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CONTENTS

	Page
Address by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, Prime Minister of Mauritius .....	475
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Aké (Ivory Coast) .....	477
Speech by Mr. Al-Khalifa (Bahrain) .....	480
Speech by Mr. Patterson (Jamaica) .....	483
Speech by Mr. Ngarukiyintwali (Rwanda) .....	487
Speech by Mr. Mohammed (Democratic Yemen) .....	491
Speech by Mr. Diallo (Niger) .....	495
Speech by Mr. Hammadi (Iraq) .....	498

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

**Address by Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam,**  
**Prime Minister of Mauritius**

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister, Minister of Defence and Internal Security, Minister of Information and Broadcasting, and Minister of Civil Aviation of Mauritius, His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Sir Seewoosagur RAMGOOLAM (Mauritius): I bring to the representatives and the United Nations the warm greetings of the people of Mauritius.

3. May I, on behalf of the Government and people of Mauritius and on my own behalf, sincerely congratulate you, Mr. President, on being elected to preside over the present session. It is our earnest hope that the world is now moving into a period that will see the resolution of many of the questions that have preoccupied us for years past, and in this connexion the high office that you have courageously accepted to occupy will place you in many hazardous situations in the front line of the battle for the peace, security and well-being of mankind. Your long and rich experience in government and diplomacy will enable you to guide this Assembly with tact and wisdom. In this arduous task that lies ahead of us you can rely on the entire support of my delegation and of all men of peace and goodwill.

4. May I also express our esteem for you, Mr. Secretary-General, and for your untiring and constant efforts to uphold the United Nations and the vision enshrined in its Charter. You have had to draw upon your inner reserves of faith, wisdom and patience. It is

our fervent wish that you will continue to lead this Organization for many more years.

5. Before I go further, I should like to welcome Saint Lucia as a sovereign and independent State in the community of nations and to express our joy and happiness to its people and Government.

6. Franklin Roosevelt declared that the United Nations spelled:

“...the end of the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliance, and spheres of influence and balance of power and all the other expedients which have been used for centuries and which have failed.”

He went on to say:

“...we propose to substitute for these a universal organization which all peace-loving nations have a chance to join.”

Yet, the principle of the universality of United Nations membership has not been established to the satisfaction of all, nor has the system of unilateral action and exclusive alliance been abandoned. We have a long way yet to go. A country like Mauritius has great and loyal attachment for this Organization and a special concern for its successful functioning. I have come here to reiterate my country's deep commitment to the principles and purposes of the Charter.

7. Given our geo-political appurtenance to Africa, it is but natural that all that happens there is of primary concern to us.

8. After 14 years of illegality and dark despair we now see a distant glimmer of hope for Zimbabwe. All nations belonging to this great Organization have throughout the years struggled for democracy, freedom and the rule of law. In this spirit we welcome the prospective changes to be effected at the London Constitutional Conference on Rhodesia, changes which will bring sovereignty and independence to Zimbabwe and peace to that vast continent.

9. My Government also fully supports the untiring efforts of the five Western Powers members of the Security Council and those of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to find a solution to the Namibia question. But, while we endorse such positive steps and promising initiatives, we are also growing more apprehensive day by day, because we know that the patience of the Namibian people has limits and we are already very near the point of no return when human logic abdicates in favour of relentless armed struggle.

10. It is only too natural that we who live in a multi-

racial country where equality of opportunities, freedom of conscience and the spirit of brotherhood prevail should, particularly, find *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination repulsive. The policy of separate development is dehumanizing and makes of man man's worst enemy. The delusions of superiority of race and colour exist only in a diseased mind. All steps taken to wipe out the evil of *apartheid* must, overtly and manifestly, be seen as genuine endeavours towards its eradication.

11. I have dealt with the problems facing the southern part of our continent because they are the most glaring instances of injustice and require our most urgent attention. Unfortunately, the problems of Africa are not restricted to white domination; the south is but a visible manifestation of what is true of the rest of the continent. Africa still suffers from inequality and dependence in its economic relations with the industrialized world. There have been no real African conflicts on the continent, but we realize painfully that our only war is against time and under-development and, in this, mass unemployment, inflation, mass poverty and our own security are the main constraints to hamper our efforts to achieve economic independence, and that our sole interest is in moving to catch up with the twentieth century before the twenty-first is upon us. May I remind representatives of His Holiness the Pope's statement on Tuesday [17th meeting] that a great solidarity among all the peoples is necessary for the achievement of peace and prosperity.

12. I should like also to state that we staunchly believe in and uphold the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a Member State. In this connexion, we believe that the populations of dependent overseas territories have the right to decide its future freely, without outside interference.

13. The first phase of our emergence is almost over. We have by and large acquired political independence which we are in the process of consolidating while we move into the next phase of our fight for freedom—the struggle for economic independence and against under-development, inflation, ignorance, poverty and disease. We can eradicate those ills only if there is full participation by the people themselves in such a gigantic task. The North-South dialogue, the efforts made by UNCTAD and the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development have not come up to our expectations, but we keep on struggling in the hope that those who can will eventually realize that they must co-operate fully and sincerely in uplifting the standard of living and the quality of life of the peoples of the world.<sup>1</sup>

14. Since I addressed this Assembly last year<sup>1</sup> certain events have occurred which give us cause to believe that the world is moving towards greater respect for human rights and better understanding of human obligations. We can only welcome the emergence of a universal charter of human rights and obligations in the near future.

15. We in the Indian Ocean are making serious efforts to develop regional co-operation with our neighbours. We are embarked on some regional projects aiming at

the economic development of our countries. We therefore invite the great Powers to reduce their military presence or capabilities in this part of the world. That is why we call upon all interested parties to ensure that the Indian Ocean really becomes a zone of peace. We urge all nations of the Indian Ocean to adopt a more positive attitude with the United Nations *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean so that a conference on the Indian Ocean may be convened shortly. In view of the importance Mauritius attaches to this question we have already indicated our intention and willingness to host that Conference.

16. We in Africa and in the Indian Ocean are not alone in appealing for the denuclearization of this part of the world. States in the Middle East and Asia have the same view regarding their region.

17. My Government is happy to note the first steps that have been taken towards a solution of the Middle East conflict. The Palestinian issues unfortunately remain unresolved and no solution of the Middle East question is possible while 3 million Palestinians are denied their basic human rights. Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] must recognize each other and only then can a global, durable and peaceful settlement, negotiated within the framework of the United Nations resolutions, be achieved. Any steps taken by anyone, in the Middle East or elsewhere, in the direction of peace has our unreserved support.

18. The destabilization process taking place in South-East Asia is a matter of great concern to us. We can only hope that it will not be a repetition of the Mesopotamian style of dismemberment and the annihilation of its people. We are faced with a pressing humanitarian problem that brooks no delay, for while we procrastinate, innocent people are either dying of starvation in Kampuchea or drowning in the South China Sea.

19. We continue to believe that the reunification of Korea will be realized through the North-South talks even if these talks have unfortunately proved fruitless so far. There is so much in common between those two parts of the country that we are confident the fraternal desire for unity will overcome the present political differences. In the meantime, we believe that the cause of reunification will be best served by the representation of both Koreas in this international Organization.

20. We earnestly hope that the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations towards a solution of the Cyprus problem will prove successful in the long run.

21. It was indeed a happy decision to declare 1979 the International Year of the Child. The hopes we have for a better world tomorrow are based on the faith that the children of today will one day be happier and, God willing, better men than we have been. Towards this end my Government made education free at the secondary and tertiary levels over two years ago with the intention of making equal opportunities available to every child irrespective of his social or economic background. Measures have also been taken in the health, social security and labour fields to ensure the happiness of our children and the opportunity fully to realize their human potential.

22. We also hope that the coming International Year

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 7th meeting, paras. 2-24.

for Disabled Persons will be as successful as the International Year of the Child and will bring about a heightened awareness of their plight, of a greater need for consideration than that of other men.

23. In spite of sharp international conflicts and setbacks, the nations of the world are drawing closer and closer together. The world has become a unit and demands that it should be treated as one. Today this is not only possible but it is necessary for our survival. Whoever may be the stronger Power, no one will survive a nuclear holocaust. Power undermines itself from within and turns into impotence. As Gautama Buddha said: "Iron turns to rust and rust devours iron."

24. The interdependence of nations has become so close that no nation can be hurt without injury to the rest. Belief in the practice of coexistence is not the outcome of expedience or of weakness but rather leads to a better code to rid the world of misunderstanding and intolerance.

25. Peace, which we all so much desire and cherish, is not the absence of war. It is the presence of feelings for one's fellows and the respect of man for man regardless of his race, nation, colour or creed. What is really called for is the disarmament of minds. We should not grieve that rose-trees have thorns but rather rejoice that thorny bushes bear roses.

26. We in Mauritius are convinced more than ever before, that the United Nations remains the only means for the achievement of a stable and peaceful world and we pledge our continuing and unflinching support.

27. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister of Mauritius for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

28. Mr. AKÉ (Ivory Coast) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since it is now my turn to speak in the general debate, I should like to say how much I welcome your unanimous election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly and I congratulate you most warmly in a brotherly manner, and sincerely wish you complete success in the discharge of this very lofty function.

29. Your election seems to me to be a special tribute paid to your qualities as a skilled diplomat, and it is also a recognition by all of the praiseworthy efforts you have always made since you have represented your country with so much distinction at the United Nations with a view to realizing the objectives of the Organization.

30. I wish to assure you that the delegation of the Ivory Coast will co-operate fully towards the successful discharge of your mission.

31. I should also like to express my gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, who was good enough to place his eminent qualities at the service of our Organization by presiding over the thirty-third session of the General Assembly to the satisfaction of all.

32. Allow me also to express our gratitude, admiration and esteem to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who in his activities has always seemed to us to be a true pilgrim of peace, and we reiterate our unswerving support of his indefatigable efforts to ensure the triumph of the just cause of our Organization.

33. We are gratified by the admission of Saint Lucia to the United Nations family, which proves once again the universality of the Organization. It gives us pleasure to extend to the members of its delegation our warmest congratulations and most cordial welcome and to assure them of our genuine desire to co-operate with them in the United Nations and to maintain relations of sincere friendship and mutual confidence with their country.

34. In some ways it may be said that peace reigns in the world. Indeed the violent hostility which marked relations between the East and the West after the Second World War has given way to détente. Under the influence of a certain number of factors it seems to have been agreed to have the two concepts of a just order which divide the world confront each other not through recourse to force but through peaceful coexistence.

35. An important factor which promoted this happy evolution in East-West relations is undoubtedly the determination of a large number of States to remain aloof from the two antagonistic blocs and to work to bring about a rapprochement between them for the benefit of peace.

36. A no less important factor was the appearance of new great Powers in the world with a consequent proliferation of nuclear weapons and a redistribution of the power of political decision. The configuration of the international community which was bipolar is now tending to become multipolar.

37. It is undeniable that the threat of an apocalypse presented by the arsenals of the super-Powers has also contributed to a relaxation in relations between East and West. The peace we are experiencing is, then, based on terror and does not protect us from war. It is fragile. An accident is always possible, and there could be an irreparable outbreak at any time as the result of faulty reasoning. Moreover, the great Powers have only given up their direct confrontation. They are in conflict through third countries.

38. The violation of human rights, particularly in the developing countries, is also a source of conflicts.

39. Finally, there are risks of confrontation between the North and the South that threaten peace. The developing countries desperately denounce the inequity of the present economic order which perpetuates their impoverishment, and enables the developed countries which established it to become continually richer.

40. In their desire to redress one of the consequences of this economic order—the constant deterioration in their terms of trade—the developing countries which are oil producers raised the price of that raw material. This led to an economic crisis in the developing countries that are not oil producers, particularly the most disadvantaged of them, for it is they which feel the effects most severely.

41. The Government of the Ivory Coast is firmly convinced that the fundamental objectives of the United Nations—peace and the well-being of peoples in justice and freedom—cannot be fully achieved until States have abandoned the time-worn principle of the balance of power, which endangers the arms race and war, and instead make a permanent dialogue the basis for their relations. What does this mean? It means that in its conduct each people must look at the intellectual and spiritual foundations of its concept of the world and of its actions through the eyes of others, in sincere and reciprocal confidence and with profound respect for the truth concerning others, putting aside all prejudices, arbitrary simplifications and pre-conceived ideas, which often obstruct a clear and distinct vision of people and things, and seeking positively the points of common ground for a better mutual understanding of the ideals of life which lead us to act as we do.

42. In that way it will be possible progressively to establish harmony among peoples, sort out their differences and create an atmosphere unfavourable to the birth of conflicts.

43. But we believe that it is necessary also to have recourse to dialogue to solve the existing problems and conflicts, of whatever kind, in order to minimize confrontation, wars and their wake of destruction of human lives and belongings, homeless persons, refugees, indescribable suffering and misery, or to prevent a final break between the antagonists and bring about a reconciliation between them so that clashes will not end in irreversible hatred.

44. That is why the Ivory Coast has always been in favour of the negotiations between all the parties to the Zimbabwe tragedy. We welcome with satisfaction the agreement reached between the Heads of Government of the Commonwealth Countries at the Lusaka meeting [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15], which made it possible to convene the Constitutional Conference in London. We are following the work of that Conference with interest. We are pleased by the results already achieved by the parties and we hope that the United Kingdom, the administering Power of the Territory, under whose aegis the Conference is being held, will assume its responsibilities to the full and succeed in reaching a settlement that will satisfy all the parties. For its part the United Nations should, in our view, be prepared to assist, should it consider it to be necessary, in the implementation of any decisions that might be taken for the attainment of the objectives of the Conference.

45. We hope whole-heartedly that the London negotiations will lead shortly to reconciliation between all the inhabitants of Zimbabwe—between blacks as well as between blacks and whites—and to conclusions making possible the peaceful and democratic decolonization of the Territory.

46. From all the evidence the course of an internal settlement in Namibia on which South Africa seems to have embarked appears destined to fail. Such a settlement has no more likelihood of success in Namibia than it had in Zimbabwe.

47. I reiterate the support of the Ivory Coast for the

plan drawn up by the five Western Powers,<sup>2</sup> which led to the plan of action adopted by the Security Council for the accession of Namibia to independence<sup>3</sup> that was the subject of its resolution 435 (1978). We hope that the obstacles arising from the interpretation of certain provisions of that plan will soon be surmounted as a result of the persevering efforts of the five Powers and of the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

48. In this perspective, and reaffirming the inalienable right of the Namibian people to independence, we appeal urgently to South Africa to give proof of its goodwill and understanding, and to co-operate with the United Nations, without vacillation or reservations based on narrow interests, in putting the Security Council's plan of action into practice.

49. The history of peoples tell us that any who attempt indefinitely to base a political régime on the inequalities suffered by the majority, and to deprive that majority of its freedom and dignity, expose themselves sooner or later to violent changes and the loss of the very interests they are seeking to protect by such means.

50. Hence we once again urge the Government of South Africa to introduce peacefully, before it is too late, the changes that are imperative in order that the odious system of *apartheid* and racial discrimination shall disappear forever from South Africa.

