

United Nations  
**GENERAL  
 ASSEMBLY**

THIRTY-FOURTH SESSION

Official Records



**28th  
 PLENARY MEETING**

Wednesday, 10 October 1979,  
 at 3.15 p.m.

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

|   | Page |
|---|------|
| Agenda item 9:                                |      |
| General debate ( <i>continued</i> )           |      |
| Speech by Mr. Forde (Barbados) .....          | 603  |
| Speech by Mr. Alladaye (Benin) .....          | 606  |
| Speech by Mr. Dugersuren (Mongolia) .....     | 612  |
| Speech by Mr. Pachariyangkun (Thailand) ..... | 616  |
| Speech by Mr. Vunibobo (Fiji) .....           | 620  |
| Speech by Mr. Ould Taya (Mauritania) .....    | 623  |
| Speech by Mr. Eikeni (Samoa) .....            | 626  |

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. FORDE (Barbados): Mr. President, at a time when the question of the speed with which this Organization can proceed with the decolonization of the remaining non-independent Territories in Africa is still perhaps the most pressing issue before this Assembly, it is particularly significant that you should have been chosen to preside over our deliberations. Your outstanding chairmanship 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 has amply qualified you for this post. For Barbados, it is doubly pleasurable to offer congratulations to you, Mr. President, especially because of the high regard in which you are held as your country's non-resident High Commissioner to Barbados, and also because of the close historical and cultural links which exist between the United Republic of Tanzania and Barbados.

2. The admission to membership in this Organization of our sister Caribbean State, Saint Lucia, is a source of great pride and satisfaction to Barbados and the Caribbean. It contributes to our optimism about the effectiveness of the United Nations in pursuing the principle of universality of its membership as well as of parity among all Member States, regardless of their size or wealth.

3. Since the landmark resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, many countries, including Barbados, have broken the bonds of colonialism and joined the ranks of the free. The inexorable process continues, although not without hitches. It is to be hoped that, at the thirty-fifth session, this Assembly will welcome at least three other Caribbean States as full Members, namely, St. Vincent, St. Kitts-Nevis-Anguilla and Antigua.

4. But if our efforts in the cause of decolonization are not redoubled and our voices not constantly raised, we

will see a continuance of the delay in the attainment of full independence by another Caribbean sister country, Belize. Barbados continues to deplore the persistent and intransigent claim of the Guatemalan Government to the Territory of Belize in defiance of world opinion and United Nations resolutions. There can be no doubt that the yielding of any part of the territory of Belize, no matter how small, will result in instability and threats to the peace and security of the entire region. Despite the overwhelming international support for Belize's right to self-determination as demonstrated in this forum, this Organization has come no closer to the resolution of the problems which impede Belize's progress to independence. We call upon those countries which persist in abstaining in their votes on this issue to respect principle and recognize the importance for the Latin American and Caribbean region of having the question of Belize resolved in accordance with the legitimate wishes of the Government and people of Belize.

5. There can be no compromise on the principle of self-determination and the issue of decolonization. At its thirty-third session the General Assembly expressed its commitment to the right of the people of East Timor to self-determination and reaffirmed an earlier resolution calling for Indonesian withdrawal from the Territory of East Timor [*resolution 33/39*]. Indonesia's invasion and annexation of that small country continues to be of the utmost concern to Barbados. Barbados will continue to give its unqualified support to the people of East Timor in their just struggle against foreign occupation.

6. In the case of the Western Sahara, Barbados also lends its principled support to the Saharan people, through their legitimate representative, the Frente POLISARIO,<sup>1</sup> in their efforts to resist colonialism. Barbados commends Mauritania for its initiative in relinquishing its claim to part of the Sahara Territory.

7. The high hopes which many of us held almost a year ago for an early solution to the problems of Namibia on the basis of the plan of action approved by the Security Council<sup>2</sup> have all been dashed by the wilful obstruction by South Africa of the establishment of a United Nations presence in Namibia to supervise and control elections. While Barbados agrees that the full co-operation of all concerned is essential to the implementation of the Security Council's plan of action, we are of the view that the Western Powers have a special responsibility in this regard.

8. Barbados is fully aware of the importance of South

<sup>1</sup> Frente Popular para la Liberación de Saguia el-Hamra y de Río de Oro.

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

Africa as a major source of supply of mineral resources for some of the Western industrial nations. This reliance, based as it is purely on economic considerations and naked self-interest, should not be a smoke-screen for the abandonment of principle and for delaying the true independence of Namibia and the final liberation of the black peoples of southern Africa. Barbados renews its oft-repeated call for the imposition of total economic and military sanctions against South Africa in order to compel that country to end its recalcitrance with respect to Namibia and to abandon its iniquitous and oppressive régime of *apartheid*.

9. The recent proposal on the Rhodesian conflict agreed upon only a few months ago at the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries in Lusaka [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15] represents in our view a promising step towards an ultimate solution to the Rhodesian problem. We fully support the Commonwealth agreement and hope that the talks now taking place between all the parties to the conflict will shortly lead to a negotiated settlement satisfactory to all parties.

10. But even in areas where the process of decolonization has ostensibly been completed new forms of colonialism reappear or self-determination is not being fully realized. The Middle East is one such area. The attainment of true self-determination for the Palestinian people, as the Secretary-General has reminded us, "is central to the political, economic and military stability of the world" [see A/34/1, sect. III]. For there to be peace with stability, negotiations must take place among all the parties. The efforts made at Camp David are only tentative steps along the road to a comprehensive settlement. A comprehensive peace can, in our view, be achieved only when it is recognized that the Palestinian people have a right to full self-determination and a homeland of their own and that Israel has an equal right to exist within secure borders. Such a peace will never be achieved in a condition of spasmodic raids and continual expansion of new settlements.

11. Over the years we have heard many a speaker rhapsodize about the virtues of *détente*. We were told that the cold war had come to an end and that a new era of peaceful coexistence had dawned on the erstwhile cold warriors.

12. During the last year, however, it became obvious to the people of the Caribbean that this belief is a dangerous illusion, as contending super-Powers opened up a new front within the region. On the one hand, one super-Power continues to pursue its Messianic, hegemonic and ideological vision of a world where all countries will adopt its economic, social and political system. On the other hand, the other super-Power exhumed the obsolete concepts contained in the Monroe Doctrine and the philosophy of "manifest destiny", dusted them off and paraded them to the world as new solutions to contemporary problems.

13. Not since the days of the slave trade has the Caribbean experienced such a web of international confrontation and intrigue. In the confusion occasioned by the introduction and intensification of the cold war in the Caribbean, Barbados wants to make its position clear. In 1966, Barbados did not win its independence to give it up again by becoming a vassal State of any super-Power. We stand uncompromisingly opposed to any

kind of imperialism or colonialism. It follows, then, that Barbados rejects the pernicious imperialist doctrines of "balance of power", "correlation of forces" and "spheres of influence", and, as a corollary, subscribes to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries, a principle which this Assembly has upheld on many occasions. The people of sovereign countries must be left in peace to practise self-determination and to solve their national problems as they see fit. The cold war in the Caribbean region has created a situation where marauders, pirates and mercenaries threaten populations with destruction. This has in turn increased militarization in the area, as many States, menaced by international gangsters, find it necessary to devote scarce resources to the purchase of arms in order to protect themselves.

14. Barbados has been constant in its view that the acquisition of arms uses up scarce human and material resources, which would be better employed in the development of our countries and in the fulfilment of the basic human needs of our people. We firmly hold the view that disarmament should be general and complete. Unfortunately, only very limited progress has been achieved in disarmament over the past decade. As an earnest of our dedication to the goals of total disarmament we will, within a few days, ratify the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex].

15. Nations cannot fulfil the aspirations of their peoples in an atmosphere of violence. Barbados has in the past year experienced threats from mercenaries. It is for this reason that we will continue resolutely to support action to eliminate terrorism and the use of mercenaries. These growing evils must be deplored as unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of other countries, calculated to create world tension and instability. At this session my country will seek the support of all States for a strong resolution against the recruitment, training or harbouring of mercenaries and will work towards agreement on an international convention to eradicate this evil.

16. On numerous occasions, in this and other forums, the Government of Barbados has spoken out in defence of human rights. We shall continue to support initiatives which will eliminate violations of human rights wherever they occur. We follow developments in several countries with growing dismay, as we see grave violations of the most elementary human rights in both the political and the social sphere.

17. Because of our deep concern, we will continue to support any action to improve the international machinery for the promotion and protection of human rights. We will also relentlessly speak out against abuses wherever they occur, even if our candour calls down on us the temporary wrath of our friends. That is why we abhor the growing denial of human rights which has appeared within the Caribbean, particularly the denial of the right to dissent and to support or establish political parties of one's own choosing. In our view, there can be no true democracy where people are held without being charged with an offence known to law, are imprisoned for their political beliefs or are denied the right to a free and fair trial.

18. A particular human rights problem of global concern is the major exodus of refugees from their home

countries all over the world. This problem has reached alarming proportions in Indo-China and poses a threat to world peace and stability. We are witnessing a callous disregard for humanitarian principles. Barbados whole-heartedly supports the creation of a special fund for refugees and upholds all efforts of the United Nations to alleviate such suffering. We must not allow political pacts and ideological alliances to prevent us from condemning the repressive policies of those countries which disregard and violate human rights. My delegation is therefore prepared to support any measure that would compel all violators to readjust their policies to curb the excessive outflow of their citizens.

19. This Organization must also pursue relentlessly the economic aspects of human rights. For the majority of the world's peoples continue to suffer from malnutrition and a lack of proper health care and adequate shelter, as the world economy falls into deeper and deeper recession.

20. The impact of the myriad economic problems with which we are faced today is being felt by all nations. However, the outlook is bleaker in the case of developing countries, whose economies are weaker and more vulnerable to external influences. These countries are prey, among other things, to severe balance-of-payments problems, unfavourable terms of trade, growing protectionist measures, inflation, unemployment, unstable exchange rates, the erosion of their already meagre savings, a lack of access to capital markets to finance reasonable rates of development and the all-pervasive problem of energy shortages and rising prices.

21. The failure to achieve any meaningful breakthrough on these problems has been due to the lack of genuine political will on the part of Governments to commit themselves to the actions needed to grapple with these problems. Too many of us—developed and developing alike—continue to think in terms of narrow national self-interest.

22. It was precisely this kind of self-interest and mistrust that prevented the fifth session of UNCTAD from achieving any progress on the structural issues of North-South relations. It is precisely this suspicion that has led to failure in the Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 and in the Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy. It was precisely this lack of commitment that produced the limited results witnessed at the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held at Vienna from 20 to 31 August.

23. Barbados believes that the only way to rescue the world economy from the morass into which it has sunk is to initiate immediately a full, constructive and genuine dialogue on the real issues of structural change, trade, energy and monetary reform. The first requirement for such a dialogue is the political will born of recognition of the interdependence of States. This interdependence must provide for the full recognition and acceptance on the part of all countries of the need for continuing structural adjustment.

24. As we enter the decade of the 1980s a new international development strategy will offer us the occasion to break the stalemate and start anew, building on our

successes and learning from our mistakes. The international development strategy for the third decade ought to be the major instrument for the promotion of global economic development. That strategy should set a clear framework of realistically attainable objectives and targets. It should involve the entire international community, with obligations and commitments to be borne by both developed and developing countries. It should be a major feature of our efforts towards a transformation of the world economic order.

25. We of the third world must ourselves also recognize the need to renew our commitment to work patiently and systematically towards the new order. Collective self-reliance and economic co-operation among developing countries are important bases on which to build such an order.

26. Central to the issues of economic growth and development are the world's energy resources. The continual increases in the price of oil pose serious financial problems for oil-importing developing countries like Barbados. The most recent price-hike will have a debilitating effect on our economy.

27. There is need for a systematic, coherent and co-ordinated attempt to devise a long-term strategy that will ease the burden of oil-importing developing countries. Simultaneously, the search for alternative sources of energy should be intensified. Many countries have already embarked on this course of action. Without decrying these individual initiatives, Barbados believes that concerted efforts on the part of the international community are needed to deal with this problem. Barbados therefore welcomes the forthcoming 1981 United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy, and looks forward to participating fully and effectively in the work of this Conference.

28. Barbados has, in other forums and on other occasions, enunciated specific proposals for both the short-term and the long-term solution of the energy problem. We need not repeat them here; but we should say that some of them are reflected in the address of the President of Mexico, Mr. López Portillo, delivered before this Assembly on 27 September 1979 [11th meeting]. His constructive proposals should be given the fullest and most serious consideration by all countries. For our part we wish only to reiterate at this time the need for members of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries [OPEC] to recycle their surplus oil funds to assist in the much-needed development of third-world countries.

29. Another vitally important area in which international co-operation is urgently needed is that of the law of the sea. We have taken note of the fact that, at the end of its eighth session, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea approved a programme of work<sup>3</sup> providing for the adoption of a convention of the law of the sea next year.

30. While we consider such an action to be of major importance, we have the strong conviction that the successful adoption of a convention on the law of the sea will elude our grasp if we fail to exhibit the required will and determination to understand each other's concern and difficulties and make the necessary accommo-

<sup>3</sup> See document A/CONF.62/88.

dation to produce a treaty which will be of fundamental importance for the future.

31. Barbados, like any small island developing country, continues to place the greatest emphasis on the importance of the sea to the future of its economic well-being. The resources of the sea constitute some of our most vital resources. That is why the Government of Barbados, despite the heavy financial burden and its limited human resources, has continued to participate in the sessions on the law of the sea.

32. The protection of our beaches and of the sea around us is also a matter of grave concern to us. The possible threat to our beaches by oil pollution, traceable to the unregulated and, in many cases, irresponsible behaviour of oil tankers in mid-Atlantic routes, has been increasing. Barbados believes that the international community and the oil companies have an obligation to small island countries on the path of the international oil carriers to protect them from ecological and environmental damage.

33. Island developing countries account for more than 10 per cent of the membership of this Organization. If the over-all goal of justice, peace and prosperity is to be achieved, special attention will have to be paid to their particular problems. It is of the gravest concern that these problems have received scant attention from this forum. These countries exhibit unique characteristics of small population, limited land area, geographical isolation, scarce resources or limited economic opportunities, which make it difficult for them to take full advantage of international efforts to improve the economic prospects of developing countries. For some of these island countries current trade and aid relationships may even be having a negative effect on their development prospects.

34. As an island developing economy, Barbados continues to be critical of the present unreliable techniques being used in the allocation of aid. The gross national product *per capita* income criterion results in a totally unrealistic and inaccurate evaluation of a country's wealth.

35. Countries such as Barbados, styled "middle income" countries, have real and serious developmental and structural problems despite their apparent high *per capita* income. What has been termed by one expert in the field the "myopic myth of middle-income countries" militates against the achievement of relative self-sufficiency or progress, since the moment these countries attain a certain threshold of development, vital assistance is withdrawn or drastically reduced.

36. It is hoped that a new look will be taken at other criteria such as the size of a country, its potential for development in terms of its real resources and the finite nature of problems confronting island developing States, in order to arrive at a new philosophical basis on which development assistance is granted.

37. Barbados therefore calls on this Organization to place a high priority on the early implementation of special measures—including those set out in UNCTAD resolution 111 (V)<sup>4</sup>—designed to assist the small island developing economies.

<sup>4</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fifth Session*, vol. 1, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.II.D.14) part one A.

38. The sister Caribbean countries of St. Vincent, Jamaica, the Commonwealth of Dominica and the Dominican Republic, in addition to suffering from the vulnerability and fragility peculiar to island developing economies, have recently been exposed to further adversity in the form of natural disasters, namely, a volcanic eruption in St. Vincent, floods in Jamaica and a hurricane in Dominica and the Dominican Republic. Dominica and the Dominican Republic, in particular, were almost totally ravaged, and now face a difficult period of reconstruction and rehabilitation. Barbados calls on the international community to respond speedily to the urgent needs of these countries, by mobilizing the appropriate resources required for their rehabilitation.

39. I referred earlier to the optimism inspired by the giant steps made in the process of decolonization. Our optimism must, however, be tempered when we review the past decade, as it is traditional to do on the threshold of a new era. The world agenda before this Organization has broadened considerably since its creation in 1945; the world is in the midst of a period of change and we go from crisis to crisis with hardly any time to deal with one before another confronts us.

