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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (continued)

1. Mr. CAMARA (Guinea) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, first of all permit me to express to you on behalf of the people of Guinea, its Party-State and its Government, our warm congratulations on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

2. Your country, Sir, Yugoslavia, a country with which the Republic of Guinea has links of friendship and fruitful co-operation, has won the sympathy and the respect of all peoples through its unreserved commitment to democratic and social progress and the defence of peace and security everywhere.

3. Your experience of international affairs, your proved competence in matters of concern to our Organization, your noteworthy career as professor, magistrate, diplomat and statesman augur well for the way in which the discussions of the present session will be conducted.

4. We should like here to convey all our gratitude to Mr. Amerasinghe for the profound political sense which he displayed as he presided over the work of the last session of the General Assembly.

5. May we also tell our very distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, how much the people of Guinea value his contribution in so skilfully conducting the work of the United Nations in order to bring together people of goodwill throughout the world.

6. The Guinean delegation would like to take this opportunity to address to all the representatives here our sincere wishes for successful work for a better future for the United Nations, whose universality is growing in strength from year to year, notably with the admission to its membership during this session of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

7. We address our warm congratulations to the people of the Republic of Djibouti, whose experience in the liberation struggle will, we are convinced, make for stability in the Horn of Africa, which is a matter of the gravest anxiety to us all at the present time.

8. Our congratulations are also addressed to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which, for 30 years, has valiantly rebuffed, one by one, all foreign aggressions, thus providing proof, if proof were needed, that victory always belongs to those who struggle.

9. The thirty-second session of the General Assembly is being held at a time when thinking people throughout the world are more than ever concerned about sources of tension whose repercussions or consequences are hard to foresee, particularly since imperialism is stubbornly attempting to maintain and to uphold the old order of injustice which for centuries has been imposed upon the oppressed peoples.

10. Thus in Zimbabwe Ian Smith's scorn for democracy represents a challenge to the Charter of the United Nations. But the armed struggle that has thus been imposed on the fraternal people of Zimbabwe by the illegal régime is daily winning new victories, and the Maputo Conference¹ has just marked a decisive stage in the awareness of the international community, prompting it to give effective support to the liberation movements.

11. At the fourteenth regular session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held at Libreville in July, the OAU unanimously pledged to support the Patriotic Front as the only liberation movement in Zimbabwe [see A/32/310, annex II, p. 2]. This is a clear proclamation for those who sincerely wish to assist us of the solution that has been advocated by all Africa for the Rhodesian problem.

12. Africa, which remains the only continent subject to direct domination, has thus chosen the Patriotic Front as an appropriate instrument to hasten the process of Zimbabwe's liberation.

13. We therefore find it difficult to understand how people outside Africa, for ill-explained or inexplicable reasons, suddenly and rather late in the day find that they are gifted mediators and from various quarters put forward a whole gamut of settlement plans that are designed purely and simply to hold up and to compromise the true liberation of Zimbabwe.

¹ International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.

14. That is why everything must be done by both Africa and Africa's true friends to prevent any attempt to create puppet movements alongside the Patriotic Front. Africa has pronounced itself unambiguously. It is now up to the international community to respect that decision of Africa's and to give its sole support to the Patriotic Front. And if perchance some continue to believe that the best policy is to divide in order to rule they will bear before history the grave responsibility for the nameless violence that would undoubtedly be visited upon that region.

15. In the case of Namibia the United Nations must assume its full responsibility by helping the Namibian people to exercise soon their inalienable rights to self-determination and independence at an early date.

16. We remain convinced that no consultation should be organized in that country without the participation of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole representative of the Namibian people. The Republic of Guinea will never tire of denouncing the underhanded attempts to substitute here, too, some assembly of tribal chiefs who would be nothing more than puppets in the service of imperialism.

17. Furthermore, our delegation denounces South Africa's attempt to annex Walvis Bay, an integral part of Namibia, which is one and indivisible. Therefore, in order to bring peace to Namibia, the Republic of Guinea considers the United Nations must do everything to bring about the liberation of the Namibian patriots illegally detained by Vorster, to ensure the return of the exiles to their country, and to speed up unconditional realization of the legitimate aspirations of the fraternal people of Namibia under the guidance of SWAPO.

18. The Republic of Guinea favours convening a special session of the General Assembly to discuss effectively the problem of Namibia, and it supports the Maputo Declaration on this Territory.²

19. As for *apartheid*, which has been so frequently condemned by the international community, numerous seminars and international meetings have been devoted to it in order to convince the Pretoria régime that an end should be put to its genocide. But the South African racists have so far remained deaf to all appeals to reason. More than that, in June 1976 young students in Soweto fell martyrs to Vorster's barbarity. And quite recently violent confrontations have aroused indignation throughout the world against South Africa, which is vainly attempting to impose its policy of "bantustanization", which has already been condemned by our Organization. The further the incorrigible racists go in strengthening their machinery of oppression and repression, the more implacable will be the revolution of liberation. After Soweto, Alexandra and Guguleto, it is now in Johannesburg, Cape Town and Pretoria that the enraged peoples have organized their resistance and are progressively encircling the racist armies in their last strongholds.

20. The people of Guinea, which is a member of the United Nations Special Committee Against *Apartheid*,

² For the text, see document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

recently had an opportunity to reaffirm its position at the World Conference for Action Against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos from 22 to 27 August 1977.

21. Our delegation firmly upholds the armed struggle of the South African people for its independence even though South Africa is stepping up its military potential and even though the acquisition of the atomic bomb by the fascist régime in Pretoria bears further witness to the flagrant betrayal of the peoples of Africa by international imperialism. Some have told those who care to listen to them that armed struggle cannot solve the problem of *apartheid*. But at the same time those advocates of racism—and therefore of the Devil—have delivered to the disciples of *apartheid* a genocidal weapon, nuclear arms.

22. But the Republic of Guinea has always affirmed through the authoritative voice of its leader President Ahmed Sékou Touré that—and I quote him:

"Africa will never yield to nuclear blackmail because the eternal South African people will live for a long time, a very long time, after the followers of *apartheid* and their allies have been buried together with their sophisticated weapons."

23. Our delegation would like to reiterate its firm support of the Republic of the Comoros concerning its recovery of the island of Mayotte and earnestly hopes there will be a happy outcome of the actions undertaken for that purpose with the French Government by the current President of the OAU.

24. Speaking of the settlement of various conflicts between African States, the delegation of the Republic of Guinea fully subscribes to the attempts at mediation of the OAU in strict respect for the principles of the Addis Ababa Charter.

25. The Republic of Guinea has always favoured a just and lasting solution of the Palestinian problem in the Middle East. This presupposes recognition of the national rights of that people and restoration of the occupied Arab territories. It is our constant purpose always to defend justice, democracy and peace and that is why we shall always unreservedly support the cause of the martyred Palestinian people.

26. Therefore, for any just and lasting solution to the Middle East problem, the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization on an equal footing with all other parties to the conflict is essential, and the Republic of Guinea will fully support the report of the United Nations Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/32/35] and here reaffirms its complete solidarity with the Arab peoples.

27. Despite the Security Council and General Assembly resolutions recommending a peaceful settlement of the Cyprus crisis, the talks between the Greek and Turkish communities remain deadlocked and that island continues to be occupied by foreign troops, while at the same time everything is being done to transform it into a NATO military base, which undoubtedly further aggravates the tension so prejudicial to establishing a climate of con-

confidence and peace in that area and throughout the world. That is why our delegation is in favour of the unity of the Cypriot people and the safeguarding of the island's territorial integrity.

28. The continued presence of foreign military bases in the islands scattered over the vast reaches of the Indian Ocean is a source of concern to the international community. General Assembly resolution 2832 (XXVI), which has frequently been recalled and reaffirmed both in the United Nations and in other international bodies, does not seem to have gone further than a simple definition of the goal of making the Indian Ocean a "zone of peace". The situation in that region, fraught as it is with dangerous tension, requires the effective implementation of that resolution.

29. Faithful to the position taken by the non-aligned countries, the Republic of Guinea reaffirms its adherence to the principles of that resolution and reiterates its active solidarity with the countries bordering on the Indian Ocean, the islands of which, from East to West, ring the continental areas of Asia and East Africa and, therefore, constitute a zone of strategic significance to the security of both these continents.

30. In East Timor, foreign invading forces still occupy the country, despite the relevant resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council calling for their withdrawal and for all States to respect the territorial integrity of East Timor and the inalienable right of its people to self-determination and independence.

31. The Republic of Guinea, which has already recognized East Timor as an independent, sovereign State, reiterates here its unwavering support for the people of Timor in its legitimate struggle to regain its independence and territorial integrity under the leadership of FRETILIN.³

32. Another major source of concern to the international community continues to be Korea, whose people is still divided between the North and the South. The delegation of the Party-State of Guinea supports the efforts already under way to bring about the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea, free from foreign interference.

33. The Republic of Guinea welcomes the recent agreements reached on the Panama Canal and, since we consider that they make for peace and equilibrium throughout the world, earnestly hopes they will be ratified by both parties as soon as possible.

34. In the case of Belize, once again we would voice our heartfelt wish that the negotiations to which the various interested parties have been invited will yield positive results based on the principle of recognition of and respect for the right of the people of Belize to self-determination and independence in order to promote peaceful coexistence both in the Central American isthmus and throughout the region.

35. It is also our hope that the same principle will be applied in the case of the Islas Malvinas and that the right

of the people of that Territory to self-determination will be both recognized and respected.

36. The Republic of Guinea once again reaffirms its active solidarity with the Chilean resistance movement—a movement fully in conformity with the legitimate struggle of the Chilean people for the restoration of legality, justice and democracy in that country.

37. The people of Guinea, faithful to the principles of its Party-State, wishes to assure all struggling people of those subjugated countries of its militant support and total sympathy in their efforts to bring to full fruition the ideals of the United Nations, whose efforts in this area, unfortunately leave something to be desired.

38. Indeed, after 32 years of existence, during which nearly a hundred new independent and sovereign States have been created, fundamental adjustments in the United Nations Charter have become more necessary than ever if we really desire to reflect both the breadth and the nature of the changes that have occurred. It has been proclaimed that all nations are equal in the United Nations. However, in reality, the African nations are far from having achieved all those acknowledged rights. And, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré has emphasized,

"Africa alone is not among the permanent members of the Security Council enjoying the right of veto. For some time now, and for too long, we have called for the abolition of the right of veto; that has not come about. It would now be quite natural for an African State also to be a permanent member of the Security Council. That country would, on behalf of the African continent, exercise the right of veto in order to preserve the higher interests of Africa."

It is extremely regrettable that Africa's wish has not been met.

39. That is why our delegation wishes to echo OAU resolution CM/res.486 (XXVII),⁴ which calls upon all States Members of the United Nations to work for the elimination of the iniquitous right of veto in order to ensure respect for the principle of the equality of all States Members of the United Nations; because, as the Guinean Chief of State has declared: "The United Nations is practising *apartheid* in the Security Council."

40. Injustice in international relations must not go on indefinitely. The realization of the legitimate aspirations of our peoples will surely contribute to the building of a new world based on solidarity, social justice and democratic progress.

41. Peace and security remain the concern of all peoples; hence the Republic of Guinea once again declares that disarmament is a matter of concern to all our States. Hence, we unreservedly support the initiative to convene, in May 1978, a special session of the Assembly which will constitute a step towards the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. But any logical disarmament must necessarily be based on respect for the desire of

³ Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente.

⁴ See document A/31/196 and Corr.1, annex, p. 17.

peoples to rid themselves of imperialist domination. This of necessity implies the elimination of any subordinate relationships, the abolition of colonialism and exploitation, and the building of a just economic order.

42. Hence, any measures taken to bring about détente and co-operation in Europe and in America can be effective only if they are applied to the other continents. Unfortunately, we see that, more and more, imperialism is fanning hot-beds of tension in Africa, the Middle East and in the Indian Ocean.