51. There are situations in which the blind implementation of rules and principles can be counter-productive and unrealistic. This seems to be the case in Western Sahara. It seems to us, on reflection, that, beyond the right of self-determination, to which we are all deeply attached and which we would like to see applied to that Territory, there are the facts of the situation in the region which cannot be overlooked if there is a real desire to settle the Western Sahara conflict peacefully. We believe that it is by the concerted effort of all the parties concerned, and not by their confrontation, that it will be possible to find the bases of a satisfactory and lasting solution of this conflict. Therefore we must work to bring about an atmosphere conducive to this concerted action, without which we see no immediate hope of a solution.

52. It is unanimously agreed that only a global solution to the Middle East conflict can bring peace to that region. Nor does anyone deny that there can be no over-all settlement without a just and equitable political solution of the Palestinian problem.

53. It seems to us that, despite the criticisms that can be made about the agreements they have led to so far, the negotiations between Egypt and Israel, with the assistance of the United States, have as their objectives the over-all settlement of the conflict and the establishment of peace in the Middle East.

54. But it is clear that these objectives cannot be attained without the participation in the negotiations of the various parties concerned, particularly the Palestinians. This participation will be obtained on the following two conditions. First, recognition by Israel of the

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Supplement for July, August and September, 1978, document S/12827.

Palestinian reality and of the PLO, whose representative is recognized by the great majority of members of the international community. Secondly, recognition by the PLO of the Israeli reality and of the right of Israel to exist.

55. Therefore, we appeal urgently to both Israel and the PLO to change their way of thinking and recognize each other. As long as Israel and the PLO are intransigent and refuse to recognize each other, the chances of an over-all settlement seem to be slim.

56. We would be doing useful work indeed if, instead of turning our backs on reality and condemning the efforts of those who, in good faith and motivated by goodwill, patiently seek a peaceful and satisfactory solution to this conflict, we were to use our good relations and our influence with Israel and the PLO to bring them mutually to recognize each other and thus remove the only major obstacle to the establishment of a climate of confidence conducive to the initiation of a dialogue among all the parties concerned. Such a dialogue could, completely and finally, settle the question of the Middle East and bring peace to that region, a peace which we all so ardently desire.

57. In particular, it is highly desirable for the Security Council to adopt, without further delay, a resolution sanctioning the rights of the Palestinian people.

58. We reaffirm our full support for Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which form the basis for an over-all just and lasting settlement of the conflict, namely, the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967; recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including the right to a homeland; the right of all States of the region, without exception, to live in peace within secure, recognized and guaranteed boundaries.

59. All those who, like us, are moved and saddened by the destruction and suffering in Lebanon cannot but ardently desire a permanent and final settlement of the conflict in the Middle East. Indeed, it goes without saying that such a settlement would at the same time bring peace and national unity to that country which is so dear to our hearts.

60. It would be a grave error to be satisfied with the situation prevailing in Cyprus or to be complacent about it. It has created problems without providing a solution. It carries within it the seeds of a conflict of unforeseeable dimensions.

61. We are pleased with the 10-point agreement<sup>4</sup> providing for a resumption of the intercommunal talks, concluded under the auspices of the United Nations Secretary-General. We hope that the difficulties which have been brought about by the suspension of the talks after the conclusion of that agreement will soon be overcome, as a result of the two communities taking into consideration their own interests, and establishing between them the necessary dialogue for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question, one which takes into account their legitimate aspirations on the basis of Security Council resolution 365 (1974) and General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), in particular

their provisions regarding the withdrawal of foreign forces from that country.

62. The great Powers have found an arena for their rivalry, namely in Kampuchea. We deplore the situation prevailing in that country. We deplore it all the more since it brings into question the very principles which are dear to the United Nations. The situation is, for us, a denial of the policy of non-alignment which both sides to the conflict claim to follow. We believe that in order to attain the fundamental objective, which is peace, the non-aligned countries must apply the principle of absolute neutrality. That can only be possible if there is domestic peace within each non-aligned country, peace among the non-aligned countries, and peace between the non-aligned countries and the rest of the world. Only neutrality thus defined will protect the non-aligned countries from foreign intervention and guarantee their independence from the great Powers, without which there can be no non-alignment.

63. We call on all the parties to withdraw the conflict in Kampuchea from the arena of great-Power rivalry, to place it in that of indispensable peace among the non-aligned countries and to begin talks with a view to a peaceful settlement in accordance with the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and the non-use of force.

64. While it is fitting to rejoice at the signing by the United States of America and the Soviet Union of a second agreement on the limitation of strategic weapons<sup>5</sup> and to hope for its early ratification, we cannot lose sight of the long and difficult road which must yet be travelled to reach our final objective, namely, general and complete disarmament.

65. We should like to express once again our profound concern at the grave danger which the arms race and the mindless stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction pose for mankind.

66. In this International Year of the Child, we should like once again to draw the attention of the responsible Powers to the imperative need to halt the arms race and to place science and technology at the service of the total development of man rather than at the service of his destruction, so that among the millions of human beings born each year, large numbers will no longer be condemned to illiteracy, malnutrition, famine or premature death.

67. To work for the cessation of the arms race and the elimination of the spectre of the destruction of the human species, which loom over us in the form of the arsenals of the great Powers, is to act in favour of human rights, because the first human right is the right to live. That is why we are most indignant at the tortures and massacres of human beings which are the hallmark of certain régimes. We are also concerned by the violations of human rights, because they cause an exodus of refugees and conflicts between States.

68. Ways must be sought that are likely to increase the effectiveness of the role of the United Nations in ensuring respect for human rights. We hope that the establishment of the Committee on Human Rights for

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1979*, document S/13369, para. 51.

<sup>5</sup> Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979.

Africa by the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which responds to the wishes of the United Nations, will make it possible to ensure the promotion and protection of human rights on that continent.

69. The violation of human rights, when it deprives society of human resources or prevents them from developing, which is so often the case, constitutes an obstacle to development. Conversely, disease, malnutrition, hunger—to mention only the worst ills that are characteristic of the developing countries—are obstacles to the enjoyment of human rights. Development therefore conditions the enjoyment of human rights. Hence, it is a fundamental human right.

70. Thus we cannot but welcome the agreement on the fundamental elements of a Common Fund for commodities, and we appreciate, despite their inadequacy, an increase in the quotas and the new special drawing rights of the IMF.

71. But how can we fail to express our deep distress when the official development assistance supplied by the most generous among the rich countries amounts to barely half of the 0.70 per cent of the gross national product set by the United Nations, while military expenditures exceed the astronomical sum of \$400 billion and continue to rise? How can we not express our profound disappointment at the meagre results of the fifth session of UNCTAD, the difficulties encountered by the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 in applying that resolution and in reactivating the important negotiations within the United Nations system, and the scant progress achieved by the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy?

72. It is imperative and urgent that the developed countries should be more attentive to the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries and take tangible steps to begin an irreversible process that will lead to the structural changes essential to the establishment of a new, fairer and more equitable economic order.

73. We welcome the efforts to diversify sources of energy in order to meet the growing needs in this field. We hope that this diversification will not prevent satisfaction of the legitimate claims of the oil-producing countries from being met, just as we hope that these countries will take into account the interests of the other countries, particularly the developing countries most affected by the energy crisis.

74. How happy we would be if, by thus clearly revealing the interdependence of peoples, the energy crisis finally proved to be beneficial by making them more conscious of the convergence of their interests and the need to build a more united world by resolving together, through concerted action and dialogue, the problems which condition our common future.

75. The United Nations Organization has a particular responsibility in this noble and exalting task, but cannot fully assume it unless, in accordance with the desire expressed by His Holiness Pope John Paul II, on 2 October last:

“... the United Nations ... never [ceases] to be the forum, the high tribune, from which all man's problems are appraised in truth and justice.” [17th meeting, para. 19.]

76. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I have great pleasure on behalf of the State of Bahrain in offering you my sincere congratulations on the occasion of your election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-fourth session, and in wishing you success in the work of this session. I should also like to thank Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the President of the General Assembly during its previous session, for his valuable contribution to the conduct of the work of that session.

77. It is my pleasure to join with other delegations in praising the role played by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who deploys his utmost efforts to strengthen the role of the United Nations, with patience, ability and strict adherence to the spirit of the Charter.

78. I also welcome the admission of the State of Saint Lucia, as the one hundred and fifty-second Member of the United Nations family.

79. The United Nations has been able to survive for 34 years, to react to international events and to overcome tremendous obstacles that were about to cause its disintegration, including the cold war through which the world lived after the end of the Second World War. It has been able to play a fundamental and effective role in bringing to an end colonial empires in many parts of the world. This Organization and its related agencies have also been able to achieve victories, unprecedented in history, in the fields of technical, technological, economic, cultural, health, food and other types of aid among nations. During this period, the world has seemed to grow smaller by virtue of scientific and technological development, but this has not yet brought the States of the world closer to one another, as relations among States are still fraught with tension and conflict.

80. We meet today in a new session, and on the 24th of this month the United Nations will celebrate its thirty-fourth anniversary. Every year, we meet within the premises of the United Nations to hold meetings, to make successive contacts with each other and to adopt a number of resolutions for the solution of issues and questions which are of importance to the world. To our great regret, the majority of such resolutions are ultimately neglected or forgotten. I should like to refer here to the report of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the work of the Organization submitted to this session, in which he says:

“The past year has been full of uncertainty, tension and conflict. The international scene has never been more complex nor the old concepts of power so diffused. There have been sudden shifts in the political balance and unexpected developments rooted in a variety of forces—economic, political, social and even religious. There is an increasing uneasiness as to the manageability of the affairs, and especially the economic life and social organization, of the planet in circumstances now prevailing. These uncertainties and unforeseen developments affect in different ways the lives and the future of virtually all nations and peoples and give rise to deep-seated feelings of anxiety and frustration, which in turn create a climate favourable to new and unpredictable events.” [See A/34/I, sect. I.]

81. Therefore, the United Nations has to continue its



ceaseless struggle to bridge the gap between its aspirations and its performance in the world of today. Such struggle is, in truth and in fact, tantamount to the fundamental difference between civilization and chaos. It is regrettable that such a gap between the aspirations and the performance of the United Nations still exists. We should therefore do our utmost to narrow such a gap, so as to eliminate the dangers that threaten mankind.

82. We need to reflect, as representatives of States, on the position and real nature of our Organization. If we go through the agenda for this session, we find several questions and issues that are virtually mere repetitions of questions and issues that have now been included in the agenda for more than 10 years, and some which have coexisted with this Organization since its inception.

83. The United Nations has adopted resolutions on such matters, but most of those resolutions have not seen the light of day, because of the failure of a minority of Members to comply with the international will and abide by the United Nations Charter. The majority of those resolutions are closely linked to the goals and principles of the United Nations, and aim at serving the best interests of man, promoting equity and justice and establishing security and peace all over the world. This bitter fact leads us to pose the following questions. Are we acting to build a world in which security and peace prevail? Are we acting to establish equitable relations in the world, based on justice, dignity and freedom for all nations and to resist unhealthy relations among States, which tend towards domination, racial discrimination and the practice of persistent aggression against the welfare of other nations? These are merely questions submitted to this Assembly for serious consideration by us all, so that an end may be put to the risks that threaten peace and stability in the world.

84. We should like in this respect to refer to some pressing questions and matters, such as the situation in the Middle East, the issues of racial discrimination and *apartheid* and the challenges that confront the States of the third world.

85. During last year, events of international importance and significance have occurred one after the other—events which have been characterized by tension and recklessness in the relations of States, particularly in the developing world. The third world has been through a period of tension and conflict among its countries. It is regrettable indeed that the third world should have become a dangerous scene for disturbances and bloody clashes among its States. Although tension between the two super-Powers has disappeared or diminished in Europe, it has started to reappear in the third world, where focal-points of tension have been created by the super-Powers and where conflict and rivalry between them have been transferred. It appears that the super-Powers, which agreed to freeze the conflict between them on the European continent, have found fertile ground in the third world on which to increase the momentum of war and rivalry between them and are transforming it into blocs of conflict. The confrontations that are now taking place in Africa and Asia among developing countries are clear proof of the outbreak of a covert third world war between the super-Powers.

86. It is regrettable that some States of the third world, which struggled to liquidate colonialism, to re-

sist racism and to defeat political and economic domination, are today waging regional wars to change the legitimate régimes in some other States. It is noted also that the super-Powers have turned to the kindling of conflicts and clashes among the States of the third world, as we can see today in Africa and Asia, instead of to direct intervention, as was their practice in the past. We therefore call upon all the States of the world, Members of this Organization, to abide by the principles of the Charter, particularly the principle of non-intervention in the domestic affairs of other States.

87. Peace in the Middle East is still a long way off. Israel persists in the policy of aggression and expansionism, which it has followed since the Zionist aggression against the land of Palestine, which was aimed at driving the people of Palestine from their land and depriving them of the right to exercise self-determination. The matter has not stopped at that but has been extended into continuous Israeli aggression against these people and the neighbouring Arab countries, the latest example of which is the aggression against the sister country of Lebanon. Lebanon is still from time to time subjected to brutal aggression by the Israeli forces against sites on which are housed civilian Lebanese and Palestinian refugees. Thus Israel has become the most dangerous racist and expansionist force of this age.

88. The current developments in Lebanon and the increase in tension in that country clearly reveal the expansionist plans of Israel and its attempt to divert attention from its daily practices in the occupied Arab territories—practices such as annexation, occupation, the establishment of settlements and the violation of the human rights of the inhabitants of the occupied territories in breach of and contrary to the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, the rules of international law and international custom and covenants, which prohibit such practices.

89. The United Nations cannot stand by with its hands folded in the face of such a situation, in which the sovereignty and security of the territory of a Member State is daily subjected to grave violation. The international community is requested to act swiftly to save Lebanon from repeated Israeli aggression, which threatens to destroy its sovereignty and its economy and to drive out its people.

90. Israel could not have adopted such an arrogant stand and challenged the will of the international community had it not been for the military, economic and political support it receives from some of its allies among Western States. Such support and material and military aid, received annually by Israel, has helped it to perpetuate its aggressive policy and to take measures to change the nature of life in and the geographical characteristics of, the territories it occupied and also to refuse to comply with the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations that call upon Israel to withdraw from the Arab territories it occupied and to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

91. The United Nations resolutions on the situation in the Middle East call for a just settlement of the problem and request Israel to put an end to its occupation and its disregard of the United Nations resolutions on Palestine and the situation in the Middle East. All the appeals and exhortations addressed to Israel by the

international community calling upon it to withdraw from all territories occupied since 1967 and to recognize the national rights of the Palestinian people have been met only by disregard on the part of Israel. It continues to disregard them and to pursue its policies of annexation, occupation and establishment of Jewish settlements, and Israel has recently declared that its nationals are permitted to buy Arab land on the West Bank, in violation of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter and international law.

92. We have on more than one occasion explained that the Palestine question is at the core of the Middle East dispute and that realization of a just and lasting settlement should conform to the principles of justice and equity and should include the following: first, Israel's withdrawal from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967, including Jerusalem; secondly, recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and properties and to exercise in peace and freedom their rights to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty, including their right to establish an independent State; thirdly, the participation of the PLO, as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all parties to the dispute in the Middle East. This is an indispensable condition in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East.

