

United Nations
**GENERAL
ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**26th
PLENARY MEETING**

Tuesday, 9 October 1979,
at 3.10 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Shahi (Nepal)	555
Speech by Mr. Treiki (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya)	559
Speech by Mr. Mroudjae (Comoros)	565
Speech by Mr. Matenje (Malawi)	569
Speech by Mr. Molapo (Lesotho)	572
Speech by Mr. Kargougou (Upper Volta)	575
Speech by Mr. Ieng Sary (Democratic Kampuchea) ...	579

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. SHAHI (Nepal): Mr. President, it is my privilege to convey to you and, through you, to the representatives assembled here the cordial greetings and the best wishes of my Sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra Bir Bikram Shah Dev, for the success of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Please allow me, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, to extend to you our warm felicitations on your election as President of the current session of the General Assembly. We are confident that under your wise guidance, which is already evident in your organizational skill, the work of this session will be successfully concluded. Let me assure you of our fullest co-operation in all your endeavours to this end during the present session.

2. Our appreciation is also due to Ambassador Liévano of Colombia for his able, firm and impartial conduct of the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

3. I take this opportunity to compliment our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his devotion to the work of the United Nations and for his untiring efforts in discharging the onerous responsibilities entrusted to him by this Assembly.

4. Mr. President, my delegation wishes to associate itself with your statement to this Assembly on the passing away of the great Indian leader, Shri Jayaprakash Narayan [24th meeting].

5. We welcome Saint Lucia as the newest Member of the United Nations; in our view the admission of Saint Lucia is a further step towards the universality of membership of this Organization.

6. It is a great pleasure for me to address this Assem-

bly on our perception of international relations and events during the current year. The past year, as the Secretary-General has rightly observed in his report on the work of the Organization, has been a year full of "uncertainty, tension and conflict" [see A/34/1, sect. I]. This does not sound heartening as we are on the threshold of a new decade. As we are meeting in the wake of the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,¹ which constitute two thirds of the nations of the world, it may be appropriate for me to refer to that Conference and its conclusions. No one—even many non-aligned countries—would expect us to agree fully with all those conclusions and recommendations, but it goes without saying that the Havana Conference, as the largest gathering ever of the world's Heads of State or Government, and its final documents [see A/34/542] represent a great moral and political force in international affairs and a consensus of mankind in general on the state of the world situation.

7. The areas of conflict continue to pose a challenge to international peace and security. The progress, if any, in the process of détente is having very little effect on the course of international events in many corners of the world, events which have proved to be of a dubious, negative character. There may be no traditional bipolar division of the world, but there is no escaping the fact that sharp divisions, reinforced by armed conflicts, continue to characterize the relationships between and among nations of the world. Nowhere are these realities more evident than in southern Africa, the Middle East and South-East Asia.

8. Southern Africa continues to be one of the focal points of tension in international relations. The illegal minority régimes of southern Africa have persistently refused to recognize the right of oppressed peoples, led by their national liberation movements, to self-determination, national independence and majority rule. We have always condemned the hateful system of *apartheid* in South Africa as inhuman and an insult to the civilized world and joined the international community in urging the Security Council to impose on the racist régime all the sanctions provided for under Chapter VII of the Charter.

9. South Africa's refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in implementing the plan for free and fair elections in Namibia under the supervision of the United Nations² has delayed an early attainment of independence in that international Territory and thus frustrated the aspirations of the Namibian people to true national liberation. The so-called internal settle-

¹ Held in Havana from 3 to 9 September 1979.

² See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

ment resulting from the fraudulent election of April this year in Zimbabwe has been denounced by the international community as a mockery of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe.

10. We reaffirm our position that, pending a genuine transfer of power under a negotiated settlement acceptable to all the parties concerned, which it is hoped may emerge from the ongoing constitutional conference in London—no recognition should be given to the so-called majority Government of Bishop Muzorewa, nor should the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against Rhodesia be lifted.

11. Consistently opposed as we are to colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and all other forms of domination and exploitation, we reiterate our firmest support for the struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa, under the leadership of national liberation movements recognized by this world body, by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and by the non-aligned movement, to achieve full independence and the total elimination of racism and *apartheid*. We believe that the process of decolonization in southern Africa has reached a decisive stage.

12. The situation in the Middle East continues to be disquieting. In keeping with our well-known stand on the Middle East problem, we do not support occupation by Israel of Arab territories, and we view the increasing number of Israeli settlements in occupied territories as illegal and believe that they will hamper the peace process. We call upon Israel to withdraw completely from the territories occupied since 1967. We maintain the view that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) form the basis for a lasting, just and comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem. While we support the right of all States in the region, including Israel, to live within secure and recognized boundaries, for peace to be durable in the Middle East we consider it essential to recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and their right to a separate State. Failure to recognize this reality will not create conditions essential to peace initiatives. In this context, we view the Camp David agreements³ and the Egypt-Israeli Treaty⁴ as a partial step which we hope, will not impede a just and comprehensive solution of the Middle East problem. It is, therefore, only logical that the Palestinian people should be fully involved in the negotiations aimed at bringing about peace in the Middle East.

13. The Middle East problem is further complicated by repeated attempts to impair the integrity of Lebanon and weaken the unity of its people. We reaffirm our support for the territorial integrity of Lebanon. As a troop-contributor to UNIFIL, Nepal is concerned to see that UNIFIL carries out its mandate effectively and without obstruction from any quarter. We are equally concerned to see the fullest restoration of Lebanese authority in the troubled area as early as possible. A strong supporter of the United Nations peace-keeping operations, we urge all Member States to contribute in every possible way to the strengthening of this useful machinery of the United Nations.

³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed in Washington on 17 September 1978.

⁴ Treaty of Peace Between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed in Washington on 26 March 1979.

14. Recent developments in South-East Asia have caused us concern. These developments, that have unfortunately taken place at a time when countries of the region were engaged in reconstruction following a protracted fight, have not only disrupted the socio-economic conditions of the neighbouring countries of the region, but are also contrary to the established norms of international behaviour. The political implications of interference in the internal affairs of a State Member of the United Nations by the use of force or aggression can by no means be overlooked. Foreign aggression and external interference in the internal affairs of others, wherever they take place, be it South-East Asia, Africa or elsewhere, are simply unacceptable to my country. It is our considered view that the more powerful countries should not encroach on the sovereign jurisdiction of the less powerful ones. My country would passionately call for the withdrawal of foreign forces from all occupied territories and the recognition of the right of all countries, without exception, to chart their own destiny without pressure or interference from any quarter.

15. We fully share the concern that humanitarian problems should receive immediate attention, and we are pleased to note that the Geneva meeting convened by the Secretary-General to discuss the Indo-Chinese refugees⁵ had some positive results. We hope that the international community, and in particular the industrialized countries of the world, will provide generous assistance in alleviating the plight of refugees, who are victims of injustice and oppression. We sincerely wish to see the peoples of Indo-China happily engaged once again in national reconstruction and all-round development.

16. It is a pity that, despite the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General, it has not been possible to make progress on the Cyprus issue. We favour the resumption of intercommunal talks under the auspices of the Secretary-General and support a political settlement based on strict respect for the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. In our view there is no justification for continued foreign occupation of Cyprus.

17. On the Korean question, we continue to hold the view that the aspirations of the Korean people to national reunification should be fulfilled peacefully by their own efforts and without any outside interference whatsoever.

18. The escalating arms race in the world brings home to us the bitter fact that, despite the lessons we have all learned from destructive wars throughout the centuries, we still continue to seek security in armaments. Security does not depend on our arsenals of war, but rather on an atmosphere of peace, justice, mutual respect and confidence. The escalating race in armaments does not contribute to the building of that atmosphere. Peace cannot be maintained by a balance of terror and nuclear warheads—a balance which can be upset by any number of factors, including accidents. Additionally, the arms race represents the most glaring example of wasteful economy. Even a minuscule fraction of the resources wasted on armaments, if diverted for peaceful purposes and for the building of the economy of

⁵ Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons in South-East Asia, held in Geneva from 20 to 21 July 1979.

developing countries, will contribute to the establishment of a New International Economic Order, an objective which has so far remained only on paper. It is ironic that the greatest achievements of science and technology are being increasingly used in the development of anti-values, even by those of us who can least afford it.

19. My delegation last year had welcomed the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2*], adopted by consensus at the first special session ever devoted to disarmament, as having formed a sound basis for substantive negotiations in the field of disarmament. The reorganization of the Committee on Disarmament as a negotiating body was another positive outcome of the special session. More than a year has elapsed since then and we have already begun discussing the next special session to be held in 1982. But little progress has been made in the negotiations on key issues relating to disarmament. It is widely accepted that general and complete disarmament under effective international control is the ultimate goal to which we are all committed.

20. Like most delegations, we attach the highest importance to nuclear disarmament. We call upon all nuclear-weapon States, and in particular the two major nuclear Powers, to bear a special responsibility for achieving nuclear disarmament. We have noted with satisfaction the conclusion of a Treaty at the second round of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [*SALT*] between the United States and the Soviet Union.⁶ It is our hope that this Treaty, when ratified, will pave the way for another at the outcome of the third round of *SALT*. However, we regret that agreement has not yet been reached on a comprehensive test-ban treaty.

21. As a signatory to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], Nepal has consistently opposed vertical and horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons. We look forward to the 1980 Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, which, we hope, will contribute further to the strengthening of the non-proliferation régime. We are also aware of the importance of the limitation of international transfers of conventional weapons, for such transfers would create unstable conditions at the regional level.

22. An important as well as effective disarmament measure, in our opinion, is the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones and zones of peace. We have supported the denuclearization of Africa and the establishment of such zones in the Middle East and South Asia. The 1971 Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and the proposal made by the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] for a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality⁷ have received our continued support.

23. As our own national contribution to peace and as a true expression of our ultimate desire for peace, my august sovereign, His Majesty King Birendra, has proposed that Nepal be declared a zone of peace. This proposal is eminently consistent not only with my country's age-old search for peace, but also with the

principles of non-alignment and the purposes of the United Nations. Nepal will never seek to create trouble in our region nor can we afford to be embroiled in any situation of tension which is not of our making. Our greatest task is that of the development of our people—economic, social and spiritual. This is the rationale of our proposal for a zone of peace for Nepal, which is calculated, as His Majesty King Birendra noted in his address to the Havana Conference, to consolidate the excellent state of relations which we maintain with all our friends. We take this opportunity to express our sincere appreciation to all our friends who have supported our proposal for a zone of peace.

24. It is gratifying to note that, as a result of our conscious policy of friendship and peace and the open policy of good-neighbourliness pursued by other countries of the region, the general situation of South Asia is good, particularly when it is compared to the situation prevailing in other parts of Asia. With the formal admission of both Pakistan and Iran into the fold of the non-aligned movement, the whole South Asian region is fully non-aligned. This has added several new dimensions to the possibility of peaceful development of the entire region. Nepal will do its best to maintain and promote this atmosphere of peace, friendship and co-operation in the region by pursuing a good-neighbour policy based on non-interference and understanding and accommodation of the legitimate aspirations of others.

25. Turning now to prospects for economic growth and stability, we are faced with a grim scenario. More than half of the people of the world languish in absolute poverty, while the rest of them indulge in luxury and overconsumption. It is generally admitted that the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] has failed to narrow the income gap between developed and developing countries. The gap, on the contrary, has further widened during the 1970s. Despite the repeated calls of developing countries for the implementation of various resolutions, decisions and recommendations relating to the establishment of the New International Economic Order, insignificant progress has been made towards this end owing to the lack of political will on the part of those who have resources, technology and skill, and their reluctance to share their burden of responsibility for the establishment of a new order based on peace, justice and equality for all.

26. High rates of inflation, growing unemployment, a sharp decline in the terms of trade caused by fluctuations in the prices of primary products exported by developing countries, the constant instability of the international monetary system, sharp increases in the price of oil and the drop to a mere 0.3 per cent in the net flow of real resources to the developing countries are matters of deep concern to all developing countries. With a few exceptions, the international commitment by developed countries to transfer 0.7 per cent of their gross national product as official development assistance to developing countries remains unimplemented.

27. It is increasingly realized that the existing international economic system is unjust and incompatible with the development of developing countries. Developing countries are fully convinced that a lasting solution to their problems can be achieved by a fundamental restructuring of the New International Economic Order.

⁶ Treaty between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, signed in Vienna on 18 June 1979.

⁷ See document A/C.1/1019.

28. The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77, in a declaration issued at their third meeting, held in New York from 27 to 29 September 1979, have strongly reaffirmed that the United Nations system is the only framework within which all negotiations of a global nature relating to the establishment of the new International Economic Order should take place [see A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex]. We hope that the proposal adopted at that meeting for the launching, within the United Nations, of a round of global and sustained negotiations on international economic co-operation for development with the full participation of all States and within a specified time-frame will be positively received by all developed countries. Such negotiations, to be effective, should no doubt be action-oriented and be predicated upon an integrated approach to the main issues involved, such as raw materials, energy, trade, development, money and finance.

29. The international community is sufficiently aware of the difficult situation facing the least developed, land-locked and island developing as well as the most seriously affected countries. While the need to support vigorously the legitimate demands and aspirations of these countries in the organs, organizations and programmes of the United Nations system has been recognized, the crisis facing the world economy has further aggravated the problems of these countries. Since most of the land-locked developing countries are also among the least developed, their problems are of a structural nature, and we have repeatedly called for special attention to be given to the pressing problems of these countries and, as a matter of priority, special but urgent additional measures to be taken to overcome structural constraints impeding their rapid social and economic development. We have noted with satisfaction the comprehensive new programme of action for the least developed countries adopted at the fifth session of UNCTAD⁸ and urge its immediate implementation. It is, however, regrettable that the United Nations Special Fund for Land-Locked Developing Countries, with woefully meagre resources at its disposal, has not been able to meet the resource requirements of land-locked developing countries. We appeal once again to all rich donor countries to contribute generously to this Fund.

30. In view of the ever more acute energy problem, we attach considerable importance to the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy to be held in 1981. Similarly, the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly to be held to assess the progress made in the various forums of the United Nations system in the establishment of the New International Economic Order and, in the light of that assessment, to take appropriate action further to promote the development of developing countries and international economic co-operation, and the adoption at that session of the international development strategy for the third United Nations development decade, will be of exceptional significance. We also recognize the importance of the Third General Conference of UNIDO to be held in New Delhi in 1980.

31. In the light of what has been stated above, co-operation among developing countries is of paramount

importance. We are convinced of the need for taking suitable measures to ensure that the great potential possessed by developing countries is substantially mobilized for effective mutual co-operation. In this context, the adoption by the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77 of the Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations⁹ was a useful contribution to the promotion of economic co-operation among developing countries. It is our hope that that programme will be implemented without delay. It is pertinent to draw the attention of this Assembly to the fact that my country, endowed as it is with vast water resources, has called for the prudent exploitation of those resources which can bring benefit not only to us but to the countries of the region as well. But that requires capital investment, the training of manpower, a proper political climate in the region and good understanding among, and genuine co-operation from, our neighbours.

32. The recently concluded eighth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was not able to break the deadlock in the negotiations on issues affecting the rights of all developing countries. We hope that the next session, to be held in 1980, will be able to resolve satisfactorily the issues which remain outstanding and obstruct the adoption of a comprehensive convention on the law of the sea. It has been our consistent position that a future convention on the law of the sea, if it is to be just, fair and equitable, should fully embody the "common heritage" principle for the benefit of mankind as a whole. At the last session of that Conference my delegation had the honour of introducing a proposal¹⁰ relating to the establishment of a common heritage fund. That proposal, sponsored by nine countries, is designed to ensure that some of the immense revenues accruing from the exploitation of non-living resources in the exclusive economic zone are regarded as the common heritage of mankind and are used to finance the development of developing countries. The fund could also be used to help in fighting ocean pollution, to assist in the transfer of marine technology and to help the work of the United Nations. It is our conviction that acceptance of the idea of generous sharing in the vast ocean resources as envisaged in our proposal could make a most constructive contribution to the realization of the objectives of the New International Economic Order. We earnestly hope that each delegation will give serious consideration at the next session of the Conference to the great potential of the common heritage fund. Finally, we stress the need for the Conference to give due recognition to the legitimate interests of land-locked countries, including their rights of free access to and from the sea and freedom of transit.

33. The United Nations is a unique instrument designed to maintain international peace and security, promote harmony, amity and goodwill, co-operation and understanding between and among nations. While we seek further to strengthen this Organization, its effectiveness depends on the positive will and assertiveness of Member States in approaching international issues and solving global problems through the medium of this Organization.

⁸ 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).

⁹ *Ibid.*, annex VI.

¹⁰ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IX (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.3), document A/CONF.62/65.

34. We have no doubt that most Member countries want the United Nations to become the truly world Organization originally envisaged in the Charter, one capable of maintaining international peace and security, of resolving conflicts peacefully and of harmonizing the differing interests of the countries of the world. My country belongs to this category of States Members of the United Nations. As a non-aligned country, Nepal believes in the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter the quintessence of which, we feel, is represented in the ideals of peaceful coexistence and co-operation among countries which adopt different political, economic and social systems, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, the peaceful resolution of conflicts and the harmonization of interests among various countries. Nepal has full faith in those principles and tries assiduously to put them into practice because in our view they have both moral and practical value if our ultimate aim is for absolute peace to prevail in the world. In putting those principles into practice, we have succeeded in establishing friendly and co-operative relations with our neighbours which, we earnestly hope, will be conducive to peace in the region in which we live and in the world at large.

35. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the name of God, the merciful and compassionate.

36. On behalf of the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, I should like, Mr. President, to express our pleasure at your election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly.

37. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for his dedicated efforts in conducting the proceedings of the thirty-third session, and to extend our congratulations to the State of Saint Lucia on its accession to independence and to membership in our Organization.

38. In further commending the efforts made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, which have been unrelenting in the face of problems and their complexities, my country reiterates its support for his efforts as they are designed to strengthen the role of the Organization and to enhance its prestige and thus to bring about international peace and security, enabling the human race to enjoy the well-being it so desires.

39. Since we last met at the previous session of the General Assembly, the international community in general, and Africa in particular, have lost leaders whose role had been notable in the march of peace and the struggle against colonialism and racist régimes. The passing of the President of Algeria, Houari Boumediène and, more recently, the President of the People's Republic of Angola, Agostinho Neto, was a great loss both for Africa and for progressive and peace-loving forces in the world.