40. New concepts of national interests are emerging and there is increasing interdependence of States. We have witnessed a shift in the pattern of relationships among the major Powers. The international economic system is under strain. The ever present issues of human rights, *apartheid*, disarmament, terrorism, mercenaries, racism, the plight of refugees, all clamour for our attention. It is with this complex, ever-changing and troubled world that the United Nations has to contend.

41. My Government acknowledges the unsurpassed benefits which the presence of the United Nations has brought to the peoples of our troubled world. The Organization's role in preventing another global conflict within the past 35 years is to be applauded. Its specialized agencies have rendered inestimable services which have not attracted the same attention and publicity as some of the topical issues with which the United Nations has been seized. In sum, if the United Nations did not exist, we would have to invent it.

42. As we look towards the 1980s, let us commit ourselves to finding common ground for the attainment of justice, peace and prosperity.

43. Mr. ALLADAYE (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): First and foremost, may I be allowed to express here the feelings of deep sadness of my delegation at the cruel loss of two of the most courageous sons of Africa; the sudden premature demise of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria and President Antonio Agostinho Neto of Angola, two great leaders of the present-day fight for freedom, two statesmen who placed their lives at the service of the freedom, independence and dignity of the oppressed peoples of the world. Their passing will long be mourned as an inestimable loss. They have left us with a shining example which will give us the courage and determination necessary to press on with the work which they began.

44. I wish to extend to you, Mr. President, the warm, fraternal congratulations of the delegation of the

People's Republic of Benin, which welcomes your election to the presidency of the thirty-fourth session of our Organization's General Assembly with pleasure and with pride. Your unanimous election to preside over the work of our present session, dear brother and friend, is both a well-deserved tribute paid by the international community to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania, a front-line country and an unbreachable bulwark of freedom in the southern part of our continent, where so many of our brothers are still being subjected to the iniquitous sway of racist oppression and the most brutal and anachronistic colonial exploitation, and a fitting recognition of your personal merits as a dedicated patriot and an enlightened diplomat unswerving in the service of the cause of the freedom and dignity of our peoples. We are convinced that under your leadership our deliberations will be guided effectively and equitably and that our work will be crowned with success.

45. My delegation also wishes to express its great satisfaction and its appreciation regarding the admirable and praiseworthy manner in which the outgoing President of our Assembly, Mr. Indalecio Liévano of Colombia, organized and conducted the work of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly.

46. Benin would also like to pay a tribute once again to the outstanding administrative and diplomatic qualities of our Organization's chief official, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose activities over the past year have been devoted to the accomplishment of the goals set by our Organization. The delegation of Benin wishes to take this opportunity to express its confidence to him once again and to assure him of the support and friendly assistance of the People's Republic of Benin in his onerous but uplifting tasks in the service of mankind.

47. My delegation would also like to extend a very warm welcome to Saint Lucia on its accession to international sovereignty and its entry into the United Nations. We assure the representative of that new State of our active solidarity and fraternal co-operation.

48. This session of the United Nations General Assembly, the thirty-fourth since the founding of our Organization, provides all Member States with an exceptional opportunity and setting for discussion and debate devoted to an analysis of the world situation and for an examination of the course of history that we may the better perceive the outlines of the profound changes in the structure of societies, for our session is being held at a particularly tumultuous juncture, one fraught with open conflicts and with still latent explosions and revolutionary upheavals in the history of mankind and its societies.

49. The unequal and shocking distribution of wealth and technology, the cynical scientific exploitation, international imperialism, the pitiless sway of multinational corporations, are all characteristics of our era, maintaining and aggravating as they do poverty, the backwardness caused by blockades of every sort and the oppression to which our peoples are subjected, an oppression that has many aspects and assumes many forms.

50. Let no one expect that we will tire of speaking out and denouncing, from every available rostrum and in the striking circumstances of present-day history, those

elements that feed the disorder that prevails in the world economy and support the scandal of injustices and inequalities, creating and fomenting hatred among States and endangering international peace and security.

51. Following all my colleagues who have preceded me at this rostrum and have spoken with such faith and eloquence, and before those who will come after me, I also wish to state my rejection of this scandal and my demand for truth and justice, for today the massive and stubborn truth of events can be denied only by the determined intellectual dishonesty and shoddy logic of evil propaganda for evil purposes.

52. The former and present state of affairs is thereby being perpetuated in the world economy. The accession of dozens of former colonial countries to independence over the past 20 years has done little to alter the world's economic landscape. Unbalanced trade, colonial-style exploitation, primitive and undisguised, the subtleties and disguises of neo-colonialism, the ever-increasing technological dependence of the third-world countries, all bear witness to our poverty and to the handicaps from which we suffer on every level. The heavy and constantly increasing indebtedness of our countries is destroying our budgets and dangerously limiting—if not completely annihilating—our chances for harmonious and independent development. The decrease in aid to our countries or the creation of assistance machinery that is often designed solely to facilitate recolonization, are serious new forms of debt that lead us to fear lest they seriously compromise our fragile independence.

53. Monetary disorder, evidenced by wild fluctuations in the price of gold and the unworkability of certain international monetary regulations set up in the post-war period, is increasing and strengthening the position of the imperialist strongholds in their attempts to preserve their ill-gotten privileges. And as if to perpetuate such imbalances and give permanent status to the institutions and to an unjust morality, based on the law of the strongest in the most savage of jungles, the environment is being destroyed and the seas, the oceans and the continents are being polluted; billions in hard currency, millions more than the sums being devoted to aid to our countries and our economies, are being spent to stockpile atomic weapons and highly sophisticated conventional weapons for blackmail and terror in order to impose the rule of injustice and inequality on us, the eternal victims.

54. This general picture fairly describes the many conferences and symposia that we have attended in this Organization and various institutions within its family, meetings of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development, UNCTAD and many others. Those organizations have produced facts, figures and statistics which the most sophisticated computers confirm and refine. I shall spare representatives a long and tedious list of them. They will allow me to eschew certain oratorical devices and not rehearse them once again, as I am sure that they are even more familiar with this list than I.

55. What needs to be denounced is the scandalous evils of a world and an economic and moral order—or, rather, disorder—where the wealth of some dominates and maintains the poverty of others.

56. What needs to be denounced is this devious, dishonest effort to safeguard and maintain, at any cost, this unjust world where the sterile comforts of some are purchased at the expense of the destitution, hunger and poverty of others.

57. We must reject the smugness and arrogance of the rulers of empires, of banks or of financial consortiums which have been bending over backwards to put the stamp of legitimacy on the status of peoples in bondage to which they would relegate us.

58. What must be denounced also, in this International Year of the Child, is the fact that thousands of children of the third world are doomed to a life expectancy so short that their intellectual and physical potential will never be fully developed, precisely because of this non-egalitarian, unjust international economic order.

59. That is what my delegation proclaims with conviction, with a sense of our responsibility and with a keen awareness of the need to act in accordance with the dictates of justice and dignity shared with us by all the peoples of the third world.

60. This is not a sweeping indictment where hatred and passion are intended to replace truth and objectivity. We are not saying anything that has not already been analysed, discussed, commented on and adopted by our Organization. The new international economic order has, since 1974, been a demand of history. It contains a programme which, by overhauling international economic relations, would establish norms of justice and equity among our countries and peoples, and would establish a new balance, which would benefit peace and friendship among peoples, of the present system of trade and exchange in the world.

61. In Manila in 1978 and in Havana at the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, the creation of that new order—after so many other regional, continental and world meetings—was considered as the only lasting path to fruitful and peaceful international co-operation among States and nations.

62. The solutions to what has been commonly called the crisis are thus well known. The responses to the inhuman and illegal frustration of our countries and peoples, whose resources and development are stagnating, are also well known, but no start whatever has been made on applying them seriously because of the blocking tactics of the imperialist countries. Indeed, only through solidarity and fighting and through organization at the regional and international levels will the "damned of the earth" be able to establish a new economic order and bring pressure to bear on those who deliberately shy away from the reasonable and equitable actions called for by mankind today.

63. In the third world and within the non-aligned movement, horizontal solidarity must be asserted increasingly if we are to improve our means of fighting for equity and development and defeat certain forms of blackmail. In the area of energy, for example, while the great oil cartels have been increasing their profits at an extraordinary rate, all forms of propaganda have been used by the Western Powers to make people believe that the members of OPEC are solely responsible for

the international energy crisis, inflation and alleged world stagnation.

64. This campaign alone should convince our friends and brothers in OPEC that they must increasingly accord a privileged role to our countries in their programmes of foreign financial investment. That is a duty of solidarity and is called for by reason and it cannot but serve to strengthen our common front against exploitation and foreign domination and actively contribute to our fight for a new international economic order.

65. Of course, it must be recognized that the intervention of the various Arab funds, OPEC assistance and financial aid from the Afro-Arab bank organizations such as the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa provide a growing supply of capital and give us the benefit of a not inconsiderable portion of the oil earnings of the producers of the precious black gold. But the tendency to invest money in the wealthy countries of the West must be combated and, inversely, there must be additional financial flows in our direction to enhance horizontal co-operation.

66. We have just pointed the finger at the parties primarily responsible for international poverty, exploitation and the plundering of our peoples, as well as at those who have taken from our peoples their resources and the fruits of their labour. With all the revolutionary lucidity and dignity now characteristic of our country, the People's Republic of Benin, we have courageously stated our principles and proposed a remedy, from which we expect not so much miracles as direct effects on the established injustices and disorder in the world economic order. The new order, to whose historic creation we wish to contribute, would bring about qualitative changes and a gradual transformation of the situation throughout the world in the interests of dozens of developing countries which are on the periphery of the international capitalist system. But the economy of the nations will see real development and enjoy stable growth only when the freedom of peoples and the full sovereignty of nations are no longer restricted, threatened or questioned.

67. It is very difficult for international imperialism to conceal its ambition of colonial reconquest and neocolonialist subjugation. Its acts of aggression take the most subtle and brutal forms. Its permanent strategy of selfish exploitation and oppression develops and builds up the most diabolical and bloody means of repressing the resistance of our peoples and of assassinating great leaders of the revolutionary struggle. None the less, the national conscience of the peoples of the oppressed countries continues to develop and their mobilization grows in the struggle against the age-old enemy, at the same time a wheedler and a pitiless executioner, as its hypocritical nature and its own logic make it.

68. Therefore, since the thirty-third session of the General Assembly, the political complexion of the world has changed and taken on new colours. The fall and final crushing of the Fascist pro-imperialist dictatorships in Iran and Nicaragua bear this out.

69. In spite of the barbarous crimes of imperialism and in spite of its plots and manoeuvres, in our great, rich and beautiful continent, Africa, the peoples are mobilizing and struggling. Colonialism, racism and

neocolonialism in fact remain imperialism's methods of domination on our continent. The minority régimes in southern Africa are its ignoble expression and they are legitimately condemned by progressive mankind.

70. The constitutional ruses and chicanery of the white racist minority in Zimbabwe and Muzorewa's treason have not succeeded in making Africa accept an illegal régime irremediably condemned by history.

71. The so-called internal settlement in Southern Rhodesia, where African renegades, traitors to the sacred cause of their oppressed people, have been used, in no way responds to the profound aspirations of the working masses who are suffering in their flesh and blood and in their dignity.

72. The administering Power, the Government of the United Kingdom, must assume full responsibility for the massacres of children, women and old men carried out by the white racists of Southern Rhodesia in the front-line States in order to spread terror there and to dissuade them from showing their active solidarity with the heroic armed struggle of the Patriotic Front, the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe. In spite of the mandatory sanctions which are still imposed on the illegal régime in Salisbury, the weapons which the white settler army uses come from the arsenals of the Western countries.

73. A tremendous challenge to the international community and to all our Organization's recommendations and decisions therefore renders those sanctions, which should have brought the Fascists of Southern Rhodesia to see the reason of our time and of history, cruelly derisory and fictitious. Those who thus get around the compulsory embargo ordered by the Security Council in its resolution 253 (1968) and gaily trample on our resolutions become accomplices in the crimes committed daily by the Ian Smith-Muzorewa clique in Zambia, Mozambique, Botswana and Angola. Their direct responsibility will not escape the judgement of history. They are also responsible for the plans of extermination and aggression hatched in Salisbury and Pretoria. The blood of the glorious martyrs of Zimbabwe, Kassinga, Maputo and Lusaka will also inevitably spatter them, whatever may be their shameful conscience, their subterfuge or their academic and legal arguments.

74. The plan of the imperialists and of all those working for the international recognition of the Smith-Muzorewa régime is well known. They are making use of all sorts of constitutional trickery and electoral gerrymandering, convening conference after conference, meeting after meeting, with ulterior motives which cannot escape the watchful vigilance of our peoples. We remain convinced that all these manoeuvres will be doomed to failure, as the international community will not allow itself to be tricked and bemused.

75. Any conference or meeting, if it is to succeed, must essentially aim at bringing the so-called Rhodesian rebellion to heel and bringing the true representatives of the Zimbabwean people, the Patriotic Front, to power.

76. The United Nations and the international community must therefore continue to grant all the necessary support to the liberation forces of the Patriotic Front,

who represent and express the profound aspirations of the working masses of Zimbabwe.

77. The Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Havana has just proclaimed and repeated this demand [see A/34/542, annex I, para. 58], and let there be no mistake, it is the conscience of the world that was thus expressed, the proud and free voice of the immense majority of the peoples of our very rich and beautiful world, the voice of the oppressed and of the future of the world.

78. The problem of Zimbabwe goes hand in hand with that of Namibia. The correct strategic view of the problem of southern Africa, on the basis of the elementary analysis of certain geopolitical realities in fact indicates as clearly as possible that the independence of those two Territories will inevitably promote the liberation process within the very territory of the so-called Republic of South Africa, where the most ignoble colonialist and racist régime imposes fierce and exclusive domination over the indigenous peoples, who are slaves on the land of their ancestors.

79. The tactics used over the past two years by the imperialist Powers is thus to lull the international community and to demobilize the liberation forces by making them believe that negotiations, meetings and endless diplomatic talks organized in one capital after another will solve the problem of the liberation of Zimbabwe and of Namibia.

80. My country, the People's Republic of Benin, has denounced all these manoeuvres, right from their first appearance. The plan for Namibia of the Five Western Powers and what is known as "the Anglo-American plan for Zimbabwe"<sup>5</sup> represent the same strategy, set up in order to lull the international community and demobilize the liberation movements. We shall never stop denouncing these Machiavellian manoeuvres and stating that only the courageous and resolute armed struggle will free the peoples of those two Territories. Of course a peaceful settlement is possible, but that must be only on the basis of the strict application of the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], which the racist puppets in South Africa and Zimbabwe, with the thinly veiled support of their imperialist masters, refuse to implement.

81. The Muzorewa-Smith régime in Southern Rhodesia and that of the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance in Namibia are twins for which the imperialists, by various means, are astutely trying to gain recognition at the international level. At its last meeting held at Monrovia in July, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU vigorously denounced that policy and those imperialist plans which flout the profound interests of Africa and its peoples and are aimed at institutionalizing what is felt by some to be a clever solution but is, in fact, nothing more than a gross and debased form of neo-colonialism.

82. The international community must also vigorously denounce *apartheid* and take action to put an end to it once and for all. Neither the present generation of

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

Africans nor future ones will accept such a social aberration on our continent.

83. The decolonization and liberation of Southern Rhodesia and Namibia are for Africans and all peoples in the world a categorical imperative and a sacred mission entrusted by history to us and to all freedom fighters whose blood has been shed in that noble cause. But this fight for freedom and justice will never come to an end so long as *apartheid* exists in South Africa and so long as that enormous ghetto and military base continues to be defended and upheld on our continent by international imperialism. No form of African independence can be considered complete so long as the gold, diamonds and uranium of South Africa—now protected by a nuclear shield that has come from the West and from Israel—remain, in the eyes of those who offer the finest sermons on the rights of man, even more valuable than the lives and dignity of all our oppressed and humiliated brothers and of the great black Diaspora of the world.

84. It is strange and indeed curious that those who feel that nazism is one of the most criminal perversities of history and who fought it at the cost of millions of lives today act with such benevolence towards the most faithful imitation of Hitlerite fascism in the contemporary world, behaving towards it with such a scandalous complicity as they not only invoke all sorts of pretexts and false reasons for refusing to isolate South Africa and Rhodesia through application of the embargo, but also lavish economic, diplomatic and, above all, military support on those countries.

85. We shall go no further in our expression of outrage than this sober language because, today and tomorrow in Africa, the implacable struggle and the innumerable sacrifices of the Patriotic Front, the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] and the African National Congress of South Africa will inevitably bring about the triumph of freedom, justice and dignity for the peoples of southern Africa.

