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*President: Mr. Gaston THORN
 (Luxembourg).*

In the absence of the President, Mr. Mofiz Chowdhury (Bangladesh), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I should like, at the outset, to offer my sincere congratulations to Mr. Thorn on his election to the presidency of the General Assembly at this session, and to express my full confidence in his ability to conduct the work of the session successfully, due to his distinctive qualification and wide experience.
2. I should not fail on this occasion to commend the efforts of his predecessor, the President of the last session and of the seventh special session, my colleague Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for the ability and wisdom he showed in the conduct of the work of the two sessions, which produced constructive and desired results, despite the challenges and difficulties which emerged.
3. On the occasion of the thirtieth anniversary of the international Organization, it is proper that we pause a little to reflect on the work done and achievements made by it in some fields, and the difficulties faced and obstacles encountered in other fields.
4. The United Nations made commendable efforts during the last three decades to maintain world peace and security, and was able, by its intervention at the proper time, to contain local and regional disputes and to prevent them from causing destructive world wars, as used to happen in the years preceding its establishment. The Organization has become a world assembly for the exchange of views and for co-operation and the co-ordination of efforts for the building

of an international community in which peace and affluence prevail.

5. Every year the Organization gives one proof after another of its universality and durability against challenges and obstacles. It was only a few days ago that three African States joined the membership of the Organization, thus trebling the number of its founding Members. I should like, on this occasion, to convey the congratulations of my Government to the People's Republic of Mozambique, the People's Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe and the Republic of Cape Verde on their admission to membership in this Organization. At the same time, I should like to express the regret of my delegation over the fact that the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam have not been admitted to the membership of the Organization, although they are possessed of all the necessary legal and political conditions.

6. This year the world has seen in all fields developments which augur well for the future of this world. In the spring of this year calm and peace returned to Indo-China after it had been the scene of destructive wars lasting many years. Tension has thereby disappeared from the zone of South-East Asia.

7. In the field of decolonization, some nations have acquired their independence and have rid themselves of the detested yoke of colonialism, which has become incompatible with the civilization of this age. The peoples of Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe, Cape Verde and Papua New Guinea have at last obtained their independence through their continuous struggle and their determination to prove their existence so that they may take their places among the nations. In this respect our Organization has done its duty through the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the support of peace-loving States in speeding up decolonization in all parts of the world.

8. Here reference should be made to the understanding and co-operation shown by some Governments in relinquishing their outmoded colonialist policy, particularly the new Government of Portugal, which has taken daring steps to abandon its old imperialist policy and to replace it by a policy of mutual co-operation with its former colonies. The adoption of such a policy by the Government of Portugal is not only a fulfilment of its obligations under the Charter of the United Nations, but also a benefit to Portugal in that it is thereby freed from imperialistic ideas and fanaticism. The way has thus been opened for co-operation in mutual respect with all peoples.

9. We hope that States which still cling to the policy of colonialism will understand the exigencies of this

age and, following the example of the new Portuguese Government, will take similar measures to grant the peoples still under their domination the right to self-determination in accordance with the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

10. While the process of decolonization is being accelerated, peoples in other parts of Africa are still struggling for their elementary human rights. In South Africa the racist Government of that country still applies a policy of racial discrimination, although that policy has been condemned and denounced by this Organization. We regret that some important Member States still continue to violate the resolutions of the United Nations by supplying the racist Government of South Africa with military and financial aid, thereby encouraging that Government not only to persist in that racial policy but also to threaten neighbouring African States and in turn to expose international peace and security to danger.

11. We believe all peace-loving nations should work to thwart all plans for the perpetuation of *apartheid* in South Africa so that tension may disappear from that part of the world. We hope that a complete blockade on the supply of arms and military equipment to South Africa will be imposed and that the military co-operation that still exists between some States and the Government of South Africa will cease.

12. The Members of this Organization are bound to do their utmost to terminate the colonialism of South Africa in Namibia by frustrating its plans to partition that country for the purpose of perpetuating its rule there and exploiting the natural resources of Namibia. We appreciate all the efforts that have been made by the United Nations Council for Namibia, which substantially contribute towards the attainment of independence by the people of Namibia.

13. In southern Rhodesia, the minority Government still continues to persecute the overwhelming majority of the people despite the efforts and continuous appeals to give them the opportunity to participate in the administration of their country in accordance with the principle of majority rule. From the recent declarations of Mr. Ian Smith it appears there is no hope that that will materialize in the near future. Therefore this Organization should increase its efforts to impress upon the minority Government of Southern Rhodesia the need to understand the international conditions of the present age.

14. While we are talking of colonialism in Africa, we must refer to Spanish colonialism in Sakiet El-Hamra and Rio de Oro. Continuation of Spanish rule in that area is contrary to the purposes of the United Nations and the principles set forth in the Charter. Therefore we insist that Spanish rule in those regions should be terminated so that existing tension in the area may disappear and the way may be paved for the settlement of the differences existing between Spain and its neighbours in Africa. Friendly relations between the Arab people and the Spanish people go back hundreds of years. Both the Arab and the Spanish peoples participated in the building of a civilization whose legacy and heritage exist to this day. Friendly relations are still maintained between the two nations, and we are confident that they will survive through

time and that anything that may disturb them will vanish.