40. Despite the considerable efforts that have been, and are still being, made by the United Nations to achieve international peace and security—peace based on justice and security based on the right of peoples to self-determination and to life and to freedom—one glance at the present international situation clearly shows us that we are still far from realizing the purposes for which this Organization was established or the ob-

jectives of humanity such as the achievement of peace, affluence and justice. Far too many peoples are still denied their right to self-determination and far too many peoples are still dominated by racist régimes and colonialism. The colonialist Powers are still clinging to their world privileges and monopolies, continuing in that way to exploit people, control their destinies and prevent them from exercising their national rights. The time has come to embark on a serious assessment of the international situation and of the work of this Organization over the 34 years that have passed since its inception. There can be no doubt that any objective assessment of the role of the United Nations, what it can do and what can be done to strengthen its various bodies and organs to make it more effective would require a revision of its Charter in such a way as to achieve equality and justice among its Members irrespective of their economic, political or military might.

41. The present Charter was drafted under difficult international conditions, following a destructive war that had upset the balance of power, and at a time when independent States numbered no more than 51. Those conditions have changed, as has the international political and economic situation, and this necessitates the revision of the Charter and the elimination of the privileges which the great Powers conferred upon themselves under the aforementioned conditions.

42. At their recent Sixth Conference, held in Havana, the non-aligned countries, which represent the international human potential, unanimously adopted a resolution submitted by the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya with the aim of eliminating the veto in the United Nations [A/34/542, annex VI A, resolution No. 7].

43. The achievement of international peace and security will remain the aim of the human race; and the United Nations—which brings together all the peoples of the world—will continue to bear the responsibility of realizing that aim, which cannot be achieved without the attainment by the peoples of complete freedom, whether political or economic. One glance at the present international situation confirms that humanity, despite all the various efforts exerted, is still far from reaching its objective. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights still goes unheeded in many parts of the world. Heinous racism, in its various forms and with its inhuman practices, continues. Colonialist Powers still dominate and control the economies of developing countries both by direct monopolies and through their multinational corporations. More than three quarters of the population of the earth still lives in a state of dire poverty, and a minority still monopolizes the world economy and utilizes it to serve its own interests. Peace can never be achieved as long as the world remains divided into a majority that gets poorer every day and a minority that gets richer at the expense of that majority.

44. The situation on the African continent is a source of concern to us all. That black continent, which suffered in the past from racial oppression—as demonstrated by the transportation as slaves of more than one third of its inhabitants to the other continents, especially to the North American continent—still experiences, particularly in its southern part, racial discrimination at the hands of a white colonialist minority.

45. The persistence of the racist régime in the southern part of the continent in its practice of racial discrimi-

nation and the policy of genocide against the black majority constitutes a defiance of humanity and of the United Nations. The United Nations has an historic responsibility to eliminate the plague of racism.

46. The persistence of the bigger colonialist Powers in arming the racist régimes in southern Africa and in supplying them with funds is a defiance of international will. Not content with their continued support of the racist régimes in southern Africa in the face of the heroic struggle of the people, especially in Zimbabwe and Namibia, the big colonialist Powers have resorted to nefarious methods to impede the struggle of those peoples and have attempted to give a new face or form to the racist régimes, as they did in Zimbabwe.

47. The problem of Zimbabwe will not be solved by rigging elections or falsifying the will of the people of Zimbabwe or by creating an internal racist puppet régime, but rather by enabling the majority to exercise self-determination in accordance with the will of the people. The Patriotic Front, the sole legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe, cannot be hoodwinked by tricks. The solution to this problem will be found only in continued support for the Patriotic Front by all of us, just as support of the Namibian people's struggle, under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] is the sole solution to the problem of Namibia and the sole means of enabling its people to attain independence.

48. The peoples of Africa have waged a bitter struggle for their independence and have achieved many glorious victories. The mere presence of 49 African States as Members of this Organization is proof of these victories. However, the colonial Powers, which for many long years exploited and colonized the continent, are bent on changing the course of history in an attempt to perpetuate their exploitation and colonialism in Africa. They want to sneak back through the window after having been booted out through the door.

49. The colonial Powers which previously dominated the continent, particularly France, have resorted to acts which, to say the least, constitute a violation of the Charter of the United Nations and of human rights. The French Government has resorted to the weapons of mercenaries and of assassination of African nationalist leaders to undermine the nationalist régimes and to liquidate them, as in the attacks on the sisterly republics of Benin and Sao Tome and Principe, as well as on other sisterly African States. The story of Bob Denard, the famous French terrorist, is well known to all of us.

50. The French policy initiated by the late President de Gaulle and then pursued by the late President Pompidou of eliminating French colonialism from Africa, and the position taken by the French Government with regard to the just cause of the Palestinian people, were appreciated by us all. It was in acknowledgement of that policy that the Jamahiriya, after the great revolution of 1 September 1969, promoted and maintained co-operation with France on an equal and fruitful basis. Regrettably, however, the French Government has begun to deviate from that policy during the past few years, and instead of the policy of friendship and co-operation it had pursued, it reverted to the colonial policy of France in the nineteenth century.

51. The French Government's invasion last month of

the Central African State involving the dispatch of its regular troops from French bases in the continent to attack a peaceful people, is a matter of grave concern and a serious threat to peace and security in Africa. To condone it and to refrain from taking measures to prevent its recurrence would constitute a dangerous precedent and jeopardize the independence and security of the peoples of the whole African continent. In perpetrating this aggression, the French Government has violated the United Nations Charter and renounced its obligations and responsibilities as a State member of the Security Council.

52. It is the right of any people to change and select its government. France, however, has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of an independent State, regardless of the humanitarian character it attempts to confer on its interference.

53. Consistent with the policy of non-alignment it pursues, and with its role as an active member of the non-aligned movement, the Jamahiriya condemns any interference in the internal affairs of African or other States, irrespective of its source and regardless of its causes. However, in denouncing such interference, and in particular France's colonial interference, we are only abiding by the principles of the OAU and those of the United Nations, and we would not attempt to defend untenable régimes or persons, even if we wanted to do so.

54. The French Government has officially admitted its invasion of and infringement of the territory of the Central African State, and this Organization should shoulder its responsibility in the face of such flagrant interference and such a clear violation of the United Nations Charter.

55. Should the policy at present being pursued by the French Government towards Africa continue, not only would it threaten the independence and security of the peoples of that continent but it could also be viewed as a new phase of colonialism that might ultimately lead to the downfall of this Organization, since the peoples of the African continent, faced with such acquiescence in the French aggression, might find it hard to place their trust in the Organization and might not feel honoured by their membership in it. The French Government must realize that the policy of murder, mercenaries and direct colonial interference would not serve, but would destroy, the interests of the French people. The French Government has to realize that history does not repeat itself, that independent Africa will fight this brutal new French invasion with all its might. The nineteenth century has ended, and there can be no return to it. The "big-stick policy" which French colonialism developed in Africa when it conquered Algeria in 1830 seemed gone forever. In 1830 France invaded Algeria because the Dey of Algiers had humiliated the Consul of France. And in 1979, France invaded the Central African State because Emperor Bokassa had slammed down the receiver while talking on the telephone to President Giscard d'Estaing of France. History does seem to repeat itself.

56. The United Nations is called upon today to condemn this French policy and not only to put an end to France's interference and military presence in Africa, but also to try to liberate the African continent from French colonialism in the island of Réunion, which is an

integral part of Africa, in accordance with the Charter of the OAU, if this Organization is to respect the principles of its Charter and of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

57. It was our hope that the French Government, which justifies its military interference and invasion by claiming to protect Central African children, would put a stop to its arms shipments to the racist régime in South Africa and thus spare the lives of thousands of African children. We would also have hoped that the French Government would send its troops to Zimbabwe to help its people put an end to the racist régime there and prevent the killing of thousands of innocent Africans, and it was our hope that those troops would be dispatched to Palestine to stand in the defence of human rights and the rights of a people displaced from its land and home, so that the French Government could be true, for once at least, to the history of the French people, their struggle for human rights and their revolution, which was the first in modern times to defend human rights. However, the French Government, by dispatching its troops to invade Africa and kill innocent people and children in the Sahara, Chad and, most recently, the Central African State, has disavowed not only the principles of the OAU and the United Nations but also the very principles of the French Revolution.

58. The situation in the African continent cannot be isolated from the situation in the Arab world. Africa and the Arab world form one geographical, human and spiritual region. The racist régimes in Africa are of the same nature and are organically related to the racist régime in Palestine. The Arab nation's struggle against racist and colonialist zionism in Palestine is the same as the struggle led by Africa against the racist régimes in southern Africa.

59. The so-called Middle East problem is, in fact, nothing but that of a racist colonizing régime created and established by the imperialist Powers in the Arab region, and that is the real problem. Attempts to resolve this problem without understanding the nature of the racist Zionist régime would only provide partial and provisional solutions which cannot lead to any genuine peace in the area. The Arab nation and the Palestinian people have been drawn into long wars which began, I can say, during the First World War, when Britain promised to give—nay, grant—Palestine to the white racist Zionists emigrating from Europe, just as it had done in southern Africa, where it created the racist régimes. Those long wars the Arab nation engaged in were in defence of its existence in the face of a racist Zionist invasion supported by imperialism which recognized the cultural and economic potentialities of the Arab nation and, consequently, perceived the extent of the danger that Arab unity might pose to its interests in Africa and Asia. Yet, the Palestinian problem is that of a people not only uprooted and displaced from their land but also subject to an attempt to annihilate them, their land having been given to alien colonizing immigrants. Developments taking place today, the so-called peace initiatives by world imperialism, are but a further attempt to legitimize the usurpers and enable them to expand by occupying and colonizing more Arab territories. The Arab nation is as appreciative of peace as anyone—if not more so—its various parts having had to endure centuries of annihilation and invasion at the hands of different kinds of colonialism, be it French, British or Italian. What the Arab nation wants, how-

ever, is genuine peace—peace based on justice and on the right of peoples to self-determination.

60. The United Nations, on which the colonial Powers imposed the acceptance of a bogus legitimacy with the admission of the racist State of Israel, has a heavy and historic responsibility. The time has now come to correct that mistake. The time has come for the United Nations to give true legal status to the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO]. It is high time for the United Nations to force the Zionist enemy to respect and implement its resolutions, which that régime has violated and continues to violate.

61. I heard the representative of the Zionist gangs speaking in this hall of the automatic majority in the United Nations. This is an affront to this Organization. Does the representative of the Zionist gangs want us to go back to 1948, when a minority monopolized the United Nations? Does he call the will of the peoples of the world an automatic majority? This is a challenge, and this is the ingratitude which the representative of the Zionist gang shows to the United Nations.

62. Allow me to clarify the nature of the so-called peace initiatives and what is now taking place in the Arab region between the Zionist enemy and the Egyptian régime, on the one hand, and the United States of America, on the other. As a super-Power, the United States bears a great and dangerous responsibility for what are described as peace endeavours, but what are in reality plans for the liquidation of the Palestinian people and attempts to terminate their existence and frustrate their national aspirations. The ongoing actions of the United States of America create a dangerous precedent in international relations, one in which a super-Power is coercing a defeated State, Egypt, into signing an agreement whereby it relinquishes the rights of a people, the Palestinians, of whose affairs it has no right to dispose. The same super-Power is also forcing that State, Egypt, after its defeat, to yield its sovereignty and to separate itself from its nationality, its nation, its culture and its history. Under pressure from the United States of America, the Egyptian régime signed the Camp David agreements with the racist colonialist Zionist régime, abandoned the Palestinian cause—in which it has no right to interfere—and violated the resolutions of the League of Arab States, the OAU, the Islamic Conference, and the non-aligned group. Rather, what the Egyptian régime has done by signing the Camp David agreements and the capitulation Treaty at Blair House was to enter into an unnatural and unholy alliance with the Zionist racist régime and the United States of America. By what right does the Egyptian régime sign on behalf of the Palestinian people and on behalf of Syria and Jordan? By what right does that same régime continue to negotiate with those who have no right over what they term "autonomy" for the Palestinians? What right entitled the United States of America to negotiate on behalf of the Palestinian people? The United States of America, by virtue of its partnership with the Zionist régime in the aggression against the Arab nations and the annihilation of the Palestinian people, can never be judge or mediator in this issue. The actions of the United States do not have any relation whatsoever to peace. The Arab nation rejected the Camp David agreements in the resolutions adopted at the Ninth Arab Summit Confer-

ence, held at Baghdad in November 1978,¹¹ and the Palestinian people have also rejected them. The Islamic nation, at the meeting at Fez,¹² also rejected the Camp David agreements and condemned them. The non-aligned movement, at its recent Havana Conference, not only unanimously denounced those agreements but also viewed them as destructive to peace and as an aggression against the Palestinian people and the Arab nation. The relevant resolution of that Conference [A/34/542, annex VI A, resolution No. 2] further condemned the policy of the United States in this regard. All this amounts to a condemnation of that policy by the entire world.

63. If the United States wants to play its role as a super-Power and shoulder its responsibility as such, it has to be really neutral, and it would have to support those who are subject to injustice—the Palestinian people—and not support the oppressor, that is, the racist Zionist minority. Then the intervention of the United States of America would be acceptable and its interference would help peace.

64. What does "autonomy" mean? "Autonomy" means local and administrative procedures which are implemented in any country. Our recognition of autonomy and our support of the policy of autonomy would be in contradiction with United Nations resolutions, which request the Zionist enemy to withdraw from all the occupied Arab territories. In other words, when the Egyptian régime signed this Treaty and when it negotiates about autonomy, it admits the legitimacy of the Israeli enemy's occupation of the Arab land—an occupation which has been rejected by this international Organization.

65. Even a cursory glance at the speeches by the representatives of the Egyptian régime and the racist Zionist régime would suffice to provide us with an idea of the degree of importance and merit of such agreements and reveal the great and apparent contradiction in the respective positions of the two parties.

66. First, the representative of the Egyptian régime spoke of its country's support for the PLO and indicated that the agreements make that clear and cover the rights of the Palestinian people. However, the representative of the Zionists clearly stated the following:

"... it was, in fact, recognized by the parties at Camp David that the PLO could not be a partner to the peace process." [12th meeting, para. 183.]

67. Secondly, the representative of the Egyptian régime states that Egypt does not accept Israel's policy with regard to Jerusalem, whereas the Zionist representative speaks in all clarity of Jerusalem as "the eternal capital of Israel and of the Jewish people" [*ibid.*, para. 190].

68. Thirdly, the representative of the Egyptian régime says the question of Palestine is the core of the problem and Egypt is not trying to solve this problem on behalf of the Palestinians; at the same time, his Government proceeds with negotiations over so-called "autonomy."

69. If Egypt goes on talking about autonomy, this would mean recognition by the Egyptian régime of the legitimacy of the Zionist rule in the occupied Arab territories. Is this not a violation of all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations? How can the representative of the Egyptian régime speak of Arab Jerusalem, forgetting that his President paid a visit to Jerusalem as the capital of the Zionist enemy?

70. The signing of the Camp David agreements and the capitulation treaty created a new state of tension in the area, which will not only hamper the march of peace in our region but could also lead to the deterioration of the situation and give rise to the danger of war. The Secretary-General in his report on the work of the Organization referred to this situation of controversy and division, as follows:

"The dramatic developments which led to the conclusion of a peace treaty between Egypt and Israel have created a new situation in the area. It is a measure of the complexities of the Middle East problem that this event has given rise to controversy and division." [See A/34/1, sect. III.]

71. I might also add that developments in southern Lebanon and the repeated Israeli acts of aggression against southern Lebanon are a direct result of those agreements signed between Egypt and Israel. So are the concentrations of tens of thousands of the Egyptian régime's troops along the borders with the Jamahiriya, provocations against the Jamahiriya and other African countries by that régime and the dispatch of Egyptian forces to various parts of the continent and the Middle East. Moreover, the Egyptian President has on more than one occasion officially declared that he has been given a role in Africa. Indeed, this role is nothing but one of provocation and of attempting to create conditions of instability in Africa and the Arab States.

72. The situation in southern Lebanon, which is a direct result of the Camp David agreements and the continuing Israeli aggression against an independent State Member of this Organization, without any measures being taken to put an end to that aggression, is a source of concern for us since it can endanger peace and security. The Jamahiriya expresses its support of the fraternal Lebanese people, its solidarity with them and its full backing of their unity, independence, Arabism and security.

73. The solution of the Middle East problem, including the achievement of a just peace in the area, is of the utmost importance. However, it can be brought about, not by devious means, immoral methods and illegal ways, but only by enabling the Palestinian people to liberate their land and exercise their rights to self-determination and to return to their homeland. The representative of the Egyptian régime, in his search for justification of the causes that led that régime to alienate Egypt from its Arabism and the Arab nation, claimed that the Arab nation could not provide any alternative solution. I should like to assure him and all others from this rostrum that there is a solution—in which he in fact personally believes—and that it is the only solution. The United States of America must first realize that it carries the onus of an historical responsibility and should, for once seek, the interests of the American people and not yield to pressure, terrorism and election-blackmail by Zionist forces within the United

¹¹ See document A/33/400.

¹² Tenth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers, held at Fez from 8 to 12 May 1979. See document A/34/389.

States. Since we are eager to maintain our relations with the people of the United States, we of the Arab nation want those relations to take account of the interests of both the American and the Arab peoples. This can become feasible only when the United States Administration becomes aware of the realities and accepts the truth. Acting on the eagerness in the Jamahiriya to reach a genuine solution and achieve a just peace in the region, the leader of our revolution, Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi, recently sent a message to the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, in which he proposed to him and to the international community a solution which will, sooner or later, turn out to be the sole and optimum solution to the problem.

74. For the ears of the representative of the Egyptian régime in particular, here is the alternative solution proposed by the Arab nation: first, the further immigration of invaders into Palestine must be halted; secondly, the settlers must return to their homelands, as did the Italian settlers who left Libya after more than 60 years, the French settlers who left Algeria after more than a century and the Portuguese settlers who left Angola and Mozambique after more than four centuries; thirdly, arms shipments to the region of the Middle East, except to those countries whose territories are still occupied and who must, by right, defend themselves and liberate their territory, must be suspended; and, fourthly, a democratic Palestinian State comprising Arab, Jewish and Christian Palestinians must be established.