93. I must emphasize here that Arab Jerusalem is part of the occupied Palestine territories and that Israel must withdraw from it completely and unconditionally and restore it to Arab sovereignty and abide by the resolutions adopted in this regard by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

94. In our opinion, such principles constitute the right framework within which a peaceful settlement may be reached, one based on the principles of justice and the rules of international law.

95. Bearing in mind this basic stand, the delegation of the State of Bahrain considers that any agreements that do not include all parties to the dispute will not lead to a durable and just peace and to a peaceful settlement of the dispute in the Middle East. Nor will they be successful unless they take into account the core of the problem, which is the Palestine question, and involve the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO. Such being our belief, we consider that the Camp David agreements of 1978<sup>6</sup> and the Washington Treaty of 1979 between the Egyptian Government and Israel do not meet the real requisites of peace in the area since they do not contain the minimum basic principles for the realization of a just settlement in accordance with the resolutions of the United Nations, and they do not provide for the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and for their recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, particularly their right to establish an independent State of their own.

96. The Palestinian people and the Arab States concerned seek peace based on justice, and they would do

their utmost to create a climate favourable to its achievement. But it is certain that there will be no peace in the Middle East if the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people are excluded, including their right to establish a Palestinian State on Palestinian soil.

97. Therefore we consider that the United Nations is now, more than at any other time, required to stand on the side of fairness and justice and to support the Palestinian people in their unanimous rejection of such agreements and to defeat all settlements or solutions that aim at the liquidation of their cause and infringe upon their inalienable rights. The Palestinian people alone have the right to determine their future, and no agreement concluded behind their backs can be legally valid or binding upon them.

98. We therefore agree with what the Secretary-General of the United Nations has said on the question of the Middle East in his report on the work of the Organization—that he considers it “central to the political, economic and military stability of the world [see A/34/1, sect. III]. We submit that the realization of peace in the Middle East is an international responsibility requiring international action to face up to this critical situation in the region so that the conflict may not explode again and lead to terrible results for whose grave consequences the world will be responsible. Among the encouraging signs that mark the awakening of the conscience of the world and which lead to optimism and relief is the increasing attention being paid by the States of the world to the Palestine question and the PLO as a major force in the Middle East conflict whose contribution is indispensable in any serious search for a peaceful settlement in the Middle East.

99. I should here refer to the important speech made by His Majesty King Hussein, King of the sister Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, before this Assembly on 25 September [7th meeting], as it contains a complete and useful analysis by an Arab leader who has lived the problem in all its dimensions. We share His Majesty's opinion that the United Nations is the natural framework for the achievement of the comprehensive settlement of this question that we all seek.

100. The region of southern Africa is passing through a delicate and decisive stage. The developments in that region have been and remain a source of serious concern to the family of nations due to the policies of deceit and procrastination being pursued by the white minority régimes in southern Africa with regard to the transfer of authority to the black majority and the establishment of equality among all the inhabitants there. The efforts of the United Nations to find a peaceful settlement to the question of Namibia have not produced tangible results due to the arrogant attitude of the South African régime and its manoeuvres. Real independence for Namibia cannot be achieved except through free and democratic elections under the auspices of the United Nations in which all national parties concerned may take part, including the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia, in accordance with United Nations resolutions, particularly Security Council resolutions 385 (1976) and 435 (1978).

101. The situation in Zimbabwe has not changed towards democratic rule, as required by United Nations resolutions. The sham elections held last April within

<sup>6</sup> 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 at Washington on 17 September 1978.

<sup>7</sup> Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.



the context of the internal settlement have not led to the establishment of black majority rule in Zimbabwe in accordance with United Nations resolutions. In this respect, we hope for success for the discussions in which all the parties concerned are taking part, now taking place in London, to find a peaceful settlement of the question of Zimbabwe and to maintain peace and stability in that region.

102. Bahrain would like to reaffirm its support for the struggle of oppressed peoples that yearn for freedom and to condemn the policies of *apartheid*, which have been denounced by the international community as a crime against humanity as a whole. Bahrain supports the call for continuation of the complete blockade imposed on the racist régimes in southern Africa pursuant to the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter and the application of such sanctions against the racist régime in Israel. It also supports the measures for the isolation of such régimes internationally.

103. As a State in the Gulf region, we attach special importance to the designation of the Indian Ocean and its natural extensions as a zone of peace and stability. Therefore, we supported on various occasions the General Assembly resolution on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], called for the implementation of the principles contained in that Declaration and requested the Gulf region be kept aloof from the rivalry of the great Powers. We should like to emphasize in this regard that peace and stability in the region are the exclusive concern of the countries of the area, on whose shoulders alone lies the responsibility to protect it, and we declare our complete rejection of any attempt by any party to interfere in the domestic affairs of the region. Therefore, we have called for the establishment of mutual co-operation among the States of the Gulf in the political, economic, cultural and technical fields, on a basis of mutual respect, equality, integrity and non-intervention in domestic affairs, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

104. The State of Bahrain has supported the efforts made in various international forums for the establishment of a new international economic order based on justice and equity. We have also explained the need to consider the means to ensure the establishment of such an order. It is regrettable that the various negotiations and the numerous dialogues between the developed and developing countries within the framework of the United Nations and other international forums have not led to tangible progress as a result of the failure of the developed countries to understand the demands made by the developing countries that structural changes be made in international economic relations, which are now based on exploitation. This is what happened at the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila, which did not arrive at tangible results in this respect.

105. Negotiations and dialogue between the North and South are still going on very slowly, although the doors have not been closed to the search for solutions to pending problems. We call in this regard on developed countries to reconsider their stand so that the negotiations may be completed. We hope that the special session of the General Assembly due to be held in 1980 will be able to review the implementation of the new international economic order in the light of the resolutions passed by the United Nations General Assembly at its

sixth and seventh special sessions. We hope, too, that the mistakes made in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade will be avoided as the United Nations General Assembly comes to adopt in the forthcoming special session the new international development strategy.

106. The United Nations has proved over more than three decades its ability to accommodate States from all parts of the world irrespective of their political, social or economic systems. This international Organization has been able to find suitable solutions to many crises, conflicts and challenges which confront humanity in a world whose conditions increase in complexity day by day. We hope that this Assembly will discharge its responsibilities and pass suitable resolutions to promote justice and equity and to eliminate the oppression and injustice suffered by oppressed peoples yearning for freedom and independence, and that it will act to establish a political and economic system in international relations based on equality, justice and equity. This has to be done if we wish indeed to meet the great expectations that peoples all over the world place in our Organization.

107. Mr. PATTERSON (Jamaica): Mr. President, I wish to express the sincere pleasure of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You are a son of Africa, a continent which is tied with the Caribbean countries by an umbilical cord. You represent a country which shares the common desire of our peoples for freedom. You have already made your own distinguished contribution to many facets of international affairs, including your service to the cause of decolonization. We hold you in the highest esteem as a friend, and believe that your outstanding abilities as a diplomat equip you admirably for the exacting office of President.

108. Permit me also to record the appreciation of my Government for the work of Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre of Columbia, who so ably conducted the affairs of our thirty-third session.

109. My Government expresses its thanks to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedicated and untiring service to the cause of peace. We recall with pleasure his visit to our country early this year, a visit which helped to strengthen further Jamaica's close association with, and unwavering support for, this institution and its work.

110. Jamaica takes particular pride in welcoming our sister Caribbean country, Saint Lucia, which has recently gained its independence and has now been admitted to membership in this body.

111. The peoples of the Caribbean have recently experienced a series of natural disasters which have been among the worst in our history. There have been volcanic eruptions in St. Vincent, floods have ravaged Jamaica, hurricanes have devastated our sister countries, Dominica and the Dominican Republic. Large areas of our countries have been destroyed, and we will need the understanding and material support of the international community in our urgent task of reconstruction. I should like at this stage to express Jamaica's appreciation for the assistance which we have already received from States Members of the

United Nations and from several international organizations.

112. The Caribbean remains one area of the world where the process of decolonization is not yet complete. For centuries our region has been the scene of incessant conflict between colonial Powers in their struggle for supremacy. Our history has been a turbulent one, as we have been moved like pawns on a political chess-board.

113. In the light of all this it should not be surprising that the desire of all our peoples now is to make the Caribbean a region free from the scourge of great-Power rivalry, free from military conflict and free from any form of external domination. The Caribbean yearns to be an area of peace, not of confrontation, to be an arena of co-operation and tranquillity, not one of tension and conflict.

114. We are small States without the military capacity to initiate or resist aggression. We require a climate free from conflict and super-Power confrontation in order to enable us to wipe out the legacy of neglect and to undertake the mammoth task of social, political and economic transformation.

115. Jamaica recognizes that our size and location may tempt the powerful to take advantage of our vulnerability. It should never be forgotten that we are a resilient people zealous for the rewards of our struggles and impatient to continue on the path to genuine independence and complete freedom. We intend to continue playing our part freely in the affairs of the world.

116. We are not pawns and we refuse to be surrogates.

117. We end the decade of the 1970s with much less of the confidence and certainty with which we began. Despite the welcome signature of the second SALT agreement, the nuclear menace remains. The General Assembly proclaimed the 1970s the Disarmament Decade, but the cruel irony is that the 1970s have seen unprecedented growth in the sophistication, volume and sale of weapons—all this when the social and economic needs of the vast majority of mankind have been growing increasingly urgent.

118. Détente has not spread world-wide. Regional conflicts continue to simmer and in some areas have broken out into open warfare as the major Powers stand at one remove, and the contending parties exhaust themselves.

119. In the Middle East a comprehensive settlement continues to elude us. The attainment by the Palestinian people of their legitimate rights is the key to lasting peace in the area. Yet the Palestinian people remain in effect outside the mainstream of the peace process.

120. In Africa the successful elimination of the remnants of Portugal's colonial empire brought new and dynamic countries into the family of nations; but there still remain white racist minority régimes on the continent.

121. Some of us had supported the display of viable international co-operation and positive action to achieve the liberation of Namibia from South African

occupation in accordance with the decisions of the United Nations. The efforts of the five Western countries have apparently lost their momentum and the initiative has been ceded to Pretoria.

122. The efforts for the liberation of Zimbabwe from minority racist oppression spearheaded by the struggle of the Patriotic Front have been buttressed by a notable and encouraging degree of international co-operation. Out of the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held in Lusaka has come the recognition that the farcical situation which exists in Zimbabwe must come to an end and that a Government truly representative of the people of that country must be instituted. We hope that everything will be done at the Conference now taking place in London to ensure that the people of Zimbabwe enjoy the peace, freedom and independence through genuine majority rule that they have so long sought.

123. The long, hard years of struggle by the peoples of South-East Asia have not yet led to the peace hoped for; the region is again enmeshed in conflicts because of rivalry and competition among the major Powers; the people continue to suffer economic and social deprivation; and some have even been forced to become unwanted refugees, thus contributing a new and disquieting dimension to the problems of the area.

124. Elsewhere, small countries remain threatened and insecure. Lebanon is fragmented and still visited with death and destruction; Cyprus at the end of the 1970s is still divided and a victim of foreign occupation; Belize is prevented from attaining its independence because of the continuing threat from a neighbouring State; and the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic is still denied its rightful place in the international community and unable to exercise its sovereignty over the whole of its territory.

125. Nor is this all. The greater awareness of human rights has not been matched by greater observance; the benefits of the unprecedented technological advances have not yet filtered through to the broad masses of our peoples; the promise of a significant increase in food production in developing countries has not been fulfilled and, as a result, world food stocks are critically low.

126. The prospect is bleak.

127. The efforts of the developing countries during this decade have had as their most important objective economic liberation. The pressures of poverty, deprivation, hunger, unemployment and social turmoil have exposed the inescapable truth that the achievement of political independence without a corresponding attainment of economic independence is a hollow victory. Without economic independence we can never improve the quality of life of our peoples.

128. The decade of the 1970s has clearly shown that the world economic system must be restructured if we are to achieve economic liberation, equity and justice in relations among States; that this process entails, among other things, a transfer of resources from the developed to the developing world; and that these things require a global consensus.

129. Early in the present decade the developing countries enunciated a coherent set of principles and

objectives for the establishment of the New International Economic Order. As we near the close of the 1970s, our objectives remain unfulfilled and our monumental efforts have resulted in only marginal advances.

130. The international economic agenda of the 1970s constitutes the most elaborate annotation of the roots of world poverty and distorted development. The pathways towards the restructuring of a world economic order are clearly discernible. We have undertaken the most rigorous examination of the problems besetting money and finance, raw materials, energy and other major development issues. Yet, even after this, our last lingering memory as we close this decade is the frustrating experience of the fifth session of UNCTAD and the lack of any clear perception of the way forward. With the phenomenon of "stagflation" there has been a resurgence of protectionism and the developed countries are obdurate in ignoring our cries.

131. It cannot be claimed that the thought and effort expended in the preparation and delivery of our statements in general debates have contributed as much as we would have hoped to the easing of international tensions, or to resolution of the specific issues which confront us.

132. Perhaps the clearest indication of this is the fact that the agenda from one session of the General Assembly to the next preserves a disconcerting sameness. Identical issues, be they political, economic, or social, recur each year for consideration and debate. I fully recognize and acknowledge that these issues are extremely complex and that it is difficult to reconcile the diverse interests of countries and of peoples. But while each year our delegations strive mightily to reach agreement on resolutions, we the Member countries have not spent sufficient time or exerted sufficient effort to implement them.

133. We can ease the burden of these sessions and advance the work of the Assembly by reducing the number of items on our agenda. I am aware, Mr. President, of the efforts made by you, by the Secretary-General and by a number of delegations to introduce in the work of this session some much-needed changes.

134. A fundamental objective of the Charter in its Article 1, paragraph 3, is:

"To achieve international co-operation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural or humanitarian character ...".

It is clear that the failure of the international community to tackle successfully the problems of poverty, starvation and inequitable international economic relationships now contributes significantly to the increase in global tensions and to an erosion of international peace and security. Suffering, tension and instability now present the greatest threat to world peace and continue only because people themselves feel locked into a situation of despondency and despair.

135. Having missed or ignored opportunities in the present decade, the international community will in the next one have to deal with old and new issues in what appear to be less propitious conditions. But the quest for peace and development must go on, for both are mutually reinforcing.

136. The agenda for the 1980s will be formidable: we will begin another development decade; there will be a special session in its first year, a United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy in the next, and there are prospects for a global round of negotiations.

137. As we seek for the third time to chart the course of a development decade, we should be concerned that even at this late stage the international community is still without a consensus on the approaches towards the international development strategy: in other words, on such questions as who it is for, what are its aims and objectives and how the process of development should be implemented.

138. We believe that the international development strategy should be formulated within the framework of the New International Economic Order. It follows from this that the accord which eluded us in our negotiations on the basic principles for restructuring the international economic system will have to be achieved in the coming decade if the developing countries are to secure any advances.