86. Decolonization is still an unfinished business. In Zimbabwe, the strategy of the colonialists and imperialists is too clear and transparent for us to be mistaken regarding their aggressive plans. A journalist of the French weekly *Nouvel Observateur* reported in the issue dated 17 September 1979 on something that we all know and perceive when stressed that "in fact a belt of satellite States is being created where proconsuls propped up by bayonets will rule, protected by jets, radar, missiles and the whole military panoply of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] that South Africa has at its disposal."

87. The creation of bantustans, those new reservations for blacks, arid and poor, are similar to those that we have seen in other countries in other historical contexts. They are part of a more cunning organization of the colonial, racist and Fascist system of South Africa, where the white minority has secured for itself the best lands and the basic wealth and maintained in the bantustans at the same time a very cheap working force that they can keep poor, repressed and humiliated and can kill at will.

88. We could engage for many hours to come in this general indictment of *apartheid*. Its misdeeds, crimes and belligerent arrogance are growing, but the freedom

fighters of the Patriotic Front, of SWAPO and of the African National Congress have redoubled their determination in their struggle to mobilize their peoples against the barbaric acts of colonialism and fascism.

89. The path is undoubtedly still long, hard and bloody that leads to the liberation of southern Africa, but the harsher the struggle the greater will be our sacrifices and our acts of solidarity so that one day, there in that immensely rich southern part of our continent, as in its north-western part, the acts of aggression will come to an end and the right to self-determination and independence and sovereign freedom will be exercised without restriction or military blackmail.

90. I now come to another colonial and expansionist scandal which an African Government is desperately trying to conceal by its lies and give some legitimacy to through the use of arms and aggression.

91. First, though, I should like to repeat that for my country, the People's Republic of Benin, the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic is a *de jure* reality that history and nine new States have just recognized and that the Frente POLISARIO is the sole and legitimate representative of a proud and heroic people, which the Moroccan régime, contrary to the wisdom and understanding of history and in pursuit of a wild dream, intends to subject to colonial law.

92. At Monrovia, in July 1979, and at Havana a few weeks ago, the OAU and the great movement of non-aligned countries respectively reaffirmed that in Western Sahara there remained but one fundamental historical problem, namely, the inalienable right to independence and self-determination of the Saharan people. Now, our brothers in Mauritania have decided to renounce all claims over Western Sahara and to withdraw their troops from that Territory and have enshrined that courageous determination in an agreement with the Frente POLISARIO [A/34/427-S/13503, annex I]. As far as Morocco is concerned, however, it is threatening, terrorizing, bombing and trying to create armed diversions with certain neighbouring countries, but it has not been able to stave off bitter defeats on the battlefield and the capture of thousands of soldiers by the Saharan Liberation Army. What a disgrace! We would repeat that Morocco is stubbornly squandering its resources and leading its army to suicide in an effort to conquer a Territory whose sole master is the great Saharan people. The arms and munitions of the Moroccan army will continue to enrich and reinforce the military potential of the fighting units of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic.

93. It is up to our Organization once again to proclaim loud and clear the right of the Saharan people to independence and self-determination, and to demand that Morocco renounce its annexationist ambitions.

94. If we do not show such determination to support one of the basic principles on which we act and which justify the existence of our Organization, we shall be favouring Morocco's adventure of territorial annexation, and we shall be putting our stamp of approval upon unjust acts of aggression against the Saharan people.

95. The world situation is characterized by the rising anger of peoples, who reject oppression, humiliation and injustice. The upsurge in the struggle of the Pales-



tinians and the Arabs poses a problem for our Organization and the whole world: the question of war and peace in the Middle East.

96. War and peace in the Middle East and, consequently, war and peace throughout the world is the alternative facing imperialism and zionism as a result of the separate Camp David agreements, the torture of Arab patriots and the expropriation and confiscation of Palestinian land. In spite of legalistic innovations and the creation of machinery to crush Palestinian resistance—the bloody tragedy of southern Lebanon being one more terrible example—the three-Power Camp David coalition will inevitably encounter dignified and collective resistance and rejection from all peoples throughout the world who love peace and justice.

97. The PLO has brought about unity among the Palestinian people. It is that people's sole legitimate representative. Its international recognition is increasing, even in certain countries in which Western and Zionist propaganda endeavours to present it as a gang of terrorists and common-law criminals. The PLO alone represents the future of the Palestinian people, and it is the most lively, militant and noble expression of that people. Egypt's capitulation and betrayal will fail, for they do not take into account the determination of the PLO to fight until victory has been achieved, notwithstanding the billions of dollars, the arsenal of weapons and the great amount of technical assistance and means of espionage and intelligence being provided by international imperialism.

98. In Palestine, where fraternal relations and respect among the great universal religions once flourished, zionism cannot achieve its goal of oppressing, exploiting and expropriating an entire people by arousing the unjust and unworthy hatred of the brothers and sons of the victims of the Nazi holocaust. The Zionist State of Israel must withdraw from the occupied Arab territories; Israel must cease bombing and killing innocent populations in Southern Lebanon. The terror from the air, the daily round-ups and new plots hatched with its new ally and with international imperialism will only strengthen the determination of the PLO and serve to speed up the mobilization of the people of the area and of the entire world and turn them against Israel's arrogance, oppression and permanent aggression.

99. I might say that this Assembly is meeting today to hear yet another speech on world peace, because, as we move somewhat to the east of the explosive situation in the Middle East, we see that in South-East Asia blood and tears are flowing and the sound of guns may be heard every day. That is taking place in a region where there has been one of the most glorious revolutions of our era, the Indo-Chinese revolution, which has taught us all so much and provided us with so much inspiration. It is a part of the world in which, notwithstanding all the tension and the regrettable ambitions of certain Powers, the people have maintained their unity and solidarity and have been able to overcome one of the most powerful imperialist countries of our day and to give the oppressed nations of the world a legend that is in keeping with their genius, invincibility and respect for the dignity and worth of the human person.

100. That is why my delegation condemns the Pol Pot-Ieng Sary régime, which is guilty of genocide in the

killing of more than 3 million Kampuchean, and that is why it firmly supports the people of Kampuchea in their fight for independence, freedom and the construction of socialism. We believe that only the representatives of the People's Revolutionary Council should be allowed to take that country's seat in this Organization.

101. In Korea as well peace and unification must be brought about. That can happen if the wise, realistic and positive proposals of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea are taken into account, studied objectively and supported by the international community.

102. In East Timor, as has been demanded for several years now by the fighters of FRETILIN,<sup>6</sup> in their heroic popular struggle, the right of self-determination and independence must also be exercised.

103. Great Latin America—which has so many glorious traditions in the anti-imperialist struggle, including the revolutionary flame of Simón Bolívar and José Martí, which is made to burn ever brighter by the heroes of the Moncada Barracks—has continued to fight against imperialism in that continent.

104. The Benin revolution supports the socialist Republic of Cuba in its legitimate claim that the base in Guantánamo Bay, which is occupied by the United States against Cuba's will, should be restored to it and that an end should be put to the unconstitutional economic blockade that has been unjustly imposed upon Cuba. It is not proper that the Government of the United States should do everything in its power to exert pressures of all kinds to deprive the Cuban people of their inalienable right to choose the path of development that suits them.

105. The People's Republic of Benin fully supports the people of Puerto Rico in their just struggle for self-determination and independence, and we support the legitimate claim of the people of Panama to regain full sovereignty over the Canal that passes through this national territory. We support all the peoples of Latin America who are fighting against Fascist dictators and their imperialist masters.

106. In the various oceans of our planet there exist huge bases and nuclear testing sites, which are being strengthened. In particular, in the Indian Ocean, which laves the shores of a significant part of our continent, there must be a completely denuclearized and demilitarized zone if our countries are to develop in peace and are freely to choose their paths to progress and justice.

107. World peace is, after all, necessarily global and indivisible. And while we welcome the signing at Vienna on 18 June 1979 of the Treaty between the United States and the USSR on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Arms, concluded as a result of the second round of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks [SALT] in which we see the beginning of a world of fraternity and friendship among peoples, which we ardently desire, it must be recognized that any armed conflict anywhere in the world and any imperialist intervention, regardless of where it may occur in the world, undermines and jeopardizes the benefits ensuing from the difficult nego-

<sup>6</sup> Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

tiations which led to the second round of SALT. There is an objective link and dialectical interaction between the crises and conflicts which arise in our world. And so-called limited wars can lead, in Africa, the Middle East and Asia to irreversible disasters. The problem of international peace and security must be viewed in these historical terms.

108. International imperialism constitutes, for our countries, which are still weak, and for our people, who are still to a very large extent subject to its colonial laws or its neo-colonialist domination, the prime danger to our security. Thus, it has elaborated a programme in which the full panoply of the means of aggression, intervention and subversion are refined and enhanced daily by the addition of new instruments of death and terror. Various means of blackmail, subjugation and destabilization are being used against the progressive régimes which have chosen the anti-imperialist, socialist path to development, and now mercenaries are being employed. This is an ignoble, hypocritical and repugnant means of armed intervention, of which my country was cruelly made the victim on 16 January 1977. The mercenaries who attacked my country, killed heroic fighters, both civilians and those in uniform, and caused terrible material damage are no longer the phantoms and privateers that certain countries took pleasure in discovering a short time ago in our reports on aggression. Today, the barbaric aggression of 16 January 1977 is no longer a mystery to anyone, even to the most hypocritical and cynical mercenaries of the pen in the service of imperialism.

109. In accepting complaints of certain family members of the victims against the evil Bob Denard and his gang, the lower court in Paris has corroborated once again the fact that aggression did take place and that heinous crimes were committed by the new, faithless and lawless crusaders for imperialism.

110. Scarcely a few weeks ago, there was a wide-scale military intervention organized by a certain European Power in an African country. One puppet was replaced by another crowned valet. All of this makes us realize the searing reality of the problem of military aggression, whether overt or disguised, which is being directed against our countries. In the face of these new threats to international security, to peace, stability and independence, the conclusions of the historic Week of Solidarity with the Colonial Peoples of Southern Africa Fighting for Freedom, Independence and Equal Rights and of the International Conference on Mercenaries which was held at Cotonou from 9 to 16 January 1978 deserve the careful consideration of our Organization and the complete support of the international community. And, as our great comrade-in-arms, President Mathieu Kérékou, said at the Conference:

“The mobilization of international opinion against mercenaries, intervention and imperialist aggression is the only way to ensure that a latter-day gunboat policy will not be institutionalized and enforced in an atmosphere of general and unpardonable indifference.”

111. Forgive me for having overlooked or dealt rather summarily with certain conflicts or clashes which have been the features of international life. But there are many signs of hope today and there are many additional reasons to fight when we see, for example, the rep-

resentatives of the heroic Sandinists, of the new Iran and of militant Grenada seated here in this Assembly. Revolutionary and peaceful Benin is proud to be here. We will dare to win, and we will dare to pursue our revolution, for that is our duty.

112. The many difficulties, traps and pitfalls which have been planted by international imperialism, their fundamental hostility—which is, after all, logical—will not divert us from our heroic and just course. We know that we are the majority of the peoples of the earth and of the men of progress, as was proved at the last Conference of non-aligned countries at Havana, as exalted a gathering as one is ever likely to see in history.

113. I hope that I have explained the position of my country in as clear a manner as Members would wish.

114. For us in the People's Republic of Benin, the sighs of frustration, the procrastination and the wishful thinking, must cease if historic policy and the force of action are to make of our Organization a genuine instrument for the liberation of peoples and free understanding among nations and a great cross-roads of peace and friendship which the drafters of the Charter wished to create.

115. We are ready for revolution. The fight goes on.

116. Mr. DUGERSUREN (Mongolia): Mr. President, first of all, permit me, on behalf of the Mongolian delegation, to extend to you our most sincere congratulations on your well-deserved election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Like previous speakers, we consider this unanimous election a worthy tribute to your outstanding personal qualities and at the same time a recognition of the important and growing role of your country and the African continent in furthering the cause of peace, national independence and social progress. We are confident that your vast experience, skill and long association with this world body will certainly contribute to making this session yet another successful world meeting for the good of mankind, and we wish you every success in discharging your responsibilities.

117. I should like to take this opportunity also to express on behalf of the Government and people of the Mongolian People's Republic our deepest condolences to the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola and the Angolan people on the untimely demise of President Agostinho Neto. He will be remembered and cherished as a great son of the Angolan people, the founder of the glorious People's Republic of Angola and an outstanding leader of the national liberation and revolutionary movements of Africa.

[*The speaker continued in Russian (interpretation from Russian).*]

118. A review of the events of recent years, and in particular of the decade of the 1970s now drawing to a close, convinces us that the world situation has substantially improved. This has become possible thanks to the steady growth and further strengthening of the forces of peace, national independence and social progress, and to the consolidation of their decisive link, that is, real socialism.

119. Evidence of the fresh successes of the national

liberation and revolutionary movements of peoples can be found in the historic victory of the Vietnamese people in its struggle against the aggression of the major imperialist Power, the creation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the victory of the people's democratic revolution in Afghanistan, the establishment of people's revolutionary power in Kampuchea, and the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in Nicaragua and of the monarchist régime in Iran, and so forth. The further deepening of the process of social liberation of peoples is manifested by the profound socio-economic changes in socialist Ethiopia, the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the People's Republic of the Congo and other young States.

120. Today we welcome Saint Lucia, another young State which has joined the family of the United Nations.

121. The non-aligned movement plays an ever-more positive role in world affairs. The Sixth Conference of the non-aligned countries recently held in Havana was an event of great international significance. It will undoubtedly occupy an important place in the struggle of peoples for the deepening of détente, for disarmament and for their national and social liberation, and against imperialism, racism and neo-colonialism.

*Mr. Sinclair (Guyana), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

122. Thanks to the initiatives and efforts of the socialist countries, a substantial shift has taken place in the relations among the States of Europe, which was reaffirmed in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975, in the corresponding bilateral treaties of the USSR, the Polish People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic with the Federal Republic of Germany.

123. An increasing role in the vital cause of strengthening peace and developing international co-operation is played by the United Nations. An important step has been taken towards harmonizing its activities with the world movement of the peoples for the prevention of a nuclear world war and for disarmament, a movement which is growing in strength.

124. In the 1970s a series of treaties and agreements on limiting the arms race and on disarmament has been concluded. Among them, the new Treaty on the Limitation of Strategic Offensive Armaments, which was signed at Vienna on 18 June 1979 between the USSR and the United States of America, is of exceptional importance. This Treaty lays the necessary foundation for subsequent substantive steps on the quantitative and qualitative limitation and reduction of the most destructive types of weapons, gives a further impetus to the ongoing disarmament negotiations and favourably influences the international climate as a whole. We are convinced that the earliest possible ratification of this Treaty would be responsive to the vital interests of the peoples of the world. The Treaty is too important for mankind to become a subject of political manipulations by groups in a particular country.

125. Steady change in the correlation of forces in favour of peace, national independence and social pro-

gress of peoples has brought a positive shift in international relations, which is today called détente. We certainly do not minimize the importance of the display of reason and realism in the ruling circles of the West, of their recognition of the fact that there is no alternative to détente.

126. At the same time, we cannot and should not fail to take into account the fact that the opponents of détente have not laid down their arms. On the contrary, their actions of late have been intensified through the alarming collusion of the reactionary forces of imperialism and great Power chauvinism and expansionism. Plans to station in Europe new nuclear armaments, the creation of various expeditionary forces, the intensification of the military presence of the United States in the Indian Ocean and the Far East and the attempts to set up new military blocs in the Middle East, in Africa and in some other regions, as well as other similar actions by imperialist and reactionary forces, seriously vitiate the international atmosphere. Heavy responsibility rests with those forces which are to blame for the escalation of the arms race, the aggravation of existing hotbeds of international tension and the emergence of new ones.

127. The arms race and the anti-socialist and anti-Soviet campaign go hand in hand, as one is meant to justify the other. The essence of this policy lies in ensuring military superiority over the socialist world. The extreme danger of such a policy lies in the fact that in the world of today it verges on recklessness and adventurism.

128. The policy based on positions of strength stems from expansionist and hegemonistic ambitions. The essence of hegemonism is the violation of what is most sacred to all peoples, for it denies and encroaches on the undeniable right of others to live independently and freely. I believe that the serious concern of the Mongolian people regarding the policy of hegemonism is quite understandable. On the southern border of the Mongolian People's Republic is a country which in various ways continuously encroaches upon its sovereignty. On the other hand, we fully understand the hostile reaction of the Chinese representative here to the proposal of the Soviet Union to include on the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly the item on the "Inadmissibility of the policy of hegemonism in international relations" [A/34/243]. Those at whom the finger points always resort to deception and slander.

129. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic welcomes the new Soviet initiative as a timely and crucial one. Constructive consideration of this question, condemnation of hegemonism and the adoption of an appropriate decision based on the draft resolution submitted by the Soviet Union [*ibid.*, annex] would be an important step in the reaffirmation and the strengthening of the fundamental principles of the United Nations Charter, and would facilitate the improvement of the international situation as a whole.

130. We consider it logical that this question should be dealt with in the Security Council, the main organ of the United Nations for maintaining international peace, with a view to the subsequent elaboration of a binding rule that States renounce any policy of hegemonism in all its forms and manifestations.

131. For preserving and strengthening world peace and security, the question of ceasing the arms race and preventing the danger of a nuclear world war is of crucial importance.

132. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic considers that the main step to be taken in stopping the nuclear arms race is to reach an agreement on the cessation of the production of all types of nuclear weapons and the gradual reduction of their stockpiles until they have been completely destroyed. A specific proposal on this question was put forward by the socialist countries in the Committee on Disarmament in February this year [see A/34/27]. We deem it necessary that the General Assembly lend its authority to this important initiative and recommend that the Committee on Disarmament expedite its work on this problem.

133. A general and complete prohibition of nuclear-weapon tests would prevent what is called the technological nuclear arms race, the most dangerous of all. The progress so far achieved at the tripartite negotiations should be furthered in order to reach a positive solution to this vitally important issue in the near future.

134. The strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons assumes ever greater urgency, particularly in the light of reports on the intention of additional States to acquire nuclear weapons. The second Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons to be convened next year faces an urgent task, that of elaborating further effective measures aimed at promoting international co-operation in strengthening the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

135. Adoption of measures for the practical implementation of General Assembly resolution 33/72 entitled "Conclusion of an international convention on the strengthening of guarantees of the security of non-nuclear States", and for the achievement of an international agreement on the non-stationing of nuclear weapons on territories of States where there are no such weapons at present, would facilitate the strengthening of the régime of non-proliferation of nuclear weapons.

136. An agreement as early as possible on the text of a treaty on the prohibition of radiological weapons on the basis of the proposed USSR-United States joint document [see A/34/27, para. 56] would represent a concrete step in prohibiting another type of weapon of mass destruction.

137. The Mongolian People's Republic is in favour of accelerating the negotiations on the prohibition of chemical weapons as well as on the reduction of conventional weapons.

138. A concrete programme of international action to put an end to the arms race and to bring about disarmament through the creation of favourable conditions for this purpose was put forward by the socialist States members of the Warsaw Treaty in the documents of the Moscow 1978 meeting of the Political Consultative Committee of that Organization<sup>7</sup> and of the Budapest

1979 meeting of the Committee of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of those countries [see A/34/275-S/13344].

139. The Mongolian People's Republic considers, *inter alia*, most timely the proposal of the socialist countries to convene a conference, at the political level, of representatives of the States which participated in the Helsinki Conference to discuss the questions of strengthening détente and easing military confrontation in Europe. In our view, such a conference could in the first place deal with the problems of reaching an agreement among the participants of the Helsinki Conference on the renunciation of the use of nuclear and other types of weapons against each other. This proposal of the socialist countries is acquiring ever greater urgency in the light of the further build-up of NATO forces in Europe.

140. In this connexion the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic, on behalf of its Government, warmly welcomes the new initiative of the Government of the Soviet Union aimed at reducing military confrontation in Europe, that is, its decision to withdraw from the territory of the German Democratic Republic within the next 12 months up to 20,000 Soviet servicemen and 1000 tanks, and its readiness to reduce the number of nuclear systems deployed in the western part of the USSR provided that the other side renounces the deployment of additional nuclear-missile weapons on the territories of the European States members of NATO. My delegation hopes that this new act of goodwill on the part of the socialist countries, which meets the interest of strengthening peace and security in Europe and the world, will find a positive response on the part of the Western countries. I should further like to point out that this positive step by the socialist countries offers new possibilities for furthering the Vienna talks on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe. Progress in these talks clearly depends on the readiness of the Western countries to abide by the principle of equal security.

141. The delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic is convinced that the consideration of the whole complex of disarmament problems in the widest and most authoritative international forum—the World Disarmament Conference—could facilitate the adoption of effective disarmament measures, in particular in implementing the main provisions of the Final Document of the Tenth Special Session of the General Assembly [resolution S-10/2], devoted to disarmament. We are in favour of the early convening of such a Conference at a level sufficiently high to permit the adoption of practical decisions.

142. The Mongolian People's Republic, like many other States, favours the speediest elaboration and conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations which would represent an important political guarantee of the security of States, and would considerably strengthen mutual trust among them, thus creating a favourable political climate for furthering disarmament objectives.

143. The disarmament talks would be greatly enhanced by the adoption, at this session of the General Assembly, of a declaration on international co-operation for disarmament, the draft of which has been presented by the delegation of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic [A/34/141/Add.1]. Such a declara-

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1978*, document S/12939.

tion, which unifies the political principles in the approach of States to the vital issues of disarmament, would facilitate purposeful and effective negotiations in this field.

144. The Mongolian People's Republic naturally attaches particular importance to the problems of strengthening peace and security in Asia. In many parts of the vast continent people are still suffering from continual armed conflicts provoked by the forces of international reaction. Dangerous focal-point of tension continue to exist in Asia and even new ones are being created, threatening world peace and security. Moreover, there is evidence of the intensification of co-ordinated actions of the forces of imperialism, hegemonism and militarism in the Far East and in Asia as a whole. If further development of such events is not prevented, Asia could become a source of real danger to the cause of peace, national independence and the social progress of peoples. The Mongolian people, who 40 years ago, experienced the harmful consequences of the policy of connivance with the forces of war and reaction, cannot remain aloof in the face of the present trend, when the policy of hegemonism, spearheaded primarily against the socialist countries, is being encouraged in every way. In May 1939, militaristic Japan, which served as the Far Eastern bastion of the then "anti-Comintern pact", attacked the Mongolian People's Republic in great strength in order to convert it into a springboard of its further aggression against the Soviet Union. On the basis of the 1936 agreement between the two countries, the Soviet Union came to Mongolia's aid. The joint victory of the members of the new socialist world over one of the vanguards of imperialism in a fierce war, which was waged until 31 August 1939, that is to say, until the very beginning of the Second World War, remains of historical importance in the struggle of peoples against the forces of war and reaction.

145. Events occurring on the Indochinese Peninsula demonstrate the great danger posed by the hegemonistic, expansionist actions of forces which consider that it is their right to "teach a lesson" to other peoples and countries by the use of armed force.

146. The Mongolian People's Republic, like the rest of the world community, has resolutely condemned the armed aggression and continuing intrigues of the Chinese authorities against the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and fully supports the struggle of the Vietnamese people in defence of its revolutionary gains, independence and the territorial integrity of its country.

147. Our people also strongly condemns Peking's encroachments on the national independence, territorial integrity and revolutionary gains of the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea. We express our warm solidarity with the peoples of Laos and Kampuchea.

148. In this connexion, I should like to note that the decision of the General Assembly to recognize the "credentials" of the representative of the bloodthirsty régime of Pol Pot and Ieng Sary, rejected by the Kampuchean people, is a black mark against this Organization and is in flagrant contradiction of the aims and principles of its Charter.

149. We wish to state once again that only the rep-

resentatives of the lawful Government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea are entitled to represent that country in the United Nations and the other international organizations.

150. The events in Afghanistan reveal that the reactionary forces are not willing to accept the fact that the new Government of Afghanistan is carrying out radical progressive transformations, having opted for the road towards building a society free from man's exploitation of man. We express our solidarity with the friendly Afghan people in their struggle in defence of the fruits of the people's democratic revolution from the encroachments of international reaction and their accomplices.

151. The Mongolian People's Republic holds the view that the Camp David deal and the so-called peace treaty between Egypt and Israel have betrayed the vital interests of the Arab peoples, in particular those of the people of Palestine, have created new obstacles to the achievement of a just peace in the Middle East and help to strengthen the position of imperialism and its allies in this region. The expansion of the Israeli aggression against Lebanon and the incitement of the separatist forces in the country is clear evidence of this. The Mongolian people stands on the side of the long-suffering Lebanese people in their struggle for the defence of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country.

152. The Mongolian People's Republic upholds the well-known position on the comprehensive and just settlement of the Middle East problems which is supported by the peace-loving world community.

153. The Mongolian People's Republic consistently supports the struggle of the Korean people for the peaceful and democratic reunification of their country and is in favour of the immediate implementation of resolution 3390 B (XXX), which provides for the withdrawal of foreign troops from the southern part of Korea and the dissolution of the so-called United Nations Command.

154. We advocate the strict implementation of relevant resolutions of the United Nations which reaffirm respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and its non-aligned status. In the opinion of the Mongolian delegation, the most appropriate instrument for the settlement of the Cyprus problem would be the convening of an international conference under the aegis of the United Nations.

155. The present situation in Asia urgently requires from the Asian States active joint efforts for the prevention of dangerous developments on that continent, for the strengthening of mutual understanding, trust and co-operation as the basic prerequisite for ensuring peace and security.

156. The Mongolian People's Republic, which consistently advocates the improvement of relations and the development of mutually advantageous co-operation among all States, welcomes the beginning of negotiations between the USSR and the People's Republic of China on the normalization of their relations. The progress of these negotiations would help to improve the political climate not only in Asia, but in the world at

large. I would hope that both sides will equally be guided by this objective.

157. The situation in southern Africa remains a dangerous hotbed of international tension. The major Western Powers, in collusion with the racist régimes, are intensifying their intrigues aimed at slackening and undermining the national liberation struggle of peoples. Various manoeuvres, designed to impose neo-colonialist régimes on the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe through the so-called internal settlements and bogus elections, are being stepped up.

158. The Government of the Mongolian People's Republic believes that a genuine solution to the problem of southern Africa should be found through the elimination of the racist and colonialist régimes and the system of *apartheid*, and through the transfer of full power to the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe in the person of their legitimate representatives—SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe. In this connexion my delegation attaches great importance to the decisions taken by the OAU [see A/34/552] and the Sixth Conference of Heads of States or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [see A/34/542] on the question of southern Africa. The Mongolian People's Republic also advocates strict implementation of the relevant decisions and resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations in this area as one of the main prerequisites facilitating the struggle of the peoples of this region.

159. Thirty years have elapsed since the establishment of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance—the organization of equal co-operation of the socialist States. This co-operation is an important factor for the dynamic development of their economies, the increased well-being of their peoples and for bringing the economies of all the members of the Council to the same level.

160. The share of the socialist community in the world production of national income and industrial output, as well as in other important economic indicators, has steadily increased. Today the countries members of The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, whose population constitutes 10.4 per cent of the world's total, account for one third of the world's industrial output and 25 per cent of the world's national income, as against 18 and 15 per cent, respectively, 30 years ago.

161. The ties between the socialist countries develop the new type of international relations based on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and mutual assistance. This new type of relations, in its essence, represents that very new international economic order which the developing countries are striving to have universally established.

162. The democratization of international economic relations on the basis of equality, mutual advantage and mutual support has an important role to play in overcoming the economic backwardness young States have inherited from their colonial past.

163. At this session, we have heard repeated appeals by the representatives of the Western Powers to display solidarity and to recognize the need for interdependence in order to overcome economic difficulties. It is axiomatic, certainly, that no country, however econo-

mically powerful it may be, can manage without international economic links. All countries benefit from equal economic co-operation. But when the developing countries raise the question of the democratization of existing international economic relations, of making them free from exploitation and *diktat*, the entire matter comes up against a blank wall erected by the West. Such hindrance of natural and legitimate processes gives rise to abnormal and crisis situations.

164. My delegation would like to point out that within the framework of the United Nations much has been done with regard to the elaboration of principles and programmes of action aimed at promoting the establishment of the new international economic order. In particular, we have in mind the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. It is now imperative that practical measures be taken in the 1980s. In our opinion, this places a great responsibility upon the major conferences on economic matters that will be held at the beginning of the 1980s, such as the special session of the General Assembly on questions of economic development and co-operation. Preparations for these conferences should have as their aim the elaboration of concrete measures for the normalization and democratization of international economic relations.

165. My delegation expresses the hope that the present session will see the adoption of decisions that will promote the cause of deepening détente, strengthening international peace and developing co-operation. It is precisely along these lines that the Mongolian delegation will make every effort to contribute to the successful conclusion of the work of this session.

166. Mr. PACHARIYANGKUN (Thailand): I wish at the outset, on behalf of my Government and my delegation, to extend to Ambassador Salim, a great son of Africa, my warm congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-fourth session of the General Assembly. Owing to his long experience in the many facets of United Nations affairs, I am confident that our deliberations during the current session will produce fruitful results under his wise guidance. The delegation of Thailand pledges its full co-operation and support in making this session of the General Assembly a successful one.

167. I should also like to express my sincere appreciation to the outgoing President, Ambassador Liévano of Columbia, for his contribution to the success of the last session.

168. We should also like to thank the Secretary-General for his dedicated efforts towards the maintenance of peace and the promotion of international understanding and co-operation.

169. The African continent remains in the forefront of the struggle for just and equal treatment of all peoples, regardless of race or colour. My delegation maintains its steadfast support of this historic struggle and is firmly opposed to the racist policies and practices being employed against the black majority in southern Africa, particularly the abominable crime of *apartheid*. We are

following the London meeting on Zimbabwe with close attention, and are more than ever convinced that the right of self-determination of peoples, in accordance with the principles of the United Nations Charter and with relevant resolutions, must ultimately prevail. Thailand's position in this regard applies to other areas of the world as well.

170. In the Middle East, my delegation fully recognizes the legitimate and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people that have repeatedly been upheld by the United Nations. Israel must relinquish its illegal occupation of Arab territory forthwith and, in the meantime, it must respect the rights of the Arab people in the occupied territories. Thailand thus joins the overwhelming majority of world public opinion in deploring the establishment of Israeli settlements, as well as all efforts to transfer ownership of Arab lands in such territories. At the same time, my delegation is convinced that all States in the area have the right to exist in security and with freedom from external aggression or armed intervention.

171. In South-East Asia, as a result of Vietnamese armed intervention, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea was toppled and replaced by the so-called United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea. The members of the Association of South East Asian Nations [ASEAN], concerned by this turn of events, and in particular by its security implications and its possible impact on the delicate political equilibrium in the region, quickly convened a meeting of their Foreign Ministers at Bangkok. In the Joint Statement<sup>8</sup> issued at Bangkok on 12 January 1979, the ASEAN Foreign Ministers strongly deplored the armed intervention against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and called for the immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchean territory. Further, they reaffirmed the right of the Kampuchean people to determine their own future, free from interference or influence by outside Powers. These points were later incorporated into the draft resolution presented to the Security Council several days later by all of its non-aligned members.<sup>9</sup> Unhappily, despite the support of 13 of the 15 members of the Council, this draft resolution was not adopted because of the negative vote cast by a permanent member.

172. The prospects for peace and stability in South-East Asia were further dimmed when, on 17 February 1979, Chinese troops made an armed incursion into Vietnamese territory. The ASEAN countries were gravely concerned that the fighting would escalate into a larger conflagration involving other Powers from outside the region. They therefore sought yet again to end the fighting by making their appeals to the parties concerned in the United Nations. Their efforts were finally expressed in the form of a draft resolution submitted for consideration by the Security Council on 16 March of this year.<sup>10</sup> The operative paragraphs of that draft resolution called on the parties to the conflicts to cease all hostilities forthwith, to withdraw their forces to their own countries and to settle their disputes by peaceful means. The draft also appealed to Powers outside the region to exercise the utmost restraint and to refrain

from any acts that might lead to a further escalation of the conflicts in Indo-China. When it was put to the vote it again received the support of 13 member countries, but failed to be adopted owing to the negative vote of the same permanent member. The fact that the ASEAN countries chose to deplore both the Chinese incursion into Viet Nam and the Vietnamese intervention in Kampuchea fully and clearly demonstrated their earnest desire to remain neutral in the conflicts, from which position they hoped to be able to exert a stabilizing influence on the developments in the region.