43. It was the thirty-first session of the General Assembly which decided to create an *Ad Hoc* Committee for the Drafting of an International Convention against the Taking of Hostages, charged with the task of drawing up a legal instrument to prevent and outlaw acts of terrorism.

44. Indeed, violence and international terrorism have in recent years taken on alarming proportions and now pose a threat to international order.

45. However, it is easy to see that, like international terrorism, the taking of hostages is but a consequence of much more important problems, which are, *inter alia*, the disparities existing between the developed and the developing countries; the colonialism that still prevails in Southern Rhodesia, in Namibia, in South Africa and elsewhere; the inhuman policy of *apartheid*; the explosive situation in the Middle East; and out-and-out acts of aggression.

46. Some feel that international terrorism and the taking of hostages can be stopped without their underlying causes being determined and properly dealt with. But does anyone believe that a tree can be destroyed by plucking off its leaves? If the roots of the tree are removed, however, it will undoubtedly die. In other words, in order to resolve the question of the taking of hostages, one must view it within the context of international terrorism.

47. In southern Africa, where the subjugated peoples are terrorized, the occupied countries have become huge prisons. Who could then condemn the nationalists of Zimbabwe, of Namibia or of South Africa if tomorrow they were to take hostage their enemies Ian Smith and Vorster? Who could condemn a State that has regularly been the victim of aggression on the part of the racist régimes if, one day, it should seize some of those in authority in the illegal régimes, the servile instruments of imperialism?

48. Indeed, when Smith usurps power, commits aggression, shifts innocent populations around and places them in concentration camps, it is apparently normal behaviour for Smith and his allies. Now, in point of fact this is nothing else but State terrorism.

49. When Vorster illegally occupies Namibia and thus takes hostage an entire people which he exploits and humiliates, for Vorster and his allies that is normal behaviour. But as soon as a handful of European tourists are taken hostage, international imperialism hastens to sound the alarm.

50. In other words, the Republic of Guinea will never be content with a simplistic and selfish solution of this

problem, which is so rightly of concern to our community. It is for that reason that the Guinean delegation considers that any international convention on the matter must take due account of certain important considerations which are as follows: first, the legitimacy of the struggle of liberation movements and of the inalienable right of freedom fighters to take up arms to fight against their oppressor must be recognized; secondly, the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of States must be respected; and, thirdly, there must be no use or threat of force against liberation movements since they are considered to be acting in self-defence.

51. The sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea was more productive than the previous ones.

52. For the Republic of Guinea, the common heritage of mankind represented by the resources of the sea bed and ocean floor should be exploited to the benefit of all peoples. The United Nations has the duty to preserve and to guarantee the share of the colonized peoples who are not yet participating in the discussions being held on this problem. The redistribution of all the benefits being reaped in the area must be planned by a strong and impartial international authority.

53. My delegation prefers the unitary system to the parallel system that has been advocated by the industrialized States and whose acceptance would only create a permanent source of frustration for the young nations. For us, the sovereignty of the coastal States over their territorial waters should be subject to no restrictions, and that is why the territorial sea can never be put in the same category with the high seas.

54. In order that greater justice and equity may be achieved in these matters, it appears urgent to set up an international tribunal on the law of the sea that will be in a position to resolve conflicts that have, unfortunately, become all too numerous, and thus to preserve international peace and security.

55. We consider, furthermore, that scientific research, which cannot be dissociated from the other activities in the economic zone, should be pursued with the full agreement of the coastal States. This principle, which should be stated without any ambiguity, deserves to be carefully borne in mind since it affects the security of States.

56. And it is our fervent hope that, on the basis of the positive results that were achieved at the sixth session of the Conference on the Law of the Sea, the international community will at last be in a position to reach a final agreement at the next session of that Conference, which is to be held in March 1978 in Geneva.

57. After the justifiable hopes that were raised by the various sessions of UNCTAD, the special sessions and the major development strategies elaborated at those sessions, the world is coming little by little to perceive the scarcely disguised refusal to implement the resolutions adopted by our Organization for the establishment of a new international economic order that will be both just and equitable. We are hardly surprised, however, at that

systematic refusal on the part of certain developed countries, which, despite pious utterances, are reluctant to assume their full responsibility in this great historic process.

58. The situation changed somewhat between 1973 and 1976, but the development that occurred was, in reality, but a tactic because our countries, being both the suppliers of exports and privileged markets for manufactured goods, remain valid partners with which it is essential to reach agreement in order that a system of economic relations may be evolved that is both stable and serves the welfare of all. However, the industrialized countries had, at all costs, to create the necessary conditions to allow them to remain the masters of the game in the negotiations that were to lead to the creation of this new order. Now, more than ever before, the developing countries consider that simply establishing more equitable and more balanced relationships between themselves and the industrialized countries is no longer enough to bring about the new system that is so ardently desired by our peoples. And those peoples according to the words of a certain philosopher, wish to participate fully in the "destruction of what is, their eyes wide open to what is to be," in their desire to play a major part in the working out of a stable international economic order that will be different from the old one in order to emerge from the present crisis and to prevent future crises.

59. The Republic of Guinea, from the start aware of the manoeuvres of the industrialized countries, had expressed reservations regarding the conditions in which the North-South dialogue advocated by the Conference on International Economic Co-operation at Paris was to be initiated, because, by pretending to endorse our claims so as to void them of their essential content, and by preventing a large number of concerned countries from participating in the discussion, the industrialized countries thought to preserve that position of hegemony guaranteed to them by almost all the advantages that everyone today rejects and repudiates.

60. As was stressed by President Ahmed Sékou Touré, we could only conclude that it had been a failure, because the demands of the developing countries could not be satisfied by a simple refurbishing of the present system of international economic relations.

61. On the contrary, these requirements should be based on human rights—rights which are not limited to narrow, purely juridical considerations designed to lull international opinion but are acquired by genuine, just and equitable negotiation on raw materials and primary commodities, on trade in manufactured goods, on aid and financial transfers, on industrial development, on the new international division of labour, on food problems and the development of agriculture, and on the international monetary system.

62. Only then shall we be able within the international community to tackle wisely the burning and urgent problem of human rights which govern all aspects of our daily activities, in order to bring peace to a changing world, progress, and technological and social revolution of all kinds.

63. The imperialist States, ever anxious to maintain their unfair privileges acquired by violence and crime and to

deny our peoples even the most elementary rights laid down in the United Nations Charter—namely, the right of peoples to self-determination, the right of peoples to dispose of their own natural resources, the right of peoples to live in the socio-political régime of their choice—the imperialist States, which cynically and daily flout the fundamental rights of man, are organizing a carefully planned campaign on human rights with the sole purpose of creating a diversion and maintaining in certain developing countries a state of confusion which benefits the manoeuvres of imperialism alone.

64. Was there serious concern for human rights when the slave traders systematically violated those rights in order to accumulate capital so as to bring about the affluent societies of today, the so-called free and prosperous societies? Was there any serious concern for these human rights when almost all the African continent was still languishing under the vile yoke of colonialism? Is there serious concern at the moment about Namibia, in South Africa, when people are calmly supplying nuclear reactors to Vorster? So why these politico-ethical demands to build into a system of international relations and a means of electoral propaganda something which is only a covert way of intervening in the internal affairs of States in order to destabilize progressive régimes, equating them purely and simply, and very maliciously, with Fascist States, which are themselves the products of imperialism?

65. That is the new way in which imperialism is insulting the revolutionary régime!

66. We have heard talk of the "Guinean ghetto", but these slanders against the Republic of Guinea will never deflect the people and the Democratic Party of Guinea from the objective they have set themselves—namely, the total liberation of the African continent through the struggle to achieve fully and completely the right of its peoples to self-determination.

67. It is precisely there that the difference between our States and the old Western nations lies. Whereas in the liberal democratic régimes antagonism takes the form of a dichotomy between man and society, the individual and the State, in many developing States society is increasingly given primacy over the individual, who remains of course an inseparable component of the whole.

68. That is why the progressive parties and the democratic States, always anxious to advance, have already enlarged the rights of man and of the individual to extend to whole peoples.

69. Obviously this evolution is only possible after the radical changes which were brought about by the revolution in the bourgeois law which was conceived and maintained for many centuries in order to preserve the established order and which, frequently by violent means, called into question the independence so dearly won by the struggle of the peoples.

70. And we well understand that the new slogan of the defence of human rights, in whose name international reaction is embarking on a war against certain countries, is exactly the same battle charger always sent into battle

against revolutionary Guinea, which imperialism will never forgive either for its historic choice of 28 September 1958 or for its stubbornness in the defence of the higher interests of Africa.

71. It is not so much a question of defending human rights as of deliberately preparing once more conditions for further aggression against us. It is less a matter of pleading for political prisoners than of seeking to liberate criminals who have been condemned by all international bodies, in order to put them to even viler employment.

72. After the armed aggression against the Republic of Guinea of 22 November 1970, the mercenaries and their accomplices were condemned without right of appeal by the Organization of Senegal River States, the OAU and the Security Council.

73. Thus on 24 November 1970, scarcely 48 hours after the mercenary invasion of Guinea, the Organization of Senegal River States—that is, Senegal, Mauritania, Mali and Guinea—voted unanimously in favour of a resolution requesting: "... that an example be made of the mercenaries and their local accomplices".

74. A few days later the Council of Ministers of the OAU, at its seventh extraordinary session from 9 to 12 December 1970 at Lagos, unanimously adopted a resolution requiring that an example be made of all those who might prepare, encourage, organize and perpetrate aggression against the Republic of Guinea.

75. For its part, the Security Council, after having carried out investigations in Guinea, adopted resolution 290 (1970) which declared that aggression to be a serious threat to world peace and security. The Security Council also said that it was "grieved at the loss of life and extensive damage caused by the armed attack . . ." on the Republic of Guinea and that it endorsed the conclusions in the report of the Special Mission to the Republic of Guinea.⁵

76. According to the conclusions in the report of the Special Mission of the Security Council it became clear that, in order to make us pay for what happened on 22 November 1970, international imperialism has used its normal criminal system against the people—in other words, its specialized agencies of subversion, which had patiently set up a fifth column whose task it was to overturn the Guinean Government and replace it by a puppet régime.

77. It was in the spirit of that clearly expressed will of the African continent and the international Organization that the people of Guinea had to inflict on the aggressors and their accomplices penalties commensurate with their crime, a crime which reached the very heights of the implacable ferocity of international imperialism in its desire to put an end to revolutionary Guinea. Imperialism, so stubborn and so stupid, thought perhaps that we would judge its mercenaries according to its own code, that of the bourgeois law which was conceived by it to serve its own ends. Imperialism perhaps believed that we would call upon

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-fifth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1970*, document S/10009 and Add.1.

advocates and judges who had been trained in its school. Taking note of the sentences of the Organization of Senegal River States, the OAU and the Security Council, the Republic of Guinea went straight to the people, who were the main plaintiff, those who had been attacked, those who had lost hundreds and hundreds of their sons. Among the aggressors, of course, were foreigners, but there were also nationals who were going to be judged by their fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, whom they had wanted to reduce to slavery for the benefit of international monopolistic capitalism. It was the entire people of Guinea, consulted through their political institutions, trade unions, youth and women, the entire people of Guinea in their homes, workshops and offices, who passed the final sentence through the National Assembly, which was thus turned into a supreme revolutionary tribunal.

78. For the benefit of imperialism, which sometimes understandably has a short memory, we should simply like to recall that the supporters of freedom during the Fascist war of 1939-1945 did not wait for the Nürnberg trials to punish traitors, "collaborators" and war criminals.

79. Furthermore, how can one explain that this imperialism—with its hands still stained with the fresh blood of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos, Democratic Kampuchea, Palestine and Chile, which always lives up to its reputation and, hopefully, would one day redeem its crimes against Africa committed in Madagascar, in Algeria, in Kenya, in Guinea-Bissau, in Mozambique and Angola, which still fights against the inalienable rights of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa and still gives protection to former Nazis, how can one explain that this imperialism, 50 per cent of whose labour force is in a state of chronic unemployment, how can one explain that this imperialism can cynically pose as a defender of human rights in Guinea, in Africa and elsewhere? This is completely ridiculous.