15. Détente in the world is a subject of interest to all Members of this Organization. We have noted with interest that the great Powers have in recent years acted in that direction. The spirit of understanding and co-operation that has prevailed in the relations between the great Powers will greatly contribute to stability and the maintenance of peace and security in the world. We welcome the successive agreements between the two great Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, on the limitation of nuclear weapons, as a step towards total disarmament, which is the goal of all peace-loving States.

16. We consider that the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed by both the Eastern and the Western European States at Helsinki on 1 August, is a major step towards international peace and security. But we believe that the peace and security the European States seek will be incomplete if peace does not prevail in other parts of the world. We therefore hope that the measure of agreement reached will not be to the detriment of small States and the States of the third world. We support any agreement for peace which promotes progress and prosperity in the world. Therefore, the understanding reached between the European States, and particularly between the two great Powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, should lead to the solving of the principal problems of the world in co-operation with this Organization. The most important of these problems are decolonization, racism, finding a just solution to the question of the Palestinian people in the Middle East, and the withdrawal of Israel from occupied Arab lands, in addition to the economic problems of the world. If we want to see détente have fruitful results, it should extend to all parts of the world.

17. The détente States seek will be incomplete if rapid steps are not taken towards effecting disarmament. Disarmament in all its forms is one of the objectives for which this Organization is working. While the two great Powers are working for the reduction of their armaments, small States are trying hard to increase and develop their armaments, and are competing for the possession of nuclear weapons, so that some parts of the world are threatened with the introduction of nuclear arms. The most important of such regions are the Middle East and South-East Asia. All States of the Middle East except Israel have supported the resolution on the establishment of a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the region of the Middle East [resolution 3263 (XXIX)].

18. It has been understood from various sources that Israel is attempting to introduce nuclear weapons into the Middle East. As a result, other States of the area will be compelled to procure such weapons in self-defence. We appeal to this Organization and to world public opinion to thwart the attempts of Israel to manufacture or to possess such weapons, so that the Middle East area may be saved from destruction.

19. The great economic problems facing our world today are inseparable from political matters. Political stability facilitates the solution of international economic problems. Last year this Organization was able, after intensive discussion between the industrialized

States and the States of the third world, to declare a new international economic order. At the seventh special session on development and international economic co-operation, this Organization succeeded, as a result of serious consultations and talks between the industrialized States and the developing countries, lasting two weeks, in laying down the practical bases and rules for the new international economic order [see resolution 3362 (S-VII)].

20. During that session, the developing countries by their unity were able to put their economic problems within an international framework, taking into consideration the circumstances of the industrialized States. This approach paved the way to the adoption of the new economic order to which we all aspire.

21. The industrialized States were also able to realize that economic stability and progress cannot be maintained without the existence of a spirit of co-operation with the developing States, which are in most cases the exporters of raw materials. This fact requires an understanding on their part of the circumstances of their less fortunate partners. In fact, it was this attitude which paved the way for the confirmation of the broad outlines of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], and also the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)].

22. In this connexion, I should mention that the resolutions of the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975, had a great effect in laying the foundations of understanding and co-operation for the definition of the interests of the States of the third world and their realization in a factual and practical way.

23. It has become clear that this Organization has proved to be the only instrument of understanding and co-operation for the solution of the economic, social and political problems facing the world, provided that Member States have a true intention and desire to co-operate and are prepared to avoid egoism and national fanaticism. The importance of this Organization in creating an atmosphere of co-operation and understanding among States on many occasions has become evident, particularly during the seventh special session, as I mentioned before.

24. The United Nations has in recent years established programmes for development, food, population and the regulation of the exploitation of the resources of the high seas. Many conferences have been convened under the auspices of the United Nations, including the World Conference of the International Women's Year, held this year, which adopted important resolutions to establish the equal rights of women and men, and to eliminate the causes of injustice and deprivation to which half the population of the world is exposed. The World Food Conference, held last year at Rome, set up programmes for assistance to developing countries in satisfying their needs for food, and to enable them to increase the production of their food resources and to develop their food programmes.

25. This year also the third session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea

was held at Geneva to pursue the attempt to lay down an acceptable world order for the exploitation of national maritime resources, the regulation of international navigation and the exploitation of the resources of the high seas for the benefit and welfare of mankind. Although the Conference at that session did not reach a comprehensive and acceptable agreement in that respect, because of the great number of subjects involved, their diversity and the divergent views of States as to their details, yet it is hoped that participating States will continue their efforts before and during the next session to narrow their differences and to agree on a general order of the seas for the benefit of all.

26. In the pursuit of that goal, the Chairmen of the three Main Committees, by direction of the Conference and its President, compiled three consolidated texts to serve as a basis for discussions in the forthcoming session which the Conference recommended should be held next spring in New York. It is believed that this step will be useful in helping to limit the discussions to the basic texts, which may be amended or replaced by more acceptable ones. We hope that the Conference will succeed in laying down a general and comprehensive agreement on the law of the sea within a short time, so that the causes of conflict among States in this respect may be eliminated and world economic stability strengthened.

27. On the other hand, the United Nations has faced many difficulties in other fields owing to the failure of some of its Members to implement its resolutions, and the non-existence of an efficient system or a genuine desire on the part of some interested States to enforce the will of the international Organization. This Organization has adopted many resolutions on many matters important to the family of nations. If all Member States had endeavoured to implement such resolutions, the world would not have been exposed to crises, and would have lived in progress and affluence.

