



CONTENTS

	Page
Agenda item 9:	
General debate ( <i>continued</i> )	
Speech by Mr. Lubega (Uganda) . . . . .	509
Speech by Mr. Vunibobo (Fiji) . . . . .	511
Speech by Mr. Fitouri (Tunisia) . . . . .	515
Speech by Mr. Pachariyangkun (Thailand) . . . . .	518
Speech by Mr. Kaddour (Syrian Arab Republic) . . . . .	522

**President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).**

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. LUBEGA (Uganda): On behalf of the delegation of Uganda, I should like to congratulate you, Sir, most sincerely on your well-deserved election as President of the thirty-third regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election is a fitting tribute not only to your country but also significantly to your eminent qualities as a statesman, diplomat and academician.

2. We should also like to congratulate your predecessor, Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Yugoslavia, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, on the excellent manner in which he presided over the thirty-second regular session and the special sessions of the General Assembly this year.

3. We pay a tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the dedication and efficiency with which he continues to lead our Organization. The personal commitment of the Secretary-General to the solution of problems of decolonization, international economic co-operation and international peace and security, among others, convinces us that, given the political will necessary for the implementation of United Nations decisions on the part of all of us, success is not out of sight.

4. At this session we are pleased to welcome Solomon Islands, which has joined the world Organization as its one hundred and fiftieth Member, and we look forward to fruitful co-operation with it.

5. The question of self-determination and independence in southern Africa and elsewhere is a prime factor in the formulation and execution of Uganda's foreign policy. That is why in an international forum of this nature it is essential that we reaffirm our total commitment to and support for the struggle for self-determination and majority rule in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa. There is no need to stress our conviction that our brothers and sisters in southern Africa must attain the freedom and liberties which are the legitimate right of all peoples.

6. The ordeals suffered by the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa under the racist and rebel régimes are too well known to this Assembly and do not need to be reiterated. Equally well known are various declarations and resolutions arrived at in various international forums. Of common knowledge, too, are decisions emanating from such declarations and resolutions.

7. Uganda pledges itself, just as it has always done, to extend total support to any such decisions which are geared towards the goal of total independence for the people of Namibia and Zimbabwe and the end of *apartheid* in South Africa within the shortest possible time.

8. It may be recalled that in 1966, by General Assembly resolution 2145 (XXI), South Africa's Mandate over the Territory of Namibia was supposed to be terminated. In the following year a special session of the General Assembly set up the United Nations Council for Namibia to take on full responsibility for the Territory until independence [*resolution 2248 (S-V)*]. Both the Security Council and the International Court of Justice endorsed those decisions.

9. We are convinced that, in spite of the difficulties that have faced the United Nations Council for Namibia since its establishment and despite the atrocities committed daily against the Namibian people by the racist Pretoria régime, victory is round the corner, thanks to the unswerving determination of the people of Namibia under the leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [*SWAPO*]. Indeed, the increased armed struggle by SWAPO, the only authentic representative of the people of Namibia, has demonstrated to the world that the people of Namibia will achieve true and genuine independence. SWAPO's efforts for the cause of independence must therefore be commended.

10. On behalf of my delegation I wish to restate that my country will continue, within its means, to render unwavering support, both material and otherwise, to SWAPO in this noble struggle. We believe that it is essential for SWAPO to continue the armed struggle despite, and even alongside, the diplomatic offensive.

11. Whereas we note with appreciation the concern that this Organization has expressed by holding the ninth special session of the General Assembly, on Namibia, as well as Security Council meetings on the Territory, we are seriously concerned at the way racist South Africa is left with liberty to continue its repression of the Namibian people.

12. In our opinion, the Security Council at its last meeting on Namibia should have come out with a definite stand on racist South Africa rather than merely requesting it to

co-operate in the implementation of Security Council resolution 435 (1978). Should South Africa not take heed of the Security Council decision, we support the stand that the United Nations should take punitive measures, including the invocation of Chapter VII of the Charter. We hope that when that stand is taken those Powers and their transnational corporations which have always opposed the invocation of Chapter VII, because they are leading trading partners of the South African régime, will put the interests of mankind before material advantages.

13. We support those measures, notwithstanding the fact that it is taboo to advocate such steps in some quarters, which see Namibia and Rhodesia as the cushion or periphery of the Pretoria régime, a régime which must be protected as the custodian of the legacy of imperialist, colonialist and neo-colonialist domination. We oppose that stand. We reject the proposition that nobody should touch the nerve-centre of imperialism and racial hatred, the stage on which the active domination by the Western transnational activities of the continent of Africa, the south Atlantic and the Indian Ocean is enacted.

14. In spite of all this, is Africa still gullible? Do all believe that those who created the southern African situation, the very ones who are behind the *status quo* and of whose values South Africa is a legendary example, will turn around to destroy it? This does not appear to be very logical. Of course a change of heart there can be, but if there is such a change it should be manifested in concrete action: action that should involve the ending of support, military, economic and moral, to Pretoria.

15. It is within the framework of the foregoing thoughts that my country views with scepticism some of the overtures that we have heard of in recent months. Needless to say, we should be very happy if the problem could be solved diplomatically.

16. We fully support the armed struggle in Zimbabwe and hope that there will be more and more unity emerging within the liberation movement in order to accelerate the freedom and independence of that Territory.

17. In order to arrest the situation in South Africa, we call upon the international community, through this Assembly, to step up concrete measures that will reinstate social justice in the Territory and peace and security in the entire region.

18. The situation in the Middle East constitutes a serious threat to international peace and security, and we support the declaration of the non-aligned countries that Palestine is the core of this question [see A/33/279, para. 5]. We believe that no durable peace can be achieved in that part of the globe until Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territories and the inalienable national and legal rights of the Palestinian people are restored, with freedom to exercise those rights, including the right to return to their homeland, to self-determination and to establish an independent Palestine, with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole representative of the Palestinian people. We hope that every effort will be exerted by all concerned to avoid further divisions among the Arab peoples during this crucial period.

19. The world is no nearer to peace and global tranquillity than it has been in the past. Despite attempts to achieve an agreement at the second series of Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the Soviet Union and the United States of America, we continue at the same time to witness the release of more funds for the further development of even more sophisticated weaponry by those concerned.

20. My delegation welcomes the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted by the tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament [resolution S-10/2, sects. II and III]. We hope that, given the political will, headway towards the achievement of the desired end will be made. We believe that, instead of astronomical amounts of technical and financial resources being diverted to armaments, such resources should be utilized for the socio-economic betterment of poor nations.

21. My delegation views with serious concern trends in the world economic situation whereby the rich developed nations continue to get richer while the poor developing countries are getting poorer. The old international economic system that was designed by the exploiters to serve their own interests, without any regard for the interests of the developing countries, continues to flourish in spite of the landmark consensus decisions of the sixth special session which launched the New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)].

22. My delegation is concerned by the intransigence of some developed countries in negotiations regarding the implementation of United Nations decisions concerning the establishment of the New International Economic Order. Our concern is all the greater in view of the worsening economic situation prevailing in most developing countries. The restructuring of the world economic system is not only necessary but also inevitable. Therefore any attempts on the part of some developed countries to frustrate the North-South dialogue and maintain the *status quo* are doomed to failure.

23. The developing countries cannot accept the perpetuation of the relationship of dependence which has for long characterized international economic relations. We demand a system based on equality, fairness and justice in which all countries must participate fully in the decision-making process. The continuation of the existing disparities and inequalities poses a serious threat to international peace and security, without which development efforts cannot succeed.

24. The stalemate obtaining in the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, sometimes called the Committee of the Whole, over the mandate and functions of that Committee is living testimony to the lack of political will on the part of some developed countries, particularly the major industrialized countries, to engage in the genuine and meaningful negotiations required for the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

25. The recent break-down in the work of the Committee of the Whole and the failure to agree on the manner in which the Committee should fulfil its mandate are a clear reflection of the reluctance of some developed countries to come to grips with the structural and other changes in

international economic relations which are vital not only to the interests of the developing countries but also to the future of the world community.

26. In this regard we share fully the views of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77, who in their joint declaration issued on 29 September 1978 [A/33/278] strongly reaffirmed that the United Nations system is the only framework within which all negotiations of a global nature relating to the establishment of the New International Economic Order should take place.

27. It is against this background of deterioration in the international economic situation and its inherent dangers that Uganda has seen fit actively to encourage and engage in co-operation with other developing countries in the economic, technical and other fields. We firmly believe that the worsening economic conditions of the developing countries can be alleviated through collective self-reliance on the part of the developing countries. Co-operation among developing countries, in our view, offers the most promising way out of the economic plight of those countries. In this regard we fully support and endorse the Plan of Action adopted by the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries.<sup>1</sup>

28. We welcome the appointment of one of Africa's outstanding sons, Mr. Kenneth Dadzie, as Director-General for Development and International Economic Co-operation, and it is our earnest hope that he will receive the necessary support from all concerned and that adequate resources will be made available to the Director-General in order to enable him to discharge effectively the heavy responsibilities that have been entrusted to him.

29. Regarding the law of the sea, Uganda is very much concerned about the slow progress of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. It has almost become an annual jamboree and a heavy drain on the meagre resources of the poor developing countries. Certain developed countries have deliberately obstructed speedy progress in the negotiations while at the same time threatening to "go it alone" and exploit the resources of the deep sea-bed area with total disregard for the principle of the common heritage of mankind. To my delegation, this unilateral action of "going it alone" reminds us of the period of grabbing colonies when some of those same Powers were making such declarations to each other as: "From this mountain to the sea is my colony", and the partitioning of Africa at the Berlin Conference of 1884 and 1885. We earnestly hope that during this period, when we are putting the last nail in the coffin of colonialism, its attributes will not be shifted from the land to the deep sea-bed area. Let us expedite the conclusion of negotiations, which should be carried on by all parties as equal partners in development on behalf of mankind as a whole.