173. As a result of the inability of the Security Council to take any action on the Kampuchean issue, the fighting in Kampuchea raged on and, indeed, expanded westward. Many divisions of Vietnamese forces deployed along the Thai-Kampuchean border have created tension and the situation there is fraught with grave danger. Any renewed fighting—and the fighting is most likely to escalate with the end of the rainy season—could have serious repercussions on regional and international peace and security.

174. It has nevertheless been and will continue to be my Government's unswerving policy to remain neutral and not involved in the conflict between the two socialist States, with both of which Thailand maintains diplomatic relations. However, we are also determined to protect our independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. In this regard, Thailand is most gratified that our ASEAN partners, as well as many other friendly countries, have shown their willingness to support us. This was evident in the communiqué and statements of the Twelfth ASEAN Ministers Meeting held on 29 June 1979 in Bali, Indonesia.

175. The decision taken by a vast majority of the membership of this Assembly on 21 September [4th meeting] to maintain the *status quo* on the question of the Kampuchean seat very clearly reflected the following facts.

176. First, the majority felt that to alter the *status quo* at this point and in the present circumstances would imply a sanctioning of international behaviour not in conformity with the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

177. Secondly, although a country may disagree with the internal conduct of another sovereign State, that by no means gives it a justification for resorting to armed intervention against that State—an act which is in flagrant violation of the principles of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

178. Thirdly, the right of self-determination must be upheld and all States, whether large or small, should be able to continue to look to the United Nations as an Organization based on internationally recognized legal and moral principles.

179. For Thailand's part, our firm position on this question of the Kampuchean seat was motivated neither by any outside power nor by animosity towards any country. However, we strongly believe that principles governing peaceful relations among States and the self-determination of nations must be strictly adhered to. This is vital, not only for Thailand but also for the future of the South-East Asian region and the world as a whole.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, Thirty-fourth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1979, document S/13025.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13027.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, document S/13162.

180. Our overriding desire is for the people of Kampuchea to be given the opportunity to determine their own future in the exercise of their inalienable right to choose their own government, free from outside interference or coercion. Furthermore, we in Thailand have a sincere desire to continue to develop good bilateral relations with all three Indo-Chinese States, including Viet Nam, and to co-operate with all in the interests of peace and stability in the region of South-East Asia.

181. One of the unfortunate results of the conflict in Kampuchea is the prevailing large-scale famine and starvation in that war-torn country. That is a serious humanitarian issue which requires urgent attention by and immediate assistance from the world community. If nothing is done to alleviate the situation, it will produce a new exodus of Kampuchean people into neighbouring countries, thus creating further tension as well as threatening regional peace and stability.

182. In this regard, the Thai Government welcomes the efforts being made by international organizations and interested donor countries to send food relief to Kampuchea and will continue to render its full co-operation in those relief efforts. It is only logical to expect that the food should reach the Kampuchean civilian population, for whom it is intended, directly on a non-discriminatory basis, and that such relief aid should not serve to prolong the fighting and bloodshed in Kampuchea.

183. The effort at this Assembly of Thailand and other countries members of ASEAN with regard to the Kampuchean situation is to call for continued world efforts to arrive at a political and not a military solution to this problem. Continuation of a military solution will only add to the untold misery and deprivation already suffered by the Kampuchean people and it could lead to grave consequences for the region and for the world as a whole. We therefore continue to support any peaceful political solution to the conflict that is acceptable to the Kampuchean people themselves and that will ensure the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of that war-ravaged country. In pursuit of these aims, we believe that this world Organization would be in a unique position to make a lasting contribution if it were entrusted with a peace-keeping role in the area of conflict. Furthermore, under the auspices of the United Nations or of its Secretary-General, an appropriate opportunity could be found and facilities provided for the parties concerned to engage in a dialogue with a view to finding a durable peaceful solution to the conflict. In any event, the demands of the situation require that all peace-loving nations here in this Assembly should work together for the cause of peace in South-East Asia, as well as for the right to self-determination for Kampuchians and all peoples in the region. A positive solution to the Kampuchean problem will no doubt contribute significantly to the efforts of South-East Asian countries in the realization of the concept of the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in the region.

184. The establishment of a zone of peace in South-East Asia remains one of the goals to which the ASEAN countries are committed. We continue to look forward to the day when that region will be free from major Power rivalry and interference, and all the nations in the area can live in peaceful coexistence with one another. Although it is the main responsibility of the

South-Eastern Asian countries themselves to create the necessary conditions for the establishment of such a zone, it will nevertheless require the active co-operation and support of the international community, particularly the major Powers.

185. Let me now turn to one of the grave problems facing mankind today, a problem closely linked to the conflicts in Indo-China, that is, the Indo-Chinese refugees.

186. Since the end of the tragic Viet Nam war in 1975, hundreds of thousands of displaced persons have left Laos, Kampuchea and Vietnam for new opportunities elsewhere. Recently the plight of the boat people from Viet Nam has attracted much publicity and captured the world's attention. However, from 1975 on displaced persons from Laos and Kampuchea have trekked overland into Thailand and the influx continues unabated. Today there are approximately 200,000 such "land cases" in Thailand who are being given temporary shelter, food, clothing and medical care in addition to another 7,000 boat cases from Viet Nam and Kampuchea. My country, purely for humanitarian reasons, has agreed to give temporary refuge to them, pending permanent resettlement in third countries. But this large and continuing influx has created a multitude of security, political and socio-economic problems for Thailand and has imposed on the Thai Government and people a heavy financial and administrative burden, which is only partially alleviated by assistance from the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as from other international sources. Many of these displaced persons have been in Thailand for over three years, and so far only one in every 10 displaced Laotians and Kampuchians has been repatriated for resettlement elsewhere. We in Thailand became convinced that the heavy burden involving the Indo-Chinese refugees, both the land and the boat cases, must be shouldered by the whole international community, and not just left to the transit countries in South-East Asia alone. This conviction of ours was further reinforced when over 80,000 Kampuchians came over into Thailand by land in the aftermath of Vietnamese armed intervention against Kampuchea, thus imposing an extraordinary burden on Thailand and creating grave dangers to its security and stability.

187. When the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mrs. Margaret Thatcher, proposed that an international conference be convened under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations to consider the problem of refugees and displaced persons in South-East Asia, my Government strongly supported it. The Thai delegation subsequently took an active part in the Meeting on Refugees and Displaced Persons convened by the Secretary-General in Geneva on 20 to 21 July of this year. The international community at long last showed a greater willingness to share the heavy humanitarian burden with countries of first transit in concrete and meaningful ways. The resettlement places offered by third countries increased to 260,000 and \$US 190 million in cash and kind were pledged. The Government of Japan generously offered to cover half of the budget for the High Commissioner's operations in South-East Asia. My delegation would like to express once again our deep appreciation to the Secretary-General for his personal efforts in convening the Geneva Meeting to deal with the humanitarian aspects of the problem. While the results were encouraging, we



believe they fell short of providing an over-all and lasting solution to the problem, because the question of the "land cases", which constitute the bulk of Indo-Chinese displaced persons, was not sufficiently dealt with.

188. I wish to reiterate here the principles which the Thai delegation submitted at the Geneva meeting. These principles must be strictly adhered to if we are to have an equitable and successful humanitarian solution to the problem of Indo-Chinese refugees and displaced persons. They are: first, in any effort to solve the problem, equality must be given to both land and boat cases; secondly, more processing centres must be established, particularly in Viet Nam and other countries of origin, with international assistance and under the High Commissioner's auspices, for both land and boat cases; thirdly, those who have been the longest in temporary camps or processing centres must be given prior opportunities for resettlement in third countries.

189. At Geneva, regrettably, it was deemed politically advantageous not to examine the root-cause of the departure of so many refugees and displaced persons from the three Indo-Chinese States. It was pointed out that this was better left to another appropriate meeting at a later stage. Subsequently, however, political considerations seemed to paralyse further initiatives, and the idea of a follow-up meeting dissipated. In this connexion, the Thai Government is of the opinion that no durable solution of the land cases emanating from Kampuchea and Laos is possible unless and until we tackle the problem at its root. During the Geneva Meeting, Viet Nam undertook "for a reasonable period of time" to stem the illegal outflow of "boat people". Thailand and its partners in ASEAN welcomed this commitment on the part of Viet Nam. In this respect, it is the fervent hope of the Thai Government that a similar agreement reached recently between Thailand and Laos will help stem the illegal flow of people from Laos into Thailand. In Kampuchea, the root-cause of the problem is the foreign armed intervention and the continued fighting there. Another factor is the widespread famine in that war-ravaged country. Unless fighting stops and a peaceful condition returns, with due recognition of the political and other rights of the Kampuchean people, there will be no lasting solution to the refugee problem.

190. As for the future, my Government would support the convening of an appropriate international forum to deal comprehensively with the land cases in South-East Asia in order to find effective solutions to this serious problem confronting all of us in the international community.

191. Another grave problem confronting the international community, especially the youth of today, is that of narcotics. Thailand has been engaged in major efforts with the United Nations and like-minded nations to eradicate the illegal production of narcotics and to disrupt drug trafficking via Thailand. The many significant seizures of opium and heroin in Thailand during the past year, as well as the arrest of major drug traffickers, testify to the strong determination of my Government to expurgate this evil. Meanwhile, the United Nations Fund for Drug Abuse Control has, for the past five years, been performing commendable services through its programme to encourage hill-tribe farmers in my country to change from poppy cultivation to other crops. It has, furthermore, been helping to develop

crop substitutes, such as coffee, vegetables and fruits, which would bring these hill-tribe farmers equivalent or even higher incomes. At present, the Thai authorities are working with members of the Fund to extend these successful projects to a wider area.

192. I turn now to economic problems. During the past 12 months the world has been faced with increasingly grave economic difficulties. Inflation and unemployment have reached a new high in many countries. Protectionism has unfortunately increased, foreign trade has slowed down and the rate of economic growth has been slow and erratic. The developing countries have found it more and more difficult to finance reasonable rates of development. This universal problem has been further exacerbated by recent substantial increases in the prices of energy-related products. There have been some improvements here and there, such as the recent trade negotiations undertaken by parties to GATT and the agreement on the fundamental elements of a common fund for commodities, the employment of quotas and the increase in special drawing rights in September 1978. But, on the whole, those ongoing multilateral negotiations have failed to achieve adequate results commensurate with the existing magnitude of the need.

193. A new impetus in the North-South negotiations is needed. This could be achieved only through the exhibition by all parties concerned of a real political will to reach practical solutions. The international community needs to move vigorously in two areas specifically. First, negotiations on the implementation of the New International Economic Order need to be stimulated and brought out of the present stalemate. Secondly, the world energy problem needs to be solved by a co-ordinated and imaginative effort on the part of the whole international community. Thailand supports the view of the Group of 77 that the international energy problem should be discussed in the context of global negotiations within the United Nations, with the participation of all countries and in relation to such other issues as the problems of development, financial and monetary reforms and international trade and commodities, all of which have an important bearing on the establishment of the New International Economic Order. My delegation believes that the United Nations, which is well equipped with machinery for intergovernmental discussions and negotiations, is the ideal forum where all these efforts could best be carried out.

194. I should also like to take this opportunity to offer my delegation's warm welcome to Saint Lucia, the newest and one hundred fifty-second Member of our world Organization, admitted at the beginning of this session.

195. Lastly, I turn to the role of the United Nations itself. To the oft-heard question whether this world Organization is in a position today to contribute effectively to the solution of the problems confronting the international community, in my delegation's opinion the answer is an unreserved "yes". One of the principal roles of this Organization, through its various organs, is to help form world opinion on some of the most pressing issues, to create an awareness of the problems confronting individual countries or the world community as a whole and then to find constructive and durable solutions for them. It is with such faith in the continuing usefulness of the United Nations that my country

attaches great importance to it and pledges its full support for the further success of this world Organization.

196. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): Our association with Ambassador Salim in his capacity as Chairman of the special Committee on decolonization gives me added pleasure as I offer him our congratulations on his election as President of this session of the General Assembly.

197. I take this opportunity also to thank his predecessor, Ambassador Liévano, for the manner in which he conducted the previous session of the General Assembly.

198. Early this year I had the honour and pleasure of representing my country at the independence celebrations in Saint Lucia. It is therefore a matter of particular pleasure for me to welcome it to our Organization and to extend our co-operation to it.

199. Nine years ago today, Fiji became a Member of the United Nations. The intervening nine years have for us been full of excitement in our endeavours to build a nation based on tolerance and mutual understanding. We have had our successes, and our disappointments also. However, the experience of being independent, of being able to decide things for ourselves, has been exhilarating and challenging.

200. We have during this same period enlarged our circle of friends, first within the region. We have witnessed the emergence of new nations in the South Pacific—Papua New Guinea, Tuvalu, the Solomons, and Kiribati. We look forward to the New Hebrides next year assuming its rightful place, and we also hope that others too in the South Pacific will join the expanding group of independent States in the region.

201. Since becoming independent we have tried to foster regional co-operation because we believe that for us in the South Pacific, scattered, as we are, over a large expanse of ocean, there are problems that are best resolved on a regional basis. Arising out of this belief, we have encouraged and participated very actively in the establishment and development of several regional institutions: the University of the South Pacific, the South Pacific Forum and its executive arm the South Pacific Bureau for Economic Co-operation, the South Pacific Commission and, the most recently created, the South Pacific Fishery Agency.

202. Speaking of widening our circle of friends, we have been more than encouraged by the wide range of assistance we have received from many since we became independent. In particular, we are grateful to our near neighbours Australia and New Zealand, to the United Kingdom and the European Economic Community, among others, and, finally, to the United Nations itself and its specialized agencies. The fact that we are a party to the Lomé Convention<sup>11</sup> has provided us with a unique opportunity to forge new links with Africa. It has also given us a better perspective and insight concerning Africa and its aspirations to social, economic and political betterment. Moreover, this membership has enabled us to continue our contacts with the Carib-

bean countries with which we share certain common characteristics and development objectives.

203. In the United Nations itself, the most important benefit we have derived is the opportunity to be heard. No other international forum exists which treats States of different sizes, wealth and power on an equal footing, as does the United Nations. It is vital that this important characteristic remain intact. It would in our view destroy the universal character of the United Nations if Member States were categorized on any basis other than that of sovereign equality.

204. Equally, another most important advantage of being a Member of the United Nations is the opportunity it affords us to participate in the discussion of a wide range of issues many of which affect us nationally, regionally and on the international level. Again, our participation on an equal footing with many others who are better endowed with resources is an advantage that we value very greatly. In this regard we have attempted to play an active role, especially through our membership of the Special Committee on decolonization, UNDP and, of course, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, to name but a few areas. These are very positive elements in our experience as a Member.

205. An area in which we have always had great interest and concern is that of human rights. We are concerned because our own society is a multiracial, multicultural and multireligious one, and, in our view, in such a society great care and sensitivity are needed to ensure that no segment of the community is deprived in any way.

206. We are of course saddened and discouraged by the continued violations of human rights in many parts of the world. We feel that violations, especially those that take place under the pretext of national security, diminish and lower the esteem in which our Organization should be held.

207. What makes it more disconcerting is that there are some who are ready to stand on the prosecutor's chair and point at others when their own record will not stand up to close scrutiny. At times, elements within our Organization have taken it upon themselves to be both judge and jury at the same time. Furthermore, the disparities and the wide gulf existing between the rhetoric uttered in the conference halls and what takes place on the ground has led many of those who are well disposed towards our Organization to lose their sense of equanimity. We also find a tendency for some to go by the letter of the law, so to speak, and to ignore certain realities. Speaking from this rostrum on 21 October 1970, our Prime Minister, the Rt. Hon. Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, observed that:

“the setting of standards must not assume that there are universal solutions to problems in all parts of the world. There must be particular diagnoses of the problems and special treatment for special cases.”<sup>12</sup>

208. We have followed with interest and concern the anguish of the boat people. We are encouraged by the

<sup>11</sup> ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. For the text, see document A/AC.176/7.

<sup>12</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1876th meeting, para. 212.

bold and courageous initiative taken by the Secretary-General to convene an international Meeting in Geneva to deal with this refugee situation. While the actions and assistance that flowed from the Meeting are to be commended, we believe that, if a permanent and durable remedy is to be found, clearly the root-causes of why so many people risk their lives to leave their own countries must be determined and resolved. Yet only too often we sense a reluctance on the part of our Organization to come to grips with such situations, particularly if the major Powers are involved.

209. While major international political difficulties remain unresolved, we are encouraged by some actions and movements of late. On Zimbabwe, for instance, we hope that the meeting now being held in London will lead to a happy and satisfactory conclusion for all concerned.

