world that is on its way out. Therein lies the key to all that can and should be done. We are assuredly at a cross-roads. "If one panics, one will not dare to advance and will instead retreat. If, on the contrary, one continues to advance, all of a sudden one will discover something new: a new state of the world", a political, economic, social and cultural world that is more just and more equitable. There is still time "to make haste slowly" to save man and mankind through true justice, the only guarantor of peace.

113. Mrs. de AMORIM (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations is being presided over by a distinguished diplomat whom the whole of Africa is unanimous in recognizing as a man of commitment and devotion to the cause of the oppressed peoples. Over the long years of national liberation struggles, our peoples have always found in you, in your country the United Republic of Tanzania, in your people and in your Government the support, acceptance and understanding so necessary for the continuation of our struggle.

114. The Tanzanian people uncompromisingly cast off once and for all the shackles of oppression and exploitation. This stands as an example to the peoples fighting to recover their dignity and to establish a just and equitable society. The constant contribution of the United Republic of Tanzania to the defence of the ideals of the peoples of the world and its attachment to the cause of the total liberation of the African continent have conferred upon the Tanzanian people and its great leader, President Julius Nyerere, a remarkable place in the world of today.

115. When we speak of you, Sir, we are speaking above all of a friend and the Ambassador of the United Republic of Tanzania, a country with which my own country, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, enjoys the best possible relations. Mr. Presi-

dent, in congratulating you on your unanimous election, my delegation is simply recognizing once again the fine qualities as a diplomat which you demonstrated so strikingly during your chairmanship of the Special Committee on decolonization, and we wish to express our certainty of your success in your work.

116. My delegation would also like to congratulate your predecessor, His Excellency Mr. Indalecio Lievano, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia, on the results he achieved at the last session.

117. The United Nations is now the richer by the presence of a new Member, recently come to independence. It is with great pleasure that we extend our warmest congratulations to the delegation of Saint Lucia.

118. We are meeting at a time when the African continent is stricken with dismay at having had to bear, in the short period of less than a year, the sudden loss of two of its most brilliant sons: President Houari Boumediène of Algeria and President Agostinho Neto of Angola.

119. It is for his devotion to the cause of building a democratic Algeria, an Algeria of the people, for his dominant role in the struggle to bring about a new international economic order, for his unswerving defence of the cause of the peoples, particularly those of Africa and the Middle East, and for his example of integrity and honesty—it is for all these things that President Houari Boumediène will be remembered for ever as an eminent statesman and as a man who discharged to the full his historical responsibility.

120. The history of the people of Sao Tome and Principe will record the very positive action taken by President Boumediene in the negotiations in Algiers in November 1974 for the transfer of power from the colonial authorities to the liberation movement of Sao Tome and Principe, the legitimate representative of the people of Sao Tome and Principe.

121. This sense of history, this need to give expression, at the cost of any sacrifice, to the will of an entire people and this ability to interpret that will to the point of identifying completely with it were also found abundantly in the person of Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola. President Agostinho Neto was a committed man: committed to his people, whom he led during its long struggle for national independence until the proclamation of the People's Republic of Angola, and committed, too, when that national independence, once won, encountered all sorts of difficulties, difficulties which in the strength of his commitment he was able to overcome with patience and determination. President Agostinho Neto was also, and perhaps most importantly, a man committed to the future of the African continent, a future of freedom and dignity. The People's Republic of Angola was, in the mind of President Agostinho Neto, yet another piece of Africa liberated. The existence of the People's Republic of Angola and the consolidation of its political and economic independence had a fundamental objective: that of accelerating the process of the total liberation of the continent.

122. The delegation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe is convinced that contemporary

history will give prominence to the contributions of President Houari Boumediène and President Agostinho Neto to the cause of a race of man that would be more humane.

123. On 16 September 1975, in this Assembly, my country, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, made its debut before the international community as a full-fledged, free and sovereign State. The States Members of the United Nations gave us a warm welcome⁹ and we had the opportunity to express our gratitude for the unswerving support we had enjoyed throughout our struggle to win political independence. We were at pains to inform you of the difficulties which faced us, and to explain to you our commitment and determination to build, with our efforts and your solidarity, a more dignified existence for the people of Sao Tome and Principe.

124. Four years have elapsed since that day, and we thought it our duty to inform you of the first results in our work of national reconstruction. We hope and wish that this may be a contribution to our common task of creating a more harmonious future for mankind.