30. In the social sphere, with regard to the status of women, my Government continues to give top priority to projects and programmes concerning women. We do recognize the United Nations Decade for Women and the

principles laid down in the World Plan of Action for the Implementation of the Objectives of the International Women's Year,<sup>2</sup> adopted by the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held at Mexico City in 1975. To implement that programme, my Government has established a National Council for Women with a permanent secretariat to provide a single machinery through which the full integration and participation of women in national, regional and international development can be intensified during the Decade for Women. The secretariat is also to facilitate the establishment of, and to work with, the ECA African Training and Research Centre for Women, which will be responsible for research and surveying to identify women's aspirations, needs and problems and to advise Governments on ways and means of solving them.

31. Equal importance and high priority is given to the over-all integrated services for children within our development programme. It is in this spirit that we welcome the International Year of the Child. During this period, countries will review their programmes for the well-being of children, mobilize support for national and local programmes, heighten awareness among decision-makers and the public of children's special needs and promote the vital link between programmes for children and economic and social progress.

32. In conclusion, I should like to inform the Assembly that at the beginning of this year my President declared 1978 a year of peace, love, unity and reconciliation. To this end, the Government has been pursuing a policy geared towards the realization of those ideals, both domestically and internationally.

33. We are confident that with the goodwill and co-operation of the international community we shall be able to succeed.

34. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): Mr. President, previous speakers have spoken in glowing terms of your ability and wealth of experience and of the satisfaction they have derived from your election as President of this session of the General Assembly. My delegation, even at this late hour, wishes to be associated with those who have spoken previously in congratulating you. We also congratulate your country and Latin America for having given to the service of the United Nations a person of your eminence and distinction.

35. At the same time, we are not unmindful of the contributions made by your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Lazar Mojsov, of Yugoslavia, who presided over the thirty-second session and the subsequent special sessions.

36. Like Africa and Asia, the Pacific was, and continues to be, a victim of colonialism. It, too, has not been spared the agonies, frustrations and vicissitudes of domination by foreign Powers. It is a matter of great satisfaction, therefore, to my delegation to welcome Solomon Islands into our midst and to extend to it our co-operation and support.

<sup>1</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11), chap. I.

<sup>2</sup> See *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1), chap. II, sect. A.



37. Although we come from a region far removed from the main centres of trade, the growing interdependence of the developed and the developing countries makes it necessary for us to follow closely the various discussions on economic issues affecting the international community.

38. We therefore note with regret and some concern the growing trends towards protectionism. We do not merely view this trend as unhealthy; it also makes us wonder as to the sincerity of those in the developed countries who have been loud in their assurances and commitment to a more equitable distribution of the world's wealth. The statement by the President of the World Bank during the annual meeting of the Bank and the IMF in Washington recently, raises a serious doubt in our mind as to the prudence of protectionism as a policy. Mr. McNamara said:

"The truth is that throughout the industrialized nations this trend towards protectionism is gathering momentum. There is an increasing readiness for OECD Governments to extend assistance to domestic industries at the expense of developing country exports. And producers of a wide variety of products in the industrialized world—ranging from petrochemicals and ships to bicycle tires—are now demanding relief from import competition.

"The popular rationale for this protectionist posture in the developed nations is, of course, that the growth in developing country exports eliminates jobs.

"But while the impact on jobs in specific firms, or in particular product lines, can sometimes be serious, it is important to recognize that the negative effect of developing country exports on overall employment in the developed world has been negligible.

"The fact is that developing countries today supply only a tiny portion of the manufactured goods consumed in developing countries. Less than 2 per cent.

"Even in the case of clothing, which contributed the most to developing-country export growth, the ratio of imports to total consumption in 1976 was less than 8 per cent in the United States. In 1974, developing country textiles and clothing together constituted only 8 per cent of the market in Germany, 6 per cent in the United Kingdom, 5 per cent in Canada, 4 per cent in Japan and in the United States, and 2 per cent in France.

"These low levels of market penetration have clearly made only a minuscule impact on the overall industrial structure of the importing countries, and the impact on the occupational pattern is even smaller since a number of industries share a common need for specific occupational skills.

"Further, the number of workers displaced by imports from developing countries is only a fraction of those displaced by shifts in technology and demand in the industrialized countries themselves."<sup>3</sup>

39. We welcome the steps taken by those industrialized countries to give preferential treatment under the general-

ized system of preferences scheme to products from developing countries. We hope that other developed countries will have the courage and the foresight to join the scheme.

40. We share the concern expressed by other speakers concerning the suspension of the Committee of the Whole. While there are still areas of difference, we feel that the extensive informal discussions which the Committee has been holding since May have been useful. We urge that the General Assembly maintain the momentum with a view to reaching some agreement.

41. The population of the island countries of the Pacific is a mere 5 million. We are spread over a huge expanse of ocean. Though isolated and bereft of resources, we are nevertheless buffeted by the changing fortunes of the world's economy. There have been sharp fluctuations in both demand and prices of our commodity exports. Increased prices of manufactured goods and petroleum merely make a bad situation worse. As far as our largest export commodity—sugar—is concerned, we were fortunate to avoid any serious fluctuations, because, as a member of the Lomé Convention,<sup>4</sup> we benefited from the assurance of a guaranteed minimum price.

*Mr. Simbananiye (Burundi), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

42. It is not usual in a statement of this nature to dwell on matters which appear to be of regional interest. However, we believe that the emerging Pacific Island community merits special mention for several reasons. We are isolated from the main centres of population; we suffer from limited domestic markets, scarce raw materials, heavy dependence on imports and high transportation costs. At the same time, we do not wish to be unduly dependent on the generosity of others. We have made an earnest attempt to develop co-operation on a regional basis and have been moderately successful in this regard. Although our developed neighbours participate fully and actively in regional activities, it is our hope that they will progressively turn and identify themselves more closely with the South Pacific, of which they are a part.

43. In any comment on the world's economy, it goes without saying that there is some relationship between economic and political situations. It therefore behoves all of us, and more especially the developed countries, to muster the requisite courage and political will for the resolution of outstanding economic and political issues.

44. In terms of political issues, the Middle East problem continues to appear on our agenda. We believe that, because of the danger it poses to international peace and security, advantage should be taken of any initiative aimed at resolving the Middle East dispute, no matter how tenuous the chances of success may be. My Government applauds the bold and courageous initiative taken by President Anwar El-Sadat of Egypt. It applauds the statesmanship of President Jimmy Carter of the United States in bringing Egypt and Israel together. We have been encouraged by the

<sup>3</sup> See Robert S. McNamara, *Address to the Board of Governors* (Washington, D.C., International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 1978), p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé. For the text, document A/AC.176/7.

response of the Prime Minister of Israel, Mr. Begin, and the readiness of the Israeli Knesset to approve the Camp David proposals. Whatever the short-comings of the Camp David agreements<sup>5</sup> may be, we cannot but emphasize its importance in the quest for a comprehensive settlement of the Middle East problem—a settlement that year by year appears more and more elusive.

45. While we believe that the United Nations has an important role to play in the settlement of the Middle East dispute, we sense that only at times our own Organization itself appears to discourage a settlement, only too frequently by the use of extreme and bellicose language. We express the hope that the United Nations will play a more positive role in the settlement of this dispute.

46. We continue to view with concern the situation in Lebanon. Though separated by an immense distance, my country shares certain characteristics with Lebanon. We are a multiracial, multicultural and multireligious country. We understand the many stresses and strains that such a society is subjected to, and we sympathize with it. We have tried, with some measure of success, to build a community in which we identify and build on what we have in common. At the same time we encourage the development of those features that help to enrich and give added colour and diversity to our society.

47. We ourselves must work, and work hard if such a society, rich in its diversity, is to be developed. External influences or pressure will not help. We hope, therefore, that Lebanon will be left unhindered to rebuild itself, and thereby to re-establish peace and harmony in what was once a vibrant and dynamic community. Our participation in UNIFIL has been a useful experience both to our troops and to our country. We hope that our modest contribution will go some way towards restoring to the Lebanese people the peace that they have been denied for so long.

48. Our involvement in peace-keeping in Lebanon prompts us to make one or two further observations. First, we view with some concern the continued presence of independent groups in southern Lebanon. The external support given to those groups has blunted to a considerable degree the effectiveness of UNIFIL. Moreover, this has also meant that the restoration of control and sovereignty to the Lebanese Government has been rendered more difficult. Secondly, we believe that the United Nations has a vital role to play in peace-keeping. There are those who have declined to support this particular and useful role of the United Nations. We regret the reluctance of those who are unwilling to support the peace-keeping efforts of the United Nations. We express the hope that there will be a change in their attitude.

49. There has been steady progress in decolonization, as evidenced by the continued growth in the membership of the United Nations from 51 in 1945 to an impressive 150 today. The latest addition to the international community

is Solomon Islands, whose accession to membership in the world community is a particular source of satisfaction to us, not least because both our countries belong to the same region.

50. Moreover, my delegation has noted with interest and satisfaction that some other Territories in the South Pacific will also be able to realize their freedom soon. In this regard, we welcome Tuvalu's accession to independence on 1 October and we have noted with interest the arrangements for the independence of the New Hebrides, as indicated by the Foreign Secretary of the United Kingdom [10th meeting]. We also note the forthcoming independence of the Gilbert Islands. Beyond the South Pacific, we have noted with interest the imminent independence of the Caribbean island of Dominica. These positive trends serve to reinforce our conviction that the United Nations is indeed progressing towards the total elimination of colonialism.

51. While we welcome these developments, it is discouraging to note that there remain a number of Territories that are still ruled by foreign Powers. Some of these are progressing towards independence, while others including some in our part of the world, appear to have been forgotten, either by design or otherwise. We believe that the United Nations should ensure that all those that are under any form of foreign domination be given every opportunity to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination. For our part, through our membership of relevant international organs, including the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, we shall continue to see to it that this indeed is the case.

52. However, political independence alone is not sufficient. The onus is on the administering Powers concerned to ensure that, concomitant with political development, socio-economic development is also encouraged. Only too often, socio-economic progress lags behind political developments. The unfortunate result of such a situation is that a politically free people is invariably condemned to a situation where it has to depend on massive hand-outs—a situation that, if allowed to continue indefinitely, cannot but destroy initiative, self-reliance and self-respect.