210. The resolution of the complex Middle East issue is urgent because genuine peace has remained elusive for the last 32 years. Speaking from this rostrum last year,<sup>13</sup> the representative of my delegation welcomed the bold initiatives that led to the Camp David agreements<sup>14</sup> and the signing of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel.<sup>15</sup> We have continued to follow closely the turn of events, including such developments as the recent Israeli withdrawal from some occupied territories, such as the Egyptian Sinai. But much remains to be done, for there are still Arab areas under Israeli occupation. If a just and enduring solution is to emerge in this long-troubled region, it is imperative that continued efforts be directed towards the attainment of a comprehensive solution, embracing all aspects of the question, including the national rights of the Palestinian people.

211. There is a wide consensus that the matter of Palestinian rights is at the heart of the Middle East question. It would therefore seem important to bring the Palestinian representatives into the negotiating processes. Recently, there have been some signs of contact and dialogue. We believe that such dialogue and discussions offer encouraging prospects for the peaceful solution of the entire problem. However, it needs to be reiterated that a just and lasting peace in the area could result from the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to their national homeland, as well as the acceptance of the rights of all States in the region, including that of Israel, to exist within secure and recognized borders.

212. While we have been encouraged by the Camp David initiative and the subsequent discussions between the parties involved, we have nevertheless noted with dismay the recent decisions concerning Israeli settlements and the sale of occupied Arab lands. We view these actions as counter-productive to the ongoing negotiations.

213. We continue to note with concern the inevitable effects, on Lebanon, of events in the Middle East only too often with tragic consequences. For Lebanon's

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Session, Plenary Meetings*, 28th meeting, paras. 34-67.

<sup>14</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

<sup>15</sup> Treaty of Peace between the Arab Republic of Egypt and the State of Israel, signed at Washington on 26 March 1979.

once thriving multicultural society seems almost to have lost the peace and stability it once enjoyed. The reality of the situation is that a sovereign State Member of the United Nations finds itself increasingly the victim of situations emanating largely from beyond its borders. And faced with this reality, my delegation feels it vital that the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon be respected.

214. Following a spate of violence, from which the practice of the so-called pre-emptive strikes cannot be divorced, a fragile peace appears to exist in Lebanon today. We are concerned at the continued attacks on targets in southern Lebanon, particularly when these affect civilian populations. We therefore appeal to all to exercise maximum restraint and thereby allow full normality to return to the area.

215. It was because of our firm commitment to international peace and security that we decided to contribute to the United Nations peace-keeping efforts in Lebanon. I need not dwell on the importance of the United Nations efforts in this regard, for the Secretary-General has treated this subject with his usual eloquence in his annual report to this Organization [A/34/1]. What must be recalled, though, is that peace-keeping responsibilities need not be the exclusive domain of some. For, after all, the maintenance of global peace and security remains the dominant preoccupation of this world Organization, and our practical contributions towards this end should, we believe, correspond with the solemn pledges that we undertook in accepting the provisions of the United Nations Charter.

216. Fiji remains committed to its participation in the United Nations peace-keeping operations in Lebanon. However, it would be less than honest of me not to mention the drain on our limited financial resources as a result of our participation. We are sure that other troop contributors to this most difficult peace-keeping operation, especially those from developing countries, also feel the financial strain. Yet, this would not be the situation if Member States adhered to their obligation to contribute to the peace-keeping operations of the United Nations. We call on the General Assembly to make a bold decision on this question during this session. The responsibility of peace-keeping is an international one and should not be left to the few. We hope that the rhetoric displayed by most of us on the question of peace will be matched by positive action. The Secretary-General, who is carrying out the direction of the Security Council in this regard, is placed in an impossible position when some refuse to honour their obligations.

217. We are encouraged to note that the formal adoption of a convention by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is envisaged for August 1980. Such an accomplishment would give a tremendous uplift to international co-operation within the United Nations system at a time when other multilateral negotiations now taking place within the framework of the United Nations are clearly facing difficulties. It is essential that all States should take urgent heed of the dangers of any further delay and reassess their positions to complete the long-sought convention. Any delay will not only jeopardize a rational use of the seas and its resources but will also cast a dark cloud on the ability of the United Nations to act as a forum for multilateral negotiations.

218. Many of the carefully negotiated and generally acceptable provisions of the negotiating texts of the Conference have already found recognition in much national legislation, thus allowing many States to claim appropriate jurisdictions and to assume appropriate obligations, particularly with regard to living resources of the sea. The development of the law relating to resource jurisdiction has been particularly significant to developing countries, such as my own, which are small islands. Under the protection of the newly recognized jurisdictions, fishing has become a significant export industry for my country. There is promise of substantial growth of this industry. However, like many others, we require assistance to develop these resources and co-operation in their rational use.

219. The most important species of fish that our fishing industry is dependent upon is tuna, and we call upon all States to recognize our sovereign rights over that species and other migratory species in our 200-mile exclusive economic zone. Such a recognition by all would be in accordance with the accepted norms of the law of the sea and is vital to our new industry. No form of assistance can be a substitute for the legitimate recognition of our sovereign rights over our own resources. In this respect, we look forward to the co-operation of distant-water fishing countries which have fleets in the region. We hope that it will not be necessary to ask the General Assembly to request an advisory opinion from the International Court of Justice on this issue.

220. In order to secure an orderly development of new jurisdictions over the living resources of our seas, Fiji has joined in regional co-operation with other South Pacific countries to set up the South Pacific Fishery Agency, whose main function is to harmonize fisheries policies in the region and to adopt a co-ordinated approach in their negotiations with distant-fishing countries. Although the South Pacific Fishery Agency is restricted to the countries members of the South Pacific Forum, a study is being made of the desirability of setting up a wider organization to include countries from outside the South Pacific with fishing fleets in the region to co-ordinate the conservation of highly migratory species such as tuna. It is our hope that our aspirations to develop a rational régime for the living resources of our region will acquire the full support and co-operation of all the countries concerned.

221. It would be superfluous and time-consuming were I to repeat the litany of outstanding economic issues which remain unresolved. Suffice to say that my delegation is hopeful that the ongoing international negotiations, some of which unhappily have come to a dead stop, will eventually lead to mutually satisfactory conclusions between the developed and developing countries.

222. Yet, one problem remains to be singled out because of the heavy burden it has imposed on economies such as ours. I refer to the ever-increasing cost of imported fuel.

223. Apart from the immediate needs of finding the necessary funds to pay for imported fuel, the long-term effects of this on development can be catastrophic. As we are a non-producer of oil, the high cost of imported fuel has severely eroded our slender balance of payments. This, we believe, is an area which requires ur-

gent international action if total disaster is to be avoided.

224. The problems faced by Fiji, and indeed our neighbours, in providing energy at a reasonable cost are similar to those of other developing countries, though perhaps exacerbated by our extreme dependence upon imported oil and the high cost of shipping it. As in most countries, efforts have been made since 1974 to conserve fuel and to exploit indigenous energy resources in order to reduce dependence upon costly and increasingly uncertain oil supplies. However, we cannot say that any of the various policies or activities adopted to reduce consumption of oil have had a measurable impact on total fuel imports, the over-all pattern of energy use or energy supplies to rural areas.

225. Within the Pacific Islands, the South Pacific Bureau of Economic Co-operation is being asked to establish a regional alternative energy programme and to monitor the terms under which we buy oil. On the global level, we feel that the international community will need to deal vigorously with the energy issue and launch a co-ordinated and imaginative effort in this field and, in particular, to address itself to the urgent problems of the oil-importing developing countries. In this regard, we also look forward to participating actively in the preparatory work of the United Nations Conference on New and Renewable Sources of Energy scheduled for 1981.

226. We also wish fully to associate ourselves with the declaration of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 [A/34/533 and Corr. 1, annex] calling for specific action to overcome economic problems arising from the handicaps facing the land-locked and island developing countries as well as the economic problems facing the most seriously affected countries.

227. Consistent with the need to overcome the impact of our special problems, Fiji actively participated in the negotiation of the new Lomé Convention between the European Economic Community and African, Caribbean and Pacific States. We have, of course, received relief from its STABEX scheme<sup>16</sup> and, despite its many short-comings, the scheme is tangible and operational. For countries such as Fiji, which depend greatly on their export earnings, the establishment of a scheme of stabilization of earnings will help the achievement of our development goals. Under its Sugar Protocol, Fiji, like other ACP sugar producers, has benefited greatly from the guarantee of a stable and reasonably remunerative market.

228. The Lomé agreement is an important beginning. It is a model of compromise and accommodation. It is, we think, a symbol of what can be achieved by positive and purposeful negotiations. But above all, it is a tangible instrument for the reordering of the economic relations of more than one-third of the Members of the United Nations.

229. This session marks the end of a decade and foreshadows what the world is likely to meet in the 1980s. It is so easy to become discouraged or to be complacent. Though no major war took place, proxy wars continue to be fought in many parts of the world. And in many parts of the world also, peace often re-

<sup>16</sup> Stabilization of export earnings.

mains as ephemeral as ever. Though the number of countries which have achieved independence has increased considerably since the decade which is now coming to an end, the quality of life of the many millions of men, women and children remain at an unacceptably low level. In our view, freedom and independence can only be meaningful if and when the living conditions of the poor and dispossessed are improved to a level in which they can live with dignity.

230. We believe that, in the coming decade, the United Nations itself must redouble its efforts in order to break what Pope John Paul II described as

“...the cycles of despair in which are imprisoned all those that lack food, shelter or employment; the cycles of under-development that are the consequences of international mechanisms that subordinate the human existence to the domination of partially conceived economic progress; and finally the inhuman cycles of war that spring from the violation of man’s fundamental rights and produces still graver violations of them.”

231. Mr. OULD TAYA (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of my Government, and also on my own behalf, I should like to convey to Ambassador Salim A. Salim our warm congratulations upon his unanimous election to the presidency of this session. That election is the eloquent testimony of the international community to his competence, his sense of responsibility, and his dedication not only to the cause of Africa but also to that of our Organization. Today more than ever we need those qualities in order to find the right path that will lead us towards the proper solutions to the problems of our world, which has been shaken by so many upheavals.

232. We also extend our congratulations to the former President, Mr. Indalecio Liévano, who guided the work of the thirty-third session with so much skill and efficiency.

233. Finally, we address our congratulations to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts to maintain the credibility and effectiveness of our Organization.

234. I should also like to take this opportunity to welcome Saint Lucia to the international community and to assure it of our co-operation.

235. Our Organization was born of the will of the States which are its Members to be the guarantor of the peace, justice and well-being of the whole of mankind. My country has been and remains firmly attached to these principles.

236. Mauritania is a peaceful country and has always aspired to be an element in bringing countries closer together and not an element of division, an element of balance and not one of discord or confrontation.

237. In keeping with this tradition, we wished to put an end once and for all, at least for our part, to the war which has been raging in our region for four years. In signing the Algiers Agreement of 10 August 1979 with the Frente POLISARIO [A/34/427-S/13503, annex I], my country has clearly indicated its intention to end the

war and to recognize the right to self-determination of the Saharan people. At the same time, Mauritania made public a declaration stating its strict neutrality in this conflict and its determination to live within its internationally recognized borders in a spirit of friendship, understanding and co-operation with all its neighbours.

238. The question of the Western Sahara is only one of the numerous and painful problems which our continent of Africa is facing, particularly in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

239. In mentioning the scourge of southern Africa, I should like here to pay a tribute to one of the greatest sons of our continent, Agostinho Neto. The premature death of President Neto is an irreparable loss for Angola, for Africa and for the whole of mankind. It further accentuates the drama of the peoples who live in this part of our continent and who are bravely fighting for their independence and dignity.

240. In Zimbabwe, formerly Rhodesia, the rebellion which has tried to assume legal forms has only further strengthened the determination of the freedom fighters, who consider, as we do also, the so-called elections which have taken place in the Territory as a disguised form of colonization and domination. In its manoeuvres, the Rhodesian régime is still continuing to pit Africans against Africans and to interfere in the affairs of the States which border on Zimbabwe by sowing destruction and death there.

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

241. It is therefore time that our Organization went beyond the stage of theoretical sanctions against the Salisbury rebels in order to adopt measures recommended by the Charter so as to impose the rule of law and justice in this part of Africa.

242. We are greatly gratified to see that the United Kingdom, the administering Power, and the other members of the Commonwealth decided during the course of the Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries, held at Lusaka last August to carry out further examination of the question in order to find a satisfactory solution to it [see A/34/439-S/13515, annex, para. 15]. We think that the support given to this plan by the front-line countries of Africa, and also the fact that the Patriotic Front has committed itself to the dynamic initiative thus launched, will create an auspicious occasion which the United Nations can exploit to help all parties reach a final negotiated solution to the drama of the people of Zimbabwe. The Mauritanian Government, for its part, will continue to give its active and unreserved support to the Patriotic Front until the advent of true and total independence in Zimbabwe.

243. In Namibia, despite the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, and despite the final opinion of the International Court of Justice,<sup>17</sup> the South African administration continues to impose its presence in a Territory which the United Nations was mandated to lead to independence.

<sup>17</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

244. A process had been launched on the basis of the plan of the five Western Powers<sup>18</sup> which embodied a reasonable framework for the settlement of the Namibian question. Having given its consent to the implementation of this plan, South Africa decided, contrary to all expectations, to violate its own commitments by organizing in Namibia elections to which nothing in the world could give legitimacy.

245. The degradation of human dignity has in this part of the world today reached its nadir. The strengthening of *apartheid* has led, despite the warnings of our Organization, to bantustanization, which today represents a challenge to the international community.

246. The Immorality Act, the Colour Bar Act, the Native Land Act, the Group Areas Act; in every respect, these weapons in the arsenal of laws and rules imposed on the South African people constitute an insult to ethics, justice and right. The paradox is that over the past years, we have been helpless witnesses of this policy of faits accomplis and of the escalation of violence as a consequence of the domination and exploitation of the South African people by the Pretoria administration.

247. The bloody crushing of the Soweto uprisings, and the murder on 12 September 1977 of the leader of the Black Consciousness movement, Steve Biko, have brought about a now irreversible situation of resistance and permanent struggle.

248. But the drama of southern Africa is unfortunately not the only one to pose a threat to international peace and security. In the Middle East, Israel continues to defy the international community and to act in violation of the Charter of our Organization and of the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council.

249. The peoples of Palestine and Lebanon continue to endure occupation, exactions, repression and murderous bombardments to which they are daily subjected by the Israeli army.

250. All the attempts undertaken in our Organization or in other forums to find a just and lasting solution to this problem have been balked by Israeli intransigence and its determination to continue its policy of occupation and of creeping colonization by occupying the Arab territories.

251. However, our Assembly has, in various resolutions, worked out the basis of a just and lasting solution to the problem of the Middle East; it has in fact perceived that the whole solution rests on the recognition of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. In this connexion, I should like to pay a tribute to the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, and to its President, Ambassador Médoune Fall, for the outstanding efforts they have made in respect of the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The General Assembly endorsed the recommendations of the Committee [*resolution 33/28 A*], which represent an important contribution to the sincere efforts already made to resolve this problem.

252. We believe that a just and durable peace in the Middle East depends on the restoration to the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the right to self-determination, to independence and to national sovereignty. Only such an approach could lead to a lasting settlement of the crisis in the Middle East. My Government is convinced of the need for the participation of the *PLO*, the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, on an equal footing with all the other parties in all conferences and negotiations.

253. Any attempt to ignore the *PLO* in the quest for a settlement of the Middle East conflict could only delay a solution to this conflict. My Government will continue to give its steadfast support to the Palestinian people and to their legitimate representative, the *PLO*, and to the brother Arab States in their bid to liberate their occupied territories; and we should also like to assure our Lebanese brothers of our unyielding support in their struggle for independence and national integrity.

254. Another problem which is still causing great anxiety to the international community is that of refugees. The flow of refugees in Africa and in South-East Asia is a source of deep concern to the international community.

255. My Government would like to pay tribute to the Secretary-General and to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for the laudable efforts that they have made in order to improve the situation and the living conditions of those refugees.

256. My Government believes that the application of various conventions, covenants and other rules of law governing the conduct and responsibility of Governments in this matter will greatly assist in improving the situation of the refugees and will help to alleviate their situation.

257. We nevertheless remain convinced that a final solution to this problem lies in respect by all States for the principles contained in the Charter of our Organization and, in particular, the principles concerning the settlement of disputes through peaceful means.