75. That is the only solution, whether it comes sooner or later. However, the policy of force, the policy of terrorism, will not cease. The history of Hitler and the history of empires and emperors should serve as a lesson to the racist, colonialist Zionists, who will not last long. Others stayed in the area longer than they did but were forced to leave forever under the pressure of resistance on the part of the Arab peoples. And the Zionists, like the others, will leave also. It is God's will.

76. The question of Western Sahara is still one of the main issues which confront our Organization and for which a radical and decisive solution has not yet been found. However, some positive developments in this respect have occurred this year, notably the agreement between Mauritania and the Frente POLISARIO¹³ [see A/34/23/Rev.1, chap. X, annex, para. 38] and that between the Jamahiriya and Mauritania [ibid., para. 28].

77. I should also like to refer to the resolution adopted by the Assembly of the Heads of State and Government of the OAU at its sixteenth regular session, held in Monrovia last July, which reaffirmed the right of the Saharan people to self-determination [A/34/552, pp. 90-91]. I hope that this session will find a quick and durable solution enabling the Saharan people to exercise their legitimate rights.

78. The problem of Cyprus is also far from a solution, despite the efforts exerted by the Secretary-General and this Organization to resolve it. We fully support direct negotiations between the two communities—the Turkish Cypriots and the Greek Cypriots—in accordance with the 10-point agreement for the achievement of a just solution to the problem that will guarantee the independence and neutrality of Cyprus and the with-

drawal of British colonialist troops from the island. The situation in the Mediterranean also requires that this Organization endeavour to ensure peace and security in the area by taking measures to evacuate foreign bases and fleets so that the sea may become a sea of peace.

79. The people of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya would like on this occasion to pay a tribute to the Government and people of the friendly State of Malta and to support them in their request for the withdrawal of British bases from the island and for the safeguarding of the neutrality of Malta. We affirm our commitment to support the Maltese people in their commendable pursuit of the policy of neutrality.

80. Ever since 1973, when the developing oil-exporting countries adjusted the prices of their petroleum and exercised control over their natural resources, Western capitalist circles have been engaged in an intensive media campaign against the States members of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries [OPEC] designed primarily to divert the attention of the world in general and the developing countries in particular from the real causes underlying the numerous problems which the economies of the industrialized nations face as well as to shun their responsibility to provide assistance to the developing countries and to establish a new international economic order based on equity and justice rather than exploitation and domination.

81. The rectification by the OPEC States of the unjust conditions in which the Western monopolies had sole control of their oil is considered to be an exercise of their legitimate right established in and ensured by international instruments, namely, the inalienable right of countries to permanent sovereignty over their natural resources and all their economic activities.

82. The Western industrialized nations have forgotten, or pretended to forget, several facts concerning the adjustment by the OPEC countries of their oil prices. Among those facts, we point out the following.

83. First, this action strengthened the unity of the developing countries and enhanced their bargaining power in their negotiations and discussions with the developed countries.

84. Secondly, it would have been extremely difficult to develop the oil wells of the North Sea and Alaska had the price of oil stayed at its pre-1973 levels.

85. Thirdly, the adjustment of oil prices has helped the Western industrialized nations to concentrate their efforts on the question of taking the necessary measures to reduce their over-consumption of energy and to use this vital commodity in a more rational and reasonable manner. This is exactly what the developing oil-producing countries have been demanding for years. The oil-producing countries aim to preserve this limited, non-renewable resource for as long as possible; yet available estimates indicate that if oil consumption continues at its present annual level of nearly 7 billion tons, all oil reserves will be depleted in 15 to 20 years.

86. Fourthly, amending the oil prices has prompted the international community to examine the question of other sources of energy as an alternative to oil, sources

¹³ Frente popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

that are renewable and less polluting. The United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, to be held in 1981, constitutes an important step in this direction. All of us need to co-operate in order to achieve a smooth and progressive transition from dependence on oil to other alternative sources and to avoid creating a sudden shortfall with all the economic, political and social implications that this might entail.

87. Fifthly, while the industrialized nations attack the OPEC countries for adjusting their oil prices, those same nations invariably waste no time in raising the price of their own oil. Their rates are always parallel with the price ceilings fixed by OPEC.

88. Sixthly, it is a fact that the increases in oil prices were instituted to offset the previous effect of inflation and the decline in the exchange rate of the dollar. During the first quarter of 1979, the rate of inflation in the United States reached 13 per cent compared with 17.6 per cent in Italy, 12.4 per cent in Britain, 10 per cent in France and 9.6 per cent in West Germany. Since the oil-producing developing countries are the main importers of the products of the industrialized nations, they are most affected by that exported inflation. The remedy lies in curtailing the current of the inflation being exported by the industrial countries, rather than in not raising the price of oil or of any other raw material.

89. Seventhly, there has been repeated talk of energy consumption in developing countries, as if they were the ones that consumed the greatest part of world oil production. Statistics show that energy consumption is concentrated with extreme density in the developed countries, which comprise nearly 30 per cent of the total world population yet consume more than 80 per cent of the world's total energy, whereas the developing countries, whose inhabitants constitute some 70 per cent of the world's population, consume less than 20 per cent of the world's energy production. Evidence shows that private vehicles in the United States of America and Western Europe consume as much energy as the total for all developing countries in their various uses of commercial energy. Britain alone consumes more energy than all the African States put together. Statistics indicate that the industrialized Western nations' consumption of energy at a rate of millions of barrels a day amounted to 74,470 billion barrels in 1976, while the consumption by the rest of the world, excluding the socialist bloc countries, reached 18,297 billion barrels.

90. Overlooking all these facts only proves that the media campaign of the Western industrialized countries directed against the OPEC countries is a concentrated political propaganda campaign, and not one based on facts. This campaign, which is often coupled with threats of overt or covert interference such as starvation, systematic increases in the prices of manufactured goods and threats to occupy the oil sources, clearly proves the extent to which hegemonism and the desire to exploit dominates the thinking of those countries. The OPEC countries are fully aware of these manoeuvres and will, individually and collectively, strongly resist all forms of threat or military, political or economic interference against their peoples.

91. It should be noted that this continuing campaign

gains in intensity as the industrialized nations take an increasingly rigid position in their relations with the developing nations. It was this rigidity that prevented the conduct of genuine and constructive dialogue and impeded the establishment of the new international economic order. Protectionist measures, failure to introduce any real improvements in the terms of international trade in favour of developing countries, the imbalance in the world's monetary and financial system and other pending issues have led to the failure of the fifth session of UNCTAD to achieve any objective progress. These factors also led to the disappointing results of the deliberations in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy and the multilateral trade negotiations.

92. Instead of trying to make the necessary changes in their domestic economic policies and to shoulder their international responsibilities towards the developing countries as defined by the United Nations resolutions, the Western industrialized countries have been bent on sowing the seeds of sedition and discord between the oil-producing and non-oil-producing developing nations by emphasizing that oil prices are the cause of all the economic problems of the developing nations. They have even gone as far as to attempt to interfere in sovereign matters of the oil-producing States by addressing themselves directly to the subject of limiting the prices and quantities of oil to be produced. The developing oil-producing countries, believing in the inevitability of interdependence and of helping other developing countries to overcome their economic problems, have spared no efforts to provide the latter with the necessary assistance. Surveys indicate that the appropriations for OPEC's fund for assistance to developing countries had reached \$1,229 million at the end of 1978. At OPEC's June 1979 meeting, it was also decided to raise member States' contributions to the fund by a further \$800 million, thus increasing the fund's capital to \$2.4 billion.

93. Surveys also indicate that, while the assistance provided by the OPEC countries has reached a ratio of 2.01 per cent of their gross national product, the ratio of the assistance provided by the industrialized countries to their gross national product had only reached 0.31 per cent in 1977, far below the target of 0.7 per cent to be earmarked for official development assistance to the developing countries as stipulated in the International Development Strategy.

94. The oil-producing States, including my own, have provided this assistance, and other important assistance within the framework of bilateral co-operation or of regional institutions, such as the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa, in Khartoum, and other institutions of Member States, to provide direct support and help to developing countries to enable them to overcome the unjust economic conditions they are at present experiencing. They do this because they believe that development is a joint venture in which each of us must assume the responsibilities that international circumstances and domestic conditions impose.

95. The oil-producing States have provided this assistance despite the fact that they are experiencing abnormal economic situations which require that all their material capabilities be oriented towards

establishing the necessary equilibrium in their economies and basing their economic and social development on sound and viable foundations. They are also faced with the problem of the steadily decreasing purchasing power of their oil export earnings due to the continuing wave of world inflation being exported by the Western industrialized nations and to the fluctuation of exchange rates of the major currencies, particularly the United States dollar, in addition to the steady rise in the prices of capital goods which the developing oil countries import. Many in the capitalist industrialized world refer, in the course of their campaign against the OPEC countries, to what they call the surplus financial resources in those countries resulting from their oil revenues. Suffice it to say, at this point, that 9 out of 13 States members of OPEC are debtors and that the remaining ones, allegedly having financial surpluses, see the inflation factor eating away at their reserves and decreasing them by the day. Moreover, the majority, if not all, of the oil countries still lack the necessary infrastructures for building a sound economy.

96. While we welcome any initiatives designed to deal with the development issues of the world and to strengthen the constructive dialogue based on equality and the principles and objectives of the new international economic order, we reject any attempt at stirring up dissension between the developing countries or at exerting any pressures on the OPEC countries because of their positions of principle.

97. The OPEC is part of the struggle of the third world to regain control of its natural resources from the avaricious monopolistic corporations in the capitalist world. The struggle of the oil-producing countries is the same as the struggle of the third world, for what they are doing serves the causes of both the third world and of humanity as a whole. We have listened attentively to the address made by the President of Mexico [*11th meeting*] in which he proposed the adoption of a world plan for energy. This proposal requires further consideration by our energy experts. However, we fear that certain groups might seize upon this opportunity to try and destabilize the countries of the third world.

98. We reject any attempts aimed at discussing the question of energy in isolation from the major economic issues and outside the purview of the United Nations. In our view, the proposal of the Group of 77 to hold comprehensive negotiations [*see A/34/34, part three, annex I*], in accordance with the proposal of the recent Conference of non-aligned Countries in Havana, was expressive of the view of the overwhelming majority of the peoples of the world that world economic issues should be dealt with in a comprehensive manner within the framework of the United Nations.

99. For the developing States the road to development must begin from inside their countries, first by eradicating all forms of the monopolistic practices of the transnational corporations against us and against them, then by proceeding to intensify their efforts in promoting and strengthening co-operation among themselves.

100. The declaration issued by the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 on 29 September 1977 [*A/34/533 and Corr.1, annex*] was a clear reflection of the position of the developing countries with regard to the international endeavours aimed at establishing a

new international economic order based on justice, equality and respect for the sovereignty of all States, big and small—an order that would be free of domination and exploitation and would reject the discriminatory economic policies and practices of the developed countries aimed, directly or indirectly, against the developing countries individually or collectively.

101. In the face of serious political and economic events confronting humanity such as the alarming international contest with its spiralling arms race and the many wars that have broken out during the past years as a result of direct colonial interference in the internal affairs of States, the peoples of the world have increasingly been looking to the non-aligned movement, a neutral, impartial group of States, as one able to play the role in achieving justice in the world, self-determination for peoples and peace and security for the human race.

102. In this connexion I cannot but praise the objective results of the recent Conference of non-aligned countries held in Havana, Cuba, paying a special tribute to the major role which the Republic of Cuba and its President, Fidel Castro, played in the successful outcome of that Conference. The non-aligned group of nations has asserted its effectiveness as a viable bloc, confirmed its obligations to the struggle against imperialism, zionism, racism and colonialism and for the achievement of justice and equality among States, and also reaffirmed its pledge to work relentlessly toward establishing a new international economic order that would take into account the interests of all humanity, particularly the interests of the developing countries and their right to raise the standards of living of their peoples and to achieve development in their territories.

103. That non-aligned movement is now strengthened by the admission of new States, such as Nicaragua, a revolutionary country to which I should like to pay a tribute for having freed itself from a Fascist régime that was an agent of imperialism. That movement has been strengthened also by the admission of Grenada, another progressive revolutionary force. It has been strengthened by the revolution in Iran that resulted in the deposition of the Shah and Iran's admission to the movement after having eliminated the last stronghold of colonialism in the region. It has been strengthened by the admission of Pakistan, now that that country is—and God willing, will long remain—not a party to any military pacts, which were used in the past against its peoples in that region of Asia.

104. Finally, I should like to express my appreciation and gratitude to all, hoping that this session will help us meet the aspirations of our peoples and achieve their hopes for justice, freedom and prosperity.

105. Mr. MROUDJAE (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all I should like to associate myself with the previous speakers who have extended to you warm congratulations on your unanimous election to preside over this session. The United Republic of Tanzania, which you so well and capably represent in our Organization, maintains with my country more than mere good-neighbourly relations. In fact close historical ties link our two peoples, and today many of the sons of the Comoros have become worthy and loyal citizens of your country. We are particularly proud that the Tanzanian people, under the enlightened

leadership of Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, is waging a daily and relentless struggle for the total emancipation and liberation of the African continent. There is no doubt that your personal qualities as a gifted diplomat and your unswerving faith in the defence of African interests and international peace will contribute a great deal to the success we all hope for at this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. You can be sure that my delegation will always be ready to make its modest contribution in the carrying out of your delicate and important functions.

106. Permit me also to congratulate the outgoing President, Mr. Liévano of Colombia, on his competence and tireless devotion in carrying out his task.

107. We also express our admiration and gratitude to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has been so steadfast in the service of international justice and peace.

108. We should also like to bid welcome to Saint Lucia, the one hundred and fifty-second Member of our Organization. Like Saint Lucia, the Comoros is an island State with a limited area and resources, and these, among other factors, have given rise to an excessive dependence on the outside world and have thus seriously hindered our economic development.

109. Permit me to take this opportunity to describe briefly the difficult, not to say tragic, situation of the developing island countries of which my own is one. Indeed, obvious and particular structural constraints connected with our isolation, our great distance from the major international markets, the extremely small size of our internal markets and also the total lack of natural resources coupled with an extraordinary shortage of qualified administrative and technical personnel, are a heavy burden for our economy to bear. This is a day-to-day reality, something which calls for specific measures to be taken not only by the international community, particularly the relevant bodies of the United Nations, but also by the developed countries, to help us to overcome as best we can the various economic fluctuations and the effects of inflation by which the developing island countries are particularly cruelly affected.

110. The Comorian islands are situated in a part of the Indian Ocean where floods and cyclones every year threaten to destroy crops, thus making even worse an economic situation that is already extremely precarious. So far the Comorian economy has been almost totally based on agriculture and we never have enough resources to diversify production. Perfume essences and vanilla still constitute the bulk of our exports, and the prices of these products, unfortunately, are subject to enormous fluctuations on the international market from one year to another. This is something which, as a consequence, serves to accentuate our state of dependence on the outside world and to reduce constantly the purchasing power of our people. The disaster which recently befell the West Indies reminds us again, if there were any need of this, how vulnerable are the economies of island countries.

111. We can only be gratified, therefore, at the increased measure of concern and the particular attention which our Organization, through its competent bodies, particularly UNCTAD, has been increasingly devoting

to the specific situation of island countries such as ours, to enable us to develop and effectively to fight the disasters which constantly threaten our economy.

112. The Government of the Federal and Islamic Republic of the Comoros is consequently fully aware both of the limits and of the real possibilities of a small island country like our own and we are all the more able to understand the need to pursue a policy of intensive co-operation, open to our region and to the world at large, if we are to overcome our isolation and underdevelopment. It is for this reason that we have chosen to pursue a policy of active co-operation with all countries, based on national sovereignty and equality among States, expressing in this way our sincere wish to establish and consolidate links of solidarity, interdependence and mutual interest.

113. Today, we have welcomed to our midst the one hundred and fifty-second Member of our Organization. More than 100 sovereign States have thus joined the original signatories of the San Francisco Charter, and have committed themselves unanimously to working towards the establishment of international peace, and the bringing about of a more humane and a more just world. All types of régimes are represented in this Assembly. Representatives of all political tendencies and all political and socio-economic systems are sitting side by side. It is our view that this diversity, instead of dividing us and pitting us against each other, can, on the contrary, constitute a factor for narrowing the differences between men and nations, and thus enrich our exchanges on the basis of our respective experience. It is only in this way that our Organization can fully play its role as an organ serving international peace and co-operation.

114. Speaking of international peace and co-operation, if we simply look at the items listed on the agenda of this session, we will see that unfortunately we have not yet made any decisive progress towards the attainment of the objectives or the fulfilment of the aspirations of our Organization. We really must show a little more realism if we are to dare to express any justified optimism or even to attenuate to some extent the feeling of profound malaise which affects the whole world. Indeed, the problem of war and peace is still extremely acute. Economic turbulence, the proliferation of hotbeds of tension as well as futile dialogues on questions which are none the less fundamental, are all evidence of the troubled and divided world in which we live. At the same time, poverty, hunger and disease are gaining ground while inflation is constantly growing, paralysing the efforts of the third-world countries and thus posing a threat to our economies.

115. It is now more necessary than ever, if we really want to bring about peace in the world, for our Organization to acquire the means of putting an end to this situation in order to promote and increase co-operation between the industrialized world and the developing countries. Our peoples expect and call for the establishment and implementation of this new, more just and equitable international economic order, which will bring them a higher measure of prosperity and freedom. There can be no doubt that such an objective, if it is to be achieved, calls for a greater measure of cohesion among us, the development of horizontal and vertical co-operation and, above all, the genuine will on the part of the affluent countries to make concessions so that the

North-South dialogue does not become, as it did at the Manila session of UNCTAD, a mere series of failures.

116. My delegation, for its part, will support any attempt at overcoming the present crisis and is gratified at the initiatives taken by the United Nations, which organized in Buenos Aires last year¹⁴ and also in Vienna this year¹⁵ conferences to discuss ways of promoting co-operation among the developing countries and of placing technology at the service of development. Similarly, my country welcomes the felicitous initiative of the recent convening of a conference on agrarian reform in Rome.¹⁶

117. These important meetings were an opportunity for our countries to pool their experiences and to take thought together as to the most appropriate measures to be adopted.