80. As far as we are concerned, one cannot speak of human rights without recognizing the rights of peoples. If Europe had the merit of proclaiming human rights, Africa has gone even further and has proclaimed the right of peoples to their existence, education, employment and the sovereign exercise of all their rights, beginning with the right to self-determination and independence.

81. Human rights can be conceived by us only in the context of suppression of man's exploitation of man. In order to bring about a more just social order, the struggle for human rights consists essentially of the following: bringing about the total decolonization of the African continent, engaging in a fiercely anti-imperialist struggle, proceeding to carry out national reconstruction and consolidating genuine economic and cultural independence, helping the brother peoples throughout the world to liberate themselves from the yoke of the imperialist world, and struggling consistently for social and democratic progress, justice and peace throughout the world.

82. In the Republic of Guinea we shall never tire of repeating, as President Ahmed Sékou Touré said, that "we prefer freedom in poverty to opulence in slavery". Our acts reflect our affirmations. No better expression could be

given to the unconditional attachment of a people to human rights.

83. The fact that those who yesterday still cynically denied us those rights have now suddenly turned into champions of our liberties is something that leaves us puzzled.

84. However, if we look more closely, this rather brusque change barely conceals the Machiavellian intention of imperialism to unleash against our people a new type of aggression which in every respect is similar to the one which many years ago in this very place was condemned after being judged by the international community.

85. In any case, the people of Guinea, solidly organized in its State party under the far-sighted guidance of its beloved leader, President Ahmed Sékou Touré, is more than ever determined to defend its revolution in the profound conviction that imperialism will always find in Guinea an open grave, as was the case in November 1970.

86. Mr. IBRAHIM (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a privilege to join the distinguished speakers who have preceded me on this rostrum in congratulating you on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. It is indeed a categorical acknowledgement of your outstanding qualities of statesmanship and a deep recognition of the constructive role your country, Yugoslavia, has played, and continues to play, in its firm support of the aims and objectives of the United Nations and its Charter. In wishing you success in this difficult task, we cannot fail to mention, with praise and appreciation, your predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, whose wisdom, courage and indefatigable efforts were among the most prominent features of the previous session.

87. I should also like to avail myself of this opportunity to express the deep respect and profound appreciation in which Jordan holds the person of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for his valuable and unrelenting efforts in realizing the objectives and aspirations of the United Nations.

88. Allow me to express Jordan's great pleasure at the admission to United Nations membership of Djibouti, whose membership in the League of Arab States we also cherish, and to wish its brotherly people continued growth, advancement and prosperity.

89. I should also like to extend Jordan's warm welcome to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose membership in the United Nations comes as the culmination of a quarter of a century of bitter sacrifices by the courageous Vietnamese people, and to wish them every success in their efforts at development, rehabilitation and reconstruction.

90. The report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [A/32/1] and his realistic appraisal of its achievements and the current world problems is a true and sober expression of the Organization's attainments and shortfalls in terms of its defined objectives, namely, spreading peace throughout the globe, disarmament, combatting racism and *apartheid*, eliminating the wide gap

between rich and poor nations, the establishment of a new economic order, the successful conclusion of the Law of the Sea Conference, and other actions and measures designed to achieve international solidarity and global interdependence in support of right, freedom, justice and human dignity.

91. For mankind, 1977 came in as a year of great expectations, to quote the Secretary-General [A/32/1, *sect. III*]. Yet, as it nears its end, we find ourselves delicately and precariously poised between modest achievements and grave misgivings and doubt.

92. As a result, a certain measure of pessimism is casting its dark shadow on the international community. This is a cause for regret; yet we deem it necessary once again to quote Mr. Waldheim, in explaining this slow pace of progress.

“Membership in the United Nations is, in the first place, the recognition of a balance between the sovereign rights and interests of Member States and their obligations under the Charter.” [Ibid., *sect. II*.]

93. It is my Government's considered opinion that the predominance of capricious, short-sighted national self-interest over the long-term interests of mankind, which has in recent times become the rule rather than the exception, constitutes the major challenge to the United Nations. Unless those two kinds of interests can be reconciled, the will of the international community respected and the United Nations resolutions implemented, and until defiance of that will and deviation from the norms of international dealings are punished, and if an end is not put to the audacious and disdainful disregard of those resolutions, the fate of the United Nations will remain subjected to the most serious dangers.

94. The era of colonialism has come to a close. Peoples have been emancipated, but some are still suffering from the remaining vestiges of either the old colonialism, or neo-colonialism. Sooner or later, they, too, will attain their freedom, complete and undiminished, and exercise full sovereignty over their fates and resources.

95. Helping them achieve their aspirations to a better life through shortening the phases of their development is at once a humanitarian and an enlightened act, the fruition of which, over both the short and long run, will serve the interests of rich and poor nations alike. If the North-South dialogue has not achieved its desired objectives yet, the common interest will undoubtedly prevail in the end. We know of no single short-cut to the establishment of the new international economic order, but we are certain that a genuine dialogue and not a futile confrontation will provide us with more experience, vision and wisdom in finding the road and following it.

96. The question of war and peace, whether globally or regionally, must be the preoccupation of the United Nations, for on it hinges the survival of humanity. Yet, to a large extent, this is a responsibility of the super-Powers. It is they who must come to grips with the issues of strategic arms limitation and, hopefully, thereafter, mutually acceptable levels of disarmament. Regretfully, we notice that expendi-

ture on armaments exceeds \$300 billion per annum, and that what is taking place is a continuous spiralling of the arms race and a never-ending search for new and even more destructive weapons systems. If anything should go wrong, none of us will be spared.

97. It has been the fate of the sisterly State of Lebanon to experience, during the past two years, a tragic ordeal from which some small pockets of its territory are still suffering, due to external causes that do not augur well for Lebanon. However, Jordan would like to express its great satisfaction and profound happiness at seeing this sisterly State, having passed from this ordeal, accelerating the pace of its reconstruction and exercising once more its cultural and intellectual role as a cherished and respected part of our Arab world.

98. Another issue commanding the attention of Jordan is the tragic conflict in Cyprus. Jordan maintains a historical and long-standing friendship with both Greece and Turkey, and earnestly hopes that the intensive efforts at resolving the conflict between the two Cypriot communities will meet with success within the framework of the independence of the Cypriot people, their territorial integrity and the mutual recognition of both communities in accordance with whatever agreement is reached between them.

99. The emancipation of Namibia has been on the agenda of the United Nations since 1946, and yet the independence of Namibia remains unresolved and faces problems and impediments. We appreciate the efforts which the General Assembly has made, the guidelines and principles which the Security Council set forth in resolution 385 (1976) and, recently, the efforts of certain Western Powers to transform words into deeds and to achieve this independence.

100. But, tragically, the obstinacy of the discredited South African régime continues to abort any real and meaningful solution based on the inalienable right of the peoples of South West Africa to sovereign independence.

101. In Southern Rhodesia a handful of exploiting landlords continues to stand in the way of an independent Zimbabwe, based on "one man, one vote" suffrage, thereby blocking the freedom of its 4 million indigenous inhabitants.

102. The abominable theory and practice of *apartheid* in South Africa continues to be an affront to the conscience and moral values of humankind in its entirety, as expressed within the United Nations and outside of it, and in the various world conferences held during this year, the latest being at Lagos, Nigeria. World opinion is becoming not only more aware, but intensely more committed to active solidarity with the oppressed black majority of South Africa. While a break-through is in its incipient stages, it is inevitable that mounting world pressures, if properly and effectively organized, will force a change in favour of elemental human decency and the vindication of the inalienable human rights of the oppressed black majority in South Africa.

103. In the Middle East, the year 1977 started with an aura of guarded optimism. Statesmen, both within and

outside of the Middle East, indulged in concentrated efforts with a view to ending the long ordeal of its people, and particularly the indescribable suffering of the people of Palestine. The Arab countries have expressed an unmistakable willingness to opt for a just and lasting peace. This willingness was reiterated by Jordan and communicated to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, when he visited the region in February of this year. It was communicated with equal emphasis when the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Cyrus R. Vance, visited the area in July of this year. The position of Jordan is still positive and clear-cut. The position which we had put forward was based on the following principles: first, the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the territories occupied in 1967, in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and 338 (1973); secondly, the fulfilment of the legitimate and inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including its right to self-identity and self-determination in its homeland, Palestine, in accordance with the Charter and relevant resolutions of the United Nations; thirdly, the enabling of the refugee people of Palestine to exercise its right to choose between repatriation or compensation according to General Assembly resolution 194 (III), which is reaffirmed year after year; and, fourthly, acceptance of peace obligations within secure and recognized borders for all States concerned, in addition to security guarantees for both sides and any other arrangements or guarantees which may be deemed necessary.

104. Jordan has supported the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East at the earliest possible date with the participation of all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. Inspired by the unity of the cause, it then proposed the formation of a single unified Arab delegation to attend the peace negotiations in order to ensure the participation of all parties, since the question of Palestine is too broad for any one Arab country to assume responsibility for it. His Majesty King Hussein has repeatedly stated that it is inevitable, if a permanent and just peace is to be achieved in the region, that the Palestinian people should be enabled to exercise its right to self-determination and to shoulder the responsibility for its own decisions.

105. The bleak view taken of the chances for peace in the Middle East is, first and foremost, the result of Israel's disregard of the Palestinian dimension in the crisis, its keeping 3.5 million Palestinians under occupation or dispersed throughout the world, its refusal to negotiate with the legitimate representatives of the Palestinian people, its establishment of settlements in the occupied Arab territories and the legalization of those already established, its violation of human rights in the occupied territories, the application of Israeli laws to the Arab inhabitants of those territories, its colonialist practices in an era of decolonization and public statements by the Israeli military establishment denying the existence of occupied territories but later calling them "administered territories" and, finally, "liberated territories" and considering them as an integral part of the "greater" State of Israel.

106. All those acts were perpetrated by Israel in violation of the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and in defiance of the conscience of

the world, whose repeated resolutions fell on deaf Israeli ears and were met with audacious disrespect for the international community. Israel has always claimed in all forums that it is not only desirous of peace and seeking to achieve it, but that it is also prepared to offer more concessions if only the Arabs would agree to negotiate with it. Yet, when it became convinced that the Arab States directly involved, including the Palestinians, were serious and in earnest about real peace, Israel was evidently caught short and began resorting to various manoeuvres to delay effective steps towards peace. Thus its true designs, which had long been shrouded in ambivalent semantics, if not outright deceit, had to be exposed.

107. Last week-end, on 1 October, a joint United States-USSR statement was issued concerning the Middle East problem, and it has been carefully studied by my Government. My Government found in that statement a positive development on the road towards achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East crisis. It not only came as the culmination of the sincere efforts which the United States had made in co-operation with the Government of the Soviet Union but it also represented an embodiment of the international will as expressed by the various organs of the United Nations, including the General Assembly. In noting the balance struck between the principles of settlement contained in the statement, particularly the right of the Palestinians to recover their legitimate rights, the Government of Jordan would like to stress that it finds in the statement a sound major step which could be the stepping-stone to positive movement towards peace negotiations at Geneva. It sincerely hopes that this statement will elicit a response from all other parties desirous of preserving their vital interests in building a just and lasting peace and keenly interested in world peace, which the international community is striving to preserve and strengthen.

108. Earlier, on 29 June in fact, the nine States members of the European Community also issued a statement affirming those same principles and calling for the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to establish its own homeland on its territory of Palestine. In expressing our appreciation to the European States for this development in their position as a group, we also recall, with all due gratefulness and appreciation, the noble positions taken by the members of the socialist bloc, the non-aligned countries, the Islamic States, the African and Latin American countries and all other friendly States and their support over the years, both inside and outside the United Nations, of the cause of the Palestinian people by backing right and justice and by condemning the illegal Israeli occupation.