53. In turning to southern Africa, where it is evident that aspirations to majority rule remain unfulfilled, I shall cite the case of the international Territory of Namibia, the prospects for the independence of which appear to have considerably improved, despite the unhelpful announcement made recently by South Africa that it will pursue its own plans for elections for the Territory in isolation from the United Nations. We hope that South Africa will abandon this unilateral approach and will be guided by the recent Security Council decision—resolution 435 (1978)—concerning the Territory's independence. It is important that the people of the Territory, including SWAPO, should be fully involved in the electoral processes leading to the independence of Namibia. My delegation reiterates its support for the Territory's freely determining its own future through elections to be held under the supervision and control of the United Nations.

<sup>5</sup> A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978. For the texts, see *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 38, pp. 1523-1528.

54. The people of Zimbabwe, too, have yet to decide their destiny freely. We have noted with deep interest the diplomatic efforts that are being pursued to bring genuine majority rule to a people that for too long has suffered in the pursuit of its freedom. My delegation is of the view that the search for an internationally acceptable solution could be facilitated through continued dialogue and discussions between the parties concerned. Measures such as an all-parties conference embracing the representatives of the people could facilitate the early attainment of majority government through peaceful means.

55. Because of our commitment to international peace and security, we welcome the successful conclusion of the tenth special session, on disarmament. The adoption of the Final Document [*resolution S-10/2*] by consensus merits special mention. Though encouraged by this development we are concerned by the continued existence of important differences, particularly on nuclear issues. Thus, for example, there continue to be differences regarding the conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in various geographical regions.

56. In that regard we support the call for wide adherence to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and the speedy conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty. The trilateral initiative taken by certain nuclear Powers in this regard is to be commended, and we call upon other nuclear and militarily important States to join this initiative. Until a comprehensive test-ban treaty is concluded, we call for a moratorium on all nuclear testing in all environments.

57. Regrettably, we must as we have done on previous occasions register our opposition to the continuing use of the South Pacific region as a testing-ground for nuclear devices. The repeated protests by the Governments and peoples of the South Pacific to those responsible for these tests have been of no avail.

58. Though we have been given assurances that the tests being conducted in the South Pacific are harmless, we continue to wonder—if that is so—why these tests are not conducted nearer to home. Recent reports that the inhabitants of an island in the northern Pacific which was used as a nuclear testing-ground by yet another metropolitan Power are facing difficulties, years after the tests were conducted, makes us doubt the veracity of the assurances which presumably are meant to assuage our feeling of concern and outrage.

59. Our preoccupation with urgent nuclear issues does not mean that we should relegate non-nuclear issues to secondary importance. On the contrary, we believe that appropriate agreements on such questions as the prohibition of the use of chemical and radiological weapons must be concluded as soon as possible. Similarly, we feel that urgent measures are required to curb the ever-increasing transfer of conventional arms.

60. A Conference of great importance to the international community has still not concluded its work. I refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea,

which has dragged on for some years. What is disturbing to us is that the bulk of the work has been completed but as to the remaining portion there are divergences of views and positions which appear almost insurmountable. We believe we must guard against the possibility that this small but important part of the negotiation might ruin the monumental and far-reaching work on which agreement has already been reached by the Conference. The protracted negotiation associated with this Conference has led some States to lose patience and, to a degree, confidence that there will ever be a successful conclusion. We appeal to those who have decided to enact unilateral legislation which is not consonant with the present negotiation to think again. Such a step could only impede the successful conclusion of the Conference. Moreover, it would merely add to the widening gap in our dialogue towards the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

61. Fiji, like many other countries in the South Pacific, is highly dependent on the resources of the sea because of its limited land area and its limited resources. Keeping strictly within the present development in the Conference on the Law of the Sea, our Government took the first step to bring into effect the Marine Spaces Act passed by our Parliament in December 1977, by declaring the establishment of an archipelagic régime for Fiji. The archipelagic régime has restored to us the geographic unity of our country. In declaring such a régime, the Marine Spaces Act guarantees the right of navigation in and flight over the archipelagic waters.

62. The final step in the completion of the implementation of the Marine Spaces Act will be the declaration by my Government of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone. The present declaration is limited to the establishment of an archipelagic régime. However, it is the intention of my Government to declare a 200-mile exclusive economic zone as soon as it is in a position where full effect can be given to our right to explore, exploit, conserve and manage the natural resources, both living and non-living, of Fiji's exclusive economic zone, including its sea-bed and subsoil. Among preparatory actions my Government is now taking is the initiation of consultations with neighbouring Pacific countries with which Fiji will have overlapping exclusive economic zones.

63. Moreover, the countries members of the South Pacific Forum are at present involved in difficult negotiations to establish a South Pacific fisheries agency to manage and give advice on the living resources within the jurisdiction of the Forum countries. It is our sincere hope that, with the co-operation and understanding of major fishing and other metropolitan interests in the South Pacific, the Governments of Forum members will be able to conclude a treaty which will serve the best interests of the region.

64. Fish are one of the most important resources in the economy of the island countries of the South Pacific. The negotiations for a regional fisheries agency started with high hopes. However, we have now reached a situation where the formation of such an agency is threatened. The main reason for this sorry state of affairs has been the wish of a dominant Power foreign to the region to join the agency on its own terms.



65. In our statement last year<sup>6</sup> we referred to the fact that colonialism is not dead but has merely taken on new forms and new manifestations. We view this attempt of a foreign Power to join the South Pacific fisheries agency as yet another attempt to dominate our region and to dictate to us the terms and conditions in which we should run our affairs.

66. It remains for me to express my Government's appreciation to Secretary-General Waldheim for his untiring efforts in the cause of peace and to assure him and his colleagues of our support.

67. As we observe the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, my Government pays a tribute to the United Nations for its efforts in this important field during the past three decades. This expression of felicitations is tinged with some measure of regret and concern and some disappointment at the continued and unabated violations of human rights in so many parts of the world. It expresses the hope that the next 30 years will see a vast improvement in this regard. I believe that it is appropriate that I should conclude this statement by quoting from the late Pope John XXIII, who in his Encyclical Letter *Pacem in Terris*, had this to say:

"An act of the highest importance performed by the United Nations Organization was the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, approved in the General Assembly of December 10, 1948 . . .

"...the Document represents an important step on the path towards the juridical-political organisation of the world Community. For in it, in most solemn form, the dignity of a person is acknowledged to all human beings; and as a consequence there is proclaimed, as a fundamental right, the right of free movement in the search for truth and in the attainment of moral good and of justice, and also the right to a dignified life. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

68. Mr. FITOURI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The Tunisian delegation takes pleasure in the election of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia to preside over the General Assembly. It is an honour to his country, Colombia, with which we maintain the best possible relations within the framework of co-operation among the members of the Group of 77, and is indeed a well-deserved one. The Tunisian delegation is convinced that under his leadership the Assembly's work will be conducted with wisdom and efficiency.

69. This session of the General Assembly has not opened under the best possible auspices, but we should not give way to pessimism. Instead, we should face realities with the greatest possible measure of lucidity so that we can find appropriate solutions to the pressing problems facing the international community which are now being considered by our Assembly.

70. Whether it concerns the Middle East, southern Africa or international economic relations, the present situation in

no way allays the anxieties we expressed at the last session.<sup>8</sup> Indeed, the hopes glimpsed 12 months ago have now given way to disappointment, and there is the danger of this increasing the general feelings of disenchantment and frustration, which only generate bitterness, despair and violence.

71. Not too long ago grounds for hope seemed greater than ever, and with regard to international problems there opened up before us prospects which suddenly were belied by dangerous developments.

72. As far as the Middle East is concerned, from time to time we glimpsed rays of hope that there was a possibility of a negotiated general settlement. Unfortunately, we have been disappointed in that, but we continue to believe that an equitable solution will be found and that the Palestinian people will enjoy its right to a free and independent existence in security and peace.

73. In southern Africa the Anglo-American plan for Rhodesia<sup>9</sup> and the efforts of the five Western Powers to find a solution in Namibia gave grounds for believing that the obstinacy of the white minorities in maintaining their colonial and racial domination had finally been overcome and that a peaceful settlement would shortly restore freedom and dignity to the peoples of that area. But we know what is happening: one "internal settlement" succeeds another, while the spectre of a widespread conflagration is beginning to haunt us once again.

74. With regard to disarmament, the hopes aroused by the first special session of the General Assembly ever devoted to that question have been only partially justified.

75. As to the North-South dialogue, the principal instrument for the creation of a new international economic order, the hopes which had been placed in the creation of the Committee of the Whole have been dashed. The developed countries, having systematically turned their backs on the reality of interdependence—which, however, they miss no opportunity of calling for—in the final analysis rejected the principle of true dialogue and specific negotiations.

76. If such trends were to continue all those anxieties would be justified and we could only fear the worst, because problems of this kind will not brook the procrastination which hitherto has marked the attitude of one part of the international community.

77. Thus in the Middle East all the gestures made by the Arab side, which were marked by moderation and the will for peace, affirmed, reaffirmed and proved, have turned out to be futile in the face of systematic rejection by successive Israeli Governments, particularly the present one, which remains tied to the policies of another age. The Government of Israel refuses to recognize the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people; it refuses to recognize its authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, thus closing the door to genuine peace.

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 31st meeting, paras. 148-170.

<sup>7</sup> *Encyclical Letter of His Holiness John XXIII . . . on Establishing Universal Peace, in Truth, Justice, Charity and Liberty* (Vatican Polyglot Press, 1963), p. 33.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 19th meeting, paras. 106-158.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

78. The Tunisian Government regards all efforts to bring peace to that area as meritorious; similarly, any serious gesture in that direction deserves consideration. But it is clear that the diplomacy of contacts, however essential it may be, cannot truly be expected to prove effective unless it is based on a correct analysis of the nature of the problem. Now, the essence of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict lies in clear-cut and sincere recognition of the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people.