139. Energy is basic to human existence. It is a prerequisite for the survival of mankind. Failure to achieve a coherent world energy policy will make a mockery of all our efforts to reduce the levels of poverty, hunger and unemployment. It will make a mockery of all our plans, targets and strategies. Without adequate supplies of energy we do not have the capacity to produce goods and services consistent with the requirements for a rational and equitable pattern of global economic development. Energy is therefore a unique input into the developmental process. Its availability and its price affect profoundly the prospects for economic development in the developing countries which have no significant indigenous energy supplies, and which have limited foreign exchange from which to allocate funds for its purchase.

140. Two years ago, in 1977, Jamaica proposed to this General Assembly the creation of an international energy institution that would be charged with the task of addressing many facets of this complex subject.<sup>8</sup> Since then we have watched with satisfaction a growing international recognition of the urgency attending this problem. We have also noted with pleasure the initiatives of a number of oil-exporting developing countries.

141. The President of Mexico has presented a penetrating analysis of the global energy situation [*11th meeting*]. He has focused on the crux of the issue and laid before us a comprehensive set of proposals which could usefully guide this Assembly in the quest for a global energy policy.

142. Countries like my own are faced with very serious and immediate problems which cannot await probable long-term global solutions. Last year Jamaica spent 23 per cent of its foreign-exchange earnings on energy imports; in 1979 these expenditures are expected to exceed 35 per cent. Obviously, there is less for imports of critical raw materials to support economic activities, less for machinery and capital equipment and, above all, less for vital commodity

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 15th meeting, para. 302.

imports to sustain the health and welfare of our people. My delegation hopes that the analysis of the energy issue in this General Assembly will motivate the international community to seek earnestly for solutions to immediate problems such as these.

143. The 1970s made a positive contribution to the analysis and understanding of the basic problems in money and finance, trade, industrialization, the transfer of technology and other development issues. From this analysis have emerged a number of cogent proposals. In the coming decade we must implement them to ensure improvements in the quality of life of our peoples.

144. On the solution of those problems which I have discussed hangs the very survival of mankind. Not only must we confront these issues with global solidarity, but we must also ensure that every segment of our national populations is brought fully into the developmental process. We must recognize the debilitating effect on our efforts to achieve the New International Economic Order of actions and policies which prevent the effective utilization of human resources.

145. In this regard we cannot continue to treat human rights violations, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*, discrimination against women and non-recognition of the rights of the child as issues which are to be isolated from our basic thrust for economic justice. The international community must realize once and for all that the challenges of development and of economic transformation at the global level cannot be met—will not be met—unless we successfully resolve the critical political problems which have bedevilled the international community for so long.

146. We are all aware of and familiar with the various areas of crisis on our planet. They are symptomatic of a deeper malaise, of more fundamental problems with which we must come to grips if the decade of the 1980s is to be a decade of hope and optimism.

147. No human being and no society can flourish and achieve its full potential in that milieu of spiritual debasement, human degradation and economic exploitation which characterizes the system of *apartheid* and all human societies organized upon or tolerant of the ideology of racial superiority. The international community must continue its assault upon this ultimate indecency with renewed vigour, and in particular upon its bastions—the racist régimes of South Africa and Namibia.

148. More than any other issue perhaps, disarmament is one on which the longer we take to make meaningful progress the more certain we can be that we will bear the painful consequences of our folly and delay. To put it simply, our luck cannot hold forever. The arms race—the fondness for new weapons of destruction—sustains and feeds among nations and peoples a bellicosity of nature, a predisposition to confrontation, to psychic fatalism and insecurity, and above all a tragic misplacement of priorities, which cannot augur well for the international community.

149. What, I must ask, is there in store for a world which is constantly threatened by the very existence of armaments which already are capable of destroying it several times over? Yet there are a growing number of

countries which, in pursuit of absolute security, not only seek additional and more sophisticated nuclear weapons but also by that very desire stimulate others to do likewise. Surely we have a right to look forward to a time when man will become so aware of the futility of that search in the present structure of international society and in the present system of inter-State relations that Governments will abandon this phantasm. If we are to avoid the holocaust, the 1980s must see a major change in the predisposition of peoples and Governments towards one another and their perception of one another.

150. One of the challenges of the 1980s must be a reassertion in practice of the basic principles of sovereign equality, territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful coexistence, which must guide States if anarchy is not to prevail at the international level. We firmly believe that, if the challenges can be met in these areas, then the 1980s could be a decade of optimism and accomplishment. Jamaica believes that the international community must pledge itself to making of the 1980s a watershed decade. It can do this only by recognizing the limitations of policies based upon narrow self-interest and the flexing of muscles. It can do this by beginning now to implement the pragmatic measures and by beginning now to inculcate the philosophical and psychological orientations which are essential to the spirit of co-operation and accommodation with which we need to confront the decade of the 1980s.

151. Spanning the 1970s and the 1980s is the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. An important achievement of the Decade has been the establishment of the Voluntary Fund for the United Nations Decade for Women, from which many developing countries, including my own, have benefited. While congratulating the Secretary-General on the effective management and operation of the Fund, we must express our hope that its future operations will be maintained at least at the present level. Jamaica also looks forward to the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace. In most of our societies women have for too long been relegated to secondary or marginal roles, their capabilities underestimated and their talents ignored. Clearly they need to be encouraged to participate fully in the process of development. We expect the forthcoming Conference to help to do that and thereby contribute to the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

152. The current stage of negotiations in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea points to the possibility of an early resolution of the outstanding issues. These negotiations are intimately related to the ongoing deliberations on the New International Economic Order and encompass some of the most enduring concerns in the political, economic and juridical relations among States. We confidently expect that the management of the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor and the juridical régime that we agree to establish will represent for the 1980s a singular and extraordinary demonstration of international co-operation in what has been often described as the last frontier of man. The success of the Conference is therefore of special importance for the future of the world.

153. A review of the 1970s compels us to admit that

the early promises of the decade have not been realized. We end in a mood of deep disappointment at our failures and real concern over the dangers for the coming years.

154. The frustration and disillusionment of the past must now give way to a new era of hope and fulfilment. The 1980s beckon us to new challenges of leadership, of vision and of creative action. We require a new summons to our will to establish a world free from fear, free from poverty and free from exploitation. We are challenged to create a lasting peace which goes beyond the mere absence of war and to usher in a new age where injustice and exploitation are no more. Our experience demonstrates that our future is inextricably intertwined. We are driven to the recognition that we may belong to several nations and several peoples but that, despite our differences in size, in wealth and in power, we all belong to one race—the human race—and that the earth we must all inhabit is one and indivisible.

155. Mr. NGARUKIYINTWALI (Rwanda) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President your unanimous election to the presidency of this august Assembly is for the delegation of Rwanda a cause for great pleasure and legitimate pride, as we see the representative of an African country, Rwanda's friend, to which we are united by so many common traditions and so many warm and fraternal ties, assume such lofty and great responsibilities at a time when the fate of the world depends on the worth and the generosity of the people of our generation.

156. The great responsibility entrusted to you means that delegations do appreciate your outstanding qualities and your valuable contributions to this Assembly. It is also a well-deserved tribute to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, which, under the leadership of its prestigious leader, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, continues to carry high the torch of freedom, justice and solidarity among peoples.

157. My delegation is happy to emphasize in what high esteem the Head of State in Rwanda, Major-General Juvenal Habyarimana, and the people of Rwanda, hold the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, in view of the tireless efforts which he continues to make for the cause of Africa.

158. The Rwandan delegation would also at this time like to express its appreciation of the dynamic co-operation between the Tanzanian and Rwandan peoples and also of the great understanding and fraternal solidarity which we have always experienced from the Tanzanian Government particularly at those times when our country has been arbitrarily subjected to economic strangulation, partly because of our landlocked situation.

159. The Rwanda delegation would also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, who wisely, competently and with devotion presided over the work of the preceding session.

160. I should also like to take this opportunity of expressing Rwanda's great appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his devotion to the work of strengthening the role of the United Nations, in the maintenance of international peace and

security and also for his constant concern over the problems facing the developing countries.

161. My delegation takes great pleasure in welcoming to the United Nations Saint Lucia, the new Member of our Organization. I warmly congratulate the people of that country on their heroism in their struggle against foreign domination. I am convinced that their accession to independence will accelerate the process of decolonization and at the same time strengthen the principle of universality which is increasingly within the reach of our Organization.

162. My delegation would also like to pay a tribute to the memory of that outstanding leader, Agostinho Neto, the great freedom fighter whom fate has snatched from us, from the admiration of Africa and the affection of the Angolan people. The fight which he led at the head of the MPLA,<sup>9</sup> and which led Angola to national sovereignty, is a model of courage and tenacity for those peoples which are still struggling for their freedom. May the work that he began be consolidated and flourish in peace and national concord. That is the wish which my delegation would like to address to the gallant Angolan people.

163. A look back at events which have occurred since the last session shows that in general the dangers and risks which the international situation presented to us a year ago, have evolved in a manner that can hardly be described as satisfactory and can even be described as disturbing.

164. In the period that has elapsed, the world has encountered new problems which are a serious threat to international peace and co-operation. A glance at some of the events that have occurred emphasizes these dangers.

165. Here and there throughout the world, the pressing of claims have led to people having recourse to violence, new hotbeds of armed conflict have erupted in various regions and social disruption within States has sometimes led to internecine struggle.

166. The colonialist and reactionary forces have increased their means of pressure and their diversionary tactics, under cover of invidious legalism. In this manner they intend to continue their policy of domination and exploitation, without changing any aspect of it.

167. The multilateral negotiations which have been carried on so far with a view to the establishment of the new international economic order have ended in half successes, if I am not to call them failures, and in this way they have disappointed the long-held hopes of most of the Members of this Organization.

168. The many issues submitted to us for consideration show that there are very many difficult problems facing us. I should like to focus mainly on those issues which are of major concern to man.

169. The complete liberation of the continent of Africa is for us still the paramount concern, and we quite rightly consider it a sacred duty resolutely to support the peoples of southern Africa who are struggling for

<sup>9</sup> Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

their independence and who for centuries have met with a stubborn refusal to grant their most elementary rights.

170. The international community is witnessing a network of machinations which, although doomed to failure in advance, nevertheless do reveal how bitterly a minority of Rhodesian settlers and their backers are trying to satisfy their greed and their instinct for domination and exploitation, which have already been condemned by history.

171. Hesitation and indecision in resorting to firm action have led the minority racist régime to be bold enough to set up a Government under its thumb, made up of traitors who emerged from the pseudo-elections which were just as illegal as the unilateral declaration of independence of November 1965.

172. After all, is it hardly possible in Zimbabwe to achieve independence based on government by majority and under conditions of peace and stability, unless the true representatives of the people of Zimbabwe, who have been carrying on an armed struggle for decades, are able to regain their national rights.

173. In our opinion, the participation of the Patriotic Front in the settlement of the Rhodesian crisis is an absolutely imperative requirement.

174. My delegation sincerely hopes that the Conference now taking place in London, in which all the parties concerned are participating, will conclude with practical and satisfactory conclusions which will provide an effective and rational solution to the tragedy of Zimbabwe and thus put an end to the long war which has had such tragic consequences not only for the people of that country but also for the neighbouring States.

175. In Namibia, while the illegal South African occupation régime has feigned understanding and wisdom when faced with the proposals made by the five Western members of the Security Council, the iron curtain has not yet been raised. Oppression, the elevation of puppet chiefs to posts of honour, massacres and declarations of good intentions all alternate at a frightening rate, confusing us all, or trying to do so.

176. In the face of these Machiavellian manoeuvres our concern remains, and peaceful independence becomes increasingly unsure. In any event no form of independence is acceptable for that Territory unless it is endorsed by our Organization which is the only legitimate trusteeship authority in Namibia and which has the imperative obligation to lead that Territory to sovereignty with full respect for the unity and integrity of that country and with the participation of SWAPO, which is the sole recognized and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

177. Accordingly my delegation categorically rejects the illegal elections staged in December 1978, the decisions of the Constituent Assembly, which is in the pay of Pretoria, and the wicked Turnhalle constitution. We also reject all those tricks involving the customary puppet chiefs who are venal and malleable because they are corrupt.

178. In South Africa even the most optimistic among

us cannot avoid noting with great concern the situation which in theory and in practice has institutionalized racial discrimination and all other forms of oppression which are in fact, the flagrant denial of the most fundamental human rights.

179. The supreme form of iniquity and injustice has established its headquarters in Pretoria so as to be able to unleash an anachronistic war against the African peoples who are struggling with determination for independence and for a definition of their national identity.

180. Since the barbaric massacres of Sharpeville and the savage repression of Soweto, the odious and unacceptable system of *apartheid*, that form of enslavement which is shameful to our age, has drawn so much revulsion and so many denunciations and condemnations that it is now high time the United Nations took action and meted out a punishment befitting the gravity of these crimes against humanity.

181. This question is far too important for the United Nations to continue settling for half measures. Thus, in connexion with southern Africa, my delegation expresses the hope that, at last, at this session we may find adequate solutions to this problem which humanity finds increasingly intolerable, not only for the Namibians, Zimbabweans and Azanians but also for the neighbouring countries which are suffering from armed aggression by the racist forces because of their unwavering support for the cause of the ideals of our Charter.

182. In Western Sahara the democratic, emancipating and liberating aspirations of the people are being stifled by a protracted and illegal war to annex the Territory and divert it from the current of the decolonization process which the world community has endorsed in General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) of 16 December 1960.

183. There is no longer any need to stress the fact that the rights of the Saharan people cannot be challenged. For my delegation, the struggle being waged by the Saharan people is no longer separable from that being waged by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, because the problem in Western Sahara indeed is one of decolonization. The International Court of Justice, at the request of this Assembly, stated that neither Morocco nor Mauritania had exercised territorial sovereignty over Spanish Sahara before it was colonized by Spain.<sup>10</sup> Since then, the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Monrovia has endorsed the principle of the right of the Saharan people to self-determination [A/34/552, pp. 90-91]. Thus, the justice of the Saharan cause has now been recognized throughout the world.

184. The Rwanda delegation sincerely hopes that all the parties directly involved in this problem will demonstrate moderation and wisdom in order to avoid any further bloodshed like that which has been occurring for too long in this part of Africa.

185. However, I should like to hail the courageous decision that the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, inspired by the conclusions of the Monrovia Assembly of

<sup>10</sup> See *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.



the OAU, has freely made in refraining from violence and withdrawing from an internecine war which has had such tragic consequences, as well as in expressing its willingness to have a dialogue and open the way to honest and cordial co-operation with its neighbouring States.

186. In the Middle East the advent of the peace which we all long for whole-heartedly is still uncertain. It will continue to be so as long as the Palestinian people are subjected to the deprivation and suffering, both moral and physical, which they have endured for more than 30 years. If we examine the background and origin of this conflict we see that it is unanimously recognized that any solution to the problem must take due account of the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people represented by the PLO. Indeed, it could not be otherwise because the Middle East crisis or, more specifically, the Arab-Israeli conflict, has as its background, as its first cause, the failure to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

187. Accordingly, any effective, just, honourable and lasting solution to this crisis must necessarily include a recognition by all of the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to an independent and sovereign State, and Israeli withdrawal from all the Arab territories that it has occupied since 1967. This is necessary before there can be co-operation and an atmosphere of trust among the States in the region. Accordingly, peace in the Middle East must be the result of a global agreement among all the parties concerned, in particular the Palestinian people as represented by the PLO, their only legitimate representative.