28. This Organization has adopted resolutions on disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons and the questions of the Middle East and Palestine, in addition to many other resolutions in the political and social fields. Such resolutions were adopted by great majorities, but the minority, which can play an effective part in solving many of the problems involved, was not prepared in many cases to enforce them. Therefore, most of those resolutions will be merely kept in the archives of the United Nations.

29. The United Nations is the greatest international institution which can substantially contribute to the maintenance of peace and security in the world. This Organization has proved in the last 30 years that it can stand up to international challenges. It has been able to adapt itself to changes in international relations. Nevertheless, its ability to implement its resolutions is limited. We believe that 30 years after the establishment of this Organization, a review should be made of its system and some amendments introduced, so as to adapt it to the changes that have occurred in the world and the developments that have taken place in international relations in recent years. We think that the report made by the Group of Experts on the Structure of the United Nations system¹ may be a first step towards the introduction of the necessary changes in

the system of the United Nations. I should like on this occasion to express my compliments and appreciation to the Group of Experts for the efforts they expended in preparing that text.

30. It appears to us that the amendment of the Charter of the United Nations will not by itself be sufficient to introduce the necessary reforms in the system of the international Organization, unless it is accompanied by the intention and determination of all nations to enforce the resolutions of the majority in accordance with the Charter and the exigencies of international democracy. The strength of the Organization is derived from the will of its Members. Without solidarity in the enforcement of such international will, many of the resolutions of the United Nations will remain ineffective, and the temporary solutions applied, particularly in respect of the maintenance of world peace and security, will develop in the course of time into intractable problems threatening the existence of the United Nations itself and world peace in general. This statement applies in particular to the questions of the Middle East and of Palestine.

31. The question of the Middle East is one of the most important and complex problems facing our Organization. The Organization has great responsibility in this matter. This problem emerged when this Organization adopted the resolution on the partition of Palestine [resolution 181 (II)]. When Israel was admitted to this Organization in accordance with resolution 273 (III) of 11 May 1949, it undertook to permit the refugees to return to their homes, to compensate them for the losses they suffered, and not to establish in Palestine a racist State for the Jews only to the exclusion of all others. As Israel persists in refusing to carry out such undertakings, the Organization should apply against it the provisions of the Charter, particularly those of Chapters II and VII.

32. Since that time, the Middle East has seen no peace or stability. Israel was created after the Second World War, immediately after the withdrawal of Western colonialism from the Middle East. Colonialism started thereafter to collapse in many parts of the world. But the Middle East has been afflicted with something more disastrous, namely, settler colonialism, which is considered to be one of the supreme cases of injustice in history, where the land of a people was usurped and they were exiled from it by brute force at the hands of foreign invaders who have come to establish a racist régime supported by colonialism. Israel, by its continuous aggression against the neighbouring Arab States, has impeded progress in the area. The policy adopted by Israel in the Middle East is the greatest threat to peace and security in the area. The continuous wars waged by Israel against the neighbouring Arab countries have almost led to a major world war. The danger of war still persists as long as Israel continues its aggressive policy in the area.

33. Israel has since its establishment in the area expelled the Arabs of Palestine, destroyed their homes, wiped out their villages and destroyed the heritage left to them by their ancestors. Israel has tried to wipe out Palestine and the Palestinian people, but it will never succeed. The Palestinian people have decided to survive and have shown their determination to pursue their struggle for the recovery of their lawful rights in Palestine. These rights have been confirmed

by this Organization itself many times ever since Israel was created.

34. We are aware of the increasing support given to the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which is the lawful representative of the people of Palestine, by various States in the world.

35. If the world did not believe in the justice of the cause of the Palestinian people, it would not have supported and recognized them as a people who have as many rights as any other people in the world to live in their land with dignity and within secure boundaries, as other peoples demand.

36. The question of Palestine has taken on great dimensions on the international level through its lawful representative, the PLO. This organization has been given observer status in the United Nations and in many of its specialized agencies, and has become a full-fledged member of the non-aligned movement. This has been a victory not only of the Palestinian people, but of all peoples who struggle for their lawful rights in freedom and self-determination.

37. The States which support Israel and supply it with military and financial aid bear a great responsibility for the tension existing in the Middle East. The aid which Israel receives consolidates its existence in the occupied Arab territories and strengthens its determination to ignore the lawful rights of the Palestinian people. This leads to the continuation of the state of tension in the Middle East.

38. In the view of my Government, the solution of the Palestine question is not confined to the contracting of bilateral agreements in the occupied territories. The core of the problem is the question of Palestine, the question of the Palestinian people and their entity and right in their land and heritage. The occupation of parts of neighbouring Arab territory is merely the result of Israel's expansionist policy in the area. And the solution of this problem lies in the complete withdrawal of Israel from the Arab lands occupied since 1967, the return of the Palestinian people to their homes and the granting to them of the right of self-determination, as any other people in the world.

39. My Government welcomes all efforts made and steps taken to find a peaceful solution to the problem of the Middle East, provided that this leads to the solution of the Palestinian question and to giving the Palestinian people their lawful rights. Any step taken without considering the question of the Palestinian people is doomed to failure, and will never lead to the restoration of peace and stability in the Middle East area.

40. Therefore, we hope that this Organization will play an effective role in the implementation of resolutions adopted to bring about a just and permanent peace in the Middle East, and particularly the enforcement of General Assembly resolution 3236 (XXIX), which reasserts the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to self-determination, to national independence and sovereignty, and to return to their homes and property from which they were displaced and uprooted.