79. In 1947 the United Nations adopted a resolution advocating the creation of an independent Palestinian State [*resolution 181 (II)*]. As a matter of principle, respect for international legality, rejection of the occupation of territories by force, and recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination are obligations incumbent upon all Member States and determine the degree of their responsibility in the conduct of international relations.

80. If we fail to bring to bear the will to peace on the very core of the conflict we run the risk of thwarting once again the possibility of a new era of peace and relief from conflict for all the peoples of the region. Indeed, all the upheavals and convulsions afflicting that part of the world are directly connected with the instability created by the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

81. The latest manifestation of this conflict is the invasion of southern Lebanon, which the occupation forces refuse to evacuate, despite United Nations resolutions and the intervention of the international Force dispatched by the Security Council, UNIFIL.

82. In this regard, we take pleasure in paying a tribute to the Secretary-General and to his civilian and military colleagues for their devotion and efficiency. Indeed, it has become clear that it is only Israeli obstruction which has prevented UNIFIL from attaining the objectives laid down for it by the Security Council.

83. The time has come for the international community and our Organization, particularly its most responsible Members, to impose peace, lasting peace, peace which will respect the independence and dignity of all the peoples of the area, and particularly the pillaged people of Palestine. On the Arab side, the will to peace has been accompanied by an effort at comprehension and a concern for realism, supported by an overwhelming majority of members of the General Assembly.

84. The Middle East region as a whole can enjoy genuine lasting peace only within the framework of an over-all settlement that takes into account the following essential aspects, among others: first, the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to build an independent State; secondly, participation in the peace negotiations by all parties concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and, thirdly, the illegality of the acquisition of territory by force, which would entail, in particular, the liberation of the city of Jerusalem.

85. The Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolutions provide the guidelines for a rapid and

over-all settlement, without which the threat of a new war, with all its unforeseeable consequences, will continue to face not only that already dangerously troubled region but the world at large.

86. In this connexion, we should heed the warning of the Secretary-General in his report, that in the Middle East "time is not in favour of peaceful developments" [*see A/33/1, sect. III*].

87. After the tenth special session, devoted to disarmament, the Assembly should do its best to promote the implementation of its decisions, and to extend the real scope of the historic impact of that session on all those areas connected with international peace and co-operation. It was indeed a historic session because it was the first of its kind and also because it brought about a real consensus. Because it opened the way to more active participation on the part of the medium-sized and small countries in the disarmament negotiations, and because it gave more precise outlines for action and conduct, the special session marked an important milestone in our common effort to spare humanity the enormous waste of effort and resources devoted to armament to the detriment of economic and social development.

88. We believe that, in addition to diverting productive resources, the arms race serves to fuel conflicts and rivalries and inevitably serves to make tighter and tighter bonds of dependence on the principal suppliers. For the third-world countries this anomalous process fundamentally jeopardizes the principle of non-alignment and leads, in the final analysis, to a greater measure of vulnerability.

89. African problems continue to be of the greatest concern to my country and Government. It is not only that the grave problems in the south of the continent have not been solved, but the whole of Africa is today the scene of crises and regional conflicts which have been aggravated in the course of a deliberate process of interference and intervention from outside Africa, both of which unfortunately have done much more to crystallize these problems than to solve them.

90. Thus, we note a rapid deterioration of the situation in southern Africa. The disappointment and anxiety we feel are a measure of the hope we had entertained that the problems of Rhodesia and Namibia would be brought into a process of peaceful settlement worked out by the Western countries. The racist Governments of Salisbury and Pretoria have responded to this by setting up their own so-called internal plans for settlement, which are just so many manoeuvres that are fraught with consequences. The distrust shown by the Patriotic Front in one case, and SWAPO in the other, have proved, unfortunately, entirely justified.

91. The authorities in Salisbury and Pretoria have cynically exploited the breathing-space provided by the peaceful settlement initiatives, in an attempt to create in the Territories which they dominate irreversible situations to perpetuate the exploitation of the people and the resources. Any new initiative should therefore be accompanied by the most serious guarantees if we do not want despair and violence finally to prevail over a peaceful settlement, which



remains the preferred approach of the African peoples. For their part, SWAPO in Namibia, and the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe, have shown the measure of their realism and moderation in an attempt to find democratic and humane solutions.

92. The authorities of Pretoria have just rejected the settlement plan of the United Nations for Namibia.<sup>10</sup> This reversal makes it even more incumbent upon us to safeguard the opportunity for a peaceful outcome and to associate SWAPO, as closely as possible, with the efforts of our Organization and the Western Powers, which have already been launched, for Namibia to be able to become independent on schedule, within the framework of its unity and territorial integrity.

93. In South Africa itself, a heroic struggle is being waged by the black people and its youth against the *apartheid* régime. Neither intimidation nor the most brutal repression will be able to crush this struggle, which is none the less extremely arduous and murderous, in a country where a white minority, with feelings of racial superiority, have no inhibitions in the way they treat the nationalists. The murder of Steven Biko will remain for ever the symbol of what has now become, from Sharpeville to Soweto, an authentic nationalist struggle.

94. We are convinced that the resistance of the last outposts of racism is doomed to failure. However, the persistence of the struggle is delaying even further the development of the African continent by diverting its resources, by destroying its best elements, and by sacrificing its youth.

95. Every year the General Assembly examines the international economic situation, and every year it sees that the problems facing the world, and in particular the third world, are becoming more numerous and more complex. We consider in turn such subjects as monetary instability, inflation, the slowing down of the rate of growth. Today, the world is staggered by the sight of the combined effects of all these phenomena.

96. It would appear that the international community is overlooking global and long-term solutions. It is confining itself to attempting to blunt, as best it can, the worst effects of the crises. Indeed, the grave monetary crises which in 1971 culminated in the suspension of the convertibility of the dollar and which gradually came to extend to the whole of the Western economy, made it an imperative necessity to bring to bear concerted action at the world level. The momentum thus generated helped to strengthen the notion of interdependence and entailed an intensification of international negotiations. The general awareness of the scope of the crisis and our incapacity to overcome it in isolation won round the last remaining sceptics to a recognition of the need to work towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

97. But the countries that were strongest economically quickly acquired a safeguard mechanism, which, though limited and fragile, was a misguided diversion of energies

that should have been devoted to the major dialogues and broad and global solutions called for by the vast majority of the developing countries. This shilly-shallying, so ill adapted to the actual dimensions of the problems, of course only granted a short-lived respite, which was immediately threatened because, in the face of problems of world dimensions, such as monetary instability and the slowing down of the growth rate, it served only to delay the inevitable.

98. The consequences of this situation affect even more severely the economies of the developing countries, which are not able to act decisively. In the face of the protectionism which is affecting more and more seriously the most dynamic sectors of their fledgling industries, and the tumbling of the export prices of primary commodities, the developing countries have been suffering from an even more marked deterioration of the terms of trade and a consequent worsening of the deficit in their trade balances. Those developing countries with "an intermediate income" which have succeeded, at the cost of many sacrifices, in maintaining a reasonable balance of payments, could not really maintain this effort much longer. They were forced into massive indebtedness towards the private capital markets, on the most difficult conditions and terms, while the supply of public assistance had dried up almost completely.

99. Are we to wait until the crisis assumes catastrophic dimensions before we begin once again to take action and to do so together? Of course, conferences at the highest levels among the major developed countries are being held one after another and decisions are taken or envisaged in an attempt to arrive at co-ordinated policies. Permit me to repeat here that any policy which today ignores the interests, needs, and economic potential of the third world, not only serves to perpetuate injustice but actually stems from selfishness which can only aggravate general economic insecurity.

100. In this regard, analyses in various quarters corroborate each other. In his address to the World Bank and the IMF just two weeks ago, Mr. Robert McNamara denounced with remarkable candour the absence of any coherent global policy, as well as the illusory and perilous refuge of protectionism and the dangers of the excessive indebtedness of the developing countries. His commitment and his conviction deserve commendation from this rostrum because he was speaking with the utmost clarity and was bold enough to place the responsibility squarely where it belongs.

101. The third world for its part cannot resign itself indefinitely to playing a passive role in world industrial production. As the developing countries proceed to modernize their economies, they must be able to play a more active world role without being exposed to artificial obstacles. The New International Economic Order, established to serve the general interest, had as its central theme that of permitting the developing countries to take their proper place within the world economy, to contribute to the general growth and to benefit from it appropriately. The North-South dialogue was to have provided the outlines for, and to have embarked upon, the process of reform likely to trigger off this process.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, *Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

102. The dialogue has rarely gone beyond the stage of analyses, general declarations and statements of intent. The Committee of the Whole set up last year by the General Assembly [resolution 32/174] to supervise and co-ordinate the various aspects of that dialogue immediately came up against the conflicting multiplicity of interpretations as to the nature of its mandate, to such an extent that it was prevented from taking any action. That makes it absolutely clear that divergences relate fundamentally to the sense and purport of the dialogue itself.

103. For Tunisia, and we think for the developing countries as a whole which form the membership of the Group of 77—which did us the honour this year of entrusting its presidency to us—the dialogue is not a forum simply for the use of theoreticians, or a battleground for confrontation and polemics, nor is it a subterfuge to maintain, however flimsily, the *status quo* in international economic relations. The dialogue we look for would be a framework for negotiations best suited for the purpose, and devoted essentially to the promotion of the New International Economic Order, in the strictest sense of the term. In order to promote this dialogue our Assembly must be able to play a central role. More than ever before the United Nations needs an effective instrument bringing together all Member States and having a clear-cut and unquestioned mandate. The dialogue if it is to succeed cannot continue to take place disparately or within technical structures seemingly indifferent to the evolution of international relations.

104. It is the task of this session of the General Assembly to give content and a framework to the North-South dialogue, which will thus be able to develop in harmony and security rather than in confusion and confrontation. Beyond matters of procedure, the debate on this point will illustrate more fundamentally the reality of commitments undertaken vis-à-vis the New International Economic Order itself and the will of all the partners to make a sincere and determined contribution to this project, which will affect the security and welfare of all nations and which Tunisia considers, for its part, as one of the fundamental reforms of our time.