125. After five centuries of colonialism and obscurantism, what was the situation of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe on 12 July 1975, the day of its accession to independence? We took over a country with no infrastructure for development. Our isolation from the outside world was nearly total, and made worse by the inadequacy and precariousness of the means of communication. We had a dependent economy in a country rich in potentialities. Among the people, there reigned ignorance, a high rate of infant mortality, an alarming rate of illiteracy and a very low life expectancy. In the face of this situation, to which was added the lack of qualified personnel, our determination to build our country was never shaken and the co-operation of Member States—although limited and far from meeting our needs—was quickly forthcoming. The changes made over these four years have not yet solved all the problems faced by our people.

126. Still, these changes have made it possible for our hope for a better life to become a certainty, a certainty strengthened by the success already achieved in vital sectors such as health, education, food and, above all, the creation of an infrastructure for a harmonious development which, given our natural potential, will make it possible to satisfy our essential needs.

127. In this process of development, we have had to face two fundamental difficulties. First, as the plan for society envisaged by the liberation movement of Sao Tome and Principe is translated into specific actions designed to promote the welfare of our people, it gives rise to resistance and hostility on the part of a minority whose frustrated ambitions have led to two attempted coups d'état, and to threats of invasion by mercenaries, thanks to the support that minority still enjoys among those forces which are hostile to the peace and progress of the people of Sao Tome and Principe. We had the opportunity last year to set forth these facts in detail before this Organization.¹⁰ This minority, blinded by greed and devoid of the slightest feeling of identification

with the real problems of our people, continues to use every possible pretext to destabilize the country.

128. This situation, taken together with the lack of available resources, the shortage of qualified personnel and the occurrence of natural disasters such as the drought which afflicted our country in 1978 leaving its effects on agricultural production, and, finally, the African swine fever, which led to the extinction of our herds of swine, has greatly jeopardized the implementation of many projects.

129. Furthermore, the crisis in the world economy has a particularly strong impact on developing countries in general and on island nations in particular, whose economies depend on the production for export of a single crop which is subject to uncontrolled price fluctuations. Our appeals for international co-operation have not always been answered in an effective way, and this has caused problems which our efforts and our determination have not been able to overcome.

130. It is within that context that the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe has provided the entire population with medical assistance, including free medical care and compulsory education.

131. In the social field, we must stress the establishment of a social security insurance system which guarantees to all a life free from the nightmare of insecurity and of fear for the morrow.

132. In the economic sector, the expropriation of large agricultural land holdings, the management of which was threatened by their abandonment by the former colonial owners, has enabled our Government to initiate a policy of crop diversification, the results of which will, in turn, make it possible for us to meet certain yet unfulfilled needs of our population.

133. The control of foreign trade has made possible the better utilization by our Government of the proceeds from our exports and a more rational import policy.

134. The stimulation of other areas of production is an urgent task, given its importance for our efforts to overcome the state of dependence on cacao as our single cash crop. The development of fishing and of other agricultural-food industries is also among the main priorities of our Government.

135. The results of our efforts to overcome the isolation imposed upon us by our island state have been more modest because of the almost total absence of a communications network.

136. The scope of the problem far exceeds our present resources and abilities. The co-operation of international organizations and Member States could be an important contribution to solution of this problem, which is of such vital and timely importance to our country.

137. Our achievements in the housing sector have been equally modest. The colonial authorities were never concerned with providing workers with housing worthy of the name. Hence the building of homes on the agricultural land-holdings emerges as one of our

⁹ *Ibid.*, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2351st meeting.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 32nd meeting, paras. 57-131.

foremost priorities, although the lack of resources has prevented us from meeting this requirement adequately.

138. We should like at this stage to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his efforts in mobilizing international assistance for our country. The fact that this was only one of the many tasks entrusted to him by our Organization is eloquent testimony to his indefatigable efforts to implement our decisions.

139. In presenting this brief report of our principal achievements and continuing difficulties, our intention has been simply to give an idea of the basic importance which the people of Sao Tome and Principe attach to their attainment of independence.

140. For generations which have been subjected to colonialism, the difference between past and present is not merely that of regained freedom: the difference is that in the past our future was uncertain, if not nonexistent. The present that we are building for ourselves day by day in the face of all sorts of difficulties will, we are convinced, guarantee a future of happiness and well-being for the people of Sao Tome.