41. While speaking of the problem of the Middle East, reference should be made to the problem of Cyprus, which is a part of the Middle East. The ques-

tion of Cyprus is of special importance, because it lies in the Middle East area, where tension prevails. Cyprus is an active member of the non-aligned movement and has done its utmost to preserve its sovereignty and independence and to avoid military alliances and blocs, and has succeeded in this policy.

42. Our position regarding this island agrees completely with the resolutions adopted by the non-aligned group, which aims in substance at preserving the independence, unity and complete sovereignty of Cyprus and its continued membership in the non-aligned movement, so that it may continue to contribute to the work of the movement. We believe that this Organization should pursue its efforts to reduce tension in the island of Cyprus and narrow the differences between the two conflicting communities in Cyprus.

43. I should like to offer my compliments and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on the efforts he has made and is still making for the continuation of the talks between the Turkish and Greek communities in Cyprus leading to a solution acceptable to both parties. I should also like to commend the great and laudable efforts he has made and is still making to enhance the prestige of the United Nations and to ensure its continued existence.

44. On this occasion, I should like to point out that we were honoured to receive the Secretary-General in Bahrain last February. He was warmly welcomed by the Government and people in recognition of his unique personality. It was a good opportunity for us to meet him and exchange views with him on international problems in general, and on the vital questions facing the United Nations in particular.

45. Finally, I am pleased to commend the attitude of fruitful and constructive co-operation prevailing in our region in the Gulf, from which all traces of conflict and confrontation vanish. The greatest step that has been taken in the region this year is the liquidation of the differences between two neighbouring States, Iraq and Iran. We welcome here the efforts made to create an atmosphere of confidence and co-operation in the region.

46. I hope that the spirit of understanding, not that of confrontation, will prevail among all the States of the world, and that we shall build a humane and civilized society where justice and love prevail, and in which the generations live in security, peace and prosperity.

Mr. Thorn (Luxembourg) took the Chair.

47. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR would like to congratulate you on our election to the post of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly and wish you success in your responsible work.

48. We should like to greet the Secretary-General, who has made considerable efforts to implement the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

49. This thirtieth session of the General Assembly is taking place at a remarkable time. This year marks the thirtieth anniversary of the victory in the Second World War, as a result of which the United Nations

was born. This is the year of the successful conclusion of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the year of the elimination of a dangerous hotbed of tension in South-East Asia, the year of the rapid downfall of the vestiges of the colonialist system, the year of further consolidation of peace-loving forces in their joint struggle for a just and lasting peace on earth and the solution of vital problems in the interests of all peoples.

50. Looking back upon the unforgettable period when, in the course of fierce fighting, fascism, the antithesis of civilization and progress, which had sought world domination, was crushed as a result of the decisive role of the Soviet Union, we always experience a feeling of admiration for the immortal feat of the Soviet Union and other freedom-loving peoples; but at the same time one cannot forget, and one will be unable to forget now or in the future, the sacrifices made for the sake of victory.

51. The war took 55 million human lives, and of those 20 million were citizens of the Soviet Union. The Byelorussian SSR went through a terrible time, when every fourth inhabitant perished in the struggle against the aggressors.

52. Speaking in Minsk on 16 May this year at the International Meeting of the Supporters of Peace, Mr. P. M. Masherov, Alternate Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Byelorussian SSR, said:

“Lasting peace and the freedom of peoples are an unending ideal which has inspired the heroes of the struggle against fascism and which inspires us today. There is nothing more noble or more lofty than dedicating our efforts to making that ideal an immutable law of the life of mankind, so that not only we, all of us, but also our children, our grandchildren and our great grandchildren may be ignorant of the nature of war and so that all peoples may fully enjoy the benefits of peaceful creative labour and all the achievements of the human mind.”

53. The victory over fascism and militarism had the deepest influence on the whole course of world development. Peace, so long awaited, was finally won. The world socialist system, the bulwark of peace and progress, came into being, and it is being strengthened. The age-old foundations of colonialism collapsed and a new, more favourable situation was created for the struggle of the working people of capitalist countries for social progress.

54. On those days in May, when all progressive mankind was celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of victory, the sun of freedom and peace rose over South Viet Nam. We welcome the outstanding victory of the heroic Vietnamese people, a victory won in their just struggle against foreign interventionists and their henchmen. The victory of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, with the comprehensive support of the socialist States and all progressive forces, is an important contribution to the strengthening of peace and security in South-East Asia. It promotes the triumph of the purposes and principles of the United Nations, and it is only fitting that the General Assembly and all the members of

the Security Council except one should have considered that the time had come to solve the problem of the admission to the United Nations of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of South Viet Nam. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR will continue, both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, firmly to support the entry of the two Vietnamese States into the United Nations.

55. The experience of 30 years of post-war development demonstrates that peace can become a solid reality if we work for it persistently, if we adhere unswervingly to the principle of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, if we consistently strive for a just solution of current international problems. The positive changes taking place in the world arena cogently reveal that there is now an objective possibility of banishing war from the life of mankind.

56. I should particularly like, in this connexion, to note the purposeful efforts of the Soviet Union and other States of the socialist community, efforts which have become a fundamental factor in ensuring the current positive processes in international relations.

57. The founder of the Soviet State, V. I. Lenin, stressed that "All our policies and propaganda are aimed not at drawing peoples into war but at putting an end to war". This Leninist principle of the negation of war and the assertion of peace is the very basis of the Programme of Peace proclaimed by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It would be no exaggeration to state that any step forward in the improvement of the world political climate and the development of co-operation between States is linked with the implementation of that Programme of Peace.