188. The Rwanda delegation is following with concern the situation in Cyprus in which, despite the enormous efforts made by the Secretary-General to resolve the conflict, the gap between the two communities of the island remains.

189. It is the duty of the international community to do all it can to arrive at a favourable solution, encouraging a dialogue between the two communities without any foreign interference, because this problem involves principles, the violation of which causes a direct threat to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and the remarkable role played by this country in consolidating the non-aligned movement, which today includes three quarters of the world family.

190. The Rwanda Government is concerned about the situation which still prevails in Lebanon and which is a dangerous threat to the territorial integrity of that country. To put an end to that most regrettable situation, it is necessary to start a fruitful dialogue among all the Lebanese communities and to clear up the disputes which have been whipped up through circumstances which are beyond the control of the Lebanese people, who for many years have been suffering from the madness of destruction unleashed by uncontrolled foreign legions.

191. However, we do not give up hope that peace in Lebanon can be re-established with the valuable co-operation of all the parties involved in that crisis and the United Nations, whose presence in the country is most definitely a factor for moderation.

192. It is unthinkable that at a time when the freedom which we all hold dear is endangered, at a time when States are dreaming of great regional groups or continental groups, certain countries, certain nations should still have to suffer from the artificial divisions that have been imposed on them.

193. The position of the Republic of Rwanda on the question of divided nations has been frequently stated at this rostrum. Peoples who form indivisible nations do have an absolute inalienable right to seek ways and means of achieving peaceful reunification.

194. The Government of Rwanda welcomes the efforts that have been made for some years by the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic to normalize their relations. We trust that this dialogue will one day result in the peaceful reunification of the German nation.

195. The Korean question, although it has not been the subject of distressing debates recently, nevertheless is a matter of deep concern and a latent source of confrontation which could engulf the whole region. My delegation has always advocated the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korean territory in order to facilitate a free and peaceful reunification, because in the final analysis it is up to the Korean people to take a democratic decision about their future.

196. I should now like to return to a problem which is as essential to the human race as is the right to peace and well-being: I refer to disarmament.

197. The impassioned desire for destruction and domination has led people today to design and manufacture increasingly sophisticated weapons to act as a deterrent to others whom they mistrust because they do not understand their intentions or because they suspect them. The arms race and the balance of terror have held sway since the free nations, after the Second World War, resolving to try to save future generations from such scourges and to ensure mutual respect in a world of peace in which each nation would be able to build its future in total security, came together to sign the Charter of our Organization.

198. In Rwanda, we believe that there can be no international détente until an end has been put to the arms race. That is why we whole-heartedly call for the time when the enormous financial and scientific resources now being devoted to the manufacture of the means of destroying mankind can be used to encourage respect for the freedom and dignity of the human race.

199. We believe that all efforts to curb the arms race, for example, the signing of the SALT Treaty recently concluded at Vienna, must be encouraged in order to ensure that the tremendous resources thus freed can be made available for the economic and social development of all the peoples of the world.

200. A reaffirmation of the denuclearization of Africa, which was decided on by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in May 1963,<sup>11</sup> is

<sup>11</sup> See Organization of African Unity, *Assembly of Heads of State and Government: Resolutions and Declarations of Ordinary and Extraordinary Sessions* (Addis Ababa, May 1963), p. 11.

necessary in view of the nuclear threat to the African continent posed by the racist South African Government.

201. The same holds true for the Indian Ocean, which was proclaimed a zone of peace by our Assembly in 1971 [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], but which is nevertheless still the scene of a mass concentration of warships and nuclear and conventional weapons.

202. Since the beginning of this decade man has been living through one of the most tragic periods of the economic and social crisis. It is one of the most tragic because of its gravity and also because of its duration. This crisis is particularly difficult for the poorest countries, the land-locked countries and those with only a few natural resources.

203. The new international economic order, which was so carefully elaborated by experts with a view to establishing a minimum balance among the 20 richest countries, which account for more than 80 per cent of the goods of the world, and the countless other States Members of the United Nations, which are left with only 20 per cent of the resources of the world to meet the needs of three quarters of the human race, has become merely a fine subject for academic dissertations, because those countries that are able to change the unjust and egoistic economic order seem today not to have the political will necessary to carry out the necessary changes.

204. As the Second United Nations Development Decade draws to an end, the concerns of our Organization in this area are still just as acute as ever.

205. The Paris Conference on so-called North-South co-operation<sup>12</sup> did meet with limited success in 1977, but there has been a continual increase in the price of oil and that has made the economies of the poorer countries even more precarious, while the deterioration in the terms of trade has assumed alarming proportions.

206. We were extremely disappointed at the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD last June, in that, apart from some isolated decisions that had to be taken, the group of countries that has the advantage in the current system refused to recognize the interdependence that exists in the world today between all groups of countries from the point of view of economics, trade and finance.

207. The setting up of the Common Fund for stabilizing the market prices of commodities and the decision by some countries to cancel some of the debts of the developing countries must be welcomed as a healthy approach to encouraging the process of setting up the new international economic order.

208. Here I should like to pay a tribute in particular to those countries which had responded to the appeal launched by the international community in the area of the rescheduling of debts. In this respect, we wish to mention, *inter alia*, the Federal Republic of Germany, Canada, the Netherlands, France, Sweden and Switzerland.

209. The ties which have been set up between the European Economic Community and more than 50 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific are, we believe, an outstanding model for co-operation.

210. The recently concluded negotiations on a new convention soon to be signed at Lomé, were understandably arduous, and sometimes caused frustration among the negotiating parties. Nevertheless, the outcome is a further step in the co-operation between rich and developing countries as they seek to establish a new international economic order.

211. However, alongside these positive reactions, which are generous and praiseworthy, the gap between rich and poor continues to grow because of the refusal of the rich countries to take specific action and solve the problems which trouble the conscience of us all.

212. For example, one could mention a few issues that are particularly urgent. I refer to an improvement of the terms of trade, the rescheduling of debts, the complementary financing measures for poor countries, and the transfer of technology, as well as others which I shall not detail.

213. As we consider all these issues—and there are many others which are just as important as the increase of aid to development—a special place must be reserved for the least developed and land-locked countries, which suffer from the cumulative effect of all these problems: inflation, a collapse in the prices of the few raw materials which they possess and other natural disasters.

214. My delegation would like to draw the attention of this Assembly to its resolution 33/85 of 15 December 1978 on the United Nations Special Fund for Land-locked Developing Countries. That resolution expresses our concern at the “very low level of contributions . . . announced” and urges Member States “to make immediate and generous contributions” so as to make the Fund operational as soon as possible.

215. During this year, as I said earlier in my statement, my country found itself on the brink of paralysis because of our land-locked situation in the middle of the continent of Africa, more than 1,800 kilometres from the ocean. This was at a time when difficulties in our region prevented us from transporting our supplies and our exports.

216. We avoided the worst thanks only to the solidarity of friendly countries and international agencies which gave us the additional resources to ensure that supplies could reach our country, and also through the solidarity of neighbouring countries, which helped us to transport our goods through their territories.

217. I would be remiss if I did not in this Assembly express once again the sincere thanks of the Government of Rwanda and of our people to all those friendly countries and regional and international organizations which, at the crucial hours when we were faced with economic paralysis earlier this year, responded most generously to our anguished appeal for assistance.

218. It is clear that there is no lack of sympathy for the land-locked countries, and there is indeed an increased

<sup>12</sup> Conference on International Economic Co-operation, held at Paris from 30 May to 2 June 1977.

effort and international solidarity being shown in respect of these countries. However, there are constraints as to the ways and means of solving the problems of such countries and these are delaying the solutions to the problems of being land-locked. This bottleneck in our efforts can be cleared up only through a greater political will to increase in a special way, individually and collectively, aid to the land-locked countries and regional co-operation among the countries concerned.

219. Rwanda, a land-locked country, has considered it to be its duty to cultivate good relations of co-operation in the areas in which we are located. We are convinced that mutual benefit can result from well-thought-out horizontal co-operation which is also well organized. It is against this background that my country, Rwanda, is happy to have set up with our sister Republics of Burundi and Zaire the Economic Community of the Great Lakes Countries. We were convinced that the setting up of economic regional units was an objective approach and a realistic basis which could help to create an atmosphere conducive to economic co-operation among the countries concerned.

220. Still at a level of regional co-operation, I can say that Rwanda, the United Republic of Tanzania and Burundi have set up the Organization for the Development of the Akagera Basin with a view to the common exploitation of the natural resources of the Caseu for the benefit of our respective populations.

221. We hope that the Transport and Communications Decade in Africa, which ECA and the OAU are now planning, will enable us to strengthen regional and interregional co-operation in Africa.

222. Well-planned and well-organized co-operation between Africa and the Arab countries can make a real contribution to reducing the most regrettable imbalance between the economies of the industrialized countries and of the developing countries. In this spirit Rwanda welcomes the relations of friendship and co-operation which we already have with a number of Arab countries and Arab development funds.

223. My delegation has also had an opportunity to stress that, in the context of the draft of an international convention on the law of the sea, the right of access to the sea by land-locked countries and freedom of transit through third countries must be reaffirmed.

224. At the same time we cannot fail to condemn those national legislatures which unilaterally have appropriated to themselves the resources of the sea which have already been declared the common heritage of mankind in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV).

225. There is no doubt that the United Nations is an excellent setting for negotiations. While we recognize the benefits of dialogue at the bilateral and regional level, we appreciate all the more the benefits of such dialogue within our Organization through this most valuable instrument, the Charter of the United Nations.

226. Despite some regrettable events, some disappointments and some tragedies, we recognize the unequalled value of our Organization because it encourages the tireless struggle of Member States to establish

an order of justice and peace for the whole of the family of man. My delegation is convinced that in this Organization and under its auspices we can help to reconcile extreme points of view, resolve conflicts and create a feeling of human solidarity, despite ideological and other differences.

227. In this context I wish to express my conviction that, with perseverance and determination, we shall be able to bring our positions closer, to overcome those obstacles which separate us and take concerted action. In this way, by taking into account the interdependence of our futures, we can lead all peoples to a better world.

228. Mr. MOHAMMED (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like to extend to you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of this session. Your election is an expression of appreciation to the friendly country of the United Republic of Tanzania and all of Africa, and I am sure that your experience and expertise will ensure the success of this session and bring about the results to which we all aspire.

229. I wish also to thank your predecessor, who directed the deliberations of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly with great success.

230. I would seize this opportunity too to express my country's welcome to Saint Lucia, on its admission to membership in the United Nations.

231. We felt great grief at the death of Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, who led his people towards national independence and played a prominent role in the African struggle, that led to Angola occupying its rightful place among the nations of the world. Earlier we had been deeply grieved by the death of the great national leader Houari Boumediène, the President of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, who had effectively contributed to the Arab and African struggle. Under his leadership the Algerian people made great achievements.

232. The United Nations is a suitable international forum in which to deal with many international problems. Since its inception more than 30 years ago it has played a prominent role in the promotion of peace and security throughout the world and in enlarging the possibilities and fields of co-operation among peoples. It has also helped to create a suitable atmosphere for the promotion of the principles of peaceful coexistence and the achievement of détente in international relations. Though it is true that the United Nations could have discharged its responsibilities in a larger measure in international life, the presence of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism, of which zionism is a form, has constituted an impediment in the way of the achievement by the Organization of the objectives set forth in the Charter and has prevented it from carrying out its task of finding practical solutions to many of the problems it has dealt with continuously at its various sessions. The disregard by some for United Nations resolutions has decreased their importance and has led to their non-implementation while pushing international efforts towards a dead end.

233. Nevertheless there has been a great change in the world, and many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America have achieved independence, while the old

colonialist institution which has ruled the world for many centuries, has been liquidated. Newly independent States have contributed towards setting the international community on the course it ought to follow in order to discharge its historic responsibilities, and have participated in activating the efforts of the United Nations so that it may fully carry out its duties in various fields. The non-aligned movement and other groupings and regional organizations were among the important forums in which those countries organized their participation and redrafted and reorganized international relations on a basis of justice. A few days ago, in Havana, the non-aligned movement was able to ensure the success of its Sixth Conference, as a result of its awareness, its cohesion and the pioneering role played by Cuba and its leader, Fidel Castro, to that end, in spite of the manoeuvres and falsifications of imperialism and its resorting to a bitter propaganda campaign in order to infringe upon the non-aligned movement, to bring about division within it and to prevent it from proceeding along the path it has chosen to follow since its inception, which is represented by its firm stand on the side of the struggle of peoples and in fighting imperialism, colonialism in all its forms, racism and all forms of backwardness.

234. While we pay a tribute to the liberation of those peoples and to their contribution, we should like in particular to praise the heroic and courageous stand taken by the Iranian people in bringing down the Shah's régime and liquidating the aggressive role that was assigned to him at the service of imperialism in that area of the world.

235. We should like also to congratulate the people of Nicaragua on their victory over the dictatorial Somoza régime.

236. There is no doubt that the will of the oppressed peoples of Palestine, Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Western Sahara, Puerto Rico and other areas still suffering under the yoke of colonialist and racist occupation will triumph over imperialism and its allies. Imperialism and its allies will be defeated because the trend of history is towards the end of the enslavement of peoples, towards their liberation and economic and social progress. This is linked with the support provided by the friendly socialist countries, foremost among them the Soviet Union.

237. In Democratic Yemen we have suffered from imperialism, division and backwardness in all its forms. Nevertheless the Yemeni people, as a result of long years of struggle, were able to achieve national independence and to overcome and eradicate the régime of the Imam and imperialism and the weak sultanate entities it tried to establish. Today, with greater confidence, our people are directing their efforts to entrenching their independence and their sovereignty over their territory, to protecting what they have achieved and to facing all imperialist manoeuvres and plots aimed at infringing upon their achievements, at impeding their national march forward and at pushing them into the crucible of a new war. The only force that would benefit from such plots are those that are trying to impede their legitimate aspirations to establish the unity of Yemen within the framework of a national democratic régime that would respond to the largest interests of the Yemeni people and that would put an end to the ambitions of expansion of these forces and their overt interference in the internal affairs of Yemen.

238. In spite of the manoeuvres of their enemies, the two parts of Yemen have taken a large step towards restoring their unity following the summit agreement that was concluded in Kuwait last March.<sup>13</sup> Democratic Yemen would like to state that the unity of the Yemeni people and territory is an internal affair of the Yemeni people and also serves the cause of security and stability in the area.

*Mr. Makeka (Lesotho), Vice President, took the Chair.*

239. This is the situation in Yemen. Imperialism and its allies in the area, who were upset by the steadfastness of the Yemeni people and their ability to foil their manoeuvres, were stunned at the victories of the revolutions in Ethiopia, Iran and Afghanistan. Today, they are trying to create tensions and instability throughout the area and to set up an aggressive military alliance for the purpose of defending the continuance of their influence and of their imperialist usurpation of the wealth of the area, as well as to strike out at the national liberation movements such as the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, which is leading the struggle of the Omani people to the true independence of their country and to the ending of foreign interference and the imperialist military presence in that country.