141. This concern for the future prompts us to pay particular attention to children. Hence the commemoration of the International Year of the Child is an event which has mobilized the efforts of all strata of our population. Its importance is attested to by the fact that the committee entrusted with the organization of activities connected with the International Year of the Child was sponsored by our Head of State himself.

142. The admission of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe to the United Nations has set the seal on its status as a free and sovereign country, believing strongly in the ideals which led to its creation, and has committed it to the cause of peace, progress and well-being for all mankind. As a full-fledged Member of the international community, we have now embarked upon the process of joining the various specialized agencies within the United Nations system.

143. The purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter are actively reflected in the non-aligned movement, which is such a dynamic force in the embodiment of the aspirations and hopes of the vast majority of the peoples of our planet.

144. Intimately linked by a common past of domination, oppression, exploitation and contempt for their dignity, sharing the devastating effects of the prevailing international situation imposed and maintained by relationships of inequality established way back in their history, and suffering day after day from shortage and privation, the non-aligned countries constitute the most important element within the peace-loving progressive forces struggling for the establishment of a new international political and economic order whereby peace, equality and co-operation will take the place of war, injustice and exploitation.

145. This community of interests cemented by a common past was reconfirmed by the success of the Sixth Conference of non-aligned countries, held in Havana last September.

146. The strengthening of the anti-imperialist positions of the movement—which implies consistency with the principles of the struggle against colonialism and neo-colonialism, *apartheid*, racism, zionism and all forms of exploitation and domination—the reaffirmation of its principle of peaceful, active coexistence among States and its opposition to the division of the world into alliances or military blocs make an important contribution to the total liberation of peoples and the establishment of the essential foundations for promoting the advent of an era of peace so ardently desired by the peoples of the whole world.

147. We are convinced that under the chairmanship of the Republic of Cuba, whose commitment to the policy of non-alignment was once again so amply demonstrated, the non-aligned movement will go on to record new and significant successes.

148. The creation of conditions conducive to an environment of peace, security and progress for all mankind is one of the major objectives of the United Nations. Its implementation is closely linked with the struggle of peoples for total emancipation and for freedom of choice concerning the most appropriate ways and means of achieving their aspirations.

149. The total decolonization of peoples still living under foreign domination thus becomes a matter of highest priority in the evolutionary process of the world today. For the developing countries, the solution of the crucial problems besetting them demands respect for their independence and territorial integrity, the effective exercise of sovereignty over their natural resources, acceptance of their social and cultural diversity, and mutually advantageous co-operation.

150. In spite of our solemn declarations about the need to contribute to the total fulfilment of the noble objectives of our Organization, among which ensuring the right of peoples to freedom and independence occupies a prominent place, peoples throughout the five continents of the world still live under foreign occupation and domination, their legitimate aspirations ignored, their rights usurped, and their struggles subjected to all kinds of indescribable trafficking.

151. The persistence of these situations, the responsibility for which lies unfortunately with certain States Members of the international community—because of the sacrifice of human lives to which it leads, because of the insecurity it injects into whole communities, because of the destruction of values which it engenders and because of the contradiction which it entails vis-à-vis the ideals which we defend—constitutes so many distressing and repugnant acts of aggression which curb the harmonious progress of the world today.

152. The right of peoples to self-determination is one of the most important achievements in present-day life, and the recognition of this right underlies the profound changes which have occurred in international society over the past few decades.

153. Our country, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, the embodiment of the age-old aspirations of the Sao Tome peoples for a free life, has inherited from its triumphant anti-colonial struggle the responsibility which is common to all the States Mem-

bers of our Organization: namely, actively to support the irreversible process of the liberation of other peoples. This explains the concern of our Government in the face of the difficulties imposed on the liberation struggles in various parts of the world, particularly the African continent.

154. In the southern part of our continent racist minorities persist in denying millions of people their true status as subjects of history. Aware of their precarious existence the systems of oppression which are repugnant to the conscience of mankind are every day revealing themselves more brutal in their acts of aggression, more persistent in their obsessions and more insensitive to and arrogant towards the appeals of the international community.

155. At the same time, supported by forces which make defending their economic and strategic interests in the region the *raison d'être* of their policy and the right of peoples to freedom an aberration, these régimes seek to make the international community an accomplice of their system of oppression.

156. It is a fact that the colonial question of Rhodesia is not limited merely to the simple promotion of the cause of Africans within the machinery of the repressive racist apparatus. It is fundamentally a question of transferring power from the racist minority to the legitimate representatives of the African majority; it is in fact a question of destroying the repressive racist machinery and allowing the people of Zimbabwe to take charge of their country. The so-called internal settlement cannot win recognition from the international community because of the very fact of its fraudulent nature.