118. We must now put an end to, or at least limit, the proliferation and spread of weapons of mass destruction, since the arms industry is something which swallows up colossal sums of money—money which could otherwise be used for the development of international economic co-operation.

119. The coastal States of the Indian Ocean are profoundly concerned by the proliferation of military strategic bases in the area. This is a serious threat to the sovereignty of the States of that region, as well as to international peace and security.

120. My Government therefore will support any initiative to make the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, in accordance with General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI). We strongly favour the convening of a regional conference on the demilitarization of that zone. There can be no true peace or real economic development until claims of hegemony are eliminated from the world.

121. One cannot on the one hand proclaim and welcome détente and the benefits of peaceful co-existence and co-operation while at the same time pursuing a policy involving the proliferation of destructive weapons, the establishment of military bases, the strengthening of strategic bases and the manipulation of armed conflicts—in fact, running the whole gamut of methods of economic domination.

122. True and lasting peace can be brought about only by establishing a climate of mutual confidence and increased international solidarity.

123. In this regard we believe that the agreements reached as a result of the second round of SALT are a step forward towards international peace.

124. I wish now to turn to some of the fundamental questions which rightly are of concern to the international community and require urgent solutions.

125. We are convinced that these solutions can easily

¹⁴ United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires from 30 August to 12 September 1978.

¹⁵ United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held in Vienna from 20 to 31 August 1979.

¹⁶ World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held in Rome from 12 to 21 July 1979.

be found by peaceful means, no matter what the causes of conflict and tension are, provided that every Member of our Organization affirms by its actions our unanimous commitment to bring about peace in the world.

126. In southern Africa, because we were unwilling to enforce and apply the decisions of our Assembly and to have them complied with by the racists of southern Africa, our brothers have no other choice but to have recourse to armed struggle to bring down the tyranny of the racists in Pretoria and Salisbury. The odious system of *apartheid* continues to flourish in defiance of our Organization.

127. In Zimbabwe the combined action of the liberation movements, the OAU and our own Organization, finally won out over the racist minority Smith régime. In the face of victories by the Patriotic Front, the authentic representative of the people of Zimbabwe, the rebels had recourse to a monumental farce in the hope that we would believe that they were finally ready to give up their many advantages in favour of those whom so far they have despised and treated as sub-humans.

128. Let us hope that those who wanted to come to terms with Smith will understand that they have allowed themselves to be taken in by illusory promises.

129. We for our part would like to believe that the Powers involved in seeking a solution to this problem will do so henceforth on the basis of equity and equality and in the desire to establish a new and just constitution on the basis of the principle of "one man one vote" which will ensure that the black majority effectively exercises power. We express the hope that the London conference will bring about positive results.

130. On the subject of Namibia, not only does the régime in Pretoria occupy the Territory illegally but, what is worse South Africa uses it to launch murderous attacks against the front-line countries, causing casualties among the civilian population.

131. These daily crimes speak for themselves and should suffice to dispel once and for all the least possible doubt as to the truly belligerent intentions of the Pretoria racists.

132. More than ever before, we must take the necessary measures to put an end to this barbarous régime and redouble our support for SWAPO, the legitimate representative of the Namibian people.

133. On the subject of the Middle East, my Government agrees with the consensus which emerged in Monrovia at the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU.

134. However, we wish to repeat our unreserved support for the Palestinian cause and its legitimate representative, the PLO. We also wish to reiterate our conviction that the question of Palestine is the very core of the problem of the Middle East and that any solution with which the PLO is not associated will not be valid. Peace in this region, if it is to be just and lasting, must be global and must, above all, take account of the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people: namely, the restoration of the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people; the right of the Palestinians to re-

turn to homes; their right to self-determination and to establish an independent State in the land of Palestine; the return of all the territories occupied since 1967; and finally the restitution to Jerusalem of its mission as a Holy City under Arab-Moslem sovereignty.

135. With regard to Western Sahara, my Government is following developments with the closest attention. The Comoros maintains fraternal relations with all the parties to this conflict. The peoples in this part of the world have human and cultural ties which they should make use of in order to lay the foundations for economic and social development in their common interests. My country will support any initiative which could bring about peace and détente in that region.

136. The situation in Cyprus is another source of concern to my delegation. We hope that by means of negotiations the two Cypriot communities will find common ground and arrive at a solution which will respect the territorial integrity, the independence and the non-alignment of Cyprus and which will make possible the peaceful coexistence and the socio-economic development of that country.

137. Another danger that threatens peace is the explosive situation in South-East Asia. There is a food crisis, an influx of refugees, and as a consequence tens of thousands of innocent people have undergone the greatest possible suffering. Our Organization must take the necessary humanitarian measures and make the maximum effort to restore peace in this area.

138. I now turn to a problem which is of the greatest concern to my delegation, and indeed to the whole of Africa. I refer to the subject of the Comorian island of Mayotte. This is an item on our agenda [*item 29*], and when the time comes my delegation will describe the situation and will do its best to assist in the search for a satisfactory solution to the problem.

139. We have asked for the consideration of this item because the sovereignty and territorial integrity of a Member State are at stake. For the Government of the Comoros there can be no doubt that, as long as the island of Mayotte falls outside its effective control, efforts at economic development in the country will be doomed to failure. The Comoros is a small and, above all, an island country, which can make progress only with the commitment of all its citizens to the work of national reconstruction.

140. The search for a solution to the question of Mayotte remains a matter of constant and fundamental concern to the Comorian authorities. Therefore, the particular attention which this Assembly is according to the settlement of this question is a source of general satisfaction and encouragement for us.

141. Throughout the colonial period, the Comoros constituted a single political and economic entity. This is why the decolonization of that country cannot be brought about by dismembering it. Furthermore, it is a cherished principle of our Organization that peoples shall reach independence within frontiers inherited from the colonial period.

142. I do not want to begin a debate on this question, but I wish to recall that the General Assembly in resolu-

tion 32/7 called on the Governments of France and the Comoros to solve this problem by negotiation.

143. We, the Comoros, for our part are ready, and we have always been ready, to negotiate with France to put an end to this controversy and to lift the dark cloud hanging over the relations between our two countries. Therefore, it is with the aim of creating a climate favourable to these negotiations and of showing the open-mindedness of the Government of Comoros that we have so far been engaged in a number of specific actions.

144. We have, for example, agreed to resume relations with France, which had been broken off over the last few years. We hope that this act will be properly appreciated and that the French side will recognize the efforts of the Comorian Government to create an appropriate atmosphere conducive to dialogue.

145. It was in the same desire to prepare the ground for negotiations that the Head of State of the Comoros requested a meeting with his French counterpart to talk about the situation in Mayotte. On that occasion, the two parties agreed to re-examine the question and to look for a satisfactory solution.

146. Pending the return of Mayotte to the Comoros, my Government has also decided to provide a new, federal-type constitution for our State which will provide a large measure of administrative autonomy for each island, while respecting the unity of the Republic.

147. That important measure is aimed not only at establishing a decentralized administration, better adapted to the island nature of my country, but also, and above all, at fulfilling the wishes of the inhabitants of Mayotte truly to have the management of their political and economic affairs in their own hands.

148. The Constitution of the Federal and Islamic Republic of the Comoros, adopted by the Comorian people in October 1978, ensures for the inhabitants of Mayotte, once that island is integrated into the Republic of the Comoros, the enjoyment of the same rights and guarantees as the three other islands of Anjouan, Grande-Comore and Mohéli.

149. By these measures, the Comorian Government has demonstrated its active wish, within the limits of its resources and means, to contribute to progress on this question and to provide further momentum to it in order to hasten the advent of a satisfactory solution. All avenues have certainly not been explored and we thus welcome any initiative which would really help us to break the present deadlock.

150. We have kept the OAU and the United Nations, as well as all other international bodies, constantly informed of the development of the situation in the Comoros as well as of the measures adopted by the Government to hasten the achievement of a solution to the Mayotte question.

151. We shall continue to do this in all objectivity, and in a desire to exclude any spirit of contention, so that France and we ourselves can, as soon as is humanly possible, enter into the decisive phase of the negotiations.

152. The affair of Mayotte is a question of decolonization, an area which undoubtedly constitutes one of the most glorious chapters of the history of our Organization. That at least encourages us to think that, as such, it will rapidly find a satisfactory solution, in keeping with the interests of the people of the Comoros.

153. Finally, I should like to conclude my statement by expressing the sincere hope that this session will mark a decisive turning-point in terms of concrete action and practical understandings, and that it will be an important contribution to bringing about peace in the world.

154. Mr. MATENJE (Malawi): Allow me, Mr. President, first to join the representatives who have spoken before me, in warmly congratulating you on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. This year's session will be marked by momentous decisions, which the Assembly will be called upon to take on matters of importance both to the Organization as such and, indeed, to the future development of its Members. Needless to say, you are aware, through the experience you have acquired during your term of office at Turtle Bay, of the extent to which patience and impartiality are required in the high office which you have assumed. I am quite certain that no better person could have been chosen to guide the Assembly in its deliberations at such a crucial time. For my part, I should like to assure you, Sir, of my delegation's fullest co-operation.

155. Secondly, let me take this opportunity to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, for the able manner in which he presided over the last session when, as we all know, the Assembly had no less difficult a task to perform. Mr. Liévano was not found lacking in the qualities that are required of a person in that position.

156. Last but not least, I should be failing in my duty if I did not say a word of commendation for the enormous dedication with which the Secretary General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has always carried out his onerous duties. His total commitment to the cause of the United Nations has gone beyond the call of duty. Thus, we are beguiled by the enchanting thought that, through his personal initiative, some of the problems that beset the world community will continue to be tackled peacefully during the coming year, with prospects of fruitful results. We wish Mr. Waldheim success.

157. A good deal of effort has been exerted during the past 12 months in an endeavour to bring about peace and security among nations, as well as to improve their social and economic status. Similar efforts have been made towards the achievement of self-determination for those of our brothers and sisters still under political domination. Some measure of progress has been made in some areas but, unfortunately, not in others.

158. None the less, my delegation is encouraged by recent developments that may lead to a lessening of tension in international relations. In that regard, we congratulate the Governments of the United States and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the conclusion of a second SALT Treaty, which was signed between them early this year. We applaud the spirit of co-operation and the willingness to compromise that characterized the long and difficult negotiations which resulted in the signing of the Treaty. We believe that the

Treaty represents not only a significant development in the bilateral relations between the two big Powers but also an important contribution towards ensuring the safety of the rest of mankind. As the African adage goes, "It is the grass that suffers when elephants fight". That is to say, tension and conflict among the big Powers have a direct bearing on international relations, even among small nations.

159. That is not to imply that the responsibility for ensuring international peace devolves on the big Powers alone; the smaller nations, too, have similar responsibilities in that respect. I should like, therefore, to recommend to the smaller nations that they keep peace with one another. I know only too well, of course, that in some cases the conflicts and disagreements among us smaller nations are not always entirely of our own making; they are at times instigated by outside forces. To repel the influence of such forces, we, the smaller nations, must stick to the principles of non-interference in each other's affairs and maintain good-neighbourliness.

160. I should like to take this opportunity to restate my Government's commitment to the principles of non-interference and good neighbourliness. We strongly hold that international peace can best be assured by such an approach.

161. It is very pleasing to note that a further step forward has been achieved in the process of decolonization by the emergence of Solomon Islands, Saint Lucia and Kiribati as independent, sovereign States. I should like to take this opportunity to extend to them my Government's sincere congratulations and to welcome them to the club of sovereign States.

162. While on the subject, may I be allowed to express the hope that it will not be long before we welcome Belize and East Timor to this Assembly.

163. This Assembly has been seized of the question of Western Sahara for the past few years. My delegation welcomes recent developments which indicate that a solution is now possible. My Government maintains that any solution of the issue of Western Sahara must take into account the wishes of the people of Western Sahara. In this connexion, I wish to record Malawi's support for the recommendation of the OAU *Ad Hoc* Committee of Heads of State on Western Sahara, the so-called committee of wise men, which was adopted in Monrovia, Liberia, in July this year, calling for a referendum in order to determine the real wishes of the people of the Territory [see A/34/552, pp. 90-91]. It is my delegation's sincere hope that this Assembly will lend its support to this realistic proposal. It is also our hope that all parties involved in the Western Sahara problem will co-operate in facilitating the implementation of the proposal. In this connexion my delegation also welcomes the recent decision by the Government of Mauritania to renounce any claims to the Territory of Western Sahara and to respect the aspirations of the Saharan people [see A/34/23/Rev.1, chap. X, annex, para. 38]. This courageous step will go a long way towards facilitating the resolution of the matter.

164. When we assembled here about a year ago, there were high hopes that the Namibia question might at last be resolved, following the South African Government's acceptance of the proposals presented to it and to SWAPO by the five Western members of the Security

Council¹⁷ on a formula for resolving the problem under United Nations auspices. Alas, those hopes now seem to be diminishing. It is a matter for regret that, because of the failure of the two sides to agree on certain key provisions of the Western formula and also as a result of subsequent South African attempts to institute some form of "unilateral internal settlement", no progress has been made on the Namibia question.

165. When the Western initiative on Namibia was launched two years ago, my Government welcomed it, and subsequently endorsed the formula which the contact group proposed. That was because my Government believed that that formula offered the most peaceful way of achieving a genuine transfer of power to Namibians through the participation of all the political groups in the Territory, including SWAPO.

166. My Government is convinced that this is still the way that offers the most hope of leading to a just and internationally acceptable solution to the Namibia question. It is therefore encouraging to note that efforts are under way to pursue the Western initiative, and I would appeal for good faith among all the parties concerned so as not to lose again an opportunity to bring this problem to a successful conclusion.

167. As with Namibia, the problem of Rhodesia has been the cause of much anxiety and concern. Hope has, however, been revived by the developments of the past few weeks, and a peaceful settlement of the constitutional deadlock in that country now looks possible once again.

168. My Government has stated before that to choose the leadership and Government of Rhodesia is the prerogative of the people of Rhodesia themselves; we do not believe that any solution which seeks to impose a certain leader or type of government can bring about a meaningful settlement of the constitutional dispute in that country. At the same time, however, my Government has also stated that any settlement of the problem must ensure a peaceful and genuine transfer of power to the majority. I should like to reiterate that position and declare the Malawi Government's readiness to support any efforts aimed at achieving a peaceful settlement of the issue of Rhodesia.

169. My delegation, therefore, welcomes the Commonwealth plan adopted at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka in August, for the settlement of the problem of Rhodesia [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15]. We are convinced that the plan offers an opportunity for the people of Rhodesia to participate fully in the choice of their own Government, just as it guarantees the genuine transfer of power to the majority. My delegation is encouraged by the positive response of all the parties concerned to the invitation by the Government of the United Kingdom to participate in the constitutional conference which opened in London recently as the first stage in the implementation of that plan. We are also encouraged by the progress which has been achieved so far at the conference, and it is our sincere hope that nothing will be allowed to hamper further progress.

170. The Commonwealth plan was born out of consul-

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

tation and good faith among those who worked it out. We believe that the same qualities, as well as trust and willingness to compromise among the parties at the constitutional conference, should ensure its successful implementation. My delegation wishes the conference success and looks forward to welcoming the new State of Zimbabwe as a Member of our Organization in the near future.

171. The signs of possible change in the political situation in South Africa are less perceptible than they are in the cases of Namibia and Rhodesia. There are, however, clear indications of an awakening, both within Government circles and outside them, to the need for change in the racial policies that the Government pursues. There is evidence of an open debate going on in that country, which represents a self-examination of conscience on the part of the people. We believe that change in South Africa is inevitable and that the open debate to which I have just referred points to its advent.

172. My Government remains resolutely averse to the policies of *apartheid* and the methods used to enforce it, including the establishment of "homelands". This is a stance that is well known to the Government of the day in South Africa. But my Government remains equally convinced that the best way to induce the white people to the south of us to change is by contact and example, by engaging in a dialogue with them. That is why my Government does not support boycotts and ostracism; neither does it support confrontation. Consequently, my delegation urges the international community to create the necessary condition that will induce change in South Africa sooner.

173. My Government has followed closely the developments in the Middle East which culminated in the Camp David agreements of September 1978 and the Treaty of Peace concluded between Egypt and Israel in March this year. My Government regards these developments as a step in the right direction in the continuing search for a just settlement of the Middle East problem. I have already given my Government's view on "confrontation" as a means of resolving differences among nations. I can only add that, while war may sometimes bring quick results, it animates hatred to such an extent that in the end it destroys both the victor and the vanquished. I dare say the history of the Middle East problem bears out this contention.

174. I must, however, emphasize that in supporting the Camp David agreements and the Egypt-Israel Treaty, we are not implying that the ultimate objective has been achieved. We are simply acknowledging that the first step towards the desired goal has been taken. I am saying this because there are, as everyone knows, a number of crucial issues still outstanding which call for further attention. And the sooner they receive it the better. Thank goodness that this is being actively pursued by the parties to the Egypt-Israel Treaty. The problem of the Middle East is not between Israel and Egypt alone. We therefore believe that a meaningful and lasting solution can be achieved only through the full participation of all parties in the search for it.

175. Another problem which has been before the Assembly for some time and to which no solution has yet been found is that of Cyprus. My delegation still believes that a solution can be achieved only through direct negotiations between the Greek and Turkish

communities of Cyprus. It is our conviction that only in this way can a settlement be reached which guarantees lasting peace and security for all Cypriots.

176. We note and support the efforts of the United Nations in search of a formula to facilitate the resumption of intercommunal dialogue on this problem. I should like to express my Government's hope that the Secretary-General will continue these efforts.

177. My delegation has also noted the proposal made by the President of Cyprus to the General Assembly in October last year that the island should be demilitarized and the security of the island should be ensured by a combined Greek and Turkish Cypriot police force under the guidance of a United Nations force.¹⁸ It is my delegation's view that the withdrawal of all foreign troops, except those of the United Nations, would contribute to a greater sense of security among the Cypriot communities and thus create an atmosphere conducive to maximum co-operation and compromise between the two sides in reaching a settlement. We therefore consider the President's proposal to be worthy of serious consideration and hope that this Assembly will examine it in greater detail.