240. All these manoeuvres, which are conceived and planned by the United States and carried out by its allies, are made at a time when American ambitions are increasing. The aim is to occupy the oilfields and consolidate American military presence by strengthening the aggressive base in Diego Garcia and deploying the Fifth Fleet in the Indian Ocean. At the same time the area is being flooded with weaponry and a special emergency force is being created which the United States may use at any time to threaten, invade and occupy territory on the grounds that it has vital interests in the area.

241. To carry out these manoeuvres, the imperialist circles depend primarily upon Israel and the Sadat régime, which has fallen completely into the hands of Zionism and the United States and which, with its shameful capitulationist attitudes, is a blot on the history of Egypt and hurt its people and negated the sacrifices of that people in the service of the struggle of the Arab nation.

242. Despite all these manoeuvres, the steadfastness of the Arab struggle grows stronger every day and will foil all aggressive manoeuvres and strengthen the faith of the Arab peoples in the inevitability of their final victory over imperialism, Zionism and reaction. This becomes particularly true as world public opinion becomes aware of the justice of their cause and the danger of the plots against their security and stability.

243. What is taking place today in southern Lebanon is undoubtedly another link in the chain of the manoeuvres of the imperialist, Zionist, reactionary circles which are not satisfied with instigating a civil war in Lebanon and worsening Lebanon's relations with the Palestinian revolution. They have, in fact, caused the division of Lebanon and the establishment of an agent mini-state in the south with the aim of perpetuating the

<sup>13</sup> Declaration between the two Parts of Yemen, signed at Kuwait on 30 March 1979.

Lebanese crisis and permitting Israel to achieve its expansionist ambitions and to liquidate the Palestinian people.

244. We should like to pay a tribute to the heroic determination and steadfastness of the fraternal people of Lebanon in their resistance to this criminal plan. We condemn the establishment of the separationist mini-state in the south and the aggressive military actions carried out by Israel against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples. We call upon world public opinion to help to put an end to Israel's repeated aggression against Lebanon and to confirm the integrity, sovereignty and legitimate authority of Lebanon.

245. World imperialism and Israel are also trying to ignore the fact that the Palestinian cause is the root of the struggle in the Middle East. It has been proved, once and for all, that it will be impossible to solve this problem without recognizing the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to the establishment of a national independent State in Palestine as well as recognizing the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. It is further necessary that Israel withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories.

246. We have also witnessed the failure of American policy in the area when it embraced the Sadat régime and urged it to sign the Camp David agreements, which are another way of ignoring the facts of the situation in the Middle East and only serve to place the whole area in a position of dependence on the United States so that that country may impose its influence and domination on the peoples and the wealth of the region. Democratic Yemen would like once more to reaffirm its denunciation of this policy and these agreements, which are aimed at liquidating the Palestinian question.

247. Democratic Yemen affirms the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to reject and oppose any plan or agreement or covenant which does not recognize their inalienable rights to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent national state in Palestine, and to which the PLO is not a party.

248. Just as these manoeuvres are being carried out in the Middle East, so, too, the peoples of the African continent face numerous imperialist and racist plots and manoeuvres aimed at diverting them from their path of national liberation and the preservation of their independence and sovereignty and the elimination of racist régimes on the continent.

249. In southern Africa, the racist régimes, in collusion with the imperialist and colonialist Powers, continue to defy the will of the peoples of the area and to practise further types of *apartheid* and racial discrimination while trying to cover up their racist and imperialist natures by distorting the will of the people of the region and ignoring the true representatives of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

250. Democratic Yemen supports the just struggle being waged by the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and we condemn imperialist attempts to hold sham elections and to impose through their own agents illegitimate leadership on the peoples. We also condemn the continued occupation of Namibia by the Government of South Africa in violation of the resolutions of the inter-

national Organization. We call for increased support and international aid for SWAPO, the sole representative of the people of Namibia. We reject all attempts aimed at the creation of an interim government and we call upon the United Nations to impose the sanctions provided for in Chapter VII of the Charter. The persistence of the white minority Government of South Africa in its policy of *apartheid* requires that the United Nations take necessary steps to isolate this racist régime and impose sanctions upon it.

251. We also condemn the overt military interventions by some Western countries aimed at changing political régimes in Africa and threatening peace and security and the stability of its peoples.

252. The question of Western Sahara is undoubtedly one of the most important topics to be dealt with during the current session of the General Assembly. On more than one occasion in the past we have affirmed our rejection of the consideration of this question as though it were a conflict between Algeria and Morocco. It is the cause of a people in quest of self-determination and independence. We support the struggle of the people of Western Sahara under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO.<sup>14</sup> Democratic Yemen welcomes the recent policy adopted by Mauritania and we hope that Morocco will take the same step so that the peoples of the Sahara may achieve their total independence. Then the peoples of the Arab Maghreb will together effectively contribute to foiling imperialist and Zionist manoeuvres and further strengthen the struggle of the Arab and African peoples.

253. On the question of Cyprus, we have constantly supported the total and unconditional withdrawal of all foreign forces and the elimination of military bases in the island. We would like to reaffirm here the need to respect the island's neutrality and independence, sovereignty and indivisibility.

254. With regard to Indo-China, we hail the victory of the Kampuchean people and their toppling of the autocratic Pol Pot régime, which had committed many crimes against the people of Democratic Kampuchea.

255. We also support the principles underlying the courageous stand of the peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, and we condemn all imperialist and reactionary manoeuvres and plots against them.

256. As far as the situation in Latin America is concerned, we strongly condemn the blockade imposed by the United States against Cuba, and we pay a tribute to the determination of the Cuban people in confronting this blockade and their struggle to liquidate the American military base at Guantánamo.

257. We pay a tribute to the positive developments achieved in Latin America, particularly by Nicaragua and Grenada, and we condemn all imperialist and reactionary manoeuvres aimed at infringing upon the will of those peoples and their national choices. We would like to affirm once again the right of the people of Puerto Rico to independence and self-determination, and we denounce the steps taken by the American

<sup>14</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

authorities to apprehend the Secretary-General of the Puerto Rican Socialist Party.

258. In Korea, we have always supported the just stand of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, and we have called for the withdrawal of the American forces from South Korea and for action to be taken to unite Korea peacefully. We have also advocated acceptance of that country by the United Nations as a Member.

259. Now that we are coming to the end of the Disarmament Decade we can see that, despite the steps taken to put an end to the arms race and to bring about total and complete disarmament, these targets are still remote. Basically, what is required is increased mutual trust, and the presence of political will on the part of the nuclear-weapon countries, in order that decisive steps may be taken to eliminate nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction. In addition, there must be guarantees to prevent their being owned and to halt their proliferation by other countries, particularly the racist régimes.

260. The dream of a world in which peace prevails and which is free from the threat of a destructive war is one to which all peoples aspire. It is our responsibility to strengthen international peace, and to push away the threat of war. The efforts deployed for disarmament and the ending of the arms race are vital and fundamental in this respect. The signing of the SALT Treaty in Vienna is an important step and a turning-point in the limitation of the arms race, and we should like to express our satisfaction at the signing of that Treaty and the efforts exerted by the Soviet Union in spite of many obstacles and difficulties. The signing of that Treaty is of benefit to all the peace-loving peoples of the world, and it is at the same time an indication that it is possible to achieve positive results in the search for total disarmament.

261. We must also understand the importance of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, while also declaring other areas zones free of nuclear weapons. We have previously affirmed that the Red Sea is a natural extension of the Indian Ocean, and we have asked that it be considered a region of peace, security, stability and coexistence among all the peoples that live around it. We have called, and we continue to call for adherence to the policy of peaceful coexistence in this area, for mutual respect without interference in the internal affairs of other States, for non-use of force or the threat of force, and for the peaceful resolution of conflicts.

262. The liberation of man and his achievement of prosperity and social progress is our objective. Peoples have taken large steps forward towards political liberation, but, nevertheless, they continue to struggle for their economic and social progress and liberation. In this task they face great difficulties as a result of the prevailing inequality in international economic relations, difficulties that have their roots in the era of imperialism and economic dependency. In spite of the many meetings and conferences at all levels throughout the past five years aimed at setting up a new international economic order, most capitalist countries adopt an intransigent and stubborn attitude which prevents the achievement of any real progress; and as a result, we find the dialogue between the advanced and the developing countries has reached a dead end.

263. The economic situation in the developing countries is deteriorating at various levels, while we find that the gap is rapidly growing between the developing countries and the advanced States with a consequent threat to international peace and security. These causes derive their particular importance from the fact that we are about to start the third United Nations development decade, and to prepare for the special session of 1980, in order to review and re-evaluate the progress achieved in the setting up of a new international economic order. The results of the negotiations and consultations of the fifth session of UNCTAD were disappointing, as were those of the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy. We cannot overcome this situation unless the capitalist countries demonstrate the political will to translate good intentions and promises into practical results that could redound to the benefit of the developing countries in all fields, whether in the field of international trade or in the development of their technological-industrial capacity in the field of finance, in the transfer of resources and in the lifting of barriers and restrictions imposed by the policy of protectionism, which have an adverse effect not only on the developing countries, but also on the international economy as a whole.

264. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of non-aligned countries, held in Havana, affirmed the need to set up a new international economic order and to continue with international negotiations towards that end. This cannot be achieved without deep-rooted changes in the structure of international economic relations on the basis of mutual benefit and true international interdependence based on justice and equality. The capitalist countries must give up their methods of procrastination and delay in bringing about even mere changes of form and their attempts to sow dissension among the developing countries in order to maintain the *status quo* and the interests of their monopolies.

265. Collective self-reliance among the developing countries is one of the mainstays of the new international economic order and a complementary dimension of international co-operation with the developed countries. This has become a fact which has been affirmed by the various statements and resolutions of the non-aligned Conferences and the Conferences of the Group of 77. However, this is only the start of a difficult and arduous path which requires the mobilization of all efforts and making use of every opportunity and potentiality to reach practical results and to bring about real changes with a view to achieving structural amendments and developing the international economy.

266. There are among the developing countries some particularly disadvantaged: the least developed nations which suffer as a result of their meagre resources and the retardation of their development process. These countries require and deserve intensified and accelerated assistance. UNCTAD, at its fifth session in Manila, has drawn up an urgent Programme of Action<sup>15</sup> and outlined the necessary steps needed to help these

<sup>15</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14), part one A, resolution 122 (V).



countries over the next few years, together with a basic programme of action for the 1980s<sup>16</sup> in order to assist them in developing their economies and to provide them with at least the minimum as regards nutrition, health, communications, transport, housing, education and employment, particularly for the poor of the rural and urban areas.

267. This has become a more urgent issue for those countries which, from time to time, suffer natural disasters and in their special circumstances face the problem of inflation and rising prices. It is important that the recommended steps be put into effect forthwith and that the new international development decade must give special consideration to those countries.

268. In conclusion, I should like to pay a tribute to the efforts of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to achieve peace and security in the world, to his devotion to strengthening the role of the international Organization and its contribution to the solution of many international problems and to the enhancement of the Organization's position among the countries of the world.

269. Mr. DIALLO (Niger) (*interpretation from French*): The international community has welcomed the election of Mr. Salim of the United Republic of Tanzania to the presidency of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly with hope and satisfaction. As far as Africa is concerned, it is indeed proud, and I congratulate him. His election is a fitting tribute to a career which has been devoted largely to the noble cause of the emancipation of peoples, as typified by his brilliant chairmanship for a number of years of the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. It is a tribute also to his country, with which mine has excellent relations, and which has been making invaluable efforts on the "front line" for the triumph of justice and freedom. Lastly, it is a tribute to Mr. Salim's personal attributes of even-handedness, tact, good humour and constant goodwill.

270. Niger, a founding member of the OAU, has never wavered, since its accession to sovereignty and its entry into the United Nations, from a code of conduct in keeping with group ethics and international law.

271. Scrupulous respect for the rights of others is the corner-stone of our foreign policy. In fact we revere the principle that every nation has the inviolable right to choose the political, economic and social structures which best respond to the aspirations and nature of its people. By the same token, however, we demand similar respect for our historical values, and the same tolerance for our national options. This foreign policy, which categorically rejects any selectivity, justifies, among other things, the place my country occupies in the great family of non-aligned nations.

272. Our non-alignment is dynamic and objective, free of any complicity or complacency. Our policy of co-operation with all countries stems from it; thus we are certain that that co-operation will exist within the framework of respect for our personality and will lead to the development of our mutual interests.

273. This loyalty of Niger's in its international relations, and its conviction that a sense of balance must always prevail in the settlement of disputes and conflicts among States, have earned it the trust of its partners in the OAU and the esteem of most Members of this Assembly. This is something we appreciate, and which encourages us to persevere.

274. However, while my country does not wish to preach, we cannot help reiterating our indignation that resolution 1514 (XV), of 1960, on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, in certain respects continues to be flouted. Similarly, we find it scandalous that, at a time when there is constant talk everywhere about respect for human rights, the denial and neglect of the basic rights of the black majorities in southern Africa continue to be tolerated.

275. My country, which for 16 years has constantly joined its voice to those of other members of the OAU to denounce and condemn that state of affairs, cannot but rejoice to see the entire international community reject the sham elections of 20 April 1979, which installed in Rhodesia a régime in the pay of the white minority Power.

276. That is why, while reiterating our support for the Patriotic Front, we are following with interest the current London Conference, which we hope will lead to the final establishment of legality and so bestow upon the people of Zimbabwe their rights.

277. With regard to Namibia, my country's position has been known for a long time. We have never spared our support for the courageous Namibian people and their fighting movement, SWAPO, which are struggling against South African colonialist and racist oppression. In this connexion, we wish to make it clear to the international community that as far as we are concerned, Walvis Bay is an integral part of Namibian territory.

278. As for South Africa, everything has been said again for more than a quarter century about its loathsome policy of *apartheid*. But we repeat once again that the Government of Pretoria would long ago have ceased flouting the international community had it not enjoyed outside support, whether overt or covert. On Niger's behalf, I can only launch an urgent appeal to all those countries which consider themselves friends of the continent of Africa and of African peoples, and who uphold and defend the concept of human rights, to put an end to such interference and duplicity as soon as possible.

279. It is in the same spirit that we fervently hope that the other Members of the United Nations will work actively for the adoption of appropriate measures in accordance with the relevant provisions of our many resolutions, recommendations and other solemn declarations in order to put an end to colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination in southern Africa.

280. It is also fitting to pay a warm tribute to the front-line countries, which have borne and continue to bear a heavy share in the liberation struggle which, tragically, is today deprived of the leadership of one of its most courageous freedom-fighters, President Neto, who was prematurely snatched from our midst, and whose active militance had given Africa one of its most

<sup>16</sup> See document TD/236.

rousing victories over colonialism and foreign domination.

281. I would ask the fraternal delegation of Angola to accept this renewed expression of the deep compassion of the people and Government of Niger.