157. Although the minority Rhodesian régime wants to get us accustomed to its unilateral taking of positions, in spite of the decisions taken in so many international meetings, whose purpose was to find a solution favourable to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe, our Government is following with sustained attention the negotiations going on in London. We hope that the administering Power will live up to its responsibility fully in its search for ways and means of permitting the majority of the people of Zimbabwe to exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

158. To the Patriotic Front, the sole and legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, which in its persistent armed struggle is opening up the path to true liberation, we should like to express here our firm support and active solidarity.

159. With regard to Namibia, in whose forthcoming independence we came to believe at the time we took part in the debate at the thirty-third session of the Assembly, our hopes have been drowned in the innocent blood of the Namibian people that continues to drench the paths of liberty, which has fallen victim to South African Fascist repression.

160. The plan prepared by the Secretary-General of the United Nations¹¹ with the active participation of all interested parties and in keeping with Security Council resolutions 385 (1976), 435 (1978) and 439 (1978) has not

been put into effect because of the delaying tactics of South Africa.

161. Thwarting the efforts of the international community to find a solution capable of putting an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, South Africa wants to impose upon the Namibian people the so-called National Assembly. This attitude should be most vigorously rejected by the international community and calls for a clear, firm and consistent stand to be taken.

162. The Security Council, in the face of this situation which poses a threat to international peace and security, should take action in keeping with Chapter VII of the Charter and order economic sanctions against South Africa.

163. We wish to reiterate to SWAPO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Namibian people, our commitment to active support for its liberation struggle for the national independence and territorial integrity of its country.

164. South Africa, sustained and encouraged by its allies, is persisting in its policy of *apartheid* and has reduced the people of South Africa to the status of mere means of production which it coops up in bantustans and uses in order to perpetuate their odious system.

165. No one can deny today the important life-support role being played by the economic and financial co-operation of the West in the survival of the racist régime. Shaken by the continuing revolt of the oppressed peoples and the most vigorous rejection by the international community, the *apartheid* régime finds in this co-operation the support it needs to keep its repressive machine active and efficient. That makes its stance of defiance of mankind even more arrogant and limits the effects of its increasing isolation. We are convinced that history will record the fact that those who are so obsessed by their immediate short-term interests are prolonging the death-throes of a régime which is the most repugnant and despicable of our time and every day is imperilling the security of the African continent and thus threatening international peace.

166. Faithful to the principles and objectives proclaimed by the Charter of our Organization, we should step up our action in solidarity vis-à-vis the South African people and support the national liberation movement, which, in the towns of the racist citadel and in the countryside, is communicating to the enemy its faith, which we should share, in the inexorable end to this racist nightmare.

167. To the National African Congress of South Africa, we wish to express our total determination to continue to provide it with the support and solidarity which it deserves in its just struggle.

168. At the same time, concrete and effective measures, as provided for by our Organization, should be adopted and resolutely applied as a matter of urgency.

169. The repeated acts of aggression against fraternal front-line countries, particularly Angola, Mozambique and Zambia, to prevent them from doing their historic duty towards the liberation movements of southern Africa deserve the most vigorous condemnation from us.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

170. Furthermore, the international community should provide assistance to these countries to help them overcome the damage they have sustained as the result of these barbarous acts of aggression.

171. With similar concern, we are following the development of the struggle in the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic for the assertion of its identity as a full-fledged member of the international community. This situation gives rise to even greater concern if we take into account that the total liberation of the African continent should be one of the major purposes of our collective efforts. It is within this context that we condemn the invasion of that country by the army of a neighbouring State.

172. We wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on its positive attitude towards the peace proposal presented by the Frente POLISARIO.

173. It has now become obvious to the international community that the only obstacle to peace in the area lies in the negative attitude of the Kingdom of Morocco, which persists in thwarting the relevant decisions of the OAU and the General Assembly.

174. The elimination of hotbeds of conflict, which threaten international peace and security and jeopardize the possibility of harmonious peace and co-operation among the peoples of our planet, is one of the tasks to which our Organization devotes sustained and continuous attention.

175. If the results that have been achieved so far have been modest, this is due partially to the complexity of the problems that we face. Also, the decisions adopted by the United Nations are in some cases deliberately ignored, and even thwarted in their essence and aims, by Member States whose first obligation should be to promote their effective implementation. These facts are disturbing in themselves, and in certain situations take on a highly negative significance.