178. Another issue which is a source of equally grave concern is that of disarmament. My Government is concerned not only about the threat that the escalation of the arms race poses to international peace and security but also about its drain on economic resources which would be better used in promoting the social and economic development of the peoples of Member States. In this respect, my delegation has noted with disappointment the failure of the recent meetings of the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva to produce any positive results. It is our hope, however, that the Assembly will address itself to this important matter and consider ways of resolving it.

179. Permit me to express the hope also that, following the conclusion of the SALT Treaty between the United States and the Soviet Union, the bigger Powers will consider utilizing the experience gained in the negotiations for that Treaty in the efforts aimed at achieving general disarmament in the world.

180. My delegation considers it a matter of deep regret that narrow sectional interests continue to hamper progress towards the establishment of a new international economic order. We had hoped that current developments in the economic field would have amply demonstrated the interdependence of the developed and the developing countries and the need for closer co-operation. We have noted with appreciation, though, the moves made by the developed donor countries to reduce the indebtedness of developing recipient States by converting loans into grants. This will greatly improve the solvency of the developing countries.

181. My delegation has also noted with satisfaction that, following the fifth session of UNCTAD, held in Manila in May, substantial contributions to the recently established Common Fund have begun. This is important, because the economic stability and growth of developing countries can be ensured only to the extent that the necessary conditions are established to enable

them to improve their capacity to produce more and to sell at profitable prices.

182. Having said that, I would point out, however, that the stabilization of commodity prices alone is not the answer to the economic problems of developing countries. The producer States must also be assured of an adequate market for their commodities. My Government was therefore disappointed at the failure of the UNCTAD meetings in Manila to reach a satisfactory agreement on this and many other important questions. Particularly disturbing was the failure of the developed countries to accede to even the modest request that they consider granting freer access for goods from developing countries to their markets.

183. It is a matter for regret that, despite all the high hopes which preceded the last session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, lack of compromise has once again blocked the successful completion of the task of establishing a new international maritime régime. Nevertheless, we are convinced that, given goodwill on all sides, the obstacles which remain can be overcome. My Government believes that the equitable share of marine resources is relevant to, and has an important role to play in, the creation of the new international economic order. It is therefore my delegation's hope that the spirit of consideration and compromise will prevail when the Conference is resumed in order that the long awaited agreement can be concluded.

184. My delegation wishes to express its appreciation for the work carried out directly by the United Nations through its various agencies in the promotion of the welfare of its Member States. Of equal importance is the awareness which this Assembly has brought, through the observance of the special International Years, to the various ills and problems that afflict the different sections of our world community.

185. We are drawing to the close of the International Year of the Child. My country has participated fully in the programmes marking this special year, as my Government believes strongly in the security and welfare of the young. They are, after all, the future citizens of our world. My Government is therefore convinced that programmes such as those which have been observed in the course of 1979 are a most beneficial contribution to the future well-being of mankind.

186. While appreciating the usefulness of these special international years, my delegation is compelled to point out that having too many of them at once could easily destroy their value. Thus, the Secretary-General's initiative in requesting this Assembly to consider ways of rationalizing them is appreciated. It is our sincere hope that the Assembly will consider this matter carefully and come up with objective recommendations.

187. My delegation has had occasion in the past to express the Malawi Government's concern at the unwieldy proliferation of the organs of the United Nations. We note with pleasure, therefore, that the Secretary-General has requested this body to consider ways of reducing the costs of running the Organization. It is our hope that, in addressing themselves to this issue, representatives will consider also ways of streamlining the size of the Organization.

¹⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 22nd meeting, paras. 47 and 48.

188. Last, although certainly not least, my delegation wishes to avail itself of this opportunity to express, once again, Malawi's appreciation and gratitude for the assistance which it continues to receive from the United Nations. This assistance is an invaluable contribution to our Government's endeavour to promote the economic and social welfare and development of our nation.

189. It gives me great pleasure to convey to this Assembly best wishes from my President, the Government and the people of Malawi for success in its deliberations.

190. Mr. MOLAPO (Lesotho): Permit me at the outset to express my delegation's deep sorrow and grief at the untimely passing of Mr. Agostinho Neto, the President of the People's Republic of Angola and the Chairman of the Worker's Party of Angola. In him we lost a leader, not only of Angola, but of Africa and the world community. We all mourn this loss, and I take this opportunity on behalf of my delegation, the Government and the people of Lesotho to convey our condolences to the family, the Government and the people of Angola.

191. It gives me particular pleasure to express my delegation's congratulations to you, Sir, on your well-deserved and unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. We are particularly delighted that this Assembly has shown its confidence in you, an illustrious, dedicated diplomat and son of Africa. Your well-known commitment to the eradication of colonialism, racism, racial discrimination and *apartheid* is a clear testimony that you will guide the deliberations of this Assembly to a successful conclusion.

192. In addition to expressing my congratulations to the other officers of the Assembly on their unanimous election, I wish to convey my delegation's profound gratitude to the outgoing President and his fellow officers for the successful manner in which they conducted the work of the thirty-third session. Our words of thanks are also extended to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our hard-working Secretary-General. His dedication to our problems deserves our commendation.

193. The Lesotho Government firmly believes in the principle of the universality of our Organization. We therefore welcome Saint Lucia to membership in our family of nations. We are particularly happy to see it in our midst since, like Lesotho, Saint Lucia belongs to the Commonwealth of Nations. The increase in the membership of our Organization, though it is proceeding slowly, is an assurance and guarantee that the sovereignty and independence of Member countries, particularly the small States, will be jealously protected, cherished and nurtured. But the absence from this hall of the many Territories now still under colonial and alien rule is a painful reminder that for millions of people the liberation process remains incomplete. These are the Territories of which the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples is seized annually. We do, however, look forward to the day when these Territories will take their rightful seats in our midst. Only then can we take pride in the fact that the United Nations will have successfully completed the process of decolonization.

194. As we meet here again, the crisis in the international economy has gone from bad to worse. This crisis is characterized by high inflation, unemployment, growing protectionism by developed countries and large deficits in the balance of payments of the developing countries. It is a crisis that involves minimal and, in some cases, decreasing transfer of real resources and technology from the developed Western and Eastern countries to the developing countries. There is no doubt that this crisis causes disruptions in the plans of developing countries for social and economic development. It is a crisis in which our people can no longer tolerate the existing conditions of poverty, illiteracy, malnutrition, disease and unemployment.

195. So far the response of the developed countries to our just demand for the establishment of a New International Economic Order has been nothing but rejection and, at best, utter indifference. We call upon the developed countries to recognize their obligations and pledge their commitment to the realization of a New International Economic Order. Without doubt the developed countries have vast amounts of capital, high levels of income and large numbers of trained personnel. Their control of access to technology is indisputable. The characteristic of the prevailing international economic system is that the poor countries lack all these elements. The existing terms of trade militate against the interests of the poor nations. Even though the North-South dialogue is at a standstill and the fifth session of UNCTAD has scored no positive results, we continue to entertain hopes that better counsel will eventually prevail. We therefore look forward to the holding of a special session in 1980 which will accord us an opportunity to re-examine the numerous vital global economic problems.

196. We call upon the United Nations and its Members to address themselves seriously to the economic plight of the least developed, land-locked and island States. Unless this is done urgently, we see a serious danger in the apparent creation of a so-called fourth world. In the ongoing negotiations in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, we urge the members of the Assembly to ensure that our rights and interests as land-locked countries are incorporated and enshrined in the proposed convention. We urge that the proposal of Nepal for the establishment of the common heritage fund [*see above, para. 32*] be embraced by all. It is our expectation that this fund will benefit all the developing countries, particularly the poorest among them.

197. The problems confronting this Organization are numerous and diverse. We witness with horror the ever-increasing pace of the arms race, the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the production and perfection of new weapons of mass destruction and the stockpiling of biological and chemical weapons. Despite the numerous relevant resolutions and decisions of this Assembly and other international forums, war budgets continue to be inflated and the arms trade has assumed vast proportions. While these problems affect mainly the big Powers, they pose a serious threat to the very existence of our planet. Their solution must therefore be considered a matter of priority for the survival of the world.

198. One of the most frightening aspects of the situation is the transfer of arms by developed countries to developing countries. This is being carried out to the extent that it by far outstrips the transfer of commercial

and real technology to developing countries. We cannot avoid the fact that the drive for disarmament focuses on the relationship between the arms race and economic and social under-development. We believe that there is no single human endeavour which matches the arms race in wastefulness and lack of imagination. We therefore cannot keep quiet and ignore our responsibility, in the interests of humanity, to caution all concerned that it is better and more noble to desist from being merchants of death and urge all States to expend resources at their disposal for the betterment of mankind.

199. My Government welcomes the results of the recent Meeting of the Littoral and Hinterland States of the Indian Ocean. We hope that the results of that Meeting will prove to be a successful basis for the convening of a United Nations conference for the implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. We must, however, observe that the great disparity between moral commitments and real action continues, regrettably, to contribute to an accumulation of volumes of resolutions, declarations and programmes of action which are never implemented. Since 1971, when the United Nations declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace, no meaningful action has been taken towards dismantling military bases in the Indian Ocean area. This situation continues to pose a serious threat to the security of the littoral and hinterland States of the area. We therefore appeal to the great Powers and other maritime users of the Indian Ocean not only to associate themselves with the 1971 Declaration but also to implement its provisions faithfully.

200. The phrase "human rights" has become an international cliché. Various perceptions of human rights have been voiced with varying emphasis from this very rostrum. Nations have been grouped into various categories on the basis of such perceptions of human rights. The concept of human rights has therefore become a tool easily manipulated to serve man's innate desire to subject to servitude all those who do not in word and deed agree with him. Lesotho is gravely concerned at the disparity between the lofty ideals enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the sad reality of man's existence.

201. The question of human rights is of great concern to Africa. Indeed, during the sixteenth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held recently in Monrovia, the leaders of Africa expressed concern over the question of human rights. Representing as we do one of the poorest countries in the world and a former colony, we legitimately and with due sensitivity wish to discuss the question of the human rights of millions of people throughout the world. A great part of humanity is still subjected to foreign occupation, colonization and the most atrocious violation of human rights. The developing world represents nations that suffer from gaping wounds in the form of varying degrees of civil, political, social, cultural and economic deprivation.

202. We therefore call upon the Members of the United Nations individually and collectively to contribute their fair share to the uplift of the ideals upon which our Organization was founded. For our part, we pledge to continue to respect the basic rights of human beings, which are guaranteed in our laws and legal machinery. We accord equality to all people regardless of race, colour, sex, age or religion. Our participation in the

human rights deliberations of the social, humanitarian and cultural committee, the Third Committee, clearly reflects Lesotho's concerns at the continued violation of human rights in many parts of the world.

203. Lesotho's concern at the persistence of the pestilential system of *apartheid* heightens as the obduracy of the architects of the system gains momentum. I do refer to *apartheid* as a pestilence, which struck that great part of Africa in 1652 with the arrival of Jan van Riebeeck at the Cape of Good Hope and has persisted with great fury and unabating ruthlessness for the last 300 years. While *apartheid* has gone under different names at different times for the purpose of camouflage, its philosophy has always remained the same. It is a negative philosophy which denies equality between whites and Africans. It advocates the supremacy of the white man.

204. The *apartheid* philosophy is deeply embedded in a mentality of white domination, a mentality which transcends all logic. The architects of the system exude a strong desire to maintain their dominant position over the African and all other racial groups which are not classified as white. All efforts at dismantling the system of *apartheid* must be geared towards a psychological campaign to explode the myth of racial superiority. Therefore, I see it as a primary focus of the international outrage against *apartheid* to launch a strong campaign to dislodge the mentality which has bred the system. The need for a psychological warfare against *apartheid* becomes more glaring, seen against the background of the system's entrenchment and its insolent defiance of the international community. The psychological campaign I envisage will weaken the system's credibility to its proponents and resuscitate the determination of the opponents of *apartheid*.

205. The callousness of this philosophy is evidenced by the fact that 20 million Africans in South Africa are denied their basic human rights and dignity by a small clique of white racists. The basic right to self-determination is denied our people in South Africa. The history of the struggle in this region has gone through several stages. It started with peaceful negotiation, moved to passive resistance and has finally come to armed struggle. Our African brother in South Africa was forced to go through these stages because he had been denied the right and the opportunity to organize himself and to have a political platform from which he could express his basic right to participate in the political organs of his Government. He is not only denied the opportunity to participate in the Government of his country, but a white-controlled Parliament in Cape Town determines all his activities and his very future. All the bizarre laws passed by that parliament are geared towards the maintenance of the *status quo*. The people of South Africa are corralled into compartments and the white racists put themselves into a special privileged class as a "chosen race of God".

206. It has never been our intention to augment and complicate further the problems the peoples of South Africa are facing, nor has it ever been our desire to add to the already long list of the serious racial items on the agenda of this Assembly arising out of *apartheid* policies of the Government of South Africa. We were, and still are prepared to avoid confrontation and to seek peaceful solutions to our problems as neighbours, despite our most basic differences. We cannot stand by

silently in view of the affront of the atrocities committed against the citizens of Lesotho almost daily by trigger-happy Boers along the South African borders.

207. The establishment of a ski resort on our territory at Khothjoane, to which I referred from this rostrum two years ago, continues to constitute a further action of alienating more of our land. The refusal by our neighbour to negotiate with my Government about our joint boundaries and its insistence on establishing and maintaining bantustans on our lands are a source of tension. South Africa's defiance of the United Nations decisions continues and its maintenance of such racial monstrosities as the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda, Qwaqwa and other bantustans is clearly an irresponsible act. South Africa's obstinacy and persistence in refusing to reconsider these questions has already soured our relations and will continue to do so in view of wanton shootings and killings of my people along our common borders and within South Africa.

208. The anachronistic and archaic maxim that "might makes right" was discredited and rejected long ago with the founding of the United Nations. The persistence of régimes of chosen races, whether in southern Africa or the Middle East, is an affront to and negation of what the Charter of the United Nations stands for. It is a violation of numerous decisions of this world body and a further challenge to this Organization's effectiveness in carrying out its mandate and responsibility for world peace and security.

209. All States Members of this Organization have a right to existence and to freedom from external interference. However, this confers no right whatsoever on anyone to occupy other people's lands by force or conquest. Lands acquired in battle cannot be permanently alienated. This underlines the urgency of and immediate need for a lasting Middle East settlement. Efforts at such a settlement are doomed to failure if they ignore or deny the rights of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland and to establish a State of their own. The PLO must always be involved in any efforts to bring about peace and a settlement of the Middle East question. Excluding the Palestinians would only amount to perpetuation of decades of misery in the region.

210. The instability of the political situation in southern Africa has often been seen against the background of three distinct areas of conflict—South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe. It is the contention of the Lesotho Government that the problem of southern Africa is one and has its roots in the *apartheid* system of South Africa. It is in the interests of that system to create puppet bantustans in South Africa and to maintain the *status quo* in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Therefore, we welcomed the decision of the United Kingdom Government, the colonial Power in Zimbabwe, to call an all-party conference, currently under way in London. It is to be hoped that the constitutional conference will bring a new era of genuine independence, peace and stability in Zimbabwe. While we believe that violent confrontation should be avoided, it is our contention that the alternatives should not be reduced by the United Kingdom's tacit approval of illegal manoeuvres by Ian Smith and Bishop Muzorewa. No lasting settlement can be achieved unless serious account is taken of the legitimate concerns of the Patriotic Front.

211. We resolutely condemn the steps taken by South

Africa to establish an illegal National Assembly inside Namibia following the bogus election held last December. South Africa's action is in contravention of the relevant Security Council resolutions and in defiance of the efforts by the international community to bring legality to the Territory and secure genuine independence for its people. Hence we call upon the members of the Security Council, individually and collectively, to put pressure on Pretoria to end its illegal occupation of Namibia. The people of Namibia should be given the opportunity to determine their own representation without outside interference. Towards this end the role of SWAPO in the final solution of the Namibia issue should be given recognition.

212. Lesotho has followed with disappointment, yet not with despair, the continuing conflict and local skirmishes involving non-aligned developing countries. These conflicts must be resolved without recourse to the use of force. In this connexion Lesotho wishes to congratulate the Republic of Mauritania for withdrawing its forces from the Territory of Western Sahara, and for concluding an agreement with the Frente POLISARIO on the self-determination and independence of the people of Western Sahara. We appeal to Morocco to follow the example of Mauritania and enter into negotiations with the Frente POLISARIO. It is with great pleasure that I inform this Assembly that today, 9 October 1979, the Government of the Kingdom of Lesotho announced in Maseru that it recognized the Frente POLISARIO as the sovereign government of the Territory and people of Western Sahara.

213. With regard to the situation in Cyprus, we cannot fail to express our concern at the attempts being made to divide and encourage divisions in the island. Cypriot sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment have my country's support. To this end we view as mandatory the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the island. We hope that the Cypriot people will be assisted to discuss amicably and arrive at a lasting peaceful solution to the problem they have faced for some years.

214. The peaceful reunification of the Korean peninsula still remains elusive. We firmly believe that unification can be achieved only through direct North-South dialogue without external interference. Such dialogue should not be prejudiced by prior demands that may threaten the security of the parties concerned. We call on the parties to resume their dialogue, on the basis of the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972.¹⁹

215. We are gratified that the co-operation that has been going on between the United Nations and the OAU is being intensified. Early this year, under the auspices of the ECA and the OAU, African States had a chance to consider in detail the transport problems of the continent. We appeal to Members of this Organization to view favourably the declaration of the United Nations Transport and Communications Decade in Africa. For us in Lesotho, a land-locked country completely surrounded by South Africa, the coming decade should enable us to break our isolation from the rest of Africa.

216. Finally, I wish to register my country's gratitude and appreciation to the United Nations, its specialized

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.

agencies and the many donor countries for the economic support and assistance we have received pursuant to Security Council resolution 402 (1976) and to General Assembly resolutions 32/98 and 33/128. Particular mention should be made of the Governments of Mozambique, Nigeria, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, the United Kingdom, South Korea, Japan, Denmark, the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, the Republic of Ireland and Canada for their generous response to the Secretary-General's appeal. It is no exaggeration to say that, since the first "Farah mission" came to my country, there have been tangible and visible signs that the assistance we have so far received has gone a long way towards reducing our vulnerability and dependence on South Africa. We are now in a position to withstand some of the pressures that were contemplated by South Africa when it unilaterally closed our borders. We do, however, hope that Members of this Organization will favourably consider the Secretary-General's report contained in document A/34/393-S/13485 of 22 August 1979.