258. One of the causes of the exodus of refugees in South-East Asia is the conflict raging in that area. My country has never spared its efforts to try to help the countries of South-East Asia, and we do indeed hope that understanding, co-operation and solidarity will return to this part of the world, which a long and loyal friendship with the People's Republic of China and other States in this region has taught us to know and appreciate.

259. Colonization, the exploitation of man by man, racism and *apartheid*, are scourges of our times with which we have unfortunately become too familiar and against which we have been struggling with some success. But there is another scourge which is an equally dangerous threat to peace and stability in the world, the scourge of hunger. More than two thirds of mankind are threatened by famine. A minority of States continues to become richer; the remainder of mankind becomes more impoverished year by year. This must change. A frank and fruitful dialogue must be established between rich and poor, between industrialized and underdeveloped countries; in a word, a new economic order must be established.

<sup>18</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

260. We have had a series of "development decades," and others concerned with "development strategies," the "deterioration of the terms of trade," a "new international economic order," and so forth. Today it is the problem of energy that is in fashion, so to speak. In this connexion, I would draw the attention of the developing countries in particular to the insidious campaign that has been unleashed against the Arab oil-producing countries, a campaign whose motives and origins we are quite familiar with.

261. Since we last met here, the situation which has now come to be known as the North-South dialogue does not seem to have undergone any improvement sufficient to enable the international community to embark with justified optimism on the third United Nations development decade, the framework and objectives of which we are now trying to define.

262. This stagnation in a field which comprises questions of capital importance and predominates more and more, within our Organization, over all others, whatever their nature, is even more regrettable since, over the past 12 months, several meetings have been held to discuss such important problems as international trade, science and technology for development, agrarian reform, rural development and many others.

263. My country, which on many occasions has asserted and proved its faith in the United Nations as the sole appropriate framework within which world problems such as those that are now arising at the level of international economic relations can be usefully discussed, placed great hopes in the work of those various meetings held under the auspices of the United Nations.

264. These hopes were, we thought, even more well founded since the daily increasing imbalance in trade relations between North and South, the structural deficit characteristic of the balance of payments of most developing countries and the hunger and malnutrition to which hundreds of millions of human beings seemed to be condemned for ever constitute just some of the problems which continue to threaten the very survival of mankind. The urgency of the need to find adequate and over-all solutions to these problems no longer needs to be demonstrated, for it is becoming more and more clear that such an effort is not just in the interests of the developing countries alone, but in the interests of the international community as a whole.

265. To be sure, it proved possible to arrive at a consensus on a certain number of questions such as the programme of assistance to the least advanced countries. But without denying its importance, the results of the fifth session of UNCTAD, held at Manila this summer, seem quite scant if we consider the crucial problems which were included in its agenda—the transfer of technology, the indebtedness of developing countries, the international monetary system—for which not even the beginnings of a solution was produced.

266. However, we remain confident that the competent organs of UNCTAD, to which the questions that were not solved in Manila, have been referred, will be able to make headway in studying them. It would indeed be inadmissible and even dangerous if these problems were to remain intact until the sixth session of

UNCTAD. On the other hand, the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, held recently in Vienna, has, for its part, established measures<sup>19</sup> which, if faithfully and rapidly applied, would without any doubt contribute to remedying the lag of the developing countries in this field.

267. It is to be hoped that the special session which is to be devoted next year to economic development problems will enable us to remove some of the obstacles which still exist on the long and difficult path towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

268. That is why it is necessary to prepare its work very carefully. The Committee of the Whole Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174 has been working on this for more than two years. Born out of the awareness of the international community of the need to have within the United Nations itself a central organ entrusted with following and monitoring at the very highest level the implementation of the measures decided on for the establishment of a new, more just and more equitable world order, that Committee should, in our view, given the predominantly political role entrusted to it, constitute the ideal framework for substantial action-oriented negotiations in which precise *commitments* should be undertaken and precise measures established.

269. The pace of work of the Committee and the results obtained so far, which we can only term as modest, unfortunately do not encourage much optimism. However, we are convinced that with greater political will from the developed countries the Committee could successfully complete the task entrusted to it.

270. In conjunction with the preparation for the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, preparation is under way also for the third United Nations development decade. The work of the Committee entrusted with determining the outline of the strategy and defining its objectives<sup>20</sup> does not seem to be going ahead at a pace which would make possible the adoption of the strategy at the special session. It is to be hoped that, on a question of such importance for the future of mankind, solidarity and co-operation will prevail in the end.

271. As a country which is essentially agricultural and pastoral, Mauritania attaches special importance to the measures which will be established in the strategy in order to remedy the lag of the developing countries in the agricultural sector. In this connexion, our participation in the work of the World Conference on Agrarian Reform and Rural Development, held recently in Rome, clearly reflects our interest in this question. At its twentieth session, to be held in 1981, the General Conference of FAO should take the measures recommended to it by that World Conference, which were designed to help Member States in the implementation of the programme of action.

272. In view of the preponderant role of the agricultural sector in our economy, its evolution and di-

<sup>19</sup> Report of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, Vienna, 20-31 August 1979 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.I.21), chaps. VI and VII.

<sup>20</sup> Preparatory Committee for the New International Development Strategy.

versification have been greatly influenced by the lagging behind in agricultural production. This delay, as everyone knows, took the form of an increase in agricultural production of only 2.6 per cent per annum for the whole of the developing countries during the course of the second half of the 1970s, a rate much below the target of 4 per cent established for the Second United Nations Development Decade. But the rate was even lower in Africa and in Asia, where it fell spectacularly over the first half of the 1970s in low-income countries.

273. In Africa, this decline is due in part to particularly unfavourable climatic conditions, evidenced by a prolonged drought in the countries in the Sudano-Sahelian region. In Mauritania, the effects of this terrible scourge are still being felt in all sectors of the national economy, despite the pooling of efforts on the national and international levels.

274. In this connexion, I should like to express once again the gratitude of the Mauritanian Government and people to the countries and to the governmental or private organizations that have so generously responded to the appeals made on behalf of our populations, so sorely afflicted by 10 consecutive years of drought.

275. I have come to the end of my statement. On behalf of my Government, I have attempted to emphasize certain matters that, in our view, affect peace, stability and co-operation in our world, that peace and stability for which our Organization was created.

276. Mr. EIKENI (Samoa): Mr. President, your accomplishments are well known to the world body, and your personal competence as a diplomat has been so amply demonstrated that there is no need for me to elaborate further. I would merely wish to congratulate you and to express my delegation's deep satisfaction at your election to the presidency of the General Assembly. The honour is not only personally deserved, but it is highly appropriate that it should fall to your country, the United Republic of Tanzania.

277. I should also like to take this opportunity to express our appreciation of the leadership given the last session of the General Assembly by your predecessor, Ambassador Liévano, and to extend our good wishes to our Secretary-General as he continues to serve this Organization and its objectives with the dedication and integrity that we know so well.

278. We are extremely pleased to welcome Saint Lucia, a fellow Commonwealth country, as our new neighbour in this Assembly. We were honoured to be present at its recent independence celebrations, and we are now delighted to be sitting beside its delegation here.

279. Samoa is in a very tranquil part of the world. Tranquillity is so much a part of our life that we view with deep sympathy the situation of those who live under conditions that do not afford them the opportunity to do so in peace and dignity. From this viewpoint, also we find it not only reprehensible but often even difficult to comprehend the actions and attitudes of those who stand in the way of peace or who fail to embrace opportunities to fashion peace.

280. Consummate selfishness, whatever the cause—

be it greed, prejudice, arrogance or the personal ambition of individuals in positions of influence—has no place in this one globe we all share, and ought not be condoned or given sustenance, either directly or indirectly. We deplore oppression of people against their wishes, be it of one people by another or of a people by their leaders beyond the limits dictated by the legitimate needs of national security, harmony and progress.

281. The international community has been wrestling with the problem of Rhodesia for a long time. The people of that unfortunate country have suffered far too long. My country was heartened at the recent Lusaka Meeting of Heads of Government of Commonwealth Countries by the obvious desire of those closest to this issue to work for a lasting solution, once and for all. There must be genuine majority rule in Zimbabwe. We sincerely hope that the London talks that flowed from the Lusaka meeting will pave the way for a just and free Zimbabwe wherein an atmosphere of confidence and security will prevail for all its citizens.

282. Namibia has also been on the agenda of this world body for far too long. It is a blot on the record of the United Nations that South Africa has been able to defy not only the basic principles of human decency in its affairs, but also the clearly expressed views of the international community, by continuing its illegal occupation of Namibia. It is the obligation of the international community to use every means in its power—be it dialogue or, if that fails, then fully effective sanctions—to convince that country of the folly of its intransigence and isolationism and to persuade it to emancipate the Namibians, to dismantle its institutionalized and abhorrent practices and policies and to return to the community of nations to play the constructive role it is capable of fulfilling in regional and world development.

283. The Middle East region continues to remain a trouble-spot in the world. We open this session of the General Assembly at a time of difficult ongoing dialogue following the signing of the Middle East peace treaty. Samoa is pleased with the positive elements in this major breakthrough and with other initiatives to urge the parties towards a solution. Samoa's position on the Middle East question is clear. Just as our support for Israel's right to exist as a sovereign State within secure and recognized boundaries is fundamental to our approach to the dispute, so, too, is our conviction that the Palestinian people have a right to a homeland and to whatever national status they desire through the exercise of self-determination.

284. The Israelis and the Palestinians, through their legitimate representatives, must recognize these basic principles and must face them squarely. They must no longer keep each other at arm's length, but both must refrain from terrorism and violence, for such atrocities only serve to keep peace out of reach and to prolong the agony and suffering of the people of the region. The only justification for any national action or any political stand is the extent to which it achieves the welfare of the people involved. The people of the region deserve peace and an end to antagonism.

285. The courage shown by the leaders of Egypt and Israel in recent months deserves praise and support. It is disappointing, however, to see the continuing establishment of Israeli settlements in the occupied



territories at a time when the fragile peace process needs encouragement rather than obstacles if it is to gain the wider support and success it deserves. Similarly, continued violation of Lebanese territory endangers this aim.

286. The situation in Indochina gives my country cause for deep concern. We feel for the innocent victims. The desperate actions that they have had to take, the risks to life, and the hardships they have had to endure are fortunately receiving sympathetic response and assistance from the world community. We also feel for the neighbouring countries in the region.

287. It is difficult enough for developing countries to build up their economies and improve the well-being of their people without having to cope with the problems imposed by the troubles in Viet Nam and Kampuchea—troubles that are not of their own making but which threaten their security and distract them from the pursuit of the legitimate goals of prosperity and harmony in South-East Asia. Those in and outside the region who are causing or contributing to tension and uncertainty in South-East Asia must refrain from policies and actions which prevent the people of the area from living together in peace and harmony and which violate the basic principles of this Organization.

288. I cannot pass on without expressing our horror at the unspeakable atrocities inflicted on the Kampuchean people by the Pol Pot régime. We hope that it will not be long before the people of Kampuchea and, indeed, the entire region will be free from abuse and harassment.

289. A satisfactory resolution of the situation in Cyprus is still not within sight. The intercommunal talks provide the soundest opportunity for the achievement of a mutually acceptable solution and must be given every encouragement. The Secretary-General's role in reconvening those talks is to be applauded, and we urge all concerned, both Cypriot and non-Cypriot, to respect above all the right of both elements of the Cypriot population to devise together a solution that will guarantee the rights and freedom of all.

290. My Government has become increasingly alarmed at the seemingly endless reports of gross, even grotesque, violations of human rights from many areas of the world. These practices not only subject people to intolerable indignities but also, as we have seen, upset the peace and stability of the regions where they occur. In the United Nations we have procedures and institutions to assist in the promotion of human rights, but we feel that these must be strengthened. The United Nations must be in a position to take action—and take it speedily—so that these blots on the record of the human race do not continue unchecked. We therefore support the proposal to establish an office of a United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights. No country—unless it has something to hide—should fear such a proposal. But if the world body is not yet ready for such an office, then we would support the proposal made by Canada that a person widely accepted by the United Nations membership might be installed as under-secretary-general for human rights [8th meeting, para. 92]. A person of recognized prominence in the area of humanitarian causes could help give the priority to human rights that we feel is essential to the maintenance and protection of the dignity of mankind.

291. Economic issues are assuming an increasingly important dimension in international relations. The concept of an economic order based on justice and equality has already been widely accepted by the world community as both desirable and inevitable. We are of the view that there can be no genuine and lasting peace as long as inequalities and imbalances prevail.

292. It is of great concern to Samoa that, despite all the rhetoric, very little has been achieved in the negotiations of the serious economic issues confronting the world as a whole. The North-South dialogue has met neither the aspirations of the developing countries nor even the expectations of the developed countries.

293. The state of the world economy today has reached crisis proportions. This crisis stems in part from the deterioration in the terms of trade, mounting protectionism, soaring inflation, recession, the failure of some developed countries to meet the agreed target for official development assistance, the energy crisis and, most unfortunately, the lack of genuine political will on the part of some developed countries to make the necessary concessions and to engage in meaningful negotiations. The admittedly grim economic experience of the developed countries seems to have so paralysed political will in those countries that the demands of those whose circumstances are a great deal more desperate for basic reforms are not even considered but merely parried with recitations of the economic difficulties of the times. The over-all situation, however, demands courage and boldness of action by the developed countries.

294. The world economic crisis has its severest effect on the developing countries, and particularly the poorest or least developed among them. The need for a just and rational economic system is more urgent now than ever before in view of the ever-growing disparities between the economies of the developed and developing countries. In the face of those adverse economic trends, the international community must address and find urgent solutions to remedy the situation, because in the final analysis the ultimate guarantee for international security and lasting peace and prosperity is the economic well-being of all nations.

295. We are now on the threshold of the third United Nations development decade covering the 1980s and of the special session of the United Nations which will be held next year. We must strive to break the present impasse and seek new initiatives and approaches in order to achieve concrete results on the fundamental issues relating to economic reform. We should like to see emerge out of the special session an innovative and bold response to the challenges of the 1980s. That response must be realistic, practical and effective.

296. We see the new international development strategy for the next decade as an undertaking involving the entire international community, with the specific aim of achieving step by step the objectives of the new international economic order. We are heartened by the positive response so far shown by some developed countries to the proposal by the Group of 77 to launch a round of global and sustained negotiations on international co-operation for development [A/34/34, part three, annex I]. We hope other developed countries genuinely interested in improving the lot of the develop-

ing countries and, indeed, the world will readily support this proposal.

297. It is our sincere hope that the North-South dialogue will not degenerate into an exercise in rhetoric and confrontation between the "haves" and "have-nots" instead of a framework for constructive discussion aimed at facilitating decisions on the specific measures and innovations required to build confidence in individual countries and promote world-wide growth.

298. Discussion of the so-called new economic order in its entirety as a concept, and in an atmosphere of confrontation, too readily conjures up visions of abrupt, wide-scale changes and tends to create more apprehension and frustration than co-operation. The developing countries are seen to demand these changes in their totality with undisguised impatience. The developed countries, on the other hand, feel threatened by this zealous onslaught and tend to resist instinctively.

299. The continued growth of the developed economies is vital to the economic health of the world, but the growth of developing countries and the utilization of untapped potential in their economies are also vital and, in the long term, quite essential for the sustained growth of the developed economies. Interdependence, which is a reality of economic existence today, must be utilized to achieve dynamism in economic relations and thereby global expansion.

300. To bring the discussion of these matters within the framework of the United Nations need not mean abandoning attempts already started in other forums to tackle aspects of the problem. The challenge facing the international community is so important and so urgent that every avenue should be explored to find solutions and agreement.

301. I began this statement with a reference to the peacefulness of our rather remote region of the world and the good fortune we generally share in being able to follow the way of life we choose. We have seen in recent years steady progress in the decolonization of the Pacific region. The past 12 months have seen new additions to the ranks of independent countries in the South Pacific. Last year we welcomed the Solomon Islands to this body and noted the newly achieved independence of Tuvalu. This year has seen the attainment of independence by Kiribati, formerly the Gilbert Islands. It is enormously pleasing to us, with our special ties of kinship and experience with our Pacific neighbours, to witness those developments and, through long-established mutual co-operation, to have participated in them.

302. The process of evolution towards independence in our region is, of course, far from complete. We continue to watch with interest, for example, political developments in the New Hebrides. Our sympathy for the people of the New Hebrides is deep and we continue to look forward to the day when full independence will be theirs. In the words of our regional body, the South Pacific Forum, at its meeting this year, we welcome the progress being made towards independence, and express the hope that all major political groups there will work closely together in preparing for their independence.