176. The question of the Middle East is a flagrant example of the situation that we have just described. After more than three decades of intensive debate the relevant decisions of the principal organs of our Organization have not decisively influenced the solution to the Palestinian problem even though the main guidelines which could promote consistent action have long been laid down.

177. We must recognize the right of the Palestinian people to a sovereign homeland, to return to the land of their birth and to have restored to them the Arab territories occupied by force by Israel in 1967. We must recognize the right of all the States in the area to live in peace within internationally recognized frontiers. Four wars, with all their train of death and destruction, a situation of permanent insecurity, and millions of people condemned to enforced exile have not succeeded in bringing peace to the region.

178. True peace and real security for the peoples of the region cannot be brought about without the consent of the Palestinian people. Such consent presupposes recognition of their legitimate rights.

179. It is clear to us that any solution to the Palestinian problem must envisage the participation of the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, the PLO. If so, it is difficult for us to understand how the Camp David agreements could really be expected to lead to the peace which is so ardently desired in the Middle East.

180. By ignoring the other parties directly concerned in the conflict, excluding them from the negotiations, denying the fundamental nature of the Palestinian problem in the Middle East question and attempting a partial solution to the question, the Camp David agreements seem to have placed one more obstacle in the path of a viable and definitive solution to the Middle East problem.

181. Far from reducing tension, these agreements have actually promoted an escalation of violence in the area. Far from prevailing upon the Zionist State to refrain from aggressive action against Lebanon, these agreements have led to their intensification. Far from the arms potential in the area diminishing, these agreements have actually increased it alarmingly since they were signed. The resistance and determination of the Arab and Palestinian peoples, far from breaking, has grown steadily since that time.

182. Once again we reaffirm our support for the PLO and all Arab peoples in their legitimate struggle for the recovery of their occupied territories, for the creation of a sovereign Palestinian State and for lasting peace in the area.

183. The situation prevailing in the eastern Mediterranean is also a matter of concern.

184. In Cyprus the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of that country continue to be threatened in spite of our decisions and the personal efforts of the Secretary-General.

185. We express our hope that there will be an effective application of resolution 3212 (XXIX) and an end to all outside interference in the internal affairs of this sovereign State.

186. We repeat our support for and solidarity with the Korean people in their struggle for the peaceful and independent reunification of the Korean homeland. We very much appreciate the initiative taken by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea with a view to finding a peaceful solution to the problem.

187. The record of the activities of the United Nations in the field of decolonization is a good one.

188. The end of the process of decolonization, in spite of remaining difficulties, has today become irreversible and is a matter of urgency. We should like here to refer particularly to the armed struggle of the heroic people of East Timor, legitimately represented by FRE-TILIN,¹² who are seeking to gain their independence. We call upon our Organization to intensify its efforts in order to prevail upon the invading country to respect the rights of the people of East Timor to express

¹² Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

themselves freely on their future, in keeping with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

189. The right to self-determination of the peoples of the world necessarily presupposes that after winning independence and in keeping with the socio-cultural realities, they should be totally free to adopt the policies of development that best conform to their aspirations. This right of peoples to decide on their own future has become imperative in present-day historical development, and a necessary condition for the establishment of a new international order which would be more just and more conducive to the self-fulfilment of men and women. Unfortunately this respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination and to decide on their own future has not yet been accepted by the whole international community.

190. In Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe people are subjected to oppression and the exploitation of their natural resources and their labour. These victims of fear, poverty, humiliation and torture have made their rebellion and courage their principal allies in their fight against these dictatorial and bloody régimes.

191. These peoples have earned the respect and admiration of the international community. Their victories have been very hard-won at a cost of thousands, and in certain cases millions, of innocent victims—men, women, old people and children, whose only crime against imperialism has been the wish to assert their human dignity and reject exploitation, domination and moral degradation.

192. These obsolete or obsolescent régimes have always found in the imperialist forces the moral, political, economic and military support to help them fight their peoples who have risen up or are rising up to say "enough" to the régimes of oppression. These forces have on their hands the blood of innocent people, yet they invoke human rights in support of régimes which have silenced, in the peace of the graveyard, the cries of people who struggle against domination and exploitation.