109. The whole world is now at odds with Israel, which stands isolated in a position in which its military establishment is defying the world. And in this open confrontation, the Zionist pressure groups are here and there exerting feverish efforts to justify Israeli occupation, expansion and settlements and its uprooting and dispersal of a whole people. Israel has been placing obstacles in the face of peace and rejecting the Geneva Conference.

110. It is no exaggeration to stress, in closing, that the few days and months ahead will be of momentous importance

to peace and stability not only in the Middle East but also in the world at large, directly or indirectly.

111. Jordan staunchly supports the peace option. But it takes two sides to consummate a peace and each must exert sincere and unswerving efforts to that end. If Israel opts for that road, we shall no doubt reach that goal. Should it continue to defy the unanimous will of the international community, we shall have no alternative but to reappraise our options, depending on Members' support in achieving justice, curbing the aggressor and taking the effective and deterrent action stipulated in the Charter of the United Nations to preserve peace in the region and the entire world.

112. Mr. UMBA di LUTETE (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me to convey to you warmest congratulations on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf on the occasion of your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

113. Your well-deserved election is a recognition by the world community of the active part unceasingly played by your country in the international arena. Your personal qualities are an added guarantee of the success of the current session.

114. May I also extend my congratulations to all your fellow officers, whose collaboration will be of great value to the presidency.

115. I should like, too, to take this opportunity to thank and congratulate your predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, for his highly skilful and successful conduct of the deliberations of the last session.

116. Beside you, Mr. President, there sits a man who brings you inestimable and invaluable co-operation. I am referring to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, whose dedication to the exalting task of seeing the principles and ideals of our Charter triumph justifies all the hopes that the international community has placed in him.

117. It is not without considerable feeling that my delegation noted the disturbing conclusions of the report of the Secretary-General concerning the question of peace throughout the world, because international peace, security and co-operation in sovereign equality are the major objectives of our Charter. I therefore wish to review briefly under these three headings the events that have occurred in the world since our last meeting here in New York.

118. With respect to peace in the world, two major topics occupy the attention of my delegation, namely, the Middle East question and the situation in southern Africa. The situation in the Middle East remains a hot-bed of tension in that part of the world and a very serious threat to international peace and security. The Middle East crisis in all its essence and in all its manifestations is, as we cannot deny, so highly complex that it makes difficult any search for an equitable and just solution likely to satisfy all the parties concerned.

119. At each session of the General Assembly my delegation expresses its concern on the subject. On 4 October

1973, speaking from this same rostrum, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire stated:

“In the Middle East there exist three kinds of reflexes: the reflex of fear, for the Israeli people; the reflex of despair, for the Palestinian people; and the reflex of humiliation for the Arab people.”⁶

120. My country is convinced in its view that all peoples in that region have the right to a life of dignity and to the respect of their fundamental and undeniable rights, whether they be Israelis, Palestinians or Arabs.

121. In my delegation's view the Middle East crisis is mainly the problem of what is to be the fate of the Palestinians. But each of the parties concerned must make an effort to rise above the past; otherwise it will be extremely difficult to arrive at a solution of this crisis. It is the imperative duty of our Organization and its Members to assist them in that task. In this connexion, and given the difficulties of the task, it would appear that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) can serve as a basis for fruitful negotiations. Since the last session of the General Assembly we have noted that the parties concerned have taken numerous stands. It would appear that there is, despite everything, a ray of hope for the resumption or possible resumption of the Geneva Conference with the participation of all the interested parties.

122. For my delegation, three fundamental conditions, without which no durable solution of the Middle East crisis is possible, must be fulfilled: first, the evacuation by Israel of all the Arab territories occupied since 1967; next, the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland, self-determination and independence and, finally, the right for all States in the region to exist within recognized frontiers, including the State of Israel itself.

123. With the accession of Djibouti to independence, Africa could have been wholly liberated were it not for the fact that there remains in the southern part of our continent a colonial situation of a special nature which is altogether ignoble and intolerable. In southern Africa, in fact, *apartheid* and racial discrimination have been raised to the status of a political doctrine; a white minority has usurped all political and economic rights to the detriment of the black majority.

124. The illegal presence of South Africa in Namibia, notwithstanding the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and all the advisory opinions of the International Court of Justice, is a constant and permanent challenge to the international community. South Africa must return that Territory to the United Nations without delay and respect its territorial integrity. It is urgent that SWAPO, which was recognized as the legitimate representative of the Namibian peoples, should take into its hands the destiny of that Territory. The international community can no longer tolerate the tergiversations or dilatory manoeuvres so dear to the racist Pretoria régime. The regrettable situation that prevails at present in Zimbabwe is the outcome of over 12 years of stubbornness on the part of the Ian Smith clique.

125. President Obasanjo of Nigeria during his visit to the Republic of Zaire and President Mobutu both recognized that the Anglo-American plan, if it was correctly applied with the utmost good faith, would constitute a positive step and important stage for the peaceful settlement of the crisis in Zimbabwe, and that in that sense the plan should therefore be encouraged. My delegation nurtures the hope that the negotiations to be opened between the parties concerned will allow for the establishment in Zimbabwe of a government by the legitimate, militant majority.

126. We are gratified at the adoption by the Security Council on 29 September last of resolution 415 (1977), requesting the Secretary-General to appoint a United Nations representative to the British Resident Commissioner in Zimbabwe. We are happy to note that all the parties concerned, those mainly interested in the problem, have endorsed that resolution. Since then, my delegation has been hoping that all will prove their goodwill and show their good faith in order to give the Secretary-General the necessary co-operation for the proper implementation of that resolution. In particular, my delegation would ask all those who, from far or near, exert some influence on the rebel Ian Smith to dissuade him from hindering the strict implementation of that resolution. Among the friends of Ian Smith we must mention first Vorster, the champion of *apartheid*. The heinous policy of *apartheid* in South Africa has always been condemned by the entire international community because it constitutes, as we have repeatedly stated, a crime against humanity. We cannot but continue to condemn vehemently all the barbarous acts perpetrated against African patriots from Sharpeville to the cowardly murder of Steve Biko, because there is no doubt that the unclear circumstances surrounding his death leave no doubt as to the nature of his passing. My delegation bows to the memory of that worthy son of struggling Africa. How can we fail to condemn once again the negative attitude of the South African racists who have always flouted all the relevant resolutions of our Organization, thus defying world public opinion?

127. Today, still defying that opinion and despite all attempts to dissuade it, South Africa apparently is getting ready to test an atomic bomb. If that bomb does not yet exist, South Africa is on the point of possessing it. How did it obtain it? What is it to be used for? Surely against the freedom fighters. Is it, then, a weapon for blackmail? Yes, in one sense. But it so happens, and this is an important point, that we are faced with a serious threat to the African countries which help and assist the liberation movements engaged in the struggle for a just cause.

128. We said a moment ago that the system of *apartheid* had not found any other defenders in the world than its own authors, because as far as we know, everyone here and all States without exception condemn this shameful practice.

129. Now, those who, in one way or another, from near or far, assist South Africa in providing itself with this highly deadly weapon, are contradicting themselves because they cannot honestly condemn *apartheid* while at the same time agreeing that the South African régime should have such powerful means to continue its policy.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2140th meeting, para. 134.

130. In any event, with South Africa's acquisition of an atomic bomb the already precarious balance of forces in that part of Africa is seriously upset. We must restore that balance, even at the price of a pact with the devil.

131. The desire to maintain the balance of power between States led the United Nations system to concern itself with disarmament. Many meetings and conferences were devoted to the subject. But we must admit that the results thus far have been very meagre. Questions of disarmament are of interest to us all, the large, the medium and the small countries, because of the nefarious consequences of nuclear weapons for the world. Thus the \$350 billion spent by the rich States in armaments represents a true squandering of resources of which the rest of mankind is dangerously deprived. We must therefore consider disarmament a benefit for all.

132. Moreover, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, of which one hears so much, could not be an end in itself. Such a conception would leave in the hands of those who have the atomic bomb an intolerable instrument of blackmail since they consider themselves to be the tutors of other States. The non-proliferation Treaty must be regarded as an important step, it is true, along the road to general and complete disarmament, which must lead to the disarmament of minds.

133. In fact, peaceful relations are one of the aims and objectives of our Organization's Charter, which, moreover, prohibits recourse to force in the settlement of international conflicts. That is why Zaire spoke out in favour of the adoption by the international community of a draft treaty on the subject, a draft treaty submitted last year by the Soviet Union⁷ and designed to remind us constantly of our obligations vis-à-vis peace, international security, non-interference in the affairs of other States, and the need for dialogue and international co-operation. This last subject is one of the cardinal points of my country's foreign policy.

134. Article 77 of our Constitution states:

“In order to promote African unity, in particular, the Republic [of Zaire] may conclude treaties and association agreements which may entail the partial surrender of its sovereignty.”

African unity is something that Zaire continues not only to believe in but also works to consolidate. As the Manifesto of Nsélé, the charter of our national party, states:

“Africa must come forward as a block in international dialogues. The Popular Revolutionary Movement supports and will support with all its strength a policy of African solidarity through its effective contribution to the Organization of African Unity.”

After all, are not many of our problems in reality African problems? Beyond the frontiers, the hand of the Republic of Zaire will always be held out in order to encourage similar attitudes among our African brothers. Zaire is in the centre of Africa and cannot shirk its mission, that of acting

as a link between its brother States in the north and in the south, in the east and in the west.

135. I now wish to take up questions of trade and the problems of development and co-operation at the world level. The most remarkable aspects of world trade in the last three years have been inflation, the upheavals in the international monetary system, the energy crisis and the deterioration in the balance of payments of most of the developing countries, especially the least advanced and the poorest.

136. The accumulation of oil revenues which we see among some of our brothers in the process of development cannot in any way be interpreted as an improvement of the economic situation of the developing countries. It simply emphasizes, we think, the primary importance of oil at the technological level at present attained in the exploitation of natural resources in the world. But at the same time, it highlights the vulnerability of those economies that are based on the export of a single commodity.

137. Thus, the efforts at the world level to improve the generalized system of preferences are still timely, as are also those to improve the purchasing power of the export earnings of primary commodities, to fight against resurgent protectionist measures and other non-tariff barriers, and to transfer to the developing countries part of the structures for the processing of raw materials. None of the meetings and conferences held throughout the last year in New York, Geneva, Nairobi or elsewhere in the world has brought even the beginning of a solution to these problems.

138. In the field of economic and social development, may I be permitted to emphasize the concern of my delegation about the apathy of the world community concerning the practical application of the international measures advocated by our Organization.

139. This is why my delegation shares the concern of the Economic and Social Council over the lack of progress in the implementation of resolutions adopted at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the Lima Declaration⁸ and the decisions reached at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi. Because at each of these meetings the international community has endorsed all these decisions, we believe it is urgent that our Organization make efforts to fill the gaps we have witnessed in the achievement of the aims and objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. Item 67 of our agenda, we are gratified to see, will offer us an opportunity to tackle this problem in detail.

140. As we all know, the accumulation of decisions that are not implemented blocks the whole mechanism of the United Nations. It is more than high time not only to be realistic, but also to show loyalty and sincerity and to live up to one's word.

141. No one questions the fact that the importance of a country is gauged among other things in terms of its technical achievements. In fact it is through these means that man can expect to dominate the world and improve

⁷ *Ibid*, Thirty-first Session, Annexes, agenda item 124, document A/31/243, annex.

⁸ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

the fate of his fellow men. In our view—and this is almost a glimpse of the obvious—the economic and social development of under-developed countries will only become a reality when they have really made some technological achievements. The developed countries know they should not continue to shirk their international obligations in this field.

142. This aspect of development places us squarely in the field of industrialization—in other words, the field of action of UNIDO.

143. We can congratulate ourselves on the positive efforts made by the secretariat of UNIDO to achieve the implementation of the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action. The lack of progress in this field is explained frequently by reason of the very limited participation of most of the Member States.