303. As a member of the South Pacific Forum, and as an independent nation, we also reaffirm our belief in the application of the principle of self-determination and independence to all Pacific island peoples, in accordance with their freely expressed wishes. We would call on all parties concerned to work towards this end. The future of the Pacific peoples in New Caledonia and French Polynesia is of abiding concern to us. They must be permitted to work out their own future in a way which is fully consonant with their own wishes. The issues are, as we know, complex. We have been through many of them ourselves in the course of obtaining our own independence. These issues are in our minds linked with many of the other matters which come before this body and which have their foundation in the struggle against colonialism. The thread is an unbroken one as far as we are concerned. We oppose colonialism and its consequences, wherever they manifest themselves, because we cannot accept the notion that one group, whether on a racial, cultural or economic basis, should dominate another.

304. Our geographical isolation does not lessen our anxieties over issues which are of concern to this world body. Indeed, some of the gravest issues seem to hit us hardest because of our remoteness. For instance, not only do we get a generous measure of general global inflation, which is automatically imported into our small economies, but in addition, transport costs over the vast distances involved ensure that we get a double dose of inflation directly attributable to soaring oil prices. Nuclear testing was brought to our doorstep because of our remoteness and isolation. Nuclear weapons testing continues to cause alarm to the Pacific region. The atmospheric tests carried out in the past in the South Pacific brought loud objection from the Pacific peoples. The few who had voices in this Organization at that time called for a cessation to the pollution of our atmosphere by nuclear experiments. The others appealed and expressed their protests through whatever means were open to them; to no avail.

305. Nuclear-weapons testing, though no longer carried out in the atmosphere, continues in the South Pacific. We regret that the international community has not yet reached agreement on banning all nuclear weapons testing. We urge the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. Mankind should be concerned about how it could best survive, not about how it could most efficiently destroy itself.

306. Like many other nations we welcome the treaty concluded as a result of the second round of SALT between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and we look forward to its ratification. We hold out the hope that these agreements and the experience gained during their implementation, will serve to create an atmosphere conducive to even bolder agreements in the future, not only on nuclear, but also on conventional weapons disarmament.

307. The liberation of our world from conflict and its terrible consequences, as well as from tension inherent in the stockpiling of arms, should be the aim of all nations. Samoa, despite the seemingly intractable problems and obstacles the world community faces, is still hopeful that people everywhere will eventually heed the appeal voiced by Pope John Paul II last week [17th meeting] to respect the rights of our fellow men so that we can all share this world in harmony.

308. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of their right of reply. May I recall that the General Assembly at its fourth plenary meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes and should be made by delegations from their seats. In the interests of orderly procedure, I intend to apply this decision strictly. I shall now call on those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

309. Mr. BLUM (Israel): This Assembly is confronted with a startling and, for many, an unacceptable fact: peace is being made in the Middle East.

310. The present general debate, which is now drawing to its close, has been largely a repeat performance of last year's. Fearful of embracing the new spirit of dialogue and negotiation, certain States continue to cling desperately to the empty rhetoric of the past, in an effort to undermine the prospects for peace in the Middle East.

311. They will be unsuccessful. Today the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty is a fact. Moreover, the peace process is going on. It is producing a new reality, a new dynamic in the Middle East, one which offers the prospect of a brighter and better future for everyone in the Middle East.

312. The Arab rejectionist States, which assembled in Baghdad in November 1978 at the Ninth Arab Summit Conference, cannot reconcile themselves to these facts. They have therefore declared war on peace and have turned the General Assembly into a battleground against it.

313. The script was written in Havana. The tone of the attacks on peace by a long succession of States has been shrill and nervous. With good reason; one year ago the Peace Treaty was not a certainty; today the enemies of peace must proceed from the assumption that the negotiations being held now on the basis of the Camp David Framework accord for the provision of full autonomy for the inhabitants of Judaea, Samaria and the Gaza District<sup>21</sup> will be crowned with success. Given their perverse point of view, they have good reason to worry.

314. I shall not therefore attempt to answer all their hollow charges. However, there are some which cannot be passed over in silence.

315. One of Israel's neighbours had the audacity to pose here as the champion of the Palestinian Arabs. What, one might well ask, was Jordan doing from 1948 to 1967, when it illegally occupied and annexed Judaea and Samaria? The last thing it wanted to hear of then was autonomy for the Palestinian Arabs. When they tried to rebel, that same régime did not hesitate, in 1963 for example, to use tanks to put down the opposition to it, causing some 200 casualties, including 50 dead. When, in the years immediately after the six-day war of 1967, the so-called PLO established a "State within a State" on its territory, the Jordanian régime did not hesitate to use an iron fist, so that many PLO terrorists in September 1970—Black September—came fleeing to seek refuge in Israel. That Arab State which denied the

Jews access to the Holy Places had the gall in this debate to accuse Israel of "ravaging" Jerusalem day by day. The world has not forgotten or forgiven Jordan's mutilation of Jerusalem and its systematic destruction of the city's Jewish past. United Jerusalem and its Holy Places have never known the freedom, protection and status they enjoy today under Israel.

316. Syria shed crocodile tears about the fate of Arabs living under Israeli administration—Syria, of all countries! Syria—which has brazenly intervened in the internal affairs of Lebanon; which fanned and fuelled the civil war there; which in the name of "peace" bombarded Palestinian refugee camps at Tel al-Zaatar and elsewhere, and then viciously turned its cannon on the Christians in Lebanon; which to this very day keeps more than a third of its army stationed in Lebanon so that ultimately it may realize its dream of incorporating that devastated country into a Greater Syria—Syria does this. Only last week Syria's Minister of Defence renewed his country's threats of war against Israel. Yet Syria has the temerity to pose in this forum as the champion of peace.

317. The Foreign Minister of Saudi Arabia was more elegant, but scarcely more subtle. According to him, the time may come when the rejectionist Arab States will find themselves compelled to adopt certain positions and experience specific and inescapable reactions in defence of their dignity. . . ." [21st meeting, para. 143]. Let there be no illusions. That statement was a thinly disguised reiteration of Saudi willingness to support the enemies of peace, no matter what the consequences.

318. The virulence and vehemence of the Iraqi contribution to the debate came as no surprise. Here is a State—at war with Israel—whose main contribution to the conflict in the Middle East has been confined to posturing and heaping verbal abuse on Israel. Here also is a State which is vying for hegemony within the Arab world and which is engaging in political opportunism in its frenetic attacks on the Peace Treaty. With a notoriously ugly record vis-à-vis its own minorities, armed to the teeth with Soviet weapons, and in the process of going nuclear, Iraq's worn-out demagoguery is worthy only of contempt.

319. The crudity of Iraq's attacks on Israel was outdone only by Libya's. But the force of Libya's remarks is nullified when one recalls that this is a country which eagerly sent troops in support of the barbaric régime of former President Idi Amin in Uganda, and which at present has virtually annexed half of the extensive territory of one of its neighbours. In addition, Libya is actively embroiled in many other inter-African conflicts, over and beyond its role of paymaster of terrorist groups in several parts of the world.

320. As is its wont, the Soviet Union—a country that has done so much for peace in the Middle East and for human rights generally—joined the fray and piled distortion on distortion. In its attempt to subvert the peace process in the Middle East and the spirit of Camp David, the Soviet Union has once again seen fit to rail against the Israel-Egypt Peace Treaty, which constitutes the first step towards a peace settlement in the entire Middle East. Does the Soviet Union's constant obsession with what it terms "a separate peace" stem perhaps from the fact that the Soviet Union began its

<sup>21</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

diplomatic history with a separate peace treaty with Germany at Brest Litovsk in 1918? One wonders.

321. I shall refrain from replying to the Soviet Union's other charges and to those of its puppets, which fell obediently into line. Instead, I would prefer to put this rostrum, as I did last year, at the disposal of a prisoner of conscience who is languishing in a Soviet gaol for no other reason than his desire to emigrate and his unswerving adherence to the Jewish faith. Iosef Mendelevich was arrested in 1970. He has not been permitted visitors for the last six years. He has been denied letters from the outside for the past year. All books sent to him have been deposited in the prison storeroom. He has been refused medical treatment.

322. In a letter dated 8 July of this year, Mendelevich writes that the prison officials refuse him medication because they claim that "when you are free"—in 1982—"all your illnesses will be gone."

323. As regards the absence of letters from his family over the last year, he wrote:

"I don't believe you've forgotten me. I know that you write to me. Sometimes I take the old letters and try to make myself believe that they are new, that I am living together with you still."

324. On behalf of the State and people of Israel, I want to assure you, Iosef Mendelevich, from this rostrum that you have not been forgotten.

325. Israel reiterates its appeal to the Soviet Union to release Mendelevich and other prisoners of conscience and permit everyone who seeks to emigrate to Israel and join his people and family to do so—

326. The PRESIDENT: I apologize to the representative of Israel for interrupting him, but his time is up. I now call on the representative of Viet Nam.

327. Mr. CU DINH BA (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): The position of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on the problems raised by the head of the delegation of Thailand with regard to my country was very clearly set forth by the head of the delegation of my country before the Assembly on 28 September last [*13th meeting*].

328. Because of the very late hour and in order not to tax the patience of the Assembly, I shall not repeat what was said then. But my delegation must reject categorically the slanderous allegations of the head of the delegation of Thailand directed against my country. Everybody knows that Thailand has taken part actively, at the side of the imperialists, in the war of aggression against Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos. If Thailand persists in the errors of the past by adopting a hostile attitude towards the three peoples of Indo-China, that attitude in itself is contrary to the interests of Thailand as well as to the interests of peace and stability in South-East Asia.

329. Mr. HAYDAR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize for taking the floor at such a late hour. I do not wish to take the time of this Assembly or that of its members, for we are anxious to preserve this time that is limited; yet I feel compelled to

repeat something that we have stated on many occasions in the past. The forces of my country entered Lebanon at the request of its President and the legitimate authority of that country, and we are prepared to leave Lebanon at any moment, when the legitimate power in Lebanon requests us to do so.

330. This is our position, which we have repeatedly stated and we state once more. But despite all this there is a certain category of persons who find it very difficult to understand. The minds of such persons are closed to any kind of understanding. I should not therefore waste my time, nor that of this Assembly, in trying to make them understand.

331. This Assembly has itself condemned Zionist Israeli aggression against the Arab territories, as it has also repeatedly condemned the Zionist entity in Israel. For these reasons there are two possibilities: either the overwhelming international majority is right or the Zionist entity and its scant number of allies, such as the racist régimes in Africa and the former Somoza régime, are right. Either the General Assembly is right or those régimes are right. That is left to the discretion of every delegation and of every person who has a sufficient degree of objectivity to pass judgement independently.

332. A final word—and I apologize in anticipation for having to say it. I feel nothing less than contempt for those who waste the time of this Assembly with such absurdities as those we heard a few minutes ago, which had been prepared a long time in advance.

333. Mr. OBEIDAT (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like to remind everybody here—and a reminder could be useful—that when the General Assembly adopted its resolution on partition in 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*], Israel did not abide by the partition resolution, and started to wage attacks and assaults in order to grab as much Palestinian territory as it could. The Jordanian army managed to save Arab Jerusalem and what remained of the West Bank.

334. After Israel had made all those seizures, the Arab people of the West Bank held several conferences in order to decide their destiny. A conference was convened in Jericho in 1948 and 1949, another in Amman and a third in Nablus. The result of all three conferences was that unity with the eastern bank of Jordan was decided on and the unification process took its constitutional form in 1950. The unification decision was clear: it was not to have any impact on the final solution of the Palestinian cause. That is to say, Jordan was fully aware, from the very outset, of the need to safeguard the Palestinian cause and Palestinian identity, contrary to what the representative of Israel claims.

335. Since then, since unity emerged, the Jordanian people have participated with the Palestinian people in the task of reconstruction and work. Economic and political developments have taken place. That is why I see no justification for the crocodile tears being shed by the representative of Israel over events that never happened, such as when he accuses the Jordanian authorities of having beaten the citizens of Nablus.

336. Once again I should like to affirm that Jordan was aware from the very outset of the need to safeguard Palestinian identity.

337. I now come to the second point raised by the representative of Israel. While he was shedding crocodile tears over the Palestinians, he accused Jordan in the events of September 1970 of having struck the Palestinians a hard blow. I should like to point out to the General Assembly that what happened in 1970 in Jordan was between outlaws and the authorities and not between the Palestinians and the Jordanian power. Once again I should like to confirm that what took place was an infringement of the law and is totally irrelevant to the question whether the outlaws were Palestinians or not.

338. Perhaps the representative of Israel may one day admit that those among the outlaws who fled to the West Bank were indeed agents sent by Israel to sow the seeds of unrest and disturbance in Jordan.

339. As for the Israeli representative's claim that Jordan did not safeguard the Holy Places, this is completely false. Jordan has believed and still believes in freedom of movement with regard to the Holy Places, and it has always safeguarded them.

340. The allegations of the representative of Israel can never change facts.

341. Mr. AL-ALI (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The General Assembly and the representatives sitting in various Committees have now become quite accustomed to hearing a speech repeated every year by the representative of the Zionist racist entity. The same accusations are being made and the same lies are being attributed undeservedly to the Arab States and their different régimes. The reason for this is evident.

342. The Zionist representative has insulted Arab régimes without exception. He has also continually accused the Arab countries of always endeavouring to arm themselves and to mobilize their people in order to swoop down upon the said entity and wipe it out. I think there is nothing new in these words.

343. What is new is that the Zionist representative now accuses Iraq of resorting to nuclear armament. There is an Arab saying that could be applied almost exactly to this accusation: we say it is a case of the accused almost saying "apprehend me".

344. Everyone knows that the Arab group has proposed the addition of an item to the agenda of this session under the title "Israeli nuclear armament" [A/34/142]. This session will in fact witness a discussion of this subject, and the representatives will listen to precise information on the volume and gravity of Israeli nuclear armament, and how far it constitutes a threat—not only for peace in the Middle East but in other parts of the world as well.

345. Everybody knows that Iraq is one of the countries which have signed the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and we know likewise that other Arab countries have also signed that Treaty. But the Zionist entity, which allegedly is striving for peace, has not signed it.

346. The Zionist representative speaks of the volume of Iraqi armaments, as though he were trying to make others forget the known fact that Israel has really become an arsenal of very sophisticated American weapons. And now we have also witnessed the latest Israeli aggressions in southern Lebanon, where we have seen very clearly the type of weapons that are being used. And if we refer to official and semi-official American and Israeli sources which speak of the quality and of the volume of the weaponry which Israel has acquired lately and the various arms request lists which it has submitted to the Pentagon recently, everybody will know the danger the intentions of Israel represent for our future.

347. When we acquire arms, we do so because we want to be able to defend ourselves against Zionist aggression, against the occupation of our territories and the massacres of our people.

348. Israel has occupied Arab territories and continues to occupy them. It has evicted a whole people, and continues to evict Arabs. Israel has disregarded all the relevant United Nations resolutions and continues to do so. How can then the Zionist racist representative, the enemy of the simplest resolutions of this Assembly, speak of other States and charge them with actions of which they are utterly innocent?

349. The Zionist representative believes that, by accusing us first of trying to acquire nuclear arms, he can influence the views of representatives. But the reality cannot be changed. Very trustworthy information is going to be presented to the Assembly, and at that time we will talk about all the facts.

350. Mr. BLUM (Israel): The Jordanian representative has again tried to falsify the history of the Middle East but, as is well known, the Arab countries, including Transjordan, vowed to destroy General Assembly resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947 and then set out to destroy it by the force of arms. Transjordan—that was the name of his country at the time—illegally invaded the territory of the Palestine Mandate in May 1948 in clear violation of the United Nations Charter. United Nations resolutions of 1948 amply bear out this statement and are clear witness to the fact, and no amount of falsification by the Jordanian representative here can alter those well-known facts.

351. The destruction by the Jordanians of more than 50 synagogues in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem's Old City bears testimony, of course, to the respect which Jordan professed to display to Jerusalem's Holy Places. So did the desecration of the ancient Jewish cemetery on the Mount of Olives.

352. The representative of Iraq apparently forgot that we are still in the general debate. That is why he pulled out his standard speech, which he apparently intends to use here irrespective of the agenda item under discussion. But we are, of course, used to hearing this worn-out record, and there is no reason why I should detain the General Assembly by responding to it.

*The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.*