105. One of the best ways to bring about this New International Economic Order is certainly to inform international opinion faithfully, carefully and accurately about the reality of the claims of the third world, and the spirit of co-operation and interdependence that underlie it. How can we trust the mass media today to transmit this message of justice and solidarity?

106. In the developed countries, most of the media present the New International Economic Order as a threat to the well-being of industrialized societies and often claim that the crisis of the developed world stems primarily from the claims and demands of the developing countries. That is one aspect, but an important aspect, of world imbalance which serves to accentuate the cleavage between the developed and the developing countries.

107. By its very essence, information plays a vital role in international relations as a way of bringing knowledge and understanding from one nation to another. Furthermore, the headlong progress of technology makes the media today

increasingly influential and gives it an ever-growing audience. The diffusion and dissemination of information and knowledge has become an essential pre-condition of progress and the flourishing of all organized society.

108. In the circumstances, we must undertake a far-reaching reform of the distribution circuits and the content of information so as to make the developing countries actually producers and partners in the whole process instead of just being consumers.

109. These third-world countries essentially receive information conceived, prepared and distributed by other countries. They suffer from the effects of a *de facto* monopoly of the information media by the industrialized countries.

110. The concept of freedom of information, which we basically support, is thus so distorted as actually to serve as an additional factor of domination which perpetuates relations based on inequality and injustice. The free circulation of information must not be reduced to the freedom to receive that information; it must also include the ability to produce the information and to pass it on.

111. That objective is connected with the determination of the third-world countries to rely upon themselves first and foremost to promote their own means of information, while remaining open to support from outside, and to give an authentic expression to their own problems, their aspirations and their values.

112. That effort will make it possible to embark in more favourable conditions upon a definition of equitable and balanced co-operation among developed countries: the new Order in information is all the more necessary because it is a corollary of the New International Economic Order, and an instrument of a new humanism.

113. The situation in the world does not encourage optimism. However, this Organization, whether it be the Security Council or the General Assembly, has laid down with respect to each problem the outlines of a peaceful and just solution. That is true of the Middle East, of Namibia, of international economic relations and many other problems.

114. Will it be too much to ask those who possess the means of translating the intentions of the international community into concrete realities to do their duty? Is it too much to ask of them to keep their promises in southern Africa, to apply their resolutions in the Middle East and to translate into reality their professions of faith with regard to interdependence by condescending to hold a dialogue and to negotiate with the peoples of the third world?

115. Let us hope that this session will be an opportunity for all of us resolutely to undertake not to allow blind, narrow interests to blind us to our true common interests, namely peace, peace everywhere, in a necessarily interdependent world of growing solidarity.

116. Mr. PACHARIYANGKUN (Thailand): On behalf of my delegation, permit me to extend to Ambassador Liévano our sincere congratulations on his election to the

presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly I wish him every success in his noble task and assure him of my delegation's full co-operation in his effort to steer this current session to a successful conclusion.

117. I should also like to pay a warm tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia, for the valuable contribution he made to the work of our Organization during the past year at the thirty-second regular session and the three special sessions of the General Assembly.

118. Our thanks go also to the Secretary-General for his dedication and good work at the helm of our Organization.

119. My delegation offers a warm welcome to Solomon Islands on the occasion of its admission as the one hundred and fiftieth State Member of our Organization. We look forward to co-operating closely with it in the General Assembly and in other United Nations bodies.

120. The year that has passed since I last addressed this Assembly<sup>11</sup> has seen many significant changes in my part of the world, namely, in eastern and South-East Asia. The present Government of Thailand assumed office in November of last year. From the beginning it has spared no effort in pursuing, with determination and earnestness, its foreign-policy objectives of cultivating and promoting friendly relations with all countries regardless of their size and power and irrespective of their political, economic and social systems. Special emphasis is placed on developing such relations with neighbouring countries and with those in the South-East Asian region based on the principles of peaceful coexistence. An important aim is to achieve effective and fruitful co-operation with those countries for the benefit of the peoples and in the interest of the stability and prosperity of the region as a whole.

121. As regional co-operation is one of the main cornerstones of our policy my Government attaches great importance to the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] of which Thailand is a member. As ASEAN is embarking on its second decade it has become more cohesive and has gained wider recognition and acceptance. That is manifested by the fact that ASEAN now regularly holds dialogues not only with the European Economic Community but also with the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and New Zealand. Other countries have also shown interest in establishing contacts with ASEAN. As ASEAN gains more recognition and acceptance it is encouraging that its concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality for South-East Asia, as proclaimed at the ASEAN Meeting of Foreign Ministers, held in Kuala Lumpur in 1971,<sup>12</sup> has also received broader support. Thailand is fully committed to the implementation of that ASEAN concept as a major step forward towards securing permanent peace and stability for the region.

122. The unrelenting efforts of my Government to develop good-neighbourly relations with all the countries in the region have finally borne fruit.

123. Our relations with the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have been normalized and further strengthened.

Agreements on trade and economic co-operation and on air services between the two countries have been concluded, and many high-level visits have been exchanged. Only last month the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam paid an official visit to Thailand which resulted in further consolidating the friendship and co-operation between the two nations.

124. The friendly ties between the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Thailand have likewise been considerably strengthened. A new agreement on the transit of goods, so vital to Laos and so important to the relationship between the two countries, has been concluded. A trade agreement has also been signed. The exchange of visits and increasing contacts have further served to promote wider co-operation and understanding between our two brotherly nations.

125. With regard to Democratic Kampuchea, my goodwill visit to that country early this year, followed by the visit to Bangkok in July by the Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Foreign Affairs of Democratic Kampuchea, enabled the two sides to engage in full and frank discussions with a view to normalizing relations between the two countries. The reduction of tension and incidents along the common border was also discussed. The promotion of trade and reopening of our respective embassies and the exchange of ambassadors in Phnom Penh and Bangkok were agreed to.

126. Relations between Burma and Thailand have also been further strengthened. During the visit to Burma of the Thai Prime Minister in May of this year many substantive issues of common concern and interest were discussed and a number of measures for ongoing co-operation were agreed upon. Those measures were meant for the mutual benefit of both our countries and peoples, and they are now being implemented.

127. Although the general situation in South-East Asia has markedly improved, there are still some areas of conflict and instability which are a source of concern to us all. Therefore, it is hoped that the existing problems will soon be peacefully resolved to the satisfaction of all concerned, thus creating more favourable conditions for wider and mutually beneficial co-operation among countries in the region.

128. Let me turn to developments in other parts of the world

129. In the case of the Middle East, it has always been the conviction of my delegation that the solution to that highly complex problem must be based on Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other relevant United Nations resolutions, and must be in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Thus, Israel's forces must be withdrawn from all occupied Arab territories and the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people must be strictly upheld.

130. In this connexion, my delegation is deeply appreciative of all efforts aimed at bringing the parties concerned to the negotiating table. In this spirit, therefore, we wish to pay a tribute to the President of the United States for his initiative in arranging a meeting at Camp David where two

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 23rd meeting, paras. 152-199.

<sup>12</sup> See document A/C.1/1019.



agreements were concluded between the President of Egypt and the Prime Minister of Israel. Although the agreements fell short of the expectations of many, including perhaps the individual parties themselves—as is often the case in difficult negotiations—they have renewed our hope that further steps will be taken on the road to a lasting peace in the Middle East.

131. The situation in Lebanon has deteriorated, and large-scale fighting has again erupted. My delegation wishes, therefore, to endorse the unanimous decision of the Security Council in adopting on 6 October its resolution 436 (1978) calling for a cease-fire in Lebanon. It is our hope that a cease-fire will be effectively implemented, thus paving the way for peaceful negotiations, and that conditions in that unfortunate country will soon return to normal.

132. In southern Africa, the basic problem facing the United Nations remains how best this world Organization can encourage and bring about a peaceful transition in accordance with the relevant resolutions and decisions already adopted by our Organization.

133. In Namibia, the events that occurred immediately after the ninth special session have brought great hopes of an effective solution being found to this problem which has been with the United Nations for over three decades. The plans for Namibia's independence which envisaged a major role for the United Nations in peace-keeping as well as in the supervision of elections during a transitional period leading to independence were endorsed by the Security Council in its resolution 431 (1978), adopted on 27 July. The Council also requested the Secretary-General to appoint a Special Representative to ensure early independence for Namibia through free elections. In this regard, the Secretary-General is to be congratulated on his choice of Mr. Ahtisaari as his Special Representative. The latter has tried to maintain close contacts with the parties concerned. However, my delegation noted with deep regret the announcement by South Africa that it would proceed to hold an election in Namibia before the end of this year without the involvement of the United Nations. This unilateral move constitutes a grave set-back to the United Nations efforts to bring a peaceful and durable solution to this problem. It is patently clear that the responsibility for this set-back must be laid at South Africa's door. It is equally clear that the free exercise of the right to self-determination by the Namibian people can no longer be postponed without dire consequences.

134. In Zimbabwe the legitimate rights and aspirations of the people continue to be frustrated. The illegal minority régime must realize that actions in contravention of the United Nations resolutions and in defiance of world opinion only aggravate the danger to peace and stability in the whole of southern Africa.

135. My Government reaffirms its resolute opposition to the policy of *apartheid*. Discrimination against a fellow human being on racial grounds violates human decency and is repugnant to mankind. My delegation joins the international community in condemning and calling for an end to the *apartheid* policy of South Africa.

136. I now turn to the question of disarmament and arms control. The historic tenth special session of the United Nations General Assembly, devoted to disarmament and arms control, resulted in noteworthy accomplishments. The session produced substantive advances in new ideas and perspectives, and the linkage between disarmament and development was also discussed. Newly broadened areas of consensus were matched in practical terms by the agreement to establish a new forum for disarmament negotiations. This was a significant move which admits the possibility of participation by all nuclear-weapon States. The Thai delegation to the special session also supported strongly the proposal that the Secretary-General establish an advisory board of eminent persons.<sup>13</sup> The decisions taken during that special session reflected a greater degree of realism and accommodation in the formation of national policies than had hitherto prevailed. This development is, in the view of my delegation, in the interests of practical security considerations as well as of economic development and national progress. Therefore it is imperative for all of us to pursue these goals further with foresight and in a statesmanlike manner, as the ultimate choice is either the end of the arms race or the end of the human race.