144. Since we are speaking of co-operation, we should also like to express our regret at the negative results of the resumption of the Assembly's thirty-first session⁹ to evaluate the results of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, on which our country had placed so many hopes, taking into account the financial and intellectual efforts made by the participants, and which has enabled us in some fields to consider in detail the aspects of technical and political co-operation. That session afforded us an opportunity to understand each other better. The deadlock at the thirty-first session with regard to the Paris Conference appears to be explained by the fact that perhaps no one wanted to attribute to the North-South dialogue the role that it could not play—that of somehow performing miracles.

145. We would hope that the failure of the resumption of the thirty-first session will in no way cancel out the commitments assumed by the developed countries in Paris. Let us recall that those countries agreed to carry out negotiations on the establishment of a common fund for primary commodities, and that they committed themselves to create a special fund to assist the poorest countries and said they were ready to reflect on the need to assist the African countries in solving their problems of infrastructure, transportation and communication.

146. The session that ended on 19 September last highlighted the urgent need for the international community to show imagination in order to obtain a triple objective: first, to define clearly and unequivocally the aims and objectives of action to be undertaken within the framework of the inauguration of a new international economic order; next, in my delegation's view, to adopt measures for the achievement of those aims and objectives; and lastly, to keep alive the flame of dialogue between developed and developing countries.

147. It is with an invitation that I should like to end this review of world economic and trade problems: an invitation to the international community to pay more attention to the lack of progress in the implementation of the relevant resolutions on the economic development of the developing

countries. This community should resolutely engage in the task of filling the gaps that we note in the fulfilment of the aims and objectives of the International Development Strategy. We must, finally, step up our dialogue and negotiations in different United Nations bodies in order to establish a more just and equitable international economic order.

148. Before concluding I should like briefly to recall the encouraging results of the United Nations Conference on Desertification. The efforts exerted in the Kenyan capital between 29 August and 9 September 1977 made it possible to propose a realistic and effective plan of action¹⁰ accompanied by financial and institutional recommendations that would allow for its implementation.

149. The world community is thus fully informed of the complexity of the struggle against this scourge. This struggle requires a combination of knowledge, technical and financial means, and human resources. It presupposes a great effort at the national, regional, interregional and even the world level. My delegation hopes that once it is adopted and we have settled the institutional questions and financial arrangements, the plan of action proposed by the Secretariat will be rapidly implemented. The countries of the third world, and the African countries in particular, which suffer most from desertification and the lack of resources necessary to face these problems, are looking for massive assistance from all countries and in particular from the developed countries.

150. I should like to conclude by greeting the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose presence in our midst is a valuable lesson for all those who throughout the world are engaged in a war aimed at dividing the peoples of a single continent, although that war is clearly destined for failure. May we also extend a welcome to the sister republic of Djibouti, especially at this time, when Africa is being shaken and the fragile edifice of the OAU is being sorely tried.

151. It is our conviction that in this area nothing can defeat Africa since it will always defend its true values with conviction and determination.

152. Mr. PACHARIYANGKUN (Thailand): Mr. President, allow me at the outset to offer my warmest congratulations to you on your election to the high office of the presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. I wish you every success in your undertaking, and I should like to pledge my delegation's full co-operation in your performance of the duties entrusted to you by the world community.

153. I wish to pay a high tribute to Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, a distinguished son of Asia, for the statesmanlike manner in which he presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly in the past year. We all owe him a great debt of gratitude for his tireless efforts and his sincere dedication to his task.

154. I wish also to extend a cordial welcome to the two new Members of the Organization, Djibouti and Viet Nam.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

¹⁰ See document A/CONF.74/36, chap. I.

The latter is a neighbour of ours, and we were pleased to be one of the sponsors of the resolution on its admission to the United Nations. Thailand looks forward to co-operating closely with both the new Members in the General Assembly and in other forums of the United Nations. My delegation is particularly heartened by the reiteration by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam [*3rd meeting*] of its policy of peace towards its South-East Asian neighbours, which augurs well for the peace and stability as well as the progress and prosperity of South-East Asia.

155. Now that all the countries of South-East Asia have been admitted as peace-loving Members of this Organization a unique opportunity offers itself for more productive pursuits and beneficial undertakings among countries of the region, regardless of differences in their political, economic or social systems.

156. The five Heads of Government of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [*ASEAN*] met recently in Kuala Lumpur, on 4 and 5 August 1977, to celebrate ASEAN's tenth anniversary and to review the development and progress of the organization during its first decade. In assessing political developments affecting the ASEAN region the five Heads of Government reaffirmed their Governments' desire to develop peaceful and mutually beneficial relations with all countries in the region, including the three countries of Indo-China.

157. My Government is of the view that full efforts should be made to enhance the prospect of better understanding among all South-East Asian countries and that every avenue of peaceful and constructive co-operation should be explored on the basis of equality and mutuality of interests. Thailand has accordingly been encouraged by recent progress towards the establishment of an interim committee with Laos and Viet Nam on the United Nations-sponsored Lower Mekong Basin Project under the aegis of ESCAP. The reactivation of that scheme will pave the way for co-operation among the riparian States concerned. In this connexion, it is hoped that in due course Democratic Kampuchea will also resume its participation in that beneficial regional project. In this regard, Thailand has been actively engaged in that co-operative endeavour in order to help to improve the over-all political climate in the region.

158. It is regrettable that, although Thailand was the first among the ASEAN nations to re-establish diplomatic relations with Democratic Kampuchea at the end of 1975, border problems between the two countries have continued, resulting in much loss of life and damage to property. My Government had hoped that, given the desire to avoid bloodshed and sincere efforts on both sides to arrive at a good understanding with each other, the difficulties could be surmounted by diplomatic negotiations.

159. Unfortunately, the border situation has become worse. None the less, the Thai Government has made repeated efforts to hold talks with Democratic Kampuchea on border questions, as well as on other matters affecting the relations between our two countries, through the liaison officers appointed by the two Governments in November 1975. To our regret, our repeated attempts to make contact

with the Cambodian liaison officer have been ignored. Moreover, our efforts to initiate a dialogue with Democratic Kampuchea in a few capital cities where both Governments are represented have thus far been unsuccessful. However, my Government is determined to continue in our quest to have the border problems with Democratic Kampuchea settled peacefully in accordance with our basic policy of peaceful coexistence with all our neighbours. My delegation wishes to reiterate here that Thailand entertains no aggressive design against any of its neighbours, including Democratic Kampuchea, nor has it any ambition for territorial gain from them. In respect of Democratic Kampuchea, Thailand still strictly abides by the joint communiqué of 31 October 1975 between the two countries.

160. My delegation listened with interest to the statement of the Chairman of the delegation of the Lao People's Democratic Republic of 3 October 1977 in this same hall [*16th meeting*]. Since Thailand consistently advocates and maintains its policy of reciprocal friendship with all its neighbours—and indeed with all countries—irrespective of differences in political, economic or social systems and on the basis of both mutual respect of each other's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity and the principle of non-interference in each other's internal affairs, it is patently clear, therefore, that the Lao statement referring to Thailand's policy as being "unfriendly" is not borne out by the facts. In respect of Laos, the Thai people and the Lao people share close ethnic and cultural affinities which have, through the centuries, cemented the bonds of friendship between them and will, I feel sure, contribute to the attainment of Thailand's worthy objectives—namely, to live in peace, brotherhood and close, neighbourly co-operation with the Lao People's Democratic Republic. For its part, the Royal Thai Government will continue its endeavour to improve Thai-Lao relations in accordance with the joint communiqué of 3 August 1976 between the two countries.

161. As regards another of Thailand's neighbours, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, my Government will continue to abide by the Thai-Vietnamese joint communiqué of 6 August 1976, which enumerates four principles for the promotion of better relations between the two countries. It is hoped that, in the not-too-distant future, an exchange of ambassadors will be effected, as envisaged by the said communiqué. It is accordingly gratifying that both sides have shown a willingness to hold discussions on bilateral issues, which Thailand hopes will bring about good-neighbourly understanding, as well as regional stability and harmony.

162. My delegation believes that the United Nations continues to provide the only truly world-wide forum for all of us to put our minds together in the common search for global solutions to global problems. And even if solutions adopted in the past have sometimes fallen short of public expectations, international debates in the United Nations have generated world-wide interest in global problems and have prepared a climate of opinion favourable to their solution and evolved guidelines for future remedial international action.

163. The above is certainly true of the disarmament discussions held in recent years, which have yielded little in

the way of tangible results. The arms race among the major Powers still continues at an alarming rate, and such developments as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the search for détente between the two super-Powers have yet to make a discernible impact on the world disarmament situation. However, we must persevere in our pursuit of disarmament and arms control, particularly in nuclear and thermonuclear weapons, so that the scarce resources now being wasted in the manufacture of increasingly sophisticated weapons of mass destruction can be diverted to peaceful development projects for the benefit of all peoples. My Government accordingly welcomes the initiative to hold a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament in May and June 1978. However, thorough preparations by the Conference on the Committee on Disarmament in Geneva and in other forums will be necessary to ensure the success of that special session.

164. In the Middle East, though the United Nations peace-keeping presence has been extended until 1978 by agreements with the States concerned and the cease-fire remains in effect, the situation there is highly volatile on account of the continued occupation of Arab territories seized during the 1967 war and the establishment of Israeli settlements in those territories in violation of the relevant United Nations resolutions. It is the view of my delegation that all parties involved should work together towards an amicable and lasting settlement based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and on principles which will enable the Palestinian people to exercise their legitimate right of self-determination and return to their homeland, while at the same time assuring Israel of its sovereign independence and security as a State. Meanwhile, none of the parties involved should make a unilateral move which would jeopardize the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and its successful outcome. In the light of the foregoing, my delegation welcomes the Soviet-American statement on the Middle East of 1 October 1977, which indicates the seriousness of the efforts on the part of the two Co-Chairmen to reconvene the Geneva Conference by the end of this year.

165. The question of Cyprus, which has remained for a long time on the agenda of this Assembly, continues unsolved. Despite the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus, the negotiations between the representatives of the two Cypriot communities held in Vienna in late March this year ended inconclusively. The continuing presence of the United Nations Peace-Keeping Force there has helped to maintain a precarious peace on the island. My delegation hopes that, with the resumption of the intercommunal talks, a solution acceptable to both sides could be reached which would preserve intact the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus. In the meantime, no action should be taken that would tend to decrease the prospects of such a settlement.

166. The human rights issue, now being given added prominence by some world leaders, has become a highly sensitive issue, especially since sharp divergencies exist concerning the definition of that term and the extent of its application in actual practice. While there exists the United Nations Universal Declaration on Human Rights as the only

instrument agreed to by most Member States, the industrialized nations tend to stress the political and civil liberties contained in the first half of the Declaration, but the developing countries tend to point to the wide-ranging economic and social rights contained in the second half of the Declaration.

167. However, the principal thrust of the reawakened interest in humanitarian affairs is in a direction that will strengthen the moral fibre of the world community to the benefit of individuals at large. My Government welcomes such efforts, for the principles concerning human rights are based on the most noble of ideas. In this respect, my delegation agrees with the Secretary-General, who states in his report on the work of the Organization:

“The basic aim of United Nations actions in this field is not to accuse or to provoke acrimonious debate, but to develop a common consciousness in the international community and to encourage improvement in respect for individual dignity and fundamental freedoms”. [A/32/1, sect. V.]

It is also the view of my delegation, however, that for advocate of human rights to be credible there must be only one standard for judging whether or not basic human rights are violated, and that the criteria employed must be the same in all cases and not be selectively applied. Furthermore, multilateralization of the issue, on the basis of objective and non-discriminating criteria, will tend to avoid possible exacerbation of bilateral conflicts.

168. In Thailand a humanitarian tradition has existed from time immemorial. The present Government is conscious of the need to ensure the basic human rights and requirements of all its citizens. Accordingly, it has carried out such essential projects as land reform and integrated rural development, which have received wide popular support. It has also succeeded in maintaining law and order and in restoring public confidence in honest government. Such efforts to ensure basic human rights and needs for our people would be futile without the security and stability that form the bedrock of economic development and national progress.