58. At the present time, détente is focussing on the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, which was an event of tremendous international importance.

59. The Conference struck a political balance in terms of the world after the Second World War and confirmed the futility and harmfulness of the policies of positions of strength and the "cold war". It opened up new opportunities for fulfilling the main task of our time—the consolidation of peace and the security of peoples.

60. The principles of relations between States, which have been clearly formulated in the Final Act of the Conference, are bound to promote the creation on the European continent and in the world at large of an atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence in the free, independent and peaceful development of every country. The course of the general debate has convincingly confirmed that all—except one delegation, which believes that the worse things are the better—are pleased that the States of Europe as well as the United States and Canada have agreed to observe in international relations such principles as the sovereign equality of States, including the right to choose and develop freely their political, social, economic and cultural systems; the non-use of force or the threat of force; the inviolability of borders; the territorial integrity of States; the peaceful settlement of disputes; non-interference in each other's internal affairs; respect for human rights and fundamental

freedoms; equality and the right of peoples to determine their own destiny; co-operation between States; and the fulfilment in good faith of commitments under international law.

61. The charter of peace adopted at Helsinki also creates conditions for the expansion and substantial intensification of co-operation between States that participated in the Conference in the economic, scientific and technological fields and in the protection of the human environment, as well as in such questions as exchanges in the fields of culture, education, information and contacts between peoples.

62. The results of the Conference mean that détente in Europe and in the world at large is becoming increasingly filled with content. It is essential to put these principles and understandings that have been proclaimed into the actual practice of inter-State relations, at the same time complying with the laws and traditions of every country, in order that these principles and understandings may become an immutable law of international life. There is no greater duty to the past, present and future than the duty of finally confirming the results of the selfless struggle waged by the Soviet and other freedom-loving peoples against fascism, and of making Europe a continent of lasting and just peace.

63. The favourable influence of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe on the atmosphere in that continent and throughout the world is undeniable. Its results are very important, and not only for the peoples of Europe. Détente must be expanded, deepened and extended to all parts of the world. The right to peace is the inalienable right of every person, no matter what part of the world he or she lives in. We must preserve it and, at the same time, ensure for everyone the right to creative work and social justice. We must struggle for these fundamental human rights.

64. Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, said at Helsinki:

"It is no secret that information media can serve the objectives of peace and trust, but they can also spread throughout the world the poison of strife between countries and peoples. We would like to hope that the results of the Conference will serve as a correct reference point for co-operation in these areas."

Unfortunately, influential mass information media in certain countries have so far not given up the topics and phraseology of the period of the "cold war"; they have not turned their backs on allegations in depicting the life of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and a number of very important international events. They deliberately allow themselves to distort the substance and spirit of the Final Act of the Conference—which, as a matter of fact, they have not even published. While concealing the real contents of the document adopted at Helsinki, the press in a number of countries is distorting facts, trying to mislead people and sow in their minds the poisonous seeds of suspicion, mistrust and hostility between peoples. To use the words of the President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, Mr. Bouteflika, such information media "attempt to counteract the

present course of events in the world".² The interests of the case require that the information media of every country should heed the call of the times and become an instrument of peace and the strengthening of trust and co-operation among peoples.

65. The task of implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence and mutually advantageous and equitable co-operation is not being tackled only in Europe. Recently, serious improvements have been achieved in Soviet-American relations; that has been of unquestionable utility in the improvement of the international climate as a whole. There is no doubt that the further development of normal relations between the USSR and the United States and the development of co-operation between the socialist States and countries of an opposite social system meet the interests of all those who want to see peace on earth strengthened and who do not want to permit a world nuclear catastrophe.

66. International peace and security are equally necessary conditions for business-like co-operation among all countries, large and small, developed and developing. Can we really imagine the possibility of any success in the economic and social development of countries in conditions of war?

67. It goes without saying that we cannot comfort ourselves with the idea that there is no war today, or remain content with what has been achieved. The process of the consolidation of peace, the process of détente, is an uninterrupted process which requires constant forward movement. To halt on this path would mean endangering what has already been achieved.

68. It cannot be denied that so far not all the obstacles to lasting peace and good-neighbourly co-operation for mankind have been removed. The forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism, reaction and war have not laid down their arms. They are attempting to prevent the settlement of urgent international problems; they are attempting to drag the world back to the time of the "cold war"; they are advocating the use of force in international relations; they are intervening in the internal affairs of other countries. It is precisely because of these forces that there are still hot-beds of dangerous tension in the world and that militarily explosive conflicts arise.

69. In the Middle East Israel continues to hold the Arab territories it occupied in 1967. A just and lasting peace must be ensured for the Middle East. There is only one way of doing that: implementing the well-known decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly which provide for the total withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the Arab territories occupied in 1967; implementing the legitimate national rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including the right to create their own State; and ensuring the independent existence and development of all States of the region. In order to achieve a comprehensive settlement in the Middle East, what is needed is not separate measures, which do not get to the root of the problem, but the resumption of the work of the Geneva Peace Conference, with the participation of all parties concerned, including the PLO.

70. Certain circles in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] have not ceased their attempts

to liquidate Cyprus as a non-aligned and independent State with its territorial integrity. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly has supported the idea that the partition of Cyprus is inadmissible, that the independent existence and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be ensured, that all foreign troops must be withdrawn from its territory, that foreign interference in its internal affairs must cease, and that the Greek Cypriots and the Turkish Cypriots must be ensured an opportunity to solve their domestic affairs by themselves.