217. As Lesotho prepares to act as host to a donors' conference in Maseru and to launch its third five-year economic development plan, I find it imperative to mention the peculiar problems my country has had to face. Acute oil problems have dealt a shattering blow to our efforts at development. To date Lesotho has been paying the highest oil prices in the world, simply because we are land-locked within *apartheid* South Africa. While our peculiar position should not be made an excuse for modifying the world community's punitive measures against those who violate the Charter of the United Nations, we should like to address an appeal to the oil-producing Members of the United Nations to render Lesotho special assistance to offset its predicament with regard to oil. We are grateful for the good example and acts of solidarity already displayed in this connexion by the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and the Federal Republic of Germany. This assistance when put into effect will help us to meet the present high prices of oil and shore up our small budding economy.

218. Mr. KARGOUGOU (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Upper Volta, through me, wishes to express its great satisfaction, Mr. President, at seeing you presiding over this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. In your capacity as Permanent Representative of the United Republic of Tanzania, you have ably defended the cause of the liberation of peoples and the establishment of a new international economic order. We have no doubt that, as President of the General Assembly, you will prove able to conduct our debates with equity and justice.

219. Allow me to associate in this tribute the President of the thirty-third session, who conducted our proceedings to the satisfaction of all.

220. I also wish to pay a tribute to the work of our Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, who has shown he is able to dedicate himself with equal success both to the protection of peace and international security and to the many-faceted cause of the third world. Upper Volta wishes to convey to him its full appreciation of the fact that he is so constantly available and to thank him for the courageous decisions he has taken.

221. Our Assembly has just been enriched by the admission of Saint Lucia as a Member. I wish to welcome

it here on behalf of Upper Volta. There can be no doubt that the new energy it will bring to our Organization will prove a valuable asset to our common quest for peace and progress.

222. In my statement last year²⁰ I described my country's anxiety about the crises through which the world was passing: the economic crisis, the political crisis, the moral crisis. Those who, like us, persist in believing that evolution should bring progress are obliged to note that the worsening of the world situation in the past year is capable of endangering the very existence of the international community. The economic crisis is reaching such a level of sensitivity that anything could happen unless we move without delay to deal the cards again on a basis that is more reasonable, if not more just.

223. The present session is of particular importance, because it coincides with the end of the Second United Nations Development Decade. This is therefore more than ever the time for stock-taking. We must say this clearly and distinctly: by comparison with the objectives set by the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], we have recorded little progress which would justify satisfaction, and we have little reason for hope. The world economy is just drifting. According to United Nations statistics, in 1978 the growth in world production slowed down very markedly, particularly in the developing countries whose global gross domestic product advanced by only 4 per cent. There is a very striking difference between this rate and the 6 per cent which was recorded in the period 1971 to 1975. At any rate, we are very far from the objective of 6 per cent stipulated by the current Development Decade.

224. The slow pace of economic growth of the least advanced countries is even more dramatic and disturbing. In the case of most of these countries, the average rate of growth of the *per capita* gross domestic product was below 1 per cent during the period 1976 to 1978. This is indeed a gloomy picture, which makes one even more pessimistic about efforts now being undertaken to formulate a strategy for the third development decade, particularly when one witnesses more and more negative manifestations of international co-operation. In fact, the developing countries have had bitter experience of the lack of understanding and disillusionment that accompany the various negotiations between the North and the South—or, to paraphrase an eminent modern economist, between the centre and the periphery.

225. It was the same story at the recent United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, and again at the fifth session of UNCTAD, which was held last May in Manila. That session, in which millions of human beings had placed their hopes, constituted crystal-clear proof of what one might call the deterioration of the terms of negotiation. The evasions, almost amounting to outright rejection, employed by our partners, the developed countries, in systematically opposing virtually all our proposals lead us to wonder whether there is still any will to co-operate and, in particular, what future there may be for the attainment of an agreement on a new international economic order.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings, 26th meeting, paras. 99-141.

226. We are not unaware of the current difficulties of the developed countries. We know that they are confronting an economic recession and an inflationary trend of unprecedented dimensions—an inflation aggravated still more by monetary disorder and unemployment. We are all the more keenly aware of this in that we have to suffer the consequences, since we depend so much on the economic situation of those countries. It is more than regrettable, at the end of the Second Development Decade, to see the vital interests of three quarters of the world's population being treated as unrealistic and unreasonable.

227. What we are asking for is not the generosity of the richer countries. What we are calling for forcefully is a more just and more equitable distribution of the surplus wealth which the developed countries squander every day in vain pleasures and the frenzied pursuit of futile desires, in the purchase of weapons and other sophisticated arsenals. We are not opposed to the greater growth of the countries which are already economically powerful. We simply ask that this should not have as its consequence further setbacks for peoples that live in conditions on the fringe of the benefits of progress.

228. Need I remind members that the most glaring fact at the close of this century is that more than a quarter of mankind still suffers hunger, malnutrition, illiteracy and disease? Need I emphasize more forcefully that for 800 million people the first priority continues to be the satisfaction of the elementary needs for food and drink, and that for them development is a matter of sheer survival?

229. The food production of the developing countries is growing only at a rate of about 2 per cent, which is half the objective set by the World Food Conference.²¹ At the same time, those countries have a population growth of about 2.4 per cent. Statistics show that each year the world's population increases by 70 million. This means that the population of the world will total 6 billion by the end of the century.

230. Even if, as we have seen, the results obtained by world food policy do not yet meet the needs of the developing countries, we must pay a tribute to FAO for its tireless efforts in the field of food aid, and also for its assistance in the sector of agricultural development. These efforts were made notwithstanding its very limited resources. A food strategy should be worked out under the auspices of FAO so that the developing countries will by the end of the century achieve self-sufficiency in food. Such a strategy, in our opinion at least, involves the transfer of agricultural technology to the developing countries and far-reaching action in the sphere of reforestation, environmental planning and development and the rehabilitation of arable land.

231. Anticipating this vast programme, Upper Volta has suggested at previous sessions of the General Assembly the establishment of the United Nations decade of the tree. At the risk of repeating myself, let me reiterate this proposal which, if followed up, as I hope it will be, would help to resolve one of the most awesome problems of the modern age—hunger, the scourge which degrades mankind and causes the degeneration of our society.

232. Generally speaking, development assistance needs to be reconsidered both in quantity and quality.

233. From the point of view of quantity, development assistance falls far short of the target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product, which was decided by common agreement in New Delhi in 1968.²² Ten years later, with 0.31 per cent of gross national product for the countries members of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development and 0.05 per cent for the socialist countries, international development assistance is falling behind. However, the effort made by certain countries, such as the Netherlands and the States of northern Europe, whose official development assistance exceeds the 0.7 per cent target, should be highlighted. Yet the developed world could do even more if it simply agrees to convert a part of the amount allocated for the purchase of weapons to official development assistance. It is estimated that \$400 billion are spent annually by the countries of the world on armaments and military expenditure. This is 150 times the total budget of the eight countries of the Sahel, whereas all that would be needed would be one fifth of that amount in order to replant the Sahel area, establish a reforestation programme, provide for the irrigation needs of the eight Sahelian countries in the framework of a policy of food self-sufficiency, bring literacy to all the populations of that subregion, which contains 25 million illiterates, provide for the public-health needs of these countries as a whole, and virtually wipe out unemployment.

234. As for the qualitative level, the forthcoming United Nations development decade should to the extent possible ensure that aid really will promote development. This means that the donors should allow the beneficiaries to set their own priorities because what is good for one is not necessarily good for another. The return on an investment should be measured above all in terms of the well-being of the population concerned.

235. In regard to the third United Nations development decade, since we are at the important stage of preparation for it, I appeal to all those involved in this new gamble on the future, whether they are rich or poor sovereign States, or regional groups or international organizations. Before we embark on this new phase we must learn the lessons of the last two decades—in other words, to draw a moral from history, as it were. Twenty years ago the international community decided to manage its future and to try to reduce the gap between rich and poor. The objective still remains valid and it must be the basis for the coming decade.

236. In 20 years much has been done and some results are beginning to appear. For example, in the area of public debt in the developing countries there has been a certain amount of relief. At present 11 countries have already converted their debts into grants. Other decisions are expected in this sphere. On the subject of commodity agreements, negotiations have been successful in respect of sugar, olive oil and rubber. Similar results are expected for cocoa and jute. A most encouraging development in this respect was the agreement reached last March on the basic features of the Common Fund, but only after, it is true, some long

²¹ See *Report of the World Food Conference, Rome, 5-16 November 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.3), chap. II.

²² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I and Corr. I and 3 and Add. I and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14).

negotiations. The Common Fund is primarily a victory for the developing countries. It is intended not only to finance commodity stocks for the benefit of the poorer countries, but it continues to be the institution by which those latter countries, in adopting decisions, will carry more weight than they do in other financial organs. However, the few successes which have been achieved in no way diminish the general disappointment which has been felt in regard to international economic relations.

237. Protectionism is re-emerging at a period which is characterized by major economic groupings which claim to be open. Protectionism itself is then added to economic recession to create harmful consequences for the exports of countries with weak markets. The industrial output of the third world, which is already inadequate compared with the objectives agreed upon, is handicapped because it lacks outlets.

238. Trade-balance deficits grow worse from one year to the next. Between 1977 and 1978, for example, the developing countries suffered a further loss of \$10 billion in their trade balances, the deficit increasing from \$23.5 billion to \$34 billion.

239. This is the common lot of the developing countries. But what is one to say when one turns to the fate of the least advantaged among them? There are countries, such as mine, which have grave geographical disadvantages: they are land-locked; they also suffer from the handicaps of history; they were colonized to serve essentially as reservoirs of labour; they have been hard hit by nature; they have suffered natural disasters which are all the more difficult to control in the sense that one does not know within what cycle they belong.

240. The whole world is aware of the situation of the Sahelian countries which have been gravely hit since 1973 by the most severe drought ever, the repercussions of which continue to keep their economy and development in a precarious balance.

241. Our country, Upper Volta, thus expects a great deal from co-operation, both international and regional.

242. We had the good fortune to have the benefit of this flow of solidarity from the international community, whether it be in our capacity as a country of the Sahel or within the framework of efforts made for the benefit of the least developed or geographically disadvantaged countries.

243. The most positive result of these two Decades is the interdependence of inter-State relations which has become evident. Regardless of their political choices, their size or power, whatever their divergence of interests, all States without exception are obliged to co-operate.

244. This coming together of peoples can take place only through fruitful dialogue, a dialogue which takes into account above all the multidimensional nature of man—his background, his ethics and his social and cultural values. It is only thus that we shall succeed in transforming our national selfishness into world-wide solidarity, a transformation which must, of course, be accompanied by moral uplift. Having understood the need for real solidarity among peoples, Upper Volta, ever since its independence, has resolutely turned to its

neighbours to promote with them exemplary regional co-operation of benefit to our different peoples. Accordingly, within the Council of the Entente and the Common African and Mauritanian Organization, and through the implementation of a programme of integrated development of the Liptako-Gourma region and the establishment of the Permanent Inter-State Committee on Drought Control in the Sahel, the West African Economic Community, and the Economic Community of West African States, we are working in a realistic and positive way towards the development of our economies through the maximum use of regional resources.

245. At the national level, my Government, relying on the dynamic forces of the nation and with the help of friendly countries and organs, has drawn up a programme of agricultural development the primary objective of which is self-sufficiency in food by the year 2000. The chief means to be used for that purpose are the combat against desertification, the recovery of land in zones infected by onchocerciasis, the improvement of the quality of water and progressive mechanization.

246. To this priority of priorities we have added a policy of breaking out of our land-locked situation by the construction of roads and railroads. Finally, we have embarked upon a process of economic diversification through the exploitation of our mining resources and the processing of both agricultural and mineral products.

247. All of these efforts stand a chance of success only if they have the benefit of an atmosphere of peace and security, which is the very basis of the United Nations Charter. Yet in that respect we have to note that we have not observed a significant improvement in the international situation and that our world today continues to be marked by the interplay of relations of force and ideological conflicts.

248. The situation in southern Africa, which has frequently been condemned from this rostrum by peoples who cherish justice; the disturbing situation which is developing in the northwest part of the African continent; the internal struggles which are sustained with such damaging effect in certain States—these, *inter alia*, count among the most disturbing problems for my country, Upper Volta.

249. The Tenth Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries at Lusaka attempted a last-minute rescue of Zimbabwe. We have been following with the greatest interest the proceedings of the London conference which has assembled—around the United Kingdom, the administering Power responsible for the rebel colony—Rhodesia, the representatives of the racist minority system of the illegal Salisbury Government, and the legitimate representatives of the people of Zimbabwe grouped in the Patriotic Front.

250. We hope that the London conference will make it possible to achieve the ground for understanding among the parties involved so that Zimbabwe will at long last be able to enjoy internal peace in full and complete independence.

251. The situation in Namibia has become intolerable in more than one sense: because the illegal South African occupation is continuing; because the Territory has

been serving as a base for the ignominious régime of Pretoria in its murderous attacks launched against the populations of neighbouring African States; and lastly, because this constant challenge to the United Nations is possible only through the complicity of certain States Members of the United Nations.

252. We can say that at long last there is a glimmer of hope now that Namibia, with its proud, intrepid and persevering people, will be able to take its legitimate place in the assembly of nations.

253. We call upon the Western Powers members of the Security Council to show greater political will in finding a definitive solution of this question. We call upon them, in particular, to drop their opposition to the application of Chapter VII of the Charter since all means which have been tried outside that framework have proved to be futile. The Western countries, the main economic and military partners of Pretoria, by refusing to apply sanctions against the racist régime, have enabled it to develop, under the cover of their protection, a military potential which can eventually be used only against independent Africa. The time has come for us to confront them with their responsibilities, because it is thanks to their indulgence that South Africa has always mocked our Organization.

254. All negotiations to bring Pretoria to its senses having failed, what can the international community now do except to apply the relevant sanctions provided for in the Charter? We must denounce any collusion with the system of *apartheid*, which, despite many resolutions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, continues arrogantly to prosper and to intensify its repressive efforts against the black population which has now become a foreign population in its own territory and in its own country.

255. The peoples of the Middle East, who endured more than their fair share during the last world war, have since that time known neither peace nor security.

256. The creation of the State of Israel and the armed conflicts which have pitted it against its neighbours are less the source of the ills which have ravaged that region than is the disregard of the rights of the Palestinian people.

257. We believe that all the States of the region have the right to existence and to secure and recognized frontiers.

258. We also feel that the people of Palestine have the right to set up a viable national State. That is the condition essential to the establishment of a lasting peace in the region, just as no just and valid peace can be achieved without the direct involvement of the Palestinian people.

259. Since the end of the Viet Nam war, we have witnessed a redealing of the cards in South-East Asia. This process is all the more disturbing in that it involves to the utmost the two neighbouring great Powers.

260. While the political objectives of successive armed interventions, offensives and counter-offensives in that area will be left for the future to reveal, their consequences are already apparent: the dislocation of

the economies of the region, the exodus of thousands of men, women and children, and the jeopardizing of individual and collective freedoms in the region.

261. These wanderers, involuntary stars in an unexciting year, provide through their tragedy a striking symbol of the moral crisis of our age.

262. The conscience of mankind cannot fail to be disturbed by the multitude of questions which must be asked, even if few answers are found. And it is here in this forum that these questions must be raised; it is here also that they must be answered.

263. After a third of a century of existence for the United Nations, must we conclude that our Organization has failed in confrontation with the sovereignty of Member States? That sovereignty seems to know no limits, either internally when it brings its weight to bear upon the citizens of the State or abroad, beyond its boundaries, for today, countries large and small set themselves up one by one as policemen, and whether in Asia, Africa or elsewhere, we have helplessly witnessed these interventions which dare not speak their names.

264. Here again we must reaffirm the principles of the Charter and adhere to them tenaciously if we truly want to bring about the triumph of the noble objectives of the United Nations. We must condemn without reservation all Member States which are guilty of subversion and armed aggression against other States.

265. The two super-Powers have just signed the Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms. At the same time, they have planned negotiations with a view to concluding an agreement as the outcome of the third round of SALT. Allow a small, peace-loving country to rejoice that a new step forward has been taken in the quest for disarmament. We in Upper Volta believe that the great Powers, in the light of their position in the world and the excessive powers conferred upon them by the United Nations Charter, are accountable to the international community with regard to the achievement of general and complete disarmament. However, in this precise sphere of international peace and security, we of Upper Volta believe in all sincerity that all decisions, to the extent that they concern the existence of mankind as a whole, must be made on the basis of mutual agreement between the great and the small countries, for it is true that the value or credibility of an initiative, suggestion or proposition does not depend solely on the size or economic power of a nation, but on its ability fully to meet the responsibilities that go with its international sovereignty.

266. In Upper Volta, we firmly believe in the need for a common strategy to resolve our common problems. It seems essential, then, that all countries should be fully associated with all discussions which have a bearing on the fate of the world. In view of its practical mission in the search for peace and its multidimensional nature, the United Nations should be the appropriate framework for this.

267. Still on the subject of disarmament, we wish to repeat our position that our African continent must be free of nuclear bases. This is the appropriate place yet again to draw the attention of the countries that co-

operate in nuclear matters with the racist régime of Pretoria to the danger to which they are exposing the African continent by enabling South Africa to equip itself with atomic weapons.

268. As responsible people of conscience, we have wanted our continent to be protected from nuclear bargaining. What could be more natural than for us to consider any aid to racist South Africa in the nuclear sphere as an unfriendly gesture to the peoples of the continent? We deplore this all the more as the countries concerned are friendly countries which are helping us in our efforts towards economic development.

269. May we dream, may we imagine a better world, in which the selfish interests which now engender the desire for power will yield to the common quest for the well-being of the greatest number?

270. Let me reply on behalf of President Lamizana and of all of Upper Volta, that it would have been impossible to cherish such dreams if it had not been for the wise and edifying words that the Holy Father, His Holiness Pope John Paul II, spoke here before us only a few days ago [*17th meeting*], words which I am sure will strike a favourable chord with all men of goodwill.