282. I could not close this chapter without mentioning the volatile situation currently prevailing in Western Sahara, which, if we are not vigilant, may deteriorate into a serious conflict which could engulf our entire subregion. My Government believes that everything must be done to promote the advent of a new era of peace and fraternal co-operation in that subregion, in conformity with the resolutions adopted at the OAU Assembly in Monrovia [A/34/552, *annex II*], which, *inter alia*, called for recognition of the inalienable rights of the Saharan people to self-determination.

283. Niger's geo-political situation and the historic relations, cultural as well as economic, which have always united us with Islamic peoples, explain why my country remains deeply concerned over the situation in the Middle East.

284. In severing all relations with the Zionist State following the 1973 October War, all of Africa condemned Israel's policy of aggression and its occupation of Arab territories and Palestine. Unfortunately, that aggression and occupation continue, in disdain of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council. Faithful to its principles, Niger will always stand firmly behind the Arab countries and the PLO in their just struggle to recover their occupied territories and to gain recognition for the Palestinian people's right to a homeland.

285. For my country, no just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem could be conceived of without recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to a homeland; the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories; the cessation of Zionist desecration of Jerusalem, which cannot be considered Israel's property; and full participation of the PLO, the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, in all negotiations aimed at restoring peace and security in the Middle East.

286. Furthermore, my delegation wishes to express its deep concern at the escalation of Israeli aggression against Lebanon. Our Organization must urgently adopt the necessary measures to end such flagrant violation by Israel of the principles of the Charter and resolutions of our Organization.

287. This year we have noted encouraging events in terms of the consolidation of international peace and the reign of harmony among nations. Among others, we wish to mention Panama's recovery of full sovereignty over the Canal and the establishment in Nicaragua of a régime that satisfies the profound aspirations of the Nicaraguan people.

288. With regard to Asia, we wish to see in that part of the world, which has suffered from so many wars and so much destruction in the past, a new era of peace, in which its peoples and countries can work for reconstruction, as well as a better future for coming genera-

tions. I therefore wish to appeal most urgently to the major Powers to exercise wisdom and magnanimity so as to contribute to the realization of that noble objective.

289. Many other subjects are the source of grave concern for our young nations, because they could hamper our efforts at building a worthy and stable national society. Disarmament is among those concerns. Indeed, over a year ago this Assembly held a special session devoted to disarmament, its tenth special session, which drew up a programme of action [*resolution S-10/2*], including in particular measures for nuclear disarmament. My country, which took active part in that session's work, had an opportunity to express its views on that important question.<sup>17</sup> However, my delegation could not omit to mention here the lack of enthusiasm among militarily powerful countries at translating into action the commitments that they freely undertook at that historic session. That is why we favourably welcome—though without too much optimism—the signing by the USSR and the United States in Vienna of a second agreement on strategic weapons. Indeed, while the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms is a step in limiting armaments, it does not mark any de-escalation in the production and sophistication of nuclear weapons. The major Powers, as in the past, continue to cherish a fragile hope of maintaining peace in the world by cultivating terror.

290. While attentive to the civil spirits of domination those same Powers, to ease their consciences, prefer to check up on the small countries whose primary concern is the exploitation of their national resources in conditions of peace and harmony. For our part,

“We have condemned unequivocally, wherever it seemed necessary to demonstrate this, not only proliferation but also the possession of nuclear weapons. . . . Our concern is over development.”

That was the reply given by President Seyni Kountché on this subject to those who intimated that because Niger was a uranium-producing country it might shortly join the club of nuclear-weapon States. It that not clear proof of Niger's commitment to building a world of peace and prosperity in which man can live free from the obsession of a nuclear holocaust?

291. After these few words on disarmament we naturally come to the problems of security. The people and Government of Niger spare no effort to establish and consolidate with their neighbours in the countries of the subregion a peaceful climate of understanding and harmony, an atmosphere of peace that will be both an earnest and a guarantee of our common desire to ensure for our peoples the necessary tranquillity and stability for their economic and social development.

292. It is in that context that we have made efforts on behalf of Chad, a country which, like ours, shares the concerns of a developing country, a Sahelian landlocked developing country. Its peoples, like ours, has suffered from implacable droughts and in recent years has known regrettable internal turmoil and fratricidal struggles which have compromised their ideal of building a united and prosperous nation of Chad. However,

<sup>17</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 6th meeting.

today we are proudly and with relief witnessing in that brotherly and friendly country the beginning of a real labour of national pacification and a dynamic and evolutionary process of reconciliation and reconstruction.

293. Those results were recalled by President Seyni Kountche in the following statement to the Conference of non-aligned countries at Havana:

"We must draw on the goodwill of which there is no lack in conducting negotiations of reconciliation; because it is harmony, mutual aid and constructive co-operation we need to solve our development problems. It is on the confusion of our enemies that we should erect the city of our solidarity, not over the ruins or the corpses of some of us."

294. Thus, as in the case of Chad, my country will spare no effort to bring about peace and unity among peoples and harmony and solidarity among brothers who may be temporarily divided by conflicts. In this we shall act with strict respect for sovereignty and national identity and without any selfish or vainglorious motives; because our country and people love peace and are jealous of their sovereignty and intransigent when it comes to their security. Naturally, what they wish for themselves they also wish for others.

295. The thirty-fourth regular session of the United Nations General Assembly is beginning its work in the midst of a sombre world economic context. Years of efforts have been devoted to bringing about better order and justice in international economic relations, but we are not yet able to see light at the end of the tunnel. The world economy is experiencing a serious crisis which can be attributed to the inability of developed countries to overcome their internal difficulties. In their confusion those countries increase their protectionist measures, thus accentuating the imbalance in world trade and in the international monetary and financial system.

296. It is that egocentric attitude of advanced countries, leading to a hardening of their position in international economic negotiations, which undermined the results of the fifth session of UNCTAD and led to conclusions that fell short of the minimum acceptable to the vast majority of the participating States. The eighth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea suspended its work some weeks ago without any notable progress to justify the long months of negotiation.

297. The results obtained after many years of co-operation and dialogue are all too eloquent: the rich become richer and the poor remain poor; the gap widens hopelessly between the nations although they are linked by constant interaction in many spheres, within the framework of an anachronistic international division of labour.

298. Africa's position in this whirlwind of distress is, unfortunately, well known: our continent, the cradle of mankind, which symbolizes the hopes and failures of our world, is experiencing more dramatically than any other region the conflicting effects of development ill-adapted to its environment; it still has 18 of the poorest countries in the world.

299. The gross national product throughout Africa

represents only 2.47 per cent of the world product. At an average of \$365 *per capita*, Africa's annual income is the lowest in the world and infant mortality reached the record level of 137 per 1,000 in 1978. There is still in Africa only one physician for 25,000 inhabitants.

300. The facts show that today, after 20 years of political independence, the African economy is still underdeveloped: low *per capita* incomes, an excessively large rural population, a low level of productivity, an economy dependent on only a few primary commodities and directed towards unremunerative exports, a complete split between traditional and modern sectors of production, a high percentage of illiteracy.

301. These results are scandalous and repugnant: thousands of human beings still die of hunger while others have too much. Humanity is suffering from an imbalance which can be overcome only if there is political determination to triumph. For the establishment of a new international economic order is a stroke of luck for the industrialized countries, since their economies, very often affected by acute supply problems, cannot be restructured without the development of the developing countries.

302. In addressing myself to the representatives of my sister nations of Africa, I wish to recall the pledge of our respective peoples to make our Africa a haven of peace, harmony and well-being. These noble objectives can be attained if we undertake the patient construction of integrated economic regional entities.

303. These noble objectives, I should like to stress, can be attained only if, in spite of our enormous potential, brought to fruition by our own efforts and our creative imagination, our Africa continues to depend more on external influences than on itself. In this connexion, the Assembly of the OAU in Monrovia, which brought together in July important African researchers, leaders and leading African economists, is a positive contribution to the definition of a global strategy within the context of a future structural improvement of African economies and societies. I wish to congratulate those researchers and also the OAU and ECA on their initiative and their militant fervour in accomplishing their task.

304. Those were the few remarks we wanted to make on the world economy in general, and the situation in Africa in particular. It is up to our Organization, on the basis of repeated statements of intentions—which have unfortunately remained dead letters—urgently to envisage ways and means necessary to ensure that our intentions take specific form.

*Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania) resumed the Chair.*

305. The problems of development are many and disquieting. Niger, the link between the African and the Arab worlds, considers that the question of dissemination of information among peoples is an essential component among development priorities. Therefore we must study the means of ensuring a well-balanced and continuous dissemination of information among our countries.

306. My Government is pleased to see that the prob-

lem of information today is a basic concern in the United Nations and in certain specialized agencies, particularly UNESCO. We are pleased that the last General Conference of UNESCO, held in Nairobi, devoted a major part of its discussions to that question and, in collaboration with the Committee to Review United Nations Public Information Policies and Activities is working towards the establishment of a new world information order.

307. Along the same lines, my delegation wishes to express the hope that the international Conference on the distribution of radio frequencies,<sup>18</sup> which is being held in Geneva, will meet the hopes which our young nations have placed in it, that justice and the need for balance and harmony in the international mechanism for the broadcasting and reception of information will inform the work of the participants.

308. On behalf of my Government, I wish to express our pleasure at seeing the admission of Saint Lucia as the one hundred fifty-second Member of the United Nations. In welcoming this new State to our family, we receive an independent and sovereign nation which shares with us the ideals and principles embodied in the Charter.

309. This opportunity given to the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly to work for the progress of the Organization towards the aim of universality makes it appropriate for me to proclaim once again the commitment of Niger, its people and its Government to the decisive and highly appreciated contribution of the United Nations and its specialized agencies to the building of a world of solidarity, justice and equality among peoples and to the establishment of a new era of peace and co-operation among nations.

310. In this connexion, I wish to greet the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose competence, dynamism and devotion to the service of our common cause evoke in us feelings of profound admiration and esteem. He may be assured of the confidence and support of my Government in the accomplishment of his important and noble task.

311. At this crucial time, when the United Nations is committed resolutely to waging a collective struggle to ensure for mankind a world of order, justice, peace and security, I wish to assure this Assembly of the unswerving commitment of Niger and its President to working tirelessly to promote a better balance in international relations and thus to fulfil the lofty dream of our shared destiny.

312. Mr. HAMMADI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives the delegation of the Republic of Iraq great pleasure to extend to you its heartfelt felicitations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. I wish you complete success in the discharge of the duties of this high office, and would like to stress that the delegation of my country will exert its best endeavours, as it has done at past sessions, to participate actively in the work of this session in order to attain the goals assigned to it. Your vast experience at the United Nations, particularly your chairmanship over many years of the Special Committee on decolonization, en-

sure that you will preside over the deliberations of the General Assembly efficiently and successfully.

313. I am also glad to express our appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, for his valuable efforts as President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

314. The developments witnessed by the world this year are grave and constitute a threat to peace in many regions of the world. Perhaps the gravest of these developments are the schemes perpetrated in our Arab region, the implementation of which has begun to threaten our security and stability and constitute a setback to the cause of peace in the world as a whole.

315. In my statement last year<sup>19</sup> I called attention to the risks involved in the plans for the so-called peaceful settlement in the Middle East, which the United States of America has exerted all its material and moral efforts to implement successfully in the Arab region. I made special reference to the results of the Camp David agreements and tried to give a true picture of the aims of the so-called peaceful settlement which are based on nullifying the Palestinian existence and liquidating the cause of the Palestinian people. We declared at the time, as did the entire Arab nation, particularly the Palestinian people, inside and outside its occupied homeland, our vehement and categorical rejection of the two agreements, and singled out a number of essential elements in discussing the Palestinian question and the Middle East. We stressed that the United Nations should assume its full responsibility to make the Zionist forces of occupation withdraw from the Palestinian and Arab territories without giving the Zionist entity any political advantages. We reiterate our position that the Palestinian question should be discussed within the framework of the United Nations and in the presence of the representatives of the Palestinian people in conformity with General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX). We reject all unilateral schemes for settlements which would not be conducive to a just and durable peace.

316. We have warned that the continuation of material and particularly military support for the racist régime in Tel Aviv will lead to the escalation of tension and the continuation of conflict in the Arab region which, in turn, will threaten peace and security in the world, particularly with the proliferation of nuclear weapons to the Middle East which has become a reality. In this context I wish to refer to agenda item 121, entitled "Israeli nuclear armament", proposed by our delegation this year in document A/34/142, which reflects the mounting Zionist expansionist attempts to impose capitulation on the Arab nation through the use of every method of terror and blackmail, including nuclear blackmail. I trust that this question will receive the attention it merits from the General Assembly at its current session.

317. The Zionist schemes for imposing occupation and capitulation on the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, with full support from United States imperialism, culminated in the signing of a separate peace treaty on 26 March 1979 between the Egyptian Government and the Zionist entity. Notwithstanding the fact

<sup>18</sup> World Administrative Radio Conference.

<sup>19</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 23rd meeting, paras. 76-123.

that this treaty is a bilateral agreement, its effects on the Palestinian question, the Arab world and the international community are grave indeed. The treaty is in essence a tripartite alliance which basically contradicts the United Nations resolutions on the Palestinian question and runs counter to the interests of the Arab Palestinian people and the interests of all Arab States. Its aim is well-known to all since the Camp David agreements set up its framework with the goal of perpetuating Zionist occupation, liquidating the Palestinian question and imposing domination on the Arab States.

318. Article VI, paragraph 5, of the Egyptian-Israeli treaty provides that:

“ . . . in the event of conflict between the obligations of the parties under the present treaty and any of their other obligations, the obligations under this treaty will be binding and implemented.”<sup>20</sup>

This provision nullifies any obligations undertaken by the Egyptian Government in support of the Palestinian cause in conformity with the resolutions of the United Nations and of the non-aligned movement. The Egyptian Government did not stop at withdrawing its support from this issue of the destiny of the Palestinians under the agreement, but it also took it upon itself to speak and negotiate on behalf of the Palestinians regarding the autonomy formula proposed by Israel, which had been categorically rejected by the Palestinian people. On this matter, the Zionist leaders have always insisted on the fact that this constituted nothing more than a limited, local administrative government relating to the people, and not to the land.

319. The pressures on the Palestinian people to force them to accept the formula of autonomy, which were created by the treaty of capitulation and continue with the support of the United States, violate the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination and to their inalienable rights which have been recognized by the General Assembly in numerous resolutions.

320. The Camp David agreements and the separate treaty, as well as the exchange of letters that accompanied the treaty, contradict United Nations resolutions on Jerusalem, since those letters confirmed Israel's control over Arab Jerusalem, which the Zionist leaders stress will remain for ever the capital of Israel. Those separate agreements also violate the resolutions of the General Assembly on the right of those Palestinians who have left their lands since 1948 as a result of the Zionist aggression, which has continued through the 1967 aggression. These agreements give Israel the right of veto on the return of the Palestinians who left the occupied territories in 1967. The rights of the Palestinians who were the victims of Zionist aggression in 1948 were totally ignored.