71. A situation of tension still prevails in the Korean peninsula. The Byelorussian SSR has invariably supported the constructive proposals of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea designed to unite the country on a peaceful democratic basis, and resolutely calls for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea, which will remove the main obstacle to the achievement of national unity for that country. The achievement of these aims would be promoted by the adoption by the General Assembly of the draft resolution entitled "Creation of favourable conditions for converting the armistice into durable peace in Korea and accelerating the independent and peaceful reunification of Korea", which has been submitted for the consideration of this session by a large group of States including the Byelorussian SSR [A/C.1/L.709].

72. Fascism, which was overthrown during the Second World War, has not yet entirely disappeared from the face of the earth. Its spiritual heirs have usurped power in Chile and are pursuing a policy of bloody terror against the people of that country. The United Nations, in accordance with earlier decisions, must resolutely demand an end to the atrocities of the junta, and the liberation of the Chilean patriots, including the true son of the Chilean people, Luis Corvalán, who are languishing in dungeons.

73. Gratifying changes towards peace and social progress are occurring in various parts of the world. But the forces of reaction still refuse to look the facts in the face. The situation is complicated by the fact that the subversive actions of internal reaction are linked with foreign interference into the affairs of a number of States and peoples. The Byelorussian SSR categorically condemns such actions and wishes to express its solidarity with the just struggle of democratic forces in various parts of the world against reaction and imperialism. In connexion with the slanderous comments of the Chinese representative concerning Angola, I should like to recall the well-known fact that it is China itself, together with the imperialists, which is arming the separatists there for the purpose of preventing the patriotic forces from achieving the unity and independence of the whole of Angola.

74. Among the key problems of our day which still await a solution, the problem of disarmament occupies a special place. The unprecedented arms race imposed upon the world by the imperialists is swallowing up vast amounts of material resources. According to press reports NATO countries in 1974 alone spent more than \$130,000 million for military purposes. The arms race is incompatible with détente. The improvement of political relations among States cannot for ever go on side by side with the arms race.

75. Every year since the very first session of the General Assembly the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries have consistently striven for disarmament, and have tried to use every possible means of solving this important problem. In recent years a number of multilateral agreements have been concluded which have, to some extent, put a curb on the arms race in certain directions. The primary and ultimate objective of all peace-loving peoples is to achieve agreement on general and complete disarmament. But, as we know, so far not everyone is ready to do that. And one delegation, posing demagogically as a supporter of disarmament, is in practice opposing all disarmament measures. So what are we to do: fold our arms and wait passively? Not at all. We consider that we should find a solution to the disarmament problem by taking every opportunity to limit the arms race. Our experience has confirmed that that approach is the correct one, an approach which has made it possible to conclude treaties and agreements, open to all countries, that have prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water and the proliferation of these weapons or their emplacement on the sea-bed and ocean floor, in outer space or on celestial bodies; an agreement providing for the elimination of bacteriological weapons; and also the conclusion of the Soviet-American agreements on the prevention of nuclear war and the limitation of strategic armaments.

76. We can assert confidently that, were it not for these international agreements on disarmament, the situation today would be much worse.

77. On the initiative of the Soviet Union, with the active support of the States of the socialist community and other peace-loving countries, the General Assembly has adopted resolutions on the need to convene a world disarmament conference [*resolution 2833 (XXVI)*]; on the non-use of force in international relations and the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons [*resolution 2936 (XXVII)*]; on the reduction of military budgets of permanent members of the Security Council [*resolution 3254 (XXIX)*]; and on the drafting of a convention on the prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military purposes [*resolution 3264 (XXIX)*]. Our task today is to achieve the full implementation of the provisions of these decisions, at the same time exposing the opponents of disarmament and overcoming their resistance, and to obtain the participation of all countries in multilateral treaties on the limitation of the arms race and to make further progress along the road to general and complete disarmament.

78. The Soviet Government and the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, L. I. Brezhnev, this year personally took an important initiative, that of concluding an agreement on the prohibition of the development and the manufacture of new types of weapons of mass destruction and of new systems of such weapons. The level of the development of modern science and technology is such that there is a serious danger of creating even more terrible weapons than nuclear weapons. It is time to erect a firm barrier to the creation of such weapons by means of producing and concluding an agreement providing for the renunciation by States of the development and manufacture of new types of

weapons of mass destruction and new weapons systems. There is no doubt that any assistance to other States or international organizations in creating these weapons must be precluded. The conclusion of such an agreement would open up new and additional opportunities for the economic, scientific and technological co-operation of States.

79. The proposal of the Soviet Union on the "conclusion of a treaty on the complete and general prohibition of nuclear weapon tests" is also under consideration at this session [*see A/10241*]. The conclusion of such a treaty would further develop the provisions of the Moscow Treaty of 1963, and the 1974 Treaty between the USSR and the United States on the Limitation of Underground Nuclear Weapon Tests [*A/9698, annex I*].

80. The prohibition of the creation of new types of weapons of mass destruction and the general prohibition of nuclear-weapon testing would contribute to the strengthening of trust between peoples and to a further improvement of the international climate, and would promote the achievement of the lofty purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

81. We would like to express the hope that the States Members of the United Nations will view the new initiatives of the Soviet Union with sympathy and that the General Assembly will approve them.