137. There continues to exist a serious international humanitarian problem due to the presence of Indo-Chinese refugees in Thailand and some neighbouring countries. Since the end of the tragic war in Indo-China, my country has provided a temporary refuge for over 160,000 such displaced persons. Although a significant number of them were subsequently accepted for resettlement in third countries, more than 110,000 refugees still remain in Thailand. Moreover, their number has been on the increase, thus adding further to the already heavy burden and creating additional problems for my country. Thailand, after all, is a developing country and cannot be expected to cope with a problem of such magnitude for an extended period of time. Out of purely humanitarian considerations, Thailand is already carrying too large a share of the burden, which concerns the international conscience of all mankind. My Government feels that the responsibility for dealing with this humanitarian problem must be shared equitably by the whole international community. In this connexion, my delegation warmly appreciates the new initiatives taken by some countries to strengthen their support for the efforts of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to find durable solutions to this problem. Our sincere gratitude goes also to those countries which have quietly and consistently assumed important roles in helping to alleviate the tragic plight of the refugees and giving them new opportunities in life.

138. However, a greater responsibility can and should be assumed by the international community. There are two practical difficulties which can be resolved by international co-operation. First, there is lack of adequate co-ordination among the third countries on the number of displaced persons they could individually accept for resettlement. Secondly, there is the problem of time-consuming and oft-repeated procedures for the selection of refugees. Consequently, the resettlement programme has been behind schedule, and a backlog continues to build up, to the detriment of future planning.

<sup>13</sup> Group of Governmental Experts on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development.

139. The time has come, therefore, for a more practical arrangement to be established by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, or under his auspices, after consultations with countries of temporary asylum and third countries, in order to effect better co-ordination between their national programmes and procedures for resettling the Indo-Chinese displaced persons in third countries. In this respect, my Government has proposed that there be established pooling arrangements that would provide an advance indication of resettlement opportunities on an annual basis for those Indo-Chinese displaced persons who arrived in Thailand by land, since they constitute the vast majority—they now number over 110,000—and their condition is no less deserving of our humanitarian concern than that of the so-called boat people. This does not preclude the possibility of convening a meeting of interested delegations under the auspices of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees at an appropriate time in the future.

140. For its part, the Royal Thai Government intends to continue the policy and practice of extending its full co-operation to the international community and to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees in the concerted effort to find durable solutions to this problem. In this regard it was most happy to welcome the High Commissioner, Mr. Poul Hartling, on his official visit to Thailand from 4 to 9 September of this year. At the conclusion of that visit a joint press statement was issued, reading in part as follows:

"It was the opinion of both sides that the problem of Indo-Chinese displaced persons was not a problem for Thailand alone, but one of international concern, and the responsibility for resolving this humanitarian problem should be shared by the international community on the widest possible basis."

Certain measures which might yield durable solutions were also discussed, including pooling arrangements. It is the earnest hope of my Government that the proposals and ideas discussed will be the subject of urgent consultations between the High Commissioner and the Governments concerned.

141. My delegation would like to take this opportunity to convey the deep appreciation of the Royal Thai Government to the High Commissioner and his able staff for their valuable work and the dedicated manner in which they performed their duties in assisting the Indo-Chinese displaced persons in Thailand.

142. My Government continues to attach the greatest importance to problems of drug-abuse control and the elimination of the illicit production of and trafficking in narcotics. It remains committed to a four-pronged policy in this regard. First, law enforcement measures have been further strengthened to interdict drug trafficking with outsiders. Secondly, the crop-substitution programme among the hill tribes to reduce opium production is being vigorously pursued, with significant progress being made, under the joint United Nations-Thai programme for drug-abuse control. Thirdly, the educational campaign against illicit drugs has been intensified. Fourthly, Thailand continues to extend full co-operation to the United Nations

and other international agencies concerned, as well as to interested Governments, in the global effort to eradicate these serious problems. Our common aim remains the same—namely, to stamp out the evils of drug abuse and thus to reduce the human suffering and misery resulting from drug addiction together with its repercussions on social and economic conditions throughout the world.

143. As a developing nation, Thailand faces many problems similar to those of other developing countries, the most urgent of which are those of economic and social development. It is for this reason that my Government devotes the greater part of its efforts to the improvement of the economic and social conditions of the Thai people, which can proceed more rapidly in a state of domestic tranquillity and national unity. In this connexion it does not neglect its role of trying to bring about a better political climate in the country or its responsibility to maintain law and order in the nation. Thus, within the limits of the laws, and in a spirit of national reconciliation as well as in the interest of human rights, my Government recently passed the necessary legislation granting amnesty to 18 students and other persons previously arrested on various grave charges and to all other persons who had escaped arrest on similar charges. This has enabled the Government to turn its attention to other pressing issues, while awaiting the general elections which are scheduled to take place next year.

144. During the past year, my country, along with the other developing countries in the Group of 77, has sought to carry forward processes of change and improvement in international economic co-operation, using the platform offered by the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, the so-called Committee of the Whole. The task of the Committee was to oversee and monitor the implementation of decisions and agreements regarding the establishment of a New International Economic Order. The Committee was to provide impetus for the resolution of difficulties encountered in the various negotiations and to serve as a forum to facilitate and expedite agreement on outstanding issues as well as to explore and exchange views on global economic problems and priorities.

145. In the ensuing discussions, both formal and informal, there emerged a divergence of views as to the role of the Committee. The majority felt that the Committee would be the central forum for discussion of the North-South dialogue. Furthermore, it was also envisaged that the Committee should try to arrive at action-oriented conclusions, although it would be unrealistic to expect it to come to agreement on all items and issues.

146. In mid-July of this year at the Bonn Economic Summit Conference major Western developed countries agreed on a set of common principles<sup>14</sup> which affirmed the major industrial nations' commitment to bringing about more rapid economic growth in the developing countries as well as support for the freer flow of international trade and

<sup>14</sup> See "Bonn Economic Summit Conference: Declaration Issued at the Conclusion of the Conference, July 17, 1978", *Weekly Compilation of Presidential Documents* (Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1978), vol. 14, No. 29, pp. 1310-1315.

investment essential to the economic life of those countries. This indication of well-meaning concern on the part of the major industrial nations was warmly welcomed by the developing world and gave rise to increased expectations in the Committee of the Whole in New York. Thus the member States of the Group of 77, including Thailand, were deeply disappointed when, early in September, the Committee's meetings had to be suspended because no consensus could be arrived at concerning the interpretation of its mandate. This impasse was a tremendous set-back for the efforts of the international community to continue, within a well-defined and institutionalized framework, the dialogue between the North and the South. However, the developing countries must persist in their common effort to establish a just and equitable system of economic relations through constructive dialogue and negotiations, for in an interdependent world the real interest of all countries is rooted in the equitable sharing of benefits. My delegation therefore can be counted upon during this session to support any common effort aimed at overcoming the present impasse. Failure to overcome that impasse will weaken immeasurably the prospects for the establishment of a New International Economic Order, a worthy goal to which Thailand, for one, remains firmly committed.

*Mr. Liévano (Colombia) resumed the Chair.*

147. With regard to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, my delegation noted with satisfaction that the seventh session, held in Geneva last May, had made, in the words of the Conference's President, "appreciable progress". The resumed seventh session, held in New York in August and September this year, rightly concentrated on those unresolved hard-core issues, particularly on the question of sea-bed mining. In this regard, unilateral actions should be avoided as they would endanger ongoing negotiations. Therefore my delegation fully supports the position of the Group of 77 and wishes to join with others in appealing to the industrialized nations to wait for the conclusion of a convention before proceeding with any unilateral move.

148. As for the role of the United Nations in present-day world affairs, Thailand continues to consider the United Nations as an indispensable global instrument for peace and international economic co-operation. But the United Nations is not a supranational organization but one consisting of 150 sovereign States. Its strength depends mainly on the sincere political will of the Member States to abide by the Charter and to understand and respect the interests and aspirations of others. The Organization can effectively carry out the provisions of the Charter only when Member States exhibit a willingness to subordinate their national aspirations and short-term interests to the common interests and the universal yearning for peace, equality and prosperity.

149. Many have posed the question whether the United Nations will be able to cope with the ever-increasing complexities of today's world. My answer is that with the right kind of co-operation from Member States it will. And it is up to us to do everything in our power to ensure that the United Nations achieves its basic goals, as outlined in the Charter, for the sake of peace, stability, justice, equality and prosperity for all peoples of the world.

150. Mr. KADDOUR (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I wish to extend to you my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-third session of the General Assembly and to wish you success in your noble mission. The delegation of my country will co-operate in every way in ensuring the success of the activities at this session.

151. I wish also to commend Mr. Lazar Mojsov for the constructive role he played as President of the thirty-second session and for handling the work of that session and the three special sessions with such ability, flexibility and wisdom.

152. I also welcome the State of Solomon Islands, which has been admitted as a new Member to our international Organization, and wish it prosperity and progress.

153. During the one-year period between the present session and the previous one, many significant changes and developments have occurred and some serious international problems have persisted. The world has witnessed some set-backs in the process of international détente and the emergence of tendencies to revive some aspects of the cold war, the continuous spiralling of the arms race and a deterioration in the situation in some areas of the world, as is happening in the Middle East. The main reason for this new phenomenon is the lack of progress in solving the most important international issues by the eradication of their causes. This international Organization must therefore deal with such problems and phenomena, which constitute a real threat to international peace and security. The policy of easing tensions can be neither stable nor fruitful unless just solutions are found for the crises and problems by eliminating their causes, and unless détente becomes comprehensive and universal and is developed so that it may be a positive factor in creating a more equitable order in international relations covering all areas of the world and all aspects of international relations. This cannot be achieved without the full and strict application of the United Nations Charter and the participation of all States, on an equal footing, in resolving key international issues, because just and durable solutions for such issues can be found only through the joint efforts of the international community as a whole. The General Assembly could play a key and effective part to this end since it is the only international body qualified to play such a great role.