169. We in Thailand have a humanitarian tradition in respect not only of our own people but also of others. That is why, out of our own humanitarian feelings, we have allowed over 130,000 Indo-Chinese displaced persons to enter Thailand and have provided them with temporary relief in the form of shelter, food and medical care. This has imposed a heavy financial and administrative burden on my country as well as a security problem. As the influx grew and related problems increased, the Thai Government, already preoccupied with the task of assisting a large number of displaced persons who had come to Thailand in the wake of the 1945 Franco-Indo-Chinese conflict, sought and obtained international assistance, mainly from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as from the International Committee of the Red Cross and other voluntary agencies.

170. Responding to the Thai Government's appeal, the Office of The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees extended prompt assistance by means of large-

scale relief in co-operation with the Thai Government and various other countries, international organizations and voluntary agencies. After the first agreement of December 1975 had expired, my Government and the High Commissioner concluded a new agreement on 22 July of this year on the basis of the latest appeal in which the High Commissioner has set the target of \$12.35 million for further relief efforts. I should like, therefore, to take this opportunity to place on record my Government's gratitude and appreciation to the High Commissioner for his effective response and continued support, as well as to his dedicated representative and staff for their invaluable work in Thailand. The World Food Programme, which has given food aid to the displaced persons, and other organizations such as the Inter-governmental Committee for European Migration and the International Committee of the Red Cross, as well as the many religious and voluntary agencies involved, also deserve our grateful appreciation for their assistance.

171. It is hoped that the other United Nations specialized agencies and bodies concerned will be urged by this General Assembly to render the fullest support to the High Commissioner in providing the necessary assistance to these displaced persons, whose plight constitutes an urgent international humanitarian problem.

172. I should also like to express my Government's sincere appreciation to those countries which have not only contributed to but have further increased their support for the current relief assistance programme in Thailand, including those countries which continue to accept a significant number of the displaced persons for resettlement, thereby enabling them to begin new lives. We earnestly hope that those countries, as well as others in a position to do so, will translate their humanitarian concerns into concrete actions to help to alleviate the plight of people who are much less fortunate than their own.

173. Another major problem that gravely affects the public health, welfare and quality of life of the world population is the problem of narcotic drugs.

174. The Thai Government is deeply concerned at the growth in drug abuse and drug addiction now taking place in many parts of the world. For a number of years now, it has been generally agreed that this problem calls for urgent steps by the world community to eliminate the production, trafficking and smuggling of illicit narcotics and to control the spread of addiction. But today all these goals remain elusive.

175. My Government is currently making every possible effort to suppress trafficking through our territory in co-operation with the law enforcement agencies of interested Governments as well as with the United Nations. These crack-downs on drug traffickers have so far produced encouraging results. We are, at the same time, vigorously promoting an educational campaign against illicit drugs throughout the country.

176. Early this year, the present Thai Government established a new office, the Narcotics Control Board, to improve the co-ordination of the efforts and arrangements of Government agencies entrusted with the various tasks

involved in suppressing drug abuse and trafficking. Efforts to persuade hill tribes to cease growing the opium poppy in the northern border areas have made substantial progress under the joint United Nations-Thai Programme for Drug Abuse Control. Although we have encountered many difficulties in obtaining accessible markets with fair prices for substitute crops, Thailand is determined to proceed with the current project.

177. I should like to reaffirm my Government's commitment to bilateral, regional and multilateral co-operation in the campaign against drug abuse and against the drug traffic. Each and every nation should do its utmost to contribute, in a spirit of co-operation, to the combined efforts being made within and outside the United Nations framework, until our common objective of eradicating this evil from the world and of achieving freedom from drug abuse is realized.

178. Discrimination against a person on racial grounds constitutes a violation of basic human rights. The Thai policy on this matter is clear and unequivocal. Racism and racial discrimination in any form or guise, including *apartheid*, are abhorrent to the Thai Government and people. The policy of *apartheid* as practised in South Africa is offensive to human dignity and contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations. My Government took part in the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid* held in Lagos last August and joined with other participants in demonstrating the serious concern of the international community over the inhumane policy of *apartheid*. My delegation wishes to reiterate once again its whole-hearted support for and solidarity with all those who are currently striving to eliminate *apartheid* and racial discrimination from Africa and the rest of the world.

179. The problems of southern Africa have today become the centre of the attention of the international community as never before. The United Nations has played a crucial role in informing us of the plight of the people in Zimbabwe and Namibia. The International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held at Maputo in May this year, highlighted the grave problems existing there and reminded each of us of our obligation to work for an early end to minority rule and the inhumane policy of racial segregation.

180. It is tragic that in Zimbabwe the illegal minority régime continues to be intransigent and has stepped up the campaign of brutal repression against the people of Zimbabwe. Thailand joins the overwhelming majority of Member States in extending support to the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle to achieve independence based on the principle of majority rule achieved through the system of "one man, one vote".

181. My delegation associates itself fully with the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia. Free elections under the supervision and control of the United Nations should be held as soon as possible for the whole of Namibia, as one political entity, in accordance with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). The Namibian people, with SWAPO acting as their spearhead, must be allowed to attain self-determination and independence within a united Namibia, and we deplore any deceitful action on the part of

South Africa to perpetuate its colonial exploitation of the Namibian people and further obstruct their progress towards independence. My delegation hopes, however, that the present joint diplomatic efforts by the United Kingdom and the United States will help to persuade the leaders of the two régimes concerned to be less intransigent, so that progress towards full independence for both Namibia and Zimbabwe may be hastened and further bloodshed avoided.

182. The international economic system created after the Second World War has proved to be inadequate in view of the changing patterns of economic growth and the increasing interdependence of nations. Many developed and developing countries have thus concluded that there is a real need for a major overhaul of the existing international economic system. This process of negotiation to create the new international economic order is already under way in a variety of forums, both within and outside the United Nations, where developing nations have been seeking a greater role in global economic decision-making. The new international economic order represents the only hope for the future of the developing nations because it aims essentially at redressing for the good of all the imbalances which have for too long existed in the relationship between the rich and the poor nations. What we as a member of the community of developing nations aspire to is the institutionalization of measures that will ensure: first, the stabilization of the prices of primary commodities especially relative to manufactured products; secondly, an increase in the share of the developing countries in world exports of manufactured goods; thirdly, a larger flow of development assistance in real terms; fourthly, an increase in capital investment in areas most relevant to the domestic economic needs of the developing nations; and fifthly, a decrease in the dependence of the developing countries on imports of manufactured goods.

183. As a producer and exporter of primary commodities Thailand also shares the desire of the developing countries, as manifested in the various forums of negotiations, that commitments should be forthcoming from the industrialized countries to import from them increased quantities of commodities in all forms. Furthermore, constraints on trade arising from tariff and non-tariff barriers in developed countries should be reduced or, better still, eliminated.

184. The crucial weakness in the present mechanism of international trade which is of immediate interest to Thailand and other developing countries has been the instability of the prices of primary commodities. Price fluctuations militate against a stable rate of economic growth by their effects on export earnings. The importance of this problem cannot be overstated for most of us in the developing world. As an illustration, the 18 commodities initially identified at the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi as being of export interest primarily to the developing countries¹¹ account for about one third of the total export earnings of Thailand. Any adverse price fluctuation in these commodities would have unfavourable effects on a developing economy such as ours. It is for this

¹¹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), part one A, resolution 93 (IV), sect. II.

reason that Thailand welcomes the modest achievement of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, resulting in concrete steps leading to the establishment of a common fund aimed at improving the structure of international commodity markets, which are essential to the long-term growth and development of the developing countries.

185. The foregoing remarks reflect not only the views of Thailand but also those of our partners in ASEAN as embodied in the joint communiqué issued after the 2nd meeting early in August this year of the Heads of Government of the ASEAN countries in Kuala Lumpur. The concerns and the efforts of the ASEAN group of developing countries are thus identical with those which the developing countries as a whole have consistently expressed in the forums of the United Nations since the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

186. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris produced some positive results in reaching limited agreements in certain fields where follow-up negotiations between North and South are clearly needed. Nevertheless its over-all results fell short of agreed objectives, and no real progress was made towards the restructuring of the international economic system or the solution of the most pressing problems facing the developing countries today. It is to be regretted that during the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly, for want of time, no mutually satisfactory conclusion was reached regarding the assessment of the Paris Conference. But we must not lose hope. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation should now be placed in its proper perspective—as only one phase in the long process of the North-South dialogue. Since much valuable time has already been lost, both developed and developing nations should put their heads together and intensify their efforts within the United Nations system to review their respective positions on unresolved issues, especially those relating to the establishment of the new international economic order. The Thai delegation supports the proposal put forward by the Group of 77 during the resumed thirty-first session to convene a special session of the General Assembly at the ministerial level by early 1980 at the latest in order to assess the progress made in the various forums of the United Nations system in the establishment of the new international economic order.¹²

187. As a food producing and exporting country, Thailand was honoured to be elected last year to the World Food Council. We also noted with satisfaction that some basic agreements were reached in regard to food and agriculture at the Paris Conference. There can be no doubt that solutions to the pressing world food problems, including malnutrition and the improvement of agriculture in developing countries, must be regarded as matters of primary concern and as the responsibility of the international community as a whole. Nor can it be overemphasized that there exists in the developing countries a vital link between agriculture and food production on the one hand and rural development on the other and, hence, the long-term

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Annexes*, agenda item 66, document A/31/335/Add.2, para. 3.

economic stability and growth of those countries. In this context, therefore, Thailand, which participated in the third ministerial session of the World Food Council in Manila in June this year, wishes to express once again its full support for the decisions emanating from that session [see A/32/19] aimed primarily at increasing world food production to help alleviate the problem of food shortage in the world.

188. With regard to food aid policies and programmes, however, Thailand wishes to express again its concern that care must be taken to avoid disincentives not only to production in recipient countries but also to food-exporting developing countries. We fully endorse the principle of the triangular transaction in any programme of food aid and urge that such a principle be applied, to the maximum extent possible, by the donor countries and agencies.

189. My delegation wishes to express its gratification that the target of \$1 billion has been achieved by the International Fund for Agricultural Development. We wish to place on record our appreciation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations and to the Executive Director of the World Food Council for their invaluable efforts to bring the Fund into being. The early commencement of the operations of the Fund is clearly fundamental to the solution of the world's food problems.

190. The year 1976 was a critical one for both UNDP and its partners in the sense that, apart from being the last year of the first programming cycle, it was also the year in which UNDP, as the financing agency of the United Nations on a broad range of developmental activities, was beset with severe financial and administrative problems. There were some extremely difficult decisions which the Administrator had to make to restore confidence in this regard, and he took the necessary steps with dispatch, courage and far-sightedness. Therefore, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to him and to his colleagues in UNDP for the useful efforts they have so far made to overcome the difficulties facing them and to put UNDP once again on the right track.

191. The importance and usefulness of UNDP do not lie only in the fact that it embodies, on a global scale, the international commitment to pool resources and expertise in a vast variety of fields for the purpose of assisting the developing countries in their national and regional developmental needs; equally significant is its role as a catalyst and innovator in the employment of modern approaches and techniques to technical co-operation and developmental technology aimed at helping the developing countries acquire the capabilities they need for self-reliance, both individually and among themselves. It is thus that this United Nations body can truly serve the long-term needs of the majority of the world and in so doing transform itself into a truly valuable instrument for world economic and social advancement. As a member of the Governing Council of UNDP, Thailand will do all it can to strengthen such a role for UNDP and pledges its full support and co-operation in the common task of rendering UNDP even more useful and effective.