82. Disarmament concerns all countries without exception. Genuine peace means a world without weapons. Developing countries have a vital interest in disarmament because it would release considerable amounts of money to carry out urgent tasks of economic and social development. The peoples of capitalist countries, too, have an interest in disarmament because if they wish to overcome their serious economic difficulties to any degree, that is possible only if an end is put to the arms race.

83. For socialist countries, the struggle for peace, for détente and disarmament is inseparably linked with the struggle for social progress and national independence. This year will mark the fifteenth anniversary of the adoption by the United Nations, on the initiative of the Soviet Union, of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. During the ensuing period the forces of national liberation have won decisive successes in the elimination of the colonial system of imperialism.

84. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR congratulates the new Members of the United Nations—the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe—on their newly won national independence and State sovereignty.

85. Unfortunately, the remnants of the shameful colonial system and such of its manifestations as racism and *apartheid* in southern Africa continue to poison the international climate. However, the peoples of the world are determined to make the positive changes which are occurring in the world irreversible and once and for all to eliminate racism, *apartheid* and the remains of colonialism.

86. Although colonial empires have collapsed under the pressure of the national liberation movements, capitalist monopolies and transnational companies

continue to remain the principal obstacle to the attainment of economic independence by the liberated countries. We well understand the aspiration of the peoples of developing countries to escape from the clutches of economic backwardness, to put an end to their economic dependence upon developed capitalist countries, to solve the problem of accelerated development and to rid themselves of poverty in their countries. Together with these countries, the socialist States are struggling to free international economic relations from those injustices and colonialist systems which have been implanted in them and which are being cultivated by the forces of imperialism. It was on the basis of this position that the Byelorussian SSR took its stand at the seventh special session of the General Assembly.

87. The peoples of the young independent States of Africa, Asia and Latin America in the course of building a new life can rely on the friendly political, economic and moral support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The provision of assistance and support to the peoples of those countries is an integral part of the socialist foreign policies. At the same time, we should like to emphasize that the source of this assistance is our national wealth created at the cost of hard work on the part of our people and the conquest of the major difficulties caused by the ordeal of the war.

88. The socialist States are providing comprehensive assistance not because they have funds to spare which cannot be used at home, not because they want to invest their funds in other countries to exploit their natural resources and to earn profits, but because the cause of the liberation of peoples and the consolidation of the independence of young developing States is dear to socialist countries.

89. The year 1975 is International Women's Year, which, by the decision of the United Nations, is being celebrated under the motto of "Equality, Development and Peace". In the Byelorussian SSR, as in other socialist countries, women enjoy equal rights with men in all spheres of life.

90. Soviet women are taking an active part in arrangements within the framework of the International Women's Year. The international meeting of women which was held in August this year in the capital of Byelorussia, the Hero City of Minsk, was dedicated to the problems of the participation of women in the struggle against fascism and for lasting and just peace on earth. Its decisions are designed to allow for a new contribution by women of all countries of the world to the struggle for a just and lasting peace on earth.

91. In the three decades of its existence, the United Nations has proved its viability and usefulness, primarily in the implementation of its chief function, the maintenance of international peace and security. For 30 years now the States Members of the United Nations have been developing multilateral co-operation in accordance with the Charter, which embodies the generally recognized democratic principles of international law, which have stood the test of time. Certain short-comings in the work of the United Nations can be explained primarily by the fact that certain States have violated, and continue to violate, its Charter, and not by the fact that the Charter is bad. For these reasons, the Byelorussian SSR resolutely opposes

all attempts to revise the Charter, whatever form they take. It is not on the revision of the Charter but on the solution of the problems facing the United Nations by means of unswerving observance of the Charter that the efforts of the United Nations must be concentrated.

92. For 30 years now humanity has been spared a world war. That is a tremendous achievement on the part of the peace-loving forces whose importance is becoming ever greater in the minds of people. In the favourable conditions provided by the reconstruction of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems and by international détente, the United Nations can and must contribute by its decisions to the strengthening of peace and international security; to the extension of the process of détente to all parts of the world; to giving real content to political détente and supplementing it by military détente; to the attainment of agreement on questions of disarmament; to the elimination of existing hotbeds of tension and conflict and of the remnants of colonialism and its consequences; and to the consolidation of co-operation among all States on the basis of respect for sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs, for the purposes of the economic, social and spiritual progress of the peoples of the world.

93. Mr. PANYARACHUN (Thailand): Mr. President, in the unavoidable absence of the Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is chairman of the delegation of Thailand, it is my privilege to extend to you on his behalf as well as that of my delegation the warmest congratulations on your election to the office of President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Your deep knowledge and wide experience of international politics and your commitment to international co-operation should bring about harmony and success in our deliberations.

94. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, for the valuable work he performed during his presidency of the twenty-ninth and the seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

95. The thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations is marked by the consensus reached at the seventh special session devoted to development and international economic co-operation. Although the decisions made at the special session are not instant solutions to the major economic problems in the world and there still exist some fundamental differences, both in substance and in approach, between the rich and the poor countries, it is none the less evident that the General Assembly at that session made some progress in arriving at concrete measures in selected areas of international economic co-operation. It is the view of my delegation that the most significant achievement at that session is the fact that a spirit of reconciliation and co-operation prevailed throughout our long and laborious negotiations. It should, therefore, be in the interest of all countries to try to strengthen this spirit of co-operation and move forward with a view to reaching further agreements and consensus.