193. We know that the voracious machine of imperialism always needs human sacrifices in order to maintain its economic and strategic interests. But as long as there are people who are determined, the forces of oppression are condemned to disappear; hence their hatred for and ruthless aggression against any régime which clearly and consistently has made liberty and the dignity and well-being of the people its fundamental objective and article of faith.

194. Underlying this fact, which today has become undeniable, is the right of all peoples to exercise permanent and effective sovereignty over their wealth and natural resources.

195. In promoting the true exercise of this right, the United Nations will make a considerable contribution to the developing countries, whose situation today is due principally to the foreign domination imposed by imperialist ambition.

196. It is not a matter of defending autarchy, a fact which has been superseded by the realities of today, but

rather a matter of promoting true international co-operation based on equality, equity and mutual advantage in mutual respect for the sovereignty of each State.

197. In this way we shall create the conditions which, once prejudices have been dispelled and artificially erected barriers broken down, will usher in an era of fruitful co-operation and the peoples of the world will be engaged in building a world of peace and brotherhood among men.

198. In this area also, our efforts have met with resistance from those who, impressed by the privileges conferred upon them by the present order, deny by their very actions the idea of a new international economic and political order.

199. Although we recognize the complexity of certain questions that are being studied, we feel that the results achieved so far in the negotiations to bring about a new international economic order are still modest, not to say disappointing.

200. These results reflect the absence of any real political will on the part of certain industrialized States to restructure the principal machinery and institutions governing world economic activity.

201. This refusal to engage in a more constructive dialogue only delays the solution of some problems that are vital for developing countries and is a factor for tension which it is urgent to eliminate.

202. Because of the important role that UNCTAD is designed to play in the international economic negotiations affecting international trade and problems relating to economic development, particularly the negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order, it has become the principal instrument of the General Assembly for examining and following the evolution of the international economic situation, in the light of the relevant provisions of General Assembly resolution 1995 (XIX) and UNCTAD resolution 90 (IV).¹³ That is why we believe that the strengthening of UNCTAD should be considered as one of the key elements in the current restructuring of the social and economic sector of the United Nations.

203. In view of the wide range of questions on the agenda and of those on which a decision was not taken at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila from 7 May to 3 June 1979,¹⁴ the results of that session were extremely limited. However, we hope that the target of \$350 million set for the creation of the Common Fund will soon be achieved and that the negotiations for the effective creation of that Fund, which was scheduled for December this year, will be successful.

204. The transformation of UNIDO into a specialized agency, at the same time as it strengthens the role of the United Nations in the industrial development of de-

¹³ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14).

veloping countries, also represents progress which we hope will help us to overcome the delays which have occurred with regard to the achievement of the objectives advocated in the Lima Declaration and Programme of Action on Industrial Development Cooperation.¹⁵

205. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, in the context of negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order, assumes the utmost importance.

206. The creation of machinery that will make feasible the practical implementation of the concept of the common heritage of mankind and the solution of problems still unsolved is a task to which the participants in that Conference will be able to give the best possible response.

207. The efforts which have been made in the past several years to carry out intensive negotiations have already begun to yield certain results, and we hope that the forthcoming sessions of the Conference in 1980 will make possible the adoption of a convention which will govern the activities of States on the seas.

208. These efforts should in no way be compromised by unilateral measures, and for this reason we appeal to all the participants to refrain from such acts.

209. The unbridled arms race, and in particular the nuclear arms race, because of the latent danger it represents for the whole of mankind and because of the waste

of human capacities and precious resources for purposes which are far from being the goals we are aiming at, constitutes a serious impediment to the patient efforts of the international community to create a world of peace, progress and fraternity among peoples.

210. The trend in favour of the arms race advocated by certain sectors should be resisted through our firm determination to bring about general and complete disarmament under effective international control.

211. The results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, which was devoted to disarmament, demonstrate our collective will that each Member State should promote the putting into effect of the measures advocated in the Final Document adopted at the end of the session [*resolution S-10/2*] and that the common aspiration of our peoples to peace should be the major concern of our Governments. In the world of today we must all fully assume this collective responsibility. From that standpoint, my Government reiterates its devotion to the principle of convening a world conference on the whole question of disarmament within the framework of the United Nations.

212. In this connexion, we are pleased to note the signing of the SALT Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union. This marks an important stage, to the continuation of which we should devote our best energies and abilities.

213. In that way we shall be acting in keeping with the aspirations of the peoples and we shall be contributing to ensuring that humanity never loses its hope in man.

¹⁵ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

The meeting rose at 1.05 p.m.