192. I wish to turn now to the role of ESCAP. On the occasion of the opening of the thirty-third session of ESCAP in Bangkok, my Prime Minister spoke of ESCAP's

invaluable role not only as an honest broker between developed and developing countries in the region but also in the promotion of co-operation among the developing countries themselves.¹³ In this regard, my delegation wishes to note the significant progress made in both economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries. While the results of the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City in September 1976, were relatively inconclusive, a useful beginning was made which we hope will pave the way towards tangible accomplishments in this important field. With regard to technical co-operation among developing countries, I wish to reiterate here our appreciation for the positive efforts which ESCAP and the United Nations agencies concerned have made not only in the promotion of projects relating to technical co-operation among developing countries but, more importantly, in the promotion of the very concept of technical co-operation among developing countries, a concept crucial to the establishment of the new international economic order.

193. International agreement on the law of the sea has long been overdue. Although certain progress has been made during the sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, there still remain many fundamental issues to be further negotiated at the next session in Geneva. One example of substantive progress was the issuance of the informal composite negotiating text,¹⁴ which combined all the chapters in one single document. A high degree of political will and mutual trust must prevail if the next session of the Conference is to be successful; and my delegation wishes to appeal to all parties involved to strive even harder to arrive at an agreement on this highly important issue in the spirit of mutual accommodation.

194. The United Nations is now 32 years old. During those years, the system and practices governing international relations have undergone profound changes and some of the key assumptions of recent decades no longer hold true. Some issues which have dominated world events are now receding, while new ones have become prominent on the international agenda. Interdependence has become the hallmark of international relations and the distinction between the political and the economic aspects of international affairs is being rapidly narrowed. The Organization, too, has changed. Not only have many new States been admitted to the Organization, but also, increasingly, varied matters are being subjected to international scrutiny, as witnessed by the current cycle of thematic conferences being held under the aegis of the United Nations.

195. In the face of these significant changes, all Member States should endeavour, through good sense and foresight, to find ways and means of making the United Nations more effective in meeting the new challenges.

196. Though the founders of the United Nations have proved unusually prescient and the instrumentalities they

¹³ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-third Session, Supplement No. 8*, paras. 28-30.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

employed to reach and to implement decisions have proved remarkably adaptable, many aspects of the existing concepts, principles and machinery have become inadequate to cope with the ever-expanding requirements confronting the Organization. My delegation noted that the General Assembly, at its twenty-ninth session, established an *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Charter of the United Nations. We also have before us recommendations of the 13 wise men concerning the restructuring of the United Nations, in particular the reorganization of the economic sector. All these recommendations should be studied seriously with a view to taking action to correct inadequacies and to improve our Organization further.

197. Above all, it must be recognized that one principal source of the world Organization's strength is that it expresses some of the deepest and most fundamental aspirations of mankind. It is this moral authority which constitutes a vital asset of the Organization. All Member States have therefore an interest in protecting and preserving the Organization's moral authority and in not dissipating it, for instance, by adopting inconsistent and contradictory resolutions, which only serve to compromise the authority and the effectiveness of the very instruments in which we place our hopes and abiding faith.

198. Finally, I should like to pay a warm and sincere tribute to our able and indefatigable Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, upon whose shoulders falls the heavy task of heading this world Organization. For his industry and his dedication to the cause of peace, freedom, justice and human progress, he clearly earns and deserves our continued full support in the performance of his important and often very difficult and delicate tasks.

199. The well-being of nations and men are today irrevocably linked. Many common challenges are now facing us: how to solve existing political conflicts; to progress towards disarmament; to eliminate all vestiges of colonialism; to work towards achieving the new international economic order; to protect the global environment and to preserve existing non-renewable resources; and to ensure world-wide respect for human rights and social justice. Let us resolve to meet these challenges together, and let each resolve to fulfil his share of responsibility so as to make this planet Earth a better place in which to live for all mankind.

200. Mr. AL-ALAWI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation and myself, I extend our sincerest congratulations on your election as President of this session, and I express my confidence that the work of the session will produce achievements of benefit to all in our international community. We have the advantage of your long experience, combined with your renowned skill and wisdom, and the earnest efforts of your Government in the service of peace. Therefore, Mr. President, I have no doubt that you will perform the functions entrusted to you in the best possible manner.

201. I must also commend the excellent performance of your outstanding predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, in conducting the previous session, which covered many important tasks, and I wish to congratulate the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his ceaseless efforts in the service of

this Organization and its Charter. I should also like to take this occasion to welcome the new Members which have joined our Organization at this session.

202. My country recognizes the great importance of the role of the United Nations in promoting and supporting world peace and security and in accelerating co-operation between all nations in all possible fields, in order to bring welfare and stability to the entire human community and to arrest the catastrophes of war and the evil effects of conflict and dissension, which destroy the hopes of everyone for security, stability and a free and decent life.

203. While we are aware of the numerous and important achievements of the United Nations in the service of international peace and security, and in the development of economic and social co-operation among various countries, we feel that the United Nations has not realized its full potential in either of those two fields. Neither world peace nor international economic co-operation is as widespread as it ought to be. Now, more than ever before, there is an urgent need in both those fields for joint and continuous efforts to eliminate the threats to international peace and to remove the existing obstacles to greater international economic co-operation.

204. The most dangerous threat to international peace and security is the deterioration of the situation in the Middle East resulting from Israel's defiance of the international mandate represented by the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions.

205. Israel's deliberate obstruction of the present peace efforts exposes the area to the danger of a new and explosive armed conflict, the destructive consequences of which will not be confined to the Middle East region but will extend to the whole world.

206. At present the Middle East is at a cross-roads: either the peace efforts will succeed and a just and permanent peace will be achieved in the area, or they will fail, leading inevitably to a new and terrifying eruption.

207. The international community, whose mandate has been entrusted to the Assembly, has no choice but to support and endorse the rule of law and justice, to seek peace, to put an end to Israel's intransigence and to demand that Israel respect international law and implement United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) condemning the acquisition of foreign territories by force and calling for the withdrawal of Israel from the Arab territories which it has occupied since 1967. In this regard the international community must also see to it that the Palestinian people is given its full, legitimate and inalienable rights.

208. My country's absolute belief that peace and security for the whole of the international community are inextricably linked causes it to view with grave concern the dangerous intervention of external Powers in the internal affairs of the peoples of the African continent.

209. Occurring after the long and bitter struggle for independence by the African peoples, this foreign intervention aggravates the problems of this continent and dims

its countries' prospects for that genuine peace which Africa and the international community are seeking, especially after the long sufferings endured by those countries in their struggle for independence. We see in this foreign intervention nothing but a blow to the hopes and aspirations of the African peoples in their pursuit of a free and peaceful life in accordance with a system of free choice and self-determination, free of any foreign interference.

210. The aim of this foreign intervention is also the destruction of existing efforts to find solutions to the urgent problems of the African continent, solutions which will lead to security, stability and the development of the economic capabilities of the African peoples.

211. The implementation of the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace will exempt that region from international conflicts, thereby freeing its peoples to develop their countries in a climate of security and stability and enable them to participate more effectively in solving the problems confronting mankind.

212. A problem which is still a source of great concern to us all is the arms race between the super-Powers. In addition to the huge waste of financial resources which it entails, the arms race is dragging the world to the brink of a bottomless pit. For that reason, and recognizing the fact that the United Nations has not in recent years reached an adequate agreement on the numerous matters related to disarmament, we see a need to increase our efforts to take new steps to achieve progress in this area.

213. We look forward to a discussion of the subject of disarmament at the coming special session of the United Nations devoted to that purpose and we hope that fruitful progress will be achieved through it.

214. Also, the slowdown in international détente places a special responsibility on the two super-Powers, principally because of the continuation of conflicts between them. The effect of these conflicts is not limited to preventing effective co-operation between the two super-Powers in solving the multiple problems facing the world. In addition, this strife also has a negative effect on the policies of other countries associated with the two super-Powers. This leads, in turn, to the aggravation of regional conflicts which might easily be solved but for the involvement of the super-Powers. Therefore, the responsibility for maintaining world peace and security, while the common responsibility of all countries, falls predominantly on the two super-Powers, which have a greater stake in peace and security and which, therefore, should seek an end to their long-standing conflicts and guard the interests of the international community, guaranteeing its security and stability.

215. I shall turn now to contemporary international economic problems. Without a doubt, there is now a certain measure of economic co-operation among our countries, but we hope to achieve greater co-operation in order to enable the developing countries to increase their growth rates. In the interest of the goals of development and economic growth for the developing nations, we call for a redoubling of effort directed towards international trade and foreign aid. We hope that the dialogue will continue both on measures to fight inflation and to lighten the

burden of debt and interest and on other matters often touched upon in this forum by the developing countries.

216. To be realistic, it is not by our awareness of the integrated nature of the international economy nor by our conviction as to the necessity for economic co-operation among nations that we shall surmount the international economic problems facing our world today. In the international community there are countries which made big strides in economic development and which have already established an industrial base with trained cadres of workers supporting their economic affluence and pushing it forward. There are also other countries, unfortunately constituting the great majority, which lack sufficient resources to develop their economies independently. Those countries are therefore in need of foreign assistance for their development efforts.

217. For the realization of the integrated world economy based on sound co-operation among States, which we all advocate, there rests on each of the two groups a special responsibility related to their respective economic situation. It is possible for the developing countries to redouble their growth efforts by concentrating on productive growth activities chosen according to enlightened policies. By the same token, the developed countries must allocate more economic aid to the developing countries to accelerate their growth and progress. The co-ordinated efforts of the developing countries, on the one hand, and the positive assistance of the developed countries in support of these efforts, on the other, is the ideal combination to bring favourable results and lessen economic disparity in the world.

218. Naturally, the issue cannot be resolved by considering it a matter of assistance. As we know, there is an acute need to increase the measure of economic and commercial co-operation between the countries of the two groups so as to bring about greater responsiveness to the requirements of the developing countries than we observe today. There is also the problem of transfer of technology to the developing countries. This transfer must be facilitated and accelerated to enable the developing countries to build up their industries rationally and in the shortest possible time. Still another problem is posed by the ratio between the prices of the raw materials exported by the developing countries and the industrial products they import from the developed countries. There is a need to arrive at an equitable and logical link between the prices of the two classes of commodities.

219. We have followed the North-South dialogue which took place in Paris between the developed and the developing countries for the purpose of establishing the foundations for a new international economic order that would assure greater justice to the developing countries.

220. Although this dialogue did not realize everything which we had hoped for, it has produced some limited measures such as, for example, the joint fund to finance commodity stocks under the Integrated Programme for Commodities and also certain rules related to governmental assistance for development. We hope that the developed countries will implement those resolutions and pursue their dialogue with the developing countries to lay the basis for a

new international economic order serving the interests of all. We therefore call for the resumption of the North-South dialogue. With the same enthusiasm and for the same reason, we hope that the Arab-European dialogue will continue more positively than ever for the enhancement of our mutual interests and benefits.

221. My country has always participated in the numerous sessions of the Conference on the Law of the Sea, believing in the special importance of this Conference to all countries of the world, whether coastal or land-locked. My country, being a coastal State, has been contributing working papers and ideas since the second session in Caracas, in the conviction that it will help, albeit in a limited way, towards establishing an international legal framework for the various issues being discussed or considered at these sessions. It was the hope of my country, among many others, that the most recent session would conclude, as was indeed expected, with the formulation of an international treaty encompassing those various ideas, aspects, issues and principles of the law of the sea. Although our hope was not fulfilled, there is no doubt that we must support what has been achieved thus far. We hope that the next session will succeed in its assignment, and in realizing our hopes.

222. All this having been said, there is one more subject to which my country attaches great importance and to which it is committed with the utmost seriousness and loyalty. I refer to the concept of regional co-operation in all its aspects, as the working basis for expansion of co-operation on an international scale. A regional structure with the majority of participants having cultural affinity and interdependent economies, in addition to geographical proximity, is the surest guarantee for the success of co-operation on its fullest scale among countries having such bonds. If regional co-operation is practised in a manner well adapted to the capabilities of the member countries of the regional group, with full scope given for possibilities of industrial-economic co-ordination and integration, each member country will benefit, relationships will be strengthened, the spirit of friendship and good neighbourliness will be promoted, and the possibilities of conflict will be removed.