321. If the Egyptian-Israeli treaty is really a treaty of peace, why is there a continuous flow of United States weapons, more highly sophisticated than ever before, to the Israeli military establishment in larger quantities than ever before? The requests of the Egyptian régime for United States military weapons expose the area to

the dangers of a new war and leave the door wide open for United States military presence and an escalation of tension in the Middle East.

322. The United States press reported that Sadat had expressed his willingness to play a major military role in support of the West if he were provided by the United States with modern weapons worth billions of dollars. Responsible United States sources said that Sadat had made this offer to United States Secretary of Defence Harold Brown during a long meeting between the two. Those sources affirmed that the Egyptian President requested 300 F-16 fighter-bombers, hundreds of tanks and missiles, and thousands of military personnel carriers and trucks. In return, Sadat would undertake to ensure the stability of the area extending between Algeria and Afghanistan and from the Mediterranean to Somalia. Sadat stressed that he would not use those weapons in the Arab-Israeli conflict. Should the United States respond to Egypt's request, Sadat would contribute to the establishment of a military balance in the Middle East through Egypt's force and distribute the Soviet weapons in Egypt's possession among the small friendly States in the Middle East and Africa. The United States sources added that Sadat's thinking was for him to be the policeman of the area and for his role to extend beyond his near neighbours. In other words, Sadat made it clear that he wanted Egypt to be an alternative to Iran but on a more massive scale than Iran during the days of the Shah.

323. Cairo was visited by numerous United States military delegations for this purpose in order to work out the details of the large-scale shipment of military hardware to be received by Egypt from the United States as part of the Egyptian-Israeli peaceful settlement. How can one reconcile a peaceful settlement with the United States weapons transactions which have begun to threaten the security of the Arab and African countries? The United States leaders do not hesitate to issue open threats to the effect that they are prepared to use force in the Arab area, and especially in the Arabian Gulf, if their interests are exposed to danger. In fact, the size of the United States naval presence in the region has recently increased. The escalation of the United States military presence in the region has as its aim the strengthening of ties and co-operation with the racist régimes in southern Africa and the creation of an axis between those régimes and Egypt and Israel in order to suppress the national liberation movements and protect United States imperialist interests.

324. It has become clear, particularly since the signing of the separate Egyptian-Israeli treaty and the signing of the Camp David agreements, that the aim of all these agreements is to heighten tension in the region and impose capitulation on the Palestinian people and the Arab nation, and not the reverse. The tragedy in southern Lebanon and the daily open aggression, death and destruction against civilian targets and the Lebanese and Palestinian population constitute irrefutable evidence of the insistence of Israel on its expansionist aggression against the Arab nation with the full support of the United States. We are now witnessing the most modern United States F-15 planes making daily raids against our defenceless people in Lebanon and hurling death and destruction at them. Where is the peace which the Zionist circles and their allies are persistently proclaiming?

<sup>20</sup> See Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979. For the text, see *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents*, vol. 15, No. 13, pp. 495-515.

325. We call upon the United Nations to reject and condemn those agreements, which totally flout the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly over the years on the Palestine question and the situation in the Middle East. We wish to recall that the Arab States, as represented by the League of Arab States, vehemently rejected those agreements in their entirety during the meeting of the League Council<sup>21</sup> in Baghdad from 27 to 31 March 1979. The same position was taken by the Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers convened at Fez from 8 to 12 May 1979 [see A/34/389 and Corr.1] and the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of the Non-Aligned States in Colombo from 4 to 9 June 1979.

326. Lastly, the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries decided by consensus to condemn the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty [see A/34/542, annex, section I]. The Conference also referred the question of suspension of Egypt's membership in the movement to the Co-ordinating Bureau—in its capacity as a special committee—to examine the damages caused by the Egyptian Government to the Arab nation and the Palestinian people, and to present a report to the Foreign Ministers of the movement in 1981, when a decision will be taken regarding the status of Egypt in the movement.

327. Ever since the signing of the Camp David agreements and the Egyptian-Israeli treaty, attempts have been made to involve the United Nations, in one way or another, in their implementation. We warn against any attempts to give international legitimacy to that unjust treaty, which ignores all the United Nations resolutions relating to the Palestinian question and the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, such as their right to regain their homeland, their right to self-determination, the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli forces from the Arab territories without any gains, and the recognition of the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. All the contacts and consultations between Egypt and the Zionist entity with the support of the United States have been held outside the framework of the United Nations and not within it. This constitutes a clear denial of the role of the Organization and an intentional disregard of its resolutions, although the Organization has been playing a central role in this question. Today, our Organization is asked to act as a witness and a party to schemes and conspiracies perpetrated by Zionism and United States imperialism against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation.

328. The Arab nation rejected from the outset the Camp David agreements. It also vehemently rejected the unilateral peace treaty and considered it to be an aggression causing great harm to the rights and interests of the Arab nation. The Arab Kings and Presidents at the Ninth Arab Summit Conference,<sup>22</sup> as well as the meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States in Baghdad at the level of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Economy, declared their categorical rejection of these agreements. They condemned the Egyptian régime, the Zionist entity and the United States, and decided not to deal with those agreements and to reject all their political, economic, legal and other consequences. Today, this international Organization is called

upon to stand firmly against all attempts to involve it in the implementation of unjust provisions which the United Nations had no role in formulating.

329. Iraq has always considered the Palestinian question to be the central and pivotal question in its foreign policy. It has provided and continues to provide all help it can to the Palestinian people in the struggle against the Zionist invasion. Despite all the Zionist and the imperialist attempts directed against our Arab nation, our struggle will continue and grow in strength until our just goals are attained and our usurped rights are restored. The Arab nation will not be deflected from this course by treaties and schemes concocted to the exclusion of the people directly concerned, with the aim of usurping their rights and liquidating their cause. In the event of the outbreak of war and the collapse of peace in our region, the Arab nation can never be held responsible, because we are defending our legitimate rights, our land, our very existence and our civilization. World Zionism and those supporting it, particularly the United States, will bear the responsibility for the dire consequences in all spheres of the collapse of peace and the outbreak of war. We will never accept capitulation, whatever the price. The peoples of the world and peace-loving States should discharge their responsibilities before it is too late.

330. Iraq fully supports the non-aligned movement and is working actively to increase its role and effectiveness and its march toward the establishment of a new system of political and economic relations in the world. The great success of the Sixth Conference of the movement in Havana is a source of deep gratification for us. The Conference deepened the progressive character of non-alignment and adopted firm and clear positions against colonialism, imperialism, racism, including Zionism, and all other forms of foreign domination. Iraq, which considers non-alignment the cornerstone of its foreign policy, is contributing actively and constructively to support the movement at all levels and is looking forward to 1982, when it will play host to the next summit conference of non-aligned countries.

331. Among the most important goals and principles of the non-aligned movement are total support for and assistance to the liberation movements in southern Africa in their final efforts to put an end to colonialism and racism in the continent. Iraq fully supports the liberation movements of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe and the front-line African States in their just struggle to attain this goal which the United Nations has advocated for so long.

332. Western imperialist circles continue to conduct a well-planned and vicious campaign in a vain attempt to blame certain petroleum-exporting developing countries for the economic problems besetting the capitalist countries. These same circles do not hesitate to blame the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries for the imported inflation of the developing countries, notwithstanding all the available evidence and statistics to the contrary. With a sense of responsibility, Iraq took the initiative of proposing the establishment of an international fund to assist the developing countries in facing the effects of inflation, a fund to which the industrialized countries, regardless of their systems, would contribute annually the equivalent of the inflation which they export to the developing countries. The members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting

<sup>21</sup> Council of the League of Arab States at the level of Arab Ministers for Foreign Affairs, Economy and Finance.

<sup>22</sup> Held in Baghdad from 2 to 5 November 1978.



Countries would also contribute to the fund on the same basis.

333. Proposals from various quarters are made from time to time calling for the consideration of the energy problems in isolation from other important issues. We wish to reiterate our firm position that, whether inside the United Nations or elsewhere, the problems of energy should be approached within a comprehensive framework designed to tackle all the principal problems of international economy as decided at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly in the context of the new international economic order.

334. All attempts to use the energy problem in order to divide the ranks of the developing countries have thus far met with failure, because the developing countries have maintained their unity and their determination to adopt a comprehensive approach in all discussion of the international economy. We have no doubt that the new wave of proposals will meet the same fate.

335. The position of Iraq on all the subjects included in the agenda of this session is well known and I shall refrain from repeating it at this time in order to save the time of the Assembly. Our delegation will, as usual, present our views and positions during the deliberations of the Main Committees and in the Assembly's plenary meetings when we discuss various items on the agenda.

336. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. I wish to recall that the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by representatives from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly.

337. Mr. AL-ALAWI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I am sorry to have to ask to be allowed to speak a second time in exercise of my right of reply to respond to the attacks made on my country by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Southern Yemen—attacks which we are becoming accustomed to hear at every opportunity, at every conference and at every session of the General Assembly. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Southern Yemen spoke of the security and stability of the Arabian peninsula and then, in the same context, mentioned my country.

338. I wish to affirm that the claim made by him in respect of foreign military pacts established in our region is totally unfounded and is a product of his imagination. My delegation wishes to place on record its protest at the flagrant interference by Southern Yemen in the internal affairs of my country in contradiction with the principles of the United Nations Charter.

339. The representative of Southern Yemen spoke of so-called non-existent liberation movements in the Arabian peninsula. The Southern Yemen representative has a habit of making these claims. The petroleum fields in the Arabian peninsula are under the sovereignty of independent Arab States, which are able to defend their own interests.

340. It was very strange to hear the representative of Southern Yemen in another part of his statement to the

General Assembly also ask that the Indian Ocean be made a zone of peace—at the very same time that he is concluding an alliance with one of the super-Powers in order to enable it to have a military presence in the region, which constitutes a threat to the independence and security of the Arabian Peninsula. Southern Yemen asked to live in peaceful coexistence with various States of the region, but at the same time it is interfering with the internal affairs of the countries that border it.

341. The Sultanate of Oman has always respected the principles of peaceful coexistence, sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, and in our statement [19th meeting] we affirmed our permanent and firm position that the Indian Ocean should be a zone of peace. We hope that Southern Yemen will follow suit, so that we may truly achieve stability and security in our region.

342. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation had not intended to reply to the allegations made by the representative of the Qaboos régime whom we have just heard, because we thought that he went beyond the bounds of a statement in exercise of the right of reply by making allegations against Democratic Yemen in order to cover up events that were taking place in Oman and in the region in general.

343. We did not expect him to tell us about what he called Oman's hope and its conviction of the need to declare the Indian Ocean a zone of peace at the very time when we are constantly hearing rumors, particularly recently, about invitations to establish some kind of dubious aggressive pact in which, from what he said, foreign forces would take part with a view to ensuring what is called the protection of the strategic Straits of Hormuz.

344. When the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country spoke before the General Assembly this afternoon, he spoke of the just struggle of the Omani people, under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, and of the danger posed by the United States military presence on the Omani island of Masira, he was confirming a fact that cannot be denied. The statements made here by the representative of the Qaboos régime cannot camouflage the reality of the internal situation in Oman. A revolution led by the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman is taking place; there has been flagrant foreign interference in the internal affairs of the Omani people. Because of its historic and friendly relations with the Omani people, Democratic Yemen will always take a concerned and loyal attitude with regard to the struggle of the Omani people and will not fail to point out the real situation whenever the occasion arises.

345. The struggle of the Omani people, under the leadership of the Popular Liberation Front, is every day growing in intensity despite that régime's recourse to the use of foreign military forces and experts, the influx of American arms and the unleashing of genocidal military campaigns against the Omani people. We are certain that the Omani people will be able to win the final victory over the imperialist presence on its soil and will secure the genuine independence of Oman, thus enabling that country to play the national role which the Qaboos régime has made and is making every effort to distort.

346. The allegations made and the lies told here by the representative of the Qaboos régime will not succeed in making us give up our support for the just struggle of the Omani people.

347. I reserve my delegation's right to reply to any future statement on this matter.

348. Mr. ELARABY (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The chairman of the Egyptian delegation presented Egypt's statement in the general debate on 1 October [15th meeting]. In his statement Egypt's position was clearly set forth with respect to the Arab-Israeli conflict and the just cause of the peoples' struggle and their liberation.

349. At this late hour I do not intend to repeat what my Minister has already stated, but, given the deliberately false statements and the cheap exaggerations we have heard here, and in which Egypt, with its heritage of civilization and record of real contributions, refuses to participate, I feel obliged to clarify certain issues and effectively deny those false statements.

350. Egypt's position is clear. It believes deeply in the need for the realization and implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their legitimate and natural right to self-determination in an atmosphere of full freedom and without foreign intervention.

351. Egypt has never claimed at any time—nor does it claim now—that it has a right to speak on behalf of the Palestinian people. Egypt will continue forcefully and with determination to oppose illegal Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. Egypt will proceed with its pursuit of a just peace notwithstanding the loud noises made by the Arab rejectionist front.

352. Very briefly, those are the basic guidelines of our policy. They have been so in the past, they remain so today, and they will remain so in the future. Egypt will always sincerely respect and comply with the United Nations Charter and the provisions of international law and international legitimacy. Egypt has never hesitated to sacrifice lives and material resources for the Palestinian cause or to ensure the triumph of the just Arab cause, and has always contributed to the liberation of the peoples of Africa and Asia.

353. Whether on the battlefield or on the diplomatic front, Egypt always respects the same principles and hopes to attain the same goals. Egypt will not be hurt by the allegations that have been repeated here by those who have never made any real contributions to the Palestinian cause.

354. I should like to reiterate in conclusion that

Egypt's foreign policy is based upon respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all States, as well as non-interference in their domestic affairs. These are the basic principles for whose defence and protection the non-aligned movement was established and which the United Nations Charter requested that we implement and respect.

355. The PRESIDENT: The representatives of Oman and Democratic Yemen have asked again to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. May I remind members of the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting that the number of statements in exercise of the right of reply for any delegation at a given meeting should be limited to two per item, and that the second statement should be limited to five minutes.

356. Mr. AL-ALAWI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I regret that I must ask to speak again and promise to abide by the rule established by the General Assembly. I wish merely to deny some untrue statements made by the representative of Democratic Yemen. The struggle he mentioned only exists in Southern Yemen, and we know nothing about such a struggle in Oman.

357. We have repeatedly emphasized our adherence to the policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. Consequently, I do not wish to talk here of the internal situation in Southern Yemen; it is enough to mention that it has been publicized by the press. The representative of Democratic Yemen mentioned in his allegations some statements by certain press sources hostile to the Sultanate of Oman. These are therefore not based on any facts.

358. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I promise to be as brief as possible in my reply, for I do not wish to waste the Assembly's valuable time trying to refute the lies repeated here by the representative of Oman. It is well known that the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman is carrying on the struggle of the people of Oman. There is no need to reaffirm or repeat that here. There is a revolution under the leadership of the Popular Front and the Omani people are heroically struggling under that leadership against the policy of foreign interference in their domestic affairs practised by the Qaboos régime.

359. Democratic Yemen believes deeply in its foreign policy based on mutual respect, co-operation and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. I do not believe that what the representative of the Qaboos régime is saying actually reflects the true foreign policy of Democratic Yemen.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*