154. The main causes of the tensions threatening international peace and security are the activities and practices of the forces of imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, zionism and foreign domination in all its forms, which seek through pressure and threats or the use of force to slow down the political and economic liberation of the developing countries and maintain the existing relations, based on inequality and injustice, which govern the international community, thus denying the peoples of the world their inalienable right to freedom and self-determination.

155. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, attracted the attention of world public opinion, which clearly reflects the wish of the international community as a whole to undertake a large-scale international move through the United Nations



to check the arms race and start a process of real disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament. The world has welcomed the principles agreed upon to govern future deliberations and decisions on disarmament while allowing the participation therein of all States. In this connexion, we find it imperative to express our concern and regret at the fact that the arms race, especially the nuclear arms race, is still continuing, thus constituting a grave danger to mankind and jeopardizing its future. We must also emphasize that the evils resulting from colonialism, racism and zionism are the main causes of this drive to continue the arms race.

156. It has been proved that full and comprehensive disarmament, which is the desired objective, can be realized only when all peoples enjoy security based on justice and equality, and are assured of respect for their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, their right to self-determination, and their right to choose the system they wish to have, and only after the elimination of all manifestations of aggression, exploitation, colonialism, occupation, domination, racism and zionism.

157. My country reiterates its full support and unreserved backing to the granting to the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia of their right to self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. If we review the struggle of the African continent to rid itself of colonialism and racism, we find that the enemy is persisting in its obstinacy and manoeuvres. The racist régimes in those territories continue to apply policies of aggression, *apartheid* and racial discrimination, as well as terrorism, which make that region one of the hot-beds of acute crisis in the world. They are thus directly jeopardizing the security and independence of the African continent, particularly that of countries of confrontation. The conspiracy of colonialism and racism becomes more obvious when the racist régimes consolidate their relationship and co-operation in various fields with the racist Zionist régime in occupied Palestine. It is certain that these régimes could not have survived and persisted in their oppression and aggression were it not for the political, military and economic support that they receive from certain Western States. We are confident that the peoples now suffering under the yoke of racism will be victorious and that the peoples of South Africa, Zimbabwe, Namibia and Palestine will be liberated.

158. Cyprus still lives in a state of tension and disquiet. It is necessary to expedite the search for a negotiated solution between the two communities under the aegis of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and on the basis of the relevant United Nations resolutions, within the framework of respect for the sovereignty of Cyprus, its independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment.

159. What is said about the situation in Cyprus also applies to the situation in Korea, which remains a dangerous hot-bed of tension. This prompts us to reaffirm the need for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea, for the dissolution of the United Nations Command and for a permanent peace agreement to replace the present military Armistice Agreement. It is necessary also to start a dialogue between the two sectors of Korea to bring about the peaceful reunification of the country.

160. The problem of economic relations in our contemporary world is characterized by a sharp contradiction

between what has been laid down by the United Nations and the attempts of certain forces to place obstacles and difficulties in the way of the restructuring of world economic relations. This indeed is one of the main and most crucial problems facing our Organization. We were of the opinion that the New International Economic Order, the basis and principles of which were laid down by the General Assembly, would solve this problem. However, the practice of some of the major economic Powers and their adverse policies have prevented the implementation of what has been agreed upon. Thus the crisis has become more complicated. More difficulties have hampered the growth and development of the world economy. The developing nations were and still are the first victims of such policies, while the advanced nations are continuing their exploitation of the developing nations. This prompts us to deal with this dangerous situation, because the solution of international economic problems contributes greatly to the achievement of international prosperity and stability, and consequently to the maintenance of peace and security in the world. We find it imperative to stress that the solution of these problems can be found only through the equal and full participation of all States, and that it is necessary to effect a basic change in the structure of present economic relations through the establishment of a New International Economic Order.

161. The main feature of the present international situation is the struggle for the full political and economic emancipation of peoples, for the unfettered development of the peoples who struggle against all forms of exploitation and dependence. Hence, there is a constant intensification of efforts to establish new democratic relations in the world, based on respect for the right to self-determination of peoples still under colonialism, occupation and foreign domination, and on safeguarding freedom and basic human rights. In this connexion, we wish to stress that human rights cannot be enjoyed in conditions in which the use of force, oppression and the practice of colonialism and racial discrimination prevail, or in conditions that deny human beings their homeland and their homes. The most striking example is the suffering of the African under the racist régimes in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia, and the suffering of the Palestinian under the Zionist racist régime in occupied Palestine and in exile.

162. Very recently the Middle East region has witnessed serious developments of a sort that violate the principles of the United Nations Charter and resolutions, and contradict international justice and legitimacy, whereas it is our urgent duty to promote compliance with the Charter and to strengthen the role of the United Nations in order to save humanity and to preserve international peace and security.

163. By this, I mean those developments that started with the visit of President Anwar El-Sadat to occupied Jerusalem and have continued lately with the Camp David meetings. At those meetings, a series of inequitable negotiations took place under the shadow of Israeli occupation of Palestine and Arab territories and while the Palestinian people are living in exile or under occupation. Therefore, the documents and memoranda signed by the Egyptian President, Anwar El-Sadat, are inequitable and marred by surrender to the fait accompli. They are also devoid of any basis in the resolutions of this international Organization and the rules

of international law. They are in contravention of the basic interests of the international community and the parties directly concerned in the conflict, and are contradictory to the decisions of the Conferences of Arab Heads of State or Government, which President El-Sadat committed himself to adhere to.

164. There is no doubt that under the conditions and circumstances that prevailed throughout the negotiations at Camp David, no agreements could have been achieved that did not run counter to the principles of the United Nations and ignore all legal and political developments cherished by humanity. The principles that were ignored at Camp David were the recognition of the right of peoples to self-determination, the territorial integrity of sovereign States, the rule of law and justice, resistance to aggression, the rejection of occupation, the eradication of racism, the inadmissibility of rewarding the aggressor for his aggression and the necessity of isolating him from the international community.

165. In the documents that emanated from the Camp David meetings all those noble principles are trampled underfoot and an attempt is made instead to deal with various issues, but not with the substance of the problem for which the conferees claimed to have met—namely, the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and withdrawal from the occupied territories. These documents, instead of going to the heart of the problems, have erected a curious structure on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip, which is described as “autonomy”. It is based on the system of terror and relies on the bayonets of occupation by the use of which the aggressor carries out its administration and maintains security. It justifies the maintenance of the occupying forces, thus equating the invading intruder and the legitimate owner. It ignores the Palestinian people and its national identity, allowing the aggressor to continue to create settlements, and change the demographic and other features of the occupied territories.

166. President El-Sadat has signed documents laying down obligations that are supposedly to be assumed by other sovereign and legitimate parties. That contravenes the principles of international law. President El-Sadat has no right to claim to represent the Palestinian people or the Syrian Arab Republic. Therefore, what has been agreed upon at Camp David should be considered null and void from the point of view of international law.

167. The documents of Camp David, while violating international norms, in effect recompense the Israeli aggressor by granting him his gains, the inalienable rights of the victim of aggression that he usurped. The authors of the agreements, in order to reduce the impact of these violations and transgressions, have described them as a framework for negotiations rather than final peace. One wonders why there is any need for a framework for negotiations when the resolutions of the United Nations, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, have clearly defined the appropriate framework for negotiations.

168. In resolutions 338 (1973) and 344 (1973), the Security Council created a clear structure for negotiations with a well-defined objective, which was referred to as “a

peace conference on the Middle East”, granting the United Nations Secretary-General a particular role and conferring upon him the chairmanship of its meetings. The relevant aspects and methods of work were clarified in the exchange of letters between the Permanent Representatives of the USSR and the United States of America on the one hand and the Secretary-General and the President of the Security Council on the other. Those letters, dated 18 and 19 December 1973, are contained in Security Council document S/11161.<sup>15</sup>

169. I have referred in some detail to those documents in order to show that the Camp David meetings were outside international legitimacy, since they did not take place under the aegis of the United Nations. They did not include all the parties concerned; and, above all, they ignored the components of peace while substituting for them a so-called special concept of peace. This is a peace of occupation based on the subjugation of the will of the Palestinian people. Peace based on such components cannot be just, comprehensive or durable.

170. The Camp David documents are outside the framework defined by the international community and thus are in violation of international legitimacy. Therefore it is not surprising that they should permit one of the parties to speak for other sovereign peoples and States, to lay down rules of behaviour and means of negotiation on their behalf and to place limitations and restrictions on their national soil. The Camp David documents have violated the essence of the Charter, namely, the principle of equality among sovereign States. Once this fundamental principle has been violated, what is left of the international order?

171. The policy of the Syrian Arab Republic will not be affected by this set-back since it is permanently based on international justice and the resolutions of the United Nations. Syria is proud of the support of the international community, which upholds the principles of the Charter on which the security of the Members and their protection against aggression and expansionist ambitions depend. The policy of Syria is based on the following basic principles: the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; the right of peoples to self-determination; and the inadmissibility of rewarding the aggressor for his aggression.

172. In light of these principles and in view of the will of the international community as most widely represented in the General Assembly of the United Nations, Syria still calls for and strives towards a just, lawful and comprehensive solution in all seriousness and sincerity. Such a solution would be based on the fundamental principles I have already enunciated, and in practice would entail complete withdrawal by Israel from all Palestinian and Arab territories, recognition of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people and the exercise by the Palestinian people of these rights, and first and foremost the right of return, the right of self-determination and the right to establish an independent State on its national soil.