223. In this belief, and with the guidance of His Majesty Sultan Qabus bin Said, my country has taken the initiative in establishing co-operation of this kind in our region and is pursuing it with full dedication, cherishing the hope that greater co-operation among our countries in all possible fields will be achieved for the common benefit of all States and peoples in the region.

224. Since the day on which my country joined the international family, it has been working at home and abroad, striving earnestly to keep abreast of modern developments, taking great strides in self-development, making full use of the experience of more advanced people—all in the belief that human experience is the common heritage of all mankind and that the international community no longer consists of isolated entities.

225. There remains one final subject on which I really did not intend to speak. But regrettably and despite my awareness of your valuable time, I find myself compelled to exercise my right of reply to the unfounded and fallacious statements made by the Chairman of the Presidential

Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen before this Assembly at its 16th meeting, on Monday, 3 October.

226. Allow me first to point out that the statements of the speaker from South Yemen are not only a travesty of the facts but also constitute a direct interference in the internal affairs of a Member State in violation of the provisions and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, a matter which the United Nations always tends to avoid.

227. Since its independence, Southern Yemen, driven by sinister motives of aggression, is always breeding conflicts in order to endanger peace and security in the Arabian peninsula. To do so it has sponsored terrorist organizations in execution of the designs of one of the super-Powers. The Sultanate of Oman, together with other Arab States, tried to help Southern Yemen to get rid of this alien and foreign influence. We assured and reiterated our readiness to help before the non-aligned Conference held in Colombo last year.¹⁵ Yet it is evident that the ruling clique in Aden is not only aiming at stirring up disorder and instability in the region, but is also bent on crushing the fundamentals of the national spirit of the people of Southern Yemen, which has led to the butchering of thousands and the assassination of leaders inside and outside Southern Yemen. This resulted in the influx of more than half a million refugees to neighbouring countries. These refugees were forced to leave their homes and live in neighbouring countries, thus causing those countries innumerable problems. These people were driven out of Southern Yemen, not because they had committed any offence, but solely because of their refusal to abandon their religious and spiritual heritage and convictions and be subjected to unjust alien laws and ideologies.

228. The real danger which we face and which the international community faces is the fact that the policies of Southern Yemen are fundamentally based on the policies of terrorism. Its terrorist agents are feverishly bent on creating chaos and disorder in the region. Our main worry here is that navigation in the Strait of Hormuz should not be endangered by the acts of these terrorists. Such acts could affect the safety and passage of international oil tankers through this Strait, which is so vital and important to the whole world. My country has a special responsibility in safeguarding international navigation through the Strait of Hormuz and we shall never allow it to be threatened or endangered. We hold Southern Yemen fully responsible for having created certain circumstances by adopting policies of supporting and abetting terrorist organizations, to the detriment of the whole world economy. There is no need to confirm this here, because it has already been confirmed from this rostrum by the Chairman of the Presidential Council of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. We only intended to bring these facts to the attention of Member States. We had hoped that Southern Yemen would pursue a realistic policy of peaceful coexistence among all the régimes in the region, but, regrettably, the ruling clique in Aden declared unequivocally before this Assembly that they do not intend to bring about favourable conditions for

¹⁵ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

coexistence, peace and stability in this part of the world. A State such as Southern Yemen, which completely ignores its international responsibilities, is not worthy of support or membership in the international family. It is not a responsible régime able or willing to maintain the interests of its people or to work, with the rest of the world, for the objectives of peace and security. We affirm here that, inasmuch as we believe in the Charter of the United Nations, and inasmuch as we are committed to creating good and friendly relations with our neighbours, we will never relinquish our sovereignty or independence and will never allow any interference in our internal affairs.

229. The Sultanate of Oman sincerely extends the hand of friendship and fruitful co-operation to all the countries of the world, without making any distinction as to social or political régime; it honours the principles of respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in the internal affairs of others, concentrates its efforts on self-development, co-operates with all in what is beneficial to all, and upholds at all times the Charter of the United Nations and strives to apply its principles to best effect.

230. Mr. SINON (Seychelles): First of all, Mr. President, allow me to extend to you the felicitations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. I must also congratulate you on your distinguished career as a diplomat in the service of your country, especially in advancing and promoting the principle and practice of non-alignment.

231. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we address a sincere tribute for his initiatives in pursuance of the cause of peace.

232. Although new ourselves as a Member of the United Nations, we welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti, which are now Members of this world Organization, and to them we offer and extend the assurance of our co-operation.

233. This is the second occasion in which a Seychelles delegation has attended a General Assembly session, but the first at which the new Government of Seychelles, which was formed on 5 June this year, has been represented. This occasion, therefore, provides my delegation with the opportunity to make known the views and policies of my Government on a number of important matters. However, before I pass to consideration of the international scene, it is necessary to correct any misapprehension that may have gained currency as a result of the speech made by the then President of Seychelles on the occasion of Seychelles' admission as a Member of the United Nations in September last year. Mr. Mancham stated then:

"Britain, which took over from the French, has guided us with an attitude of friendly enlightenment over the years, and in this spirit readily and unreservedly granted us independence on 29 June this year."¹⁶

This is simply not true, as it gives the very definite and wrong impression that the people of Seychelles did not have to struggle for their independence. Even if there was

no bloodshed, the Seychellois did have to battle over a period of many years for independence. Individuals were sent to prison for their political beliefs or party affiliation in support of independence. Even in April 1974, at the time of the last general election in my country, public meetings and processions were prohibited for a month under the Public Order Act. And when there were gatherings of workers and others at this time, these gatherings were dispersed with tear gas. A number of persons were injured and, indeed, some of them are still suffering as a result of the injuries sustained then. Quite a number were imprisoned.

234. That those actions were taken was not the immediate result of British Government decisions, but they did occur under the British Administration at that time in Seychelles, and certain British officials on the spot were responsible for them.

235. As I mentioned earlier and as, I believe, is widely known, there was a change of Government in my country just a little under a year after independence. Those responsible for toppling the previous Government were prompted to do so by a number of reasons; but the principal one was the proposal by the then President that the general election due in June 1979 at the latest, should be postponed for five years beyond that date. That proposal was considered to be a threat to democracy and a step along the path to dictatorship. The new Government, which assumed office after the coup, is pledged to hold a general election within the next two years under a new constitution which is currently the subject of consultations with the people throughout the country. Indeed a constitutional council will be set up in the near future to draft the new constitution, taking into account the views of the people.

236. Now that Seychelles has been finally and truly liberated, my Government wishes to express its deep and sincere gratitude to the OAU in particular, but also to all those who individually assisted, for the part they played and the contribution they made. It is also appropriate and right that in this forum my delegation should record the appreciation of the new Seychelles Government for the aid of all kinds that the country received, both prior to independence and since, on a bilateral and multilateral basis. Without this aid, our political independence could not be properly consolidated and made meaningful.

237. Turning to international affairs, my delegation would like to mention that it is our Government's intention that Seychelles should be completely non-aligned, so that we do not immediately and automatically line up with one State or bloc irrespective of the rights or wrongs of any particular international issue. Small though we are, we reserve the right to make our own assessment of each question and, without fear or favour, to criticize when we consider criticism is due and to praise when praise is merited. But we shall make no attempt to interfere in the internal affairs of other countries.

238. The present Government accepts and will honour all the international agreements made by its predecessor in office and, indeed, all agreements that the country inherited at the time of its independence on 29 June last year.

¹⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1st meeting, para. 160.

239. In a spirit of friendly neighbourliness and a belief in regional co-operation, we shall endeavour to promote and strengthen links with our neighbours in Africa and around the Indian Ocean.

240. There are a number of international questions of perhaps more immediate concern to Seychelles, given its geographical location and its membership in the OAU.

241. Let me first make reference to the question of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace, which, of course, has already been the subject of United Nations resolutions, but which continues to be of considerable concern to countries in and around the Indian Ocean. Seychelles subscribes whole-heartedly to the concept of the Indian Ocean zone of peace. While the countries of the Indian Ocean have a legitimate right to guard and to provide for their own interests, for us the concept of the Indian Ocean zone of peace means that there should be no super-Power military bases or facilities there—indeed, no permanent super-Power presence of a military nature of any kind. The sooner this can be achieved, the better. Neither should the super-Powers arm certain countries in the area in order to use them as pawns in their own power struggle.

242. I must also mention two matters which have been raised by many representatives in their addresses and which are at the moment being discussed in different forums of the United Nations. They are the new international economic order and the law of the sea.

243. The major economic problem facing the world today is the wide gap between the standard of living of the advanced industrial countries and that of the developing countries. It is also a political problem, because the disparity between developed and developing countries transcends political ideologies. As a third-world country, Seychelles joins other developing countries in the urgent demand for a new international economic order. We believe that there must be fundamental changes in the structure of economic dominance and inequality. We also believe that such changes must proceed and apply universality, and not sectorally. Whatever changes are finally agreed upon must depend on human needs and conditions.

244. As regards the law of the sea, we in the Republic of Seychelles attach very great importance to the formulation of a new law of the sea. The sea is one area which we will exploit for our resources. We hope that at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea a satisfactory conclusion can be reached.

245. Turning now to the question of southern Africa, which has three constituent elements—namely, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and the *apartheid* system in South Africa—the Seychelles delegation wishes to make its Government's position quite clear and unequivocal. Firstly, Namibia should become an independent State as soon as possible. Participants in all talks leading to independence and on the future constitution of the country must include a delegation from SWAPO, which is the one organization really representative of the people of Namibia. There can be no conditions attaching to this country's independence. Like all other countries, and as provided in the United Nations Charter, Namibia has the right to self-determination. Constitutional talks must be held and must result in agreement on a constitution and on the election of a

parliament on the basis of universal adult franchise, under the supervision of the United Nations or OAU to ensure no undue pressure is applied by anyone.

246. As regards Zimbabwe, Seychelles adheres fully to the OAU resolution adopted at the recent summit in Libreville [see A/32/310, annex II, p. 2], in which it is stated that there should be full support for the Patriotic Front in its efforts to liberate the country; that the people of Zimbabwe should be afforded political, material and financial assistance to regain their rights to self-determination and independence; and that the question of the political leadership of the country, after the ouster of the Smith régime and the attainment of independence, must be left to the people of Zimbabwe to decide on the basis of universal adult suffrage.

247. There is little to be said about *apartheid* that has not been said before in condemnation of that odious and inhuman system, except that it has to be ended just as soon as possible, and to that end all right-thinking Members of the United Nations must lend all their support and efforts.

248. As regards the Palestinian cause, we believe that the Palestinians should have a right to a homeland of their own and that the Israelis should withdraw immediately from the occupied Arab territories.

249. As to Western Sahara, my Government yesterday officially recognized the Frente POLISARIO in its attempt to liberate the people of that region. I shall now read the text of a telegram the President of the Republic of Seychelles has sent to Mr. Mohamed Abdelaziz, President of the Revolutionary Command and Secretary-General of the Frente POLISARIO, the movement which is currently engaged in an armed struggle:

“It gives me great pleasure on behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Seychelles and on my own behalf formally to extend our official recognition of Sahawri Arab Democratic Republic. We have followed with great interest the valiant campaign being carried out by the Polisario Front in its attempt to liberate the people of Saguiet el Hamra and Rio de Oro and will endeavour to assist you in every way possible on the diplomatic front and in international forums to free your country from foreign occupation.”

250. The official recognition of the Government of the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic coincides with the date originally set for an OAU summit meeting that was to have been held in Lusaka, Zambia, to discuss the question of Western Sahara. That meeting was unfortunately postponed on account of the security situation in Zambia. And once again the future of the Sahawan people was shelved for an indefinite period. My Government's decision is a demonstration of its solidarity with legitimate liberation movements on the African mainland and of its sympathy with the ideals of the Frente POLISARIO, which coincide with the aims of the Seychelles People's United Party, as manifested during its own liberation struggle against colonialism.

251. We hopefully wish that much of the world unrest will be solved at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

The meeting rose at 6.35 p.m.