271. As the United Nations advances up the hill, it is our duty to keep it always inclined towards justice and peace: justice for the disinherited and the hungry; justice for the weak; justice for the oppressed and the exploited; and justice for all those who are still fighting for their dignity as free men; peace for our age and for future generations; peace for the rich and for the poor; peace for the suffering; peace in Africa; peace in the Middle East; peace in South-East Asia; and peace for all those who have faith in the future and in the progress of mankind.

272. Mr. IENG SARY (Democratic Kampuchea) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, on behalf of the delegation of Democratic Kampuchea, I wish first to extend my warmest congratulations to you upon your unanimous election to the high office of President of this thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. It is a well-deserved tribute to your intense and fruitful activities as Chairman 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—a tribute to your wisdom and experience, as well as to your great country, the United Republic of Tanzania, with which my country, Democratic Kampuchea, maintains friendly relations. My delegation wishes to assure you of our complete co-operation in ensuring that this session may prove most fruitful.

273. I also wish to pay an enthusiastic tribute to Mr. Indalecio Liévano, the President of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, who guided our work last year with wisdom and perspicacity, thus contributing to the strengthening of the United Nations Charter and enabling our Organization to fulfil its role in defence of world peace and the independence of States.

274. May I further pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who during the past year has spared no effort in the search for ways to ensure peace and security in the world, particularly in South-East Asia, where the situation has been stead-

ily worsening as a result of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea.

275. I also extend a warm welcome and sincere congratulations to Saint Lucia on its admission to the United Nations.

276. Lastly, I am pleased to convey to all the representatives here of countries that cherish peace, justice and independence the cordial greetings and profound gratitude of the people and Government of Democratic Kampuchea. We shall never forget the sympathy, encouragement and support which their peoples and Governments have given and will continue to give, both within the United Nations and elsewhere at the international level, to the just struggle of the Kampuchean people to ensure that an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea shall live forever.

277. The past year has seen the struggle of the peoples committed to peace, justice and independence in the world win new political and economic victories despite the armed interventions, threats, pressures and manoeuvres of all kinds to which they have been subjected by the forces of expansionism, imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, zionism, racism and *apartheid*.

Mr. Naik (Pakistan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

278. The role of those peoples who are devoted to peace, justice and independence is asserting itself more and more on all five continents.

279. The countries of South-East Asia are taking a growing part in international affairs as a new factor for world peace, stability and security in the face of mounting perils threatening the entire region, particularly since the war of aggression and genocide perpetrated by Viet Nam against Democratic Kampuchea. We are gratified that the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality initiated by the ASEAN countries²³ is gaining ground.

280. In East Asia the just struggle of the valiant Korean people to achieve the independent, peaceful reunification of their country in accordance with the three principles and five-point guidelines formulated by President Kim Il Sung is enjoying ever-broader support throughout the world. We are most pleased with the progress achieved in the cause of the reunification of Korea. We are pleased also to see the countries of the Pacific facing up firmly and successfully to the expansionist aims of hegemonism.

281. Most of the countries of South-East Asia are vigorously defending their independence and are looking to their security with increased vigilance. The coastal countries of the Indian Ocean, their existence as independent countries threatened by the presence of foreign military bases and by great-Power rivalry, have succeeded, through their persevering and united efforts, in gaining support for their just appeal for the transformation of that region into a zone of peace.

282. The People's Republic of China is more devoted

²³ See document A/C.1/1019.

than ever to the noble principles of anti-hegemonism and to the defence of the just struggle of peoples for independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, peace and justice. We warmly hail the historic victories won by the great Chinese people over the last 30 years.

283. In the Middle East, peace and security must of necessity be preceded by the exercise of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, whose valiant struggle under the leadership of the PLO, its sole authentic representative, remains in the last analysis the decisive factor for victory. The people of Kampuchea, themselves the victims of a war of aggression and genocide, feel deeply the tragedy of the Palestinian people. Our Government and people are against the Israeli fait accompli and against Israel's illegal occupation of Arab territories since 1967. This is a matter of principle.

284. In southern Africa, the indomitable struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania for their independence and freedom, under the respective leadership of the Patriotic Front, SWAPO, the African National Congress of South Africa and the Pan-Africanist Congress of Azania, is dealing powerful blows at the puppet Salisbury régime and the Fascist *apartheid* régime of Pretoria. We are convinced that, whatever trials may have to be surmounted, the peoples of southern Africa will most certainly win final victory.

285. In Latin America, the countries of that continent and of the Caribbean region are waging a determined, united struggle to strengthen their political and economic independence and preserve their natural resources.

286. In America and in Europe the peoples are resolutely pursuing their struggle for peace and independence, increasing more and more their opposition to recourse to the use of armed force for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of other States, and refusing to play the dangerous game of the super-Powers.

287. But, alongside this positive record, important political events have marked the international scene during the past year and continue today to arouse profound concern in the international community and in the United Nations itself. Two painful tragedies dominate these events in South-East Asia: on the one hand, the war of aggression and genocide, of which Democratic Kampuchea and its people are the victims; and, on the other hand, the tragic fate of more than a million people from Kampuchea, from Viet Nam and from Laos who are the victims of persecution by the Hanoi authorities, who by their inhuman policy have compelled them at the risk of their lives to seek refuge in the countries of South-East Asia and throughout the world.

288. There is one irrefutable fact known to all the world. On 25 December 1978, Christmas Day, the Hanoi authorities sent 120,000 soldiers, supported by several hundred tanks, heavy artillery and many planes and warships, to attack Kampuchea from all sides, to put it to fire and sword and thus to trample underfoot the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of a sovereign, non-aligned State and Member of the United Nations, in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles of non-alignment and of the United Nations Charter.

289. After 10 months of frenzied destruction, plunder, and massacres by the Vietnamese aggressors, Kampuchea—that old and glorious land of Angkor, with a host of artistic and cultural treasures, with a wealth of natural and agricultural resources which the skilful hands of our people, after the devastating five-year war of 1970-1975, lovingly transformed into a country which was verdant in all seasons, with dikes, water reservoirs, irrigation channels and an immense expanse of paddy-fields—has today become a country of desolation, an arid country where nothing grows, even at the height of the rainy season. Entire cities, administrative centres, thousands of agricultural co-operatives, schools, institutes of scientific and technical training, factories and hospitals, dikes, water reservoirs, thousands of kilometres of irrigation channels—the result of three years of toil by our people—have been systematically razed and destroyed by the Vietnamese aggressors. More distressing and serious still is the fact that the Vietnamese aggressors have already massacred more than 500,000 of our fellow citizens—men, women, children and old people. At the same time, in their criminal design to make our people die of starvation so as to break their resistance, they have prevented them from doing work in agriculture and have destroyed more than a million hectares of our paddy-fields and countryside, all our agricultural implements and more than a million of our beasts of burden, oxen and buffaloes, which are part of our livestock. It is because of this criminal and Machiavellian policy of the Hanoi authorities that our people suffer so gravely today from famine. Already more than half a million of our fellow citizens—and especially women, children and old people—have died of hunger, thus bringing the total number of victims in the course of the 10 months of the Vietnamese aggression to more than 1 million.

290. Concurrently with this policy of genocide, the Hanoi authorities have chased hundreds of thousands of our fellow citizens from their homes, from their ancestral lands, reducing them to the status of miserable refugees in Thailand. In so doing, the Hanoi authorities have unmasked before international public opinion their true annexationist and expansionist aims in Kampuchea, in whose eastern regions, maritime provinces in the south-east and the area of the Great Lakes they have implanted, in place of our compatriots who were massacred or chased from their homes, more than 250,000 Vietnamese settlers brought directly from North Viet Nam.

291. Today, all of Kampuchea is the scene of plunder by the Vietnamese hordes who have carried away to Viet Nam whatever they could find: *objets d'art* of gold or silver, precious stones, rare pieces from our museums, from the Silver Pagoda and from the Royal Palace, our stocks of rice and textiles, machinery dismantled from our factories, cars and trucks, and so forth. As for the sculptured and bas-relief masterpieces at Angkor, high points of the Khmer civilization and the cultural and artistic heritage of all mankind, the Hanoi aggressors have concealed them in coffins so as to carry them off to Viet Nam.

292. This war of aggression has caused immense devastation in Kampuchea and immeasurable suffering and grief to a degree never known before in the 2,000-year history of our people. It has brought to nought all the economic and social achievements of our peoples. This genocidal war is intended to exterminate the nation and people of Kampuchea by famine and massacre, and to

make Kampuchea an integral part of Viet Nam. It is the most cruel and barbarous war that has ever been waged in this twentieth century in which we live.

293. All these undeniable facts prove that the words of the Hanoi authorities, which seemed so charitable, about the suffering and misfortunes of our people, are in the last analysis nothing but political hypocrisy and slogans in the service of their criminal design.

294. In their vain attempts to justify their aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities have not hesitated to resort to the most vile and outrageous lies, slander and half-truths. Nevertheless, they were no longer able to camouflage their regional expansionist ambition, the reality of which is no longer debated. Everyone is aware of the danger it poses to world peace and security.

295. This Vietnamese expansionism is not something recent. Already in the seventeenth century, the Vietnamese, coming down from Tonkin, which is present-day North Viet Nam, annexed and completely absorbed the Islamic Kingdom of Champa, which is now central Viet Nam, so that at present there is no longer any Cham citizen.

296. After the absorption of Champa the Vietnamese expansionists went even farther south and, up to very recently, annexed 65,000 square kilometres of Kampuchean territory formed by the western bank of the Donai River and the Mékong Delta, and which constitutes present-day South Viet Nam.

297. The Vietnamese Communist Party has, since 1930—when it came into being (it was then called the Indo-Chinese Communist Party)—set for itself as a target the establishment of an “Indo-Chinese Federation”, made up of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea, and placed under the domination of Viet Nam. This “Indo-Chinese Federation” was but a way-station towards the total absorption of Kampuchea and Laos by Viet Nam, as it had already done in the case of the Islamic Kingdom of Champa and the Cham people. It is also to serve as a spring-board for the expansion of Viet Nam throughout South-East Asia.

298. That is the hidden meaning behind the official slogan “special Vietnam-Laos-Kampuchea solidarity and friendship”. That slogan has for us throughout our long years of struggle for national liberation and until after our national liberation meant a policy of division and of subversion of our internal affairs. The so-called “special Vietnam-Kampuchea solidarity” is in fact nothing other than a long series of crimes and betrayals committed by the Hanoi authorities against the people of Kampuchea.

299. The objective of the Vietnamese expansionists was to absorb Kampuchea on the quiet without arousing international attention, as they succeeded in doing with Laos through the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation, which was signed on 18 July 1977. To do that, from the time of our first struggle for national liberation in 1947, they infiltrated numerous agents one by one into Kampuchea to carry out underground activities of sabotage and subversion, attempts at coups d'état and assassinations of Kampuchean leaders who showed themselves to be independent of the Vietnamese. They obstinately carried on all these treacher-

ous activities without respite before, during and after the five-year war of national liberation.

300. During this five-year war the Vietnamese expansionists took advantage of the sanctuaries and the multiple forms of assistance, particularly in food, means of communication and hospitals given them by our people and our Government, to try to create the conditions needed for a take-over of the powers of State immediately after the liberation of Kampuchea. After many failures in their attempts in May 1970 to form a Vietnamese-Kampuchean joint command in the army and the State Administration of Kampuchea, they even went so far as to create a State administration and an army parallel to those of Kampuchea. They took over almost all the Chinese military assistance intended for us, in order to prevent us from doing battle ourselves.

301. In the course of the Paris negotiations with the United States, the Hanoi leaders arrogated to themselves the right to decide on the destiny of Kampuchea instead of leaving it to its legal and legitimate Government. They openly revealed to their opposite partners their desire to annul the independence and neutrality of Kampuchea and to make it their satellite. By the Paris agreements of 27 January 1973, they sought to force the people of Kampuchea to abandon their struggle for national liberation and place their destiny in their hands. But our people, moved by an ardent patriotism and an unswerving will for independence, decided to pursue the struggle alone and made the heaviest sacrifices until the total liberation of Kampuchea on 17 April 1975. This liberation of Phnom Penh, before that of Saigon which occurred only on 30 April 1975, prevented the Hanoi authorities from sending their divisions in order to “liberate” our capital as they put it, and at the same time annex Kampuchea under cover of that “special solidarity” and that “special friendship”. But immediately after the liberation of Kampuchea, the Vietnamese expansionists, redoubled and intensified their criminal activities in an attempt to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea from within. Without let-up the agents of the Vietnamese fifth column proceeded clandestinely and systematically to sabotage the work of reconstruction and national defence and then publicly laid the responsibility for that on numerous independence-loving patriots whom they ferociously repressed with the black design of casting discredit on the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and fomenting revolts. At the same time, from outside they carried out aggressive attacks against Democratic Kampuchea. In May 1975 they occupied the island of Poulo Wai and, while refusing to leave the sanctuaries established on Kampuchean territory since 1965, they constantly carried out attacks in violation of our frontiers.

302. Recognizing at last that they could never absorb Kampuchea unnoticed, the Hanoi authorities in December 1977 launched their first undeclared large-scale war of aggression, which was at once totally crushed by our revolutionary army on 6 January 1978. In May 1978 there was yet another failure in their manoeuvres to destabilize Kampuchea through their fifth column. It was after these failures that the Hanoi authorities signed the military treaty with Moscow on 3 November 1978,²⁴ and it was with vast military assistance from the

²⁴ Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, signed in Moscow on 3 November 1978.

Soviet Union that on 25 December 1978 they began their second war of aggression against Democratic Kampuchea on a far larger scale than the preceding one.

303. No longer being able to make use of the slogans of "special solidarity" and "special friendship" to annex Kampuchea, the Hanoi leaders are today pursuing their interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea through what they call "genocide" in Kampuchea in order to justify and carry out their aggression against Kampuchea. All peoples throughout the world that love peace, justice and independence have by their unanimous condemnation of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea clearly shown that under international law no pretext can justify this Vietnamese aggression. By committing aggression against Kampuchea Viet Nam sought to overthrow the Government of Democratic Kampuchea which had emerged from the heroic struggle of the people of Kampuchea, a legal and legitimate Government recognized by the entire international community and by our Organization. But to justify its aggression in Kampuchea the Hanoi régime did not fear to defy world public opinion and the United Nations.

304. It is obvious that international public opinion has not forgiven the Hanoi authorities, as they had hoped, for their crimes of aggression against Kampuchea. At the outset the Hanoi leaders tried to exonerate themselves by denying that they had troops on the territory of Kampuchea. However, when they were caught red-handed engaging in flagrant aggression with more than 100,000 soldiers in Kampuchea, the Hanoi authorities then hastened to invoke the so-called Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation signed with the Phnom Penh puppets on 18 February 1979,²⁵ two months after their aggression. It is obvious to world public opinion that the Hanoi authorities will stop at nothing to justify their invasion and occupation of Kampuchea and that they continue to trample underfoot the fundamental principles of the Charter.

305. History and events show that the real cause of Vietnamese aggression against Kampuchea is the policy of expansion, domination and blocs of the Hanoi authorities, who have always opposed the constant policy of independence, peace, neutrality and non-alignment of Democratic Kampuchea. Furthermore an independent Kampuchea, refusing to align itself with the bloc of the so-called "natural allies of the non-aligned countries" represents a major obstacle to the strategic aims of the Hanoi authorities' regional expansionism and of world expansionism which seek both dominance in South-East Asia and then control of the strategic maritime waterways, particularly the Straits of Malacca, which link Asia with Europe and Africa.

306. The war of national resistance of the Kampuchean people against Vietnamese aggression is an integral part of the struggle in which the desire for independence and the right to self-determination of all people and nations that love peace and justice is pitted against the determination of regional and international expansionists to subdue peoples and nations. It is an active part of the struggle to gain respect for the fundamental principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the rules which govern international relations.

²⁵ Treaty of Peace, Friendship and Co-operation between the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, done in Phnom Penh on 18 February 1979.

307. This is why the Hanoi authorities, in their unrestrained efforts to fulfil their expansionist ambitions, did not hesitate to embark on the genocide of the people and the nation of Kampuchea. Nor were they afraid to threaten all the countries of South-East Asia with reprisals. With unprecedented arrogance the Hanoi authorities defied the unanimous condemnation of all countries and peoples that love peace, justice and independence. They did not scruple to use the vilest lies and slander, as well as the logic of gangsters, in trying to force the international community to legalize aggression against Kampuchea and to endorse the violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter and the introduction by Viet Nam and its supporters of the law of the jungle into international relations.

308. The vote of the United Nations General Assembly on 21 September last [4th meeting] was the expression of the firm and resolute opposition of the international community to the violation of the United Nations Charter by the Hanoi authorities with their expansionist aims. That expansionism constitutes a grave danger as it threatens the independence of all countries throughout the world, particularly the small and medium-sized countries. That vote was also a striking rebuttal of the so-called "consensus" by which was adopted the unilateral and arbitrary decision of the host country at the Havana Conference two weeks earlier.

309. Ten months have already passed since the Vietnamese aggression, but the people's war of national resistance, far from being extinguished, intensifies daily. The revolutionary Kampuchean Army, reorganized into a large number of guerrilla units, is attacking the Vietnamese occupiers throughout the country. Each day they inflict upon the invaders heavy losses of both men and *matériel*. The Army organizes and gives impetus to the struggle of the people against the Vietnamese enemy. They are liberating new villages and enlarging the liberated zones. The Vietnamese aggressors, hiding behind the puppets whom they have installed in Phnom Penh, at present control barely a quarter of our national territory, which includes the cities and certain parts of the main roads, with bands of territory between two and three kilometres wide on each side. The rest of the country is made up of zones controlled by the Government of Democratic Kampuchea and by the zones and bases of our guerrilla army. The enemy cannot move easily in these areas.