173. In this connexion and in reaffirmation of the components of the desired solution, namely, comprehensive

<sup>15</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1973*.

and all-embracing legitimacy and justice, Syria called for the convening of the Third Summit Conference of the National Front for Steadfastness and Confrontation, which met in Damascus from 20 to 23 September. The Conference condemned the Camp David agreements and adopted certain decisions in order to overcome the setback, spare the region a cold war and ensure that the problem and its solution would remain within the framework of the United Nations and its principles, aims and resolutions.

174. The Camp David agreements outlined a way to consecrate the fruits of occupation. They included solutions likely to protect expansionist practices and contravene the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations as well as the resolutions of the non-aligned countries, the Islamic Conference, the Organization of African Unity and the Arab summit conferences. It is therefore incumbent on the General Assembly, this international body in which the States and peoples of the world are represented on the widest scale, to define the means of implementing the resolutions of the United Nations concerning the question of Palestine and the Middle East problem in both procedure and substance. It should safeguard the rights of the Palestinian people against usurpation and loss, and reaffirm the principle of withdrawal from territories occupied by force and aggression. This principle is non-negotiable and its application cannot be postponed. It is inadmissible for the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories to remain the hostage of the Israeli aggressor, who tries thus to impose his own conditions. If the Assembly does not follow this course it will contribute to setting mankind back to the era of invasions and colonialism, war and destruction.

175. While on the subject of the Middle East it is also necessary to mention the situation in Lebanon, where the civil war continues to have a deep impact on the Lebanese people. Syria went to the assistance of that brotherly country and provided forces within the framework of the Arab deterrent force in order to stop the fighting and re-establish security. It has furnished all possible assistance to the legitimate authorities there. However, certain foreign circles, primarily Israel, have tried to exploit the Lebanese situation. Israel, as a result, invaded the south of Lebanon. Following the withdrawal of the Israeli forces, Israel encouraged, and still continues to incite and protect, certain outlawed armed elements near the southern Lebanese frontier. It has thus prevented the implementation of Security Council resolution 425 (1978). Moreover, Israel incited its agents inside Lebanon to aggravate the security situation and carry out acts of provocations against the Arab deterrent forces in order to force clashes with them. They were thus hoping to spread chaos and confusion in order to impose their domination on the whole of Lebanon, obstruct national reconciliation and prevent the legitimate Lebanese authorities from carrying out their constitutional functions.

176. We cannot but reaffirm in a most determined and clear manner the need to protect the unity of Lebanon and the independence and sovereignty of its territory, and the importance of enabling the constitutional legitimate authorities to carry out their functions, particularly with the aim of bringing about national reconciliation and rebuilding the institutions of the State over the whole country. It is

imperative that any attempt at partitioning Lebanon or creating sectarian entities within Lebanon be firmly resisted.

177. I have already outlined before this Assembly the current situation and its salient features, showing the dangers to which the Charter of the United Nations and peace and security in the Middle East are exposed and the effects they could have on international peace and security. I am certain that the General Assembly will adopt all the necessary measures to preserve the principles and objectives of the Charter and to spare our region and the rest of the world any unforeseen crises, with their destructive and untoward effects.

178. In conclusion, I should like to repeat that Syria will continue to struggle by all means provided in the Charter to recover its usurped territory. The Palestinian people will continue to struggle, under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, to recover its inalienable national rights.

179. We draw our strength in this struggle from the Charter and its principles and therefore we are confident that this struggle will earn the blessing and support of this body.

180. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have heard the last speaker listed for this afternoon. Several representatives have asked for the floor in order to speak in exercise of their right of reply. Members may recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. I shall now give the floor to those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

181. Mr. MUBAREZ (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In accordance with instructions received from my Government, I wish to reply to what was said by the representative of Democratic Yemen in the General Assembly last Friday, 6 October 1978 [25th meeting]. That representative spoke about the question of the unity of the people of the Yemen Arab Republic (San'a) and of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen (Aden) and about how the emergence of a new party this month would help realize that objective.

182. Eight million citizens in the Yemen Arab Republic share the aspirations of their brothers the million citizens residing in the southern part of our homeland concerning the reunification of Yemen within a democratic framework guaranteeing all liberties, public and private, and enabling the people of Yemen to exercise their rights to the definition of the framework for their reunification in keeping with Islamic traditions.

183. My country, which favours the constitutional unification of Yemen, rejects any foreign interference and cannot permit any unlawful act that would endanger the security of the region. By spelling out its position in the General Assembly, the Government of Yemen wishes to dispel any possible misunderstanding and rejects totally any foreign interference in our internal affairs.

184. Mr. AL BU SAIDY (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is with regret that my delegation once again



finds itself obliged to exercise its right of reply to clarify certain facts. Over the years, representatives of Southern Yemen have habitually taken this rostrum to spread falsehoods and to waste the time of the General Assembly. Last Friday, the representative of that country claimed that the régime of Southern Yemen was peace-loving and was seeking to create good relations among the peoples and countries of our region on the basis of mutual respect and of non-interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Nevertheless the régime in Southern Yemen continues to interfere in the internal affairs of countries in the region by means of terrorist methods.

185. It will be recalled that the régime of Southern Yemen was responsible for the assassination of the late President of the Yemen Arab Republic, Colonel Al-Ghashmi. That criminal act led to an emergency meeting of the Council of the League of Arab States, which condemned it and decided to freeze all relations with Southern Yemen. Yet that country has continued to implement its plans by murdering President Salem Robaye Ali after the bloody conflict that broke out in that country between the people and the régime—a régime which must rely on foreign aid to stay in power.

186. In order to mask all these truths, the delegation of Southern Yemen has resorted to slogans and all sorts of false allegations. Hence it is not surprising that it should claim the existence of foreign military bases on the Omani island of Masira. The Sultanate of Oman has denied over and over again the existence of any foreign military base or forces on that island or anywhere else on its territory.

187. In contrast, the whole world knows that Southern Yemen is but a spring-board for the implementation of hegemonistic plans for the benefit of a great Power which seeks to take over the resources of the countries of the Gulf and the Red Sea. As everyone knows, the island of Socotra, in Southern Yemen, is a military base of that Power, and a potential launching point for attacks against all countries of the area.

188. In conclusion, I wish to recall what was stated by the head of my delegation before this Assembly:

“The Sultanate of Oman, under the leadership of His Majesty Sultan Qaboos... extends a hand of sincere friendship and fruitful co-operation to all peoples and countries of the world, regardless of their different economic, social and political systems, on the basis of respect for sovereignty and the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of others. Furthermore, it will make every effort for self-development in co-operation with all, for the welfare of all and in complete commitment to the fullest possible implementation of the principles of the United Nations Charter.”  
[23rd meeting, para. 164.]

189. We stress our commitment to preserve peace and security in our country. We are resolved to oppose anything that might endanger our sovereignty, and we oppose any plans designed to hinder our march towards economic development and social progress.

190. We shall stop at those clarifications. I could have said much more, but I did not wish to lower myself to the level

to which the representative of Southern Yemen wished to bring us.

191. Mr. AL-HAMZAH (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): When my Foreign Minister addressed the Assembly last Friday, he spoke of the just struggle of the people of Oman against foreign presence in the guise of military forces and bases. In actual fact, he was referring to a fact that is known to the entire international community. At the same time, he wished to reiterate our constant position of principle concerning the assistance given to the struggle of the fraternal people of Oman under the leadership of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and for its genuine independence and national sovereignty. The claims to the effect that Oman enjoys genuine security are baseless, since the Muscat régime is keeping itself in power thanks to foreign military bases and forces.

192. The size of the foreign military presence in Oman and the existence of aggressive military bases show the danger threatening the peace and security of our whole region. The use of developed and sophisticated weapons, including American Phantom jets, to kill the people of Oman, shows that the liberation movement in Oman is not a terrorist movement, as is claimed. It is a front which is waging a struggle for the people of Oman against a foreign presence and for the independence and sovereignty of that country.

193. Military bases and foreign troops in Oman are used for aggressive ends against Democratic Yemen. We have already referred to the nature of the military movements against our peace and security, which assumes the form of overflights of the air space of my country by foreign military aircraft.

194. Democratic Yemen hopes that the fraternal people of Oman will fulfil their legitimate aspirations for the elimination of the foreign presence and the presence of foreign military bases, so that they can achieve genuine independence and bring about national sovereignty.

195. It is a travesty for the representative of the Muscat régime to have spoken here of a foreign presence in our country. We repudiate all the charges referred to here by the representative of the Muscat régime. Facts have shown how firmly we cherish our independence and prosperity so as to avoid the implementation of imperialist and reactionary plans aimed at sowing division and creating problems, and also for the purpose of interfering in the internal affairs of the people of the region in order to permit certain foreign forces to continue to pillage our resources and to keep the region under their domination.

196. In Democratic Yemen we believe that we must resist these plans and thwart them by strengthening co-operation and good neighbourliness, by respecting the sovereignty of other States and by not interfering in their internal affairs.

197. With regard to instructions received by my colleague, the representative of the northern part of Yemen, I should like to say that my delegation would not have wanted to reply to them. We had never thought that one day the sons of the same country would indulge in such an exchange as

this. We know the plans and plots being hatched against us. Our enemies imagine that they can lead our continent into the midst of problems from which they alone would benefit. They are hoping to encourage Yemenis to kill each other. We know the danger of these plans for the whole of the Yemeni people. The Yemeni people are greater than the plans of our enemies. We are capable of thwarting them.

198. We do not recognize the discrimination or frontiers between us. We repudiate the artificial division brought about by colonialism. The citizens of Yemen enjoy freedom of movement. We do not need passports to travel from one part of the country to another. The Yemenis at San'a or Aden do not want to give frontiers their usual definition for its runs counter to their definition of unity.

199. We in Democratic Yemen demonstrate all these truths by our conduct and in our documents. This was referred to in the statement of my Foreign Minister.

200. The important thing here, and one which we deplore, is the spontaneous reaction by some Yemenis to the plots of our enemies. But we are sure that they do not yet realize the evil intentions of the enemies of our country.

201. In conclusion, I should like to state that my delegation reserves its right to exercise its right of reply once again if necessary.

*The meeting rose at 6.05 p.m.*