310. It has become obvious to everyone that the Vietnamese aggressors are becoming increasingly bogged down in the popular war of national resistance being waged by the Army and all the people of Kampuchea under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea. It has also become obvious to world public opinion that if, as the Vietnamese expansionists claim, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea had really so maltreated its people, it would not have enjoyed such strong support from them. Nor would the people have agreed to further sacrifices in the difficult war of national resistance against the Vietnamese invasion to the point where they are overcoming 200,000 North Vietnamese soldiers. Only a Government that represented the genuine aspirations of its people could enjoy such support. As for the puppet régime in Phnom Penh, imported lock, stock and barrel from Viet Nam, it has no roots in our society and is but the shadowy reflection cast by 200,000 soldiers of occupation. All the decisions are taken and all the affairs are administered from Saigon under the personal direction of two mem-

bers of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Viet Nam, Le Duc Tho and Pham Hung. At Phnom Penh itself the puppet administration has been placed under the direct control of a Vietnamese triumvirate. The Phnom Penh puppets have no armed forces, except for a few hundred soldiers who have been incorporated by force into the Vietnamese army and are strictly controlled by Vietnamese officers. What is more, those soldiers, as well as the bodyguards, the "self-defence corps" and the members of the "village committees" which have been set up and armed by the Vietnamese occupiers, are rising up in increasing numbers against the occupiers. They are turning their weapons against them and are returning to the zones which are under the control of our Government. Furthermore, the morale of those 200,000 Vietnamese troops decline daily as they are becoming bogged down in Kampuchea. The political programme of the Front of Great National Patriotic and Democratic Union of Kampuchea has aroused clear echoes at every level of society, both inside and outside the country, and this has given great impetus to the already forceful war that our people are waging against the aggressors. Indeed, this united Front has mobilized all the national forces regardless of their past or their political tendencies or beliefs, because they have the common objective of struggling against the war of genocide waged by the Hanoi authorities. This is no ideological battle but a battle for the very survival of the nation, the people and the civilization of Kampuchea.

311. The situation created by the Vietnamese aggression in Kampuchea is not irreversible, as Hanoi claims. History has proved that in no case can foreign aggression create a *fait accompli*. And yet despite being bogged down in Kampuchea, despite its immense political, economic and social difficulties in Viet Nam itself and despite world condemnation of its policy of aggression and expansion, the Hanoi régime is obstinately pursuing and intensifying its policy of aggression and its crimes of genocide against Kampuchea and its people.

312. In the course of these last months the Hanoi authorities sent to Kampuchea several additional divisions and large amounts of modern military equipment as part of their preparations for new offensives during the dry season which is beginning. A dozen or so Vietnamese divisions have been deployed along the border with Thailand. Far from improving the situation in South-East Asia, such an action makes it worse. Peace, security and the stability of the region are seriously threatened because of the continuation and intensification of the Vietnamese aggression in Democratic Kampuchea. With the constant reinforcement of Vietnamese troops and the establishment of new colonies of Vietnamese nationals in Kampuchea, the Vietnamese war of aggression is assuming new proportions. At any moment the whole of the South-East Asian region runs the risk of being engulfed in the flames of this war. The independence and territorial integrity of all the countries in the region are directly threatened.

313. In order to break the stubborn resistance of the people and army of Kampuchea the Hanoi authorities are disseminating from aircraft toxic chemical products which, on contact with the skin, cause death after 24 hours. The Vietnamese hordes have for three weeks been carrying out military operations to destroy all the rice, corn, potato and other crops planted during the rainy season under the leadership of the Government of

Democratic Kampuchea. In the areas under their provisional control they take over all the harvests and forbid the population to go to work in the fields and the rice paddies. These military operations and criminal measures are designed to cut off the food supply of the people of Kampuchea.

314. The famine deliberately created by the Vietnamese aggressors in Kampuchea is aimed on the one hand at breaking the resistance of the Kampuchean people and on the other at obtaining recognition for the puppet régime of Phnom Penh by the international organizations through their supplies of humanitarian aid.

315. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea draws the attention of the international community to the monstrous crimes of the Vietnamese expansionists and calls on all international organizations and all friendly countries that wish to provide urgent humanitarian aid in the form of foodstuffs, medicines, clothing and so on to the people of Kampuchea to do so in such a way that this assistance may directly reach our people and not be diverted by the Vietnamese invaders and their puppets to serve their war of aggression. It is now known to all that the Vietnamese invaders who have received this aid have resold it to the population for payment in gold, as they do in the case of the Vietnamese refugees, the "boat people". It has also been distributed to some of their soldiers, so that certain humanitarian aid has unintentionally served to strengthen the troops of aggression in massacring the Kampuchean population.

316. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea, the only legal and legitimate representative of the people of Kampuchea, concerned to ensure the survival of the nation and people of Kampuchea, calls on all international organizations and all countries that cherish peace, justice and independence to provide their humanitarian aid to the Kampuchean people. Such aid will constitute an effective weapon against the attempts by the Vietnamese aggressors to exterminate the people and nation of Kampuchea. The Government of Democratic Kampuchea and the Red Cross of Democratic Kampuchea are grateful for all such humanitarian aid and will make every effort to co-operate in ensuring that all this aid will directly benefit the people of Kampuchea.

317. This humanitarian aid and assistance will certainly lessen the immeasurable misfortunes and sufferings of our people threatened with extermination by the Hanoi authorities. But it certainly cannot put an end to them. The danger of extension of the Vietnamese war of aggression to the whole of South-East Asia will exist until there is a final solution of the problem.

318. At all times, in conformity with its desire to maintain close relations of friendship with all countries and particularly with those that have common borders with us, on the basis of equality and strict mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, Democratic Kampuchea has sought to solve its problem with Viet Nam peacefully. From 1970 to 1976 we held about 100 negotiations with Viet Nam at the highest level and innumerable other negotiations at other levels.

319. In June 1975, despite the many urgent and important post-war problems to be solved on the spot,

Democratic Kampuchea sent to Hanoi a delegation at the highest level to negotiate, and it proposed to Viet Nam the signing of a treaty of friendship and non-aggression based on mutual respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, together with mutual benefits. Such a treaty would have made it possible to achieve a fundamental solution to the problem of achieving friendly relations between Kampuchea and Viet Nam. But the Vietnamese side did not take any account of the Kampuchean proposal. Nevertheless, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea reiterated that proposal several times, in particular on 29 September 1978, three months before the Vietnamese aggression of 25 December 1978.

320. Today, faced with the escalation of the Vietnamese war of aggression in Kampuchea, it behoves the United Nations and all countries that cherish peace, justice and independence and are devoted to the sacred principles of the Charter to exercise the necessary economic and diplomatic pressures to prevent the Vietnamese expansionists from intensifying their war of aggression in Kampuchea during this dry season.

321. In this regard, it should be recalled that on 15 January and 16 March in the Security Council there were 13 votes in favour of and 2 votes against two draft resolutions²⁶ one submitted by the non-aligned members and the other by the five ASEAN countries, calling on Viet Nam to halt its aggression against Kampuchea and withdraw all its forces from Kampuchea. Only the veto of a great Power, a permanent member of the Security Council, prevented the adoption of those resolutions. Today, more than ever, it behoves the United Nations to take the necessary measures so that the people of Kampuchea may live in peace and in security within their boundaries, with honour and national dignity, in an independent, united, peaceful, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea, and so that peace, security and stability in South-East Asia may be restored. To that end it is essential and urgent that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam put an end to its aggression against Kampuchea and immediately and unconditionally withdraw all its armed forces of occupation and all its settlements from Kampuchea, in strict compliance with the United Nations Charter. In a word, it is essential and urgent that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam respect the independence and sovereignty and territorial integrity of Democratic Kampuchea and the right of the people of Kampuchea to self-determination, free from foreign interference. The internal problem of Kampuchea will be solved in accordance with the political programme of the Front of Great National Patriotic and Democratic Union of Kampuchea, which means that the social and political régime of Kampuchea will be decided by the people of Kampuchea themselves through general and free elections, by direct and secret ballot, elections to be supervised by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

322. In that regard, it is important to point out that in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization, dated 11 September 1979, Mr. Waldheim stressed:

"The United Nations has been especially preoccupied this year with developments in Indo-China—

developments which not only raise fundamental questions of Charter principles but also have been accompanied by vast and tragic humanitarian problems." [See A/34/1, sect. II.]

The Secretary-General added that:

"... the long and cruel war in Indo-China ... not only threatens the peace and stability of South-East Asia; it could very well also become a threat to world peace." [Ibid.]

Finally he concludes:

"In this as in other situations that have recently arisen, it is imperative that all efforts be directed towards finding a settlement in conformity with the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, in particular respect for the territorial integrity and political independence of all States, non-interference in internal affairs and the non-use of force". [Ibid.]

323. In this connexion, the initiative taken by the five members of ASEAN to have our General Assembly adopt agenda item 123 entitled "The situation in Kampuchea" [A/34/191] is praiseworthy. We once again express our most sincere gratitude to its sponsors for their support for the just struggle of the Kampuchean people and their efforts to restore peace, security and stability in South-East Asia. My delegation would like to express its firm hope that we might see the debate in our Assembly on this agenda item crowned by success with the adoption of a resolution compelling the Hanoi authorities to put an end to the war of aggression in Kampuchea and to withdraw from Kampuchea all their armed forces and their settlers. In doing so, our General Assembly will certainly be making its contribution to the defence of peace, security and stability in South-East Asia and in the world, as well as to the defence of the United Nations Charter.

324. Our people, for their part, however great their sacrifices, are resolutely determined, together with our army, under the leadership of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea to continue their battle to chase out all Vietnamese aggressors from our country. They are convinced that with the active aid and support of the international community, and of all countries and peoples who love peace, justice and independence, victory will be theirs.

325. On behalf of our people and our Government, we wish solemnly to reaffirm here our unswerving devotion to the cause of peace, independence and freedom for all peoples and countries throughout the world. We would particularly like to stress our commitment to our traditional friendship with neighbouring peoples and countries. Towards all of them, including Viet Nam, when the Hanoi authorities have ceased their aggression and withdrawn all their forces from Kampuchea, we shall without delay pursue our policy which is based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence. As a founder member of the non-aligned movement and a Member of the United Nations, Democratic Kampuchea remains ever faithful to the ideals and principles of non-alignment and of the United Nations Charter.

326. The PRESIDENT: We have heard the last speaker for this afternoon. Several representatives have asked to be allowed to exercise their right of reply.

²⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979*, documents S/13027 and S/13162.

May I recall that the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting decided that statements in the exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes on any one item and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly. I call on the representative of the Central African Republic.

327. Mr. KIBANDA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Since I am taking the floor now for the first time in this Assembly, allow me to convey to the President the very warm and sincere congratulations of my delegation on the occasion of his election to the presidency of the Assembly. I assure him that he can count on the full co-operation of the delegation of the Central African Republic as he guides our work towards meaningful and successful results.

328. The head of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya saw fit in his statement to refer to an alleged French invasion of the Central African Republic. I shall be very brief in my remarks. The head of the delegation of the Central African Republic, who will shortly be addressing the Assembly in the general debate, will have an opportunity, with all the authority vested in him, to explain at length the fundamental reasons for the appeal made by the Government of the Central African Republic to France to help it rid itself of one of the most bloodthirsty and barbarous régimes of modern times.

329. In the meantime, however, allow me to make clear that the Central African Republic has never been invaded by any State Member of this Organization or any member of the Security Council except in the fertile imagination of the Libyan delegation.

330. The Government of the Central African Republic, in keeping with agreements concerning co-operation and assistance signed with friendly countries, and strictly in the context of its full and complete sovereignty, appealed to France to help ensure the safety of the civilian population when they were confronted with a police-State and with soldiers armed to the teeth. The appeal was made in order to protect the achievements of the people of the Central African Republic in their struggle against the bloodthirsty Bokassa régime, and in order to avoid a fratricidal war which could well have plunged the country into chaos.

331. My delegation wishes to declare here that France intervened in the Central African Republic at the explicit request of the Central African authorities. We consider that the aid received from France on 20 September was wholly regular, especially since it is provided for in the agreements linking my country and France.

332. Many countries represented here are bound to others by agreements or treaties. It was aid that was regular politically because it was prescribed by Central African patriots and democrats. And finally it was regular morally because it constituted the only means of averting useless bloodshed for a people which had already suffered too much. What is more normal than for a country, in resisting a régime which has violated its very conscience, to have recourse to every means available to it to rid itself of a régime of executioners and assassins? Hence I would say to the international community represented by the Member States here that

the external aid which my country requested from France in the exercise of its sovereignty to overthrow the dictator Bokassa was in order. Let there be no mistake about it. The Central African people, by requesting such aid, did not wish in any way to barter away their sovereignty or their untapped natural wealth. The new régime that we are establishing in the Central African Republic is only too aware of the sacred nature of its sovereignty and of its natural wealth.

333. This Assembly will recall that at the time of the rout of Idi Amin's army many Libyan soldiers were taken prisoner and owed their survival and their freedom, following lengthy bargaining, to the generosity of the Ugandan liberation forces. What were these Libyan soldiers doing in Uganda anyway—these soldiers of *l'An II*, straight out of the works of Victor Hugo, and with nothing of the soldier about them save their sophisticated arms and equipment? This Assembly will recall that for many years now Libya has been illegally occupying the territory of an African State, a member of the OAU and of the non-aligned movement, in flagrant violation of the fundamental principles and purposes of the charters of those bodies. There was intervention by Libya in Uganda; in Chad there was aggression, invasion and encroachment on national integrity. In those two countries, let no one forget, there was unquestionably Libyan intervention, invasion and aggression. In the light of those unacceptable and unjustifiable acts committed in flagrant violation of the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charters of the United Nations and the OAU, Libya, the aggressor, has not been condemned by the international community. And it is Libya that today is talking of invasion, intervention and aggression.

334. The PRESIDENT: I regret to have to interrupt the representative of the Central African Republic, but I must tell him that he has exhausted the 10-minute period allotted to him. Therefore, I ask him to be kind enough to conclude his statement.

335. Mr. KIBANDA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I wish to thank you, Mr. President, for allowing me to continue my statement. As I was saying—

336. The PRESIDENT: I must interrupt once again. I requested the representative of the Central African Republic to conclude his statement, not to continue it. He has about half a minute to conclude his remarks.

337. Mr. KIBANDA (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I am afraid I had not heard you, Mr. President, because the interpretation, it seems, is a little late coming through to me. The delegation of the Central African Republic would like to facilitate your task and the task of the officers of the Assembly. But for three or four days Libya has persisted in speaking about my country. That is why, with your special permission, I would like two or three minutes, and no more, to conclude my remarks.

338. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry, but I cannot allow the representative of the Central African Republic any extension of the 10-minute time-limit which the General Assembly has agreed to impose on every representative who speaks in exercise of the right of reply. The 10-minute period allotted to the representative of the Central African Republic has expired, and I now call on the representative of Egypt.

339. Mr. EL-ARABY (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Egyptian delegation listened to the statement made by the Libyan delegation this afternoon, and wishes to make the following brief observations.

340. First, we consider that for the most part the statement made by the Libyan representative really deserves no comment. None the less, I wish to declare our support for what the representative of Libya said when he acknowledged the existence of a deep-seated and flagrant contradiction between Egypt's position and the Israeli declarations, a matter that has been explained by the head of the Egyptian delegation in detail in his statement to the General Assembly on 1 October [15th meeting].

341. Secondly, it does not seem to our delegation that the Libyan distortions require a detailed reply. It suffices for me to say here once more that Egypt is seriously seeking to bring about a just and over-all peace in the Middle East, and that the dimensions of that peace have been defined by Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), the implementation of which will result in the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied Arab territories.

342. Furthermore, Egypt is deeply convinced that a just and comprehensive peace cannot be achieved until the Palestinian people have regained their legitimate rights, including their right to self-determination, free from all foreign intervention.

343. In order to achieve those lofty objectives, Egypt has repeatedly indicated that it will leave no stone unturned to bring about peace. As always, Egypt understands exactly what it is saying; there is no contradiction between its words and its deeds.

344. Thirdly, Libya's constant use of polemics cannot prejudice Egypt's position or diminish the importance of the genuine, concrete efforts it has been making for a third of a century now on behalf of the Palestinian cause. It is not my intention to compare the contribution made by Egypt over the years in that respect with what has not been by Libya, which confines itself to the art of verbal fighting.

345. In the light of the statement by the representative of the Central African Republic, the Egyptian delegation will not refer to the flagrant interventions by Libya in the domestic affairs of other countries, in contradiction with the basic principles of the United Nations.

346. In conclusion I would say this. The Libyan representative spoke of what he called "defeated Egypt". What a noble choice of words. If the representative of Libya is referring to the fact that Egypt has had the honour repeatedly to bear arms in the cause of individual and collective self-defence, in keeping with Article 51 of the Charter, then I would reply that this is indeed a fact, and one which is a source of true pride to

Egypt and Egyptians. Egypt has not emerged victorious from all the military battles which it has waged, but that cannot change the fact that Egypt has never hesitated to do its duty whenever the fate of the Arab nation has been in danger, whenever aggression has been committed against Arab sovereignty. Suffice it to recall that Egypt has not had recourse to Libya's method—that is, making inflammatory public statements and then disappearing before the fighting starts.

347. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): The Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya saw fit to devote a long—indeed, very long—part of his speech to the policy of France in respect of Africa. Those remarks contained a whole series of distortions and falsifications which are too gross for there to be any point in correcting them here, at the present late hour. In fact everyone knows the policy of France with respect to the African continent. President Giscard d'Estaing has defined it on many occasions. It is a policy of mutual respect, of friendship and co-operation. It has not changed since the time of General de Gaulle.

348. It is ridiculous to speak of aggression in Central Africa and to suggest, by the convenient process of confusing the issue, that France was responsible for the death of innocent victims when, in fact, there was not a single victim when a French unit—and quite a small one—arrived at Bangui at the request of the Central African authorities.

349. I leave to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya the responsibility for the allegations which he felt it appropriate to make before this Assembly concerning the relations of France with Africa. Possibly all that stage-setting was simply intended as a cover-up for Libyan operations on foreign soil. We all have those events in mind. We know what to think of them. At the time of the fall of Bokassa—who was himself then in Libya—the latest of those operations was no doubt being carried out in Central Africa itself, where there were more than 30 Libyan instructors along with several thousand weapons which had been brought in for their use.

350. France has always maintained good relations of co-operation with the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya. I wonder whether the exercise in oratory which we have witnessed this afternoon is likely to improve the future of those relations.

351. Mr. MUNTASSER (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation has heard the attacks made against my country by three speakers, and we should like to reserve our right to reply to them after we have been able to read their remarks in the verbatim record of the meeting. We should therefore like to be allotted at a later date enough time to reply to the three speakers in question.

The meeting rose at 8.15 p.m.