96. The seventh special session was not an end in itself but constitutes yet another important step forward in the ongoing process which began with the

adoption of the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] at this historic sixth special session, and the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States at the twenty-ninth session [resolution 3281 (XXIX)]. It is by no means an easy task to redress the economic disparity between developed and developing countries and to restructure a new interdependent world to ensure the orderly and well-balanced social and economic growth of the international economic community. But the recently concluded session provided a forum for genuine and constructive dialogue which inevitably will help to convince the industrialized nations of the futility of prolonged confrontation. At the same time, we in the third world have also become less strident in our rhetoric and more realistic and unified in our approach. We indeed made collective efforts to urge the rich nations to accept the comprehensive and rational objectives of the new international economic order, as well as its validity and practicability.

97. My delegation stated in the general debate of the seventh special session that "interdependence" implies collective responsibility, with each partner bearing a responsibility commensurate with its increasing capability and requirements for economic and social development. This, in the opinion of my delegation, holds true particularly in the case of the developing countries. Thailand is an agricultural country with 80 per cent of its people engaging in farming and rice cultivation. In the last few decades, the Thai Government has intensified its efforts to promote industrialization, but the fact remains that exports of food grains and other agricultural products constitute more than half of our total foreign-exchange earnings. Trade in food grains and agricultural products, therefore, is a matter not merely of vital interest to my country but indeed one of survival. My delegation is therefore pleased to note that these factors have been taken into consideration in the decisions taken at the seventh special session. It is our sincere hope that future arrangements for world food security and supply will continue to take into full account the legitimate interests of the food-exporting developing countries, particularly in the determination of the criteria for the allocation of reserve holdings in the world food-reserve system, as well as in efforts to increase food and agricultural production and to have a greater share in the world trade in these products.

98. Thailand has always been conscious of its responsibility to the international community in the area of multilateral and bilateral food aid. Although the volume of our production of and trade in food grains amounts to a small percentage of those of the developed countries, the Thai Government has consistently contributed to the United Nations Children's Fund and the World Food Programme. We have also given special consideration to the neighbouring countries and have taken every possible opportunity to come to their assistance in times of natural disaster and emergency.

99. The conciliatory atmosphere which permeated the seventh special session and produced partial results will be put to further tests in such forthcoming international meetings as the Paris conference on energy, raw materials and development and the fourth session

of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, and in the implementation of resolution 3362 (S-VII). The future will depend on the extent to which participating States, developed and developing, are able to reconcile their outstanding differences and to generate political will and moral determination to agree on the necessary collective and individual action.

100. At the Paris conference, South-East Asia, a major centre for the supply of energy and raw materials, should also, in our view, be adequately represented.

101. Significant developments have also taken place in the field of international peace and security. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed by 35 Governments at Helsinki, may be viewed as a positive step towards the reduction of tension and the improvement of relations among the most powerful States. The recent agreement on disengagement in the Sinai is of limited scope. And yet its conclusion helps to maintain the momentum of negotiations and, we hope, may lead to an over-all and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem and a just resolution of the Palestinian question. The Palestinians, as a party directly concerned, are as much entitled to their homeland as the Israelis are to theirs. My Government also reaffirms its strong opposition to the continued occupation of Arab territories by the Israeli forces and to any measure taken by Israel to change the status of Jerusalem.

102. The question of Cyprus, unfortunately, continues to be high on the United Nations agenda of unresolved conflicts. It is the hope of the Thai delegation that, through the good offices of the Secretary-General, some significant advance will soon be made towards a solution satisfactory to the two communities, while the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the country itself will be fully respected.

103. Events of more dramatic dimensions occurred in our part of the world. After more than two decades of war in Indo-China, fighting was finally brought to an end. With its cessation, there came also a sigh of relief from all sides and a desire to start anew. We in Thailand are not oblivious to this important development in our region.

104. Within Thailand itself, there have been in the past two years momentous changes which have led to the rebirth of democracy and the proclamation of a constitution guaranteeing full freedom of expression and other civil liberties. Since February of this year, Thailand has had a civilian government, which is responsible to the fully-elected House of Representatives. The present democratic system in my country takes fully into account the views and opinions of all the Thai people, regardless of their political ideology or social orientation. In this process, a reasonable degree of flexibility has replaced the outmoded rigidity and has enabled us to face the new realities in the area with candour and confidence.

105. In this connexion, I should like to quote certain parts of the speech made by the Prime Minister of Thailand, M. R. Kukrit Pramoj, at the Foreign Correspondents Association of South-East Asia in Singapore on 25 July 1975:

"It is rational not to fear change, for change is in the nature of all things. However, in international

relations such change, if it is to be in a positive direction, cannot be carried out by one side alone without a commensurate change by the other. If we have learned at all from our history, then all of us, especially in Indo-China and South-East Asia, must realize that we have no real alternative but to learn to live with and to adjust to one another in the spirit of tolerance, mutual confidence and trust.

“You can see that this is the trend all over the world; peoples and nations are reaching out, or trying to reach out, to mend the fences, to settle the differences that at one point in time had the fervour of a struggle between good and evil. Reality dictates that we must think anew because the times are new. We must disenthral ourselves from old prejudices and evolve a policy which is rational for our own time.

“Meanwhile, for Thailand, we have maintained, and will continue to maintain, our opposition to any nation, large or small, that seeks to impose its will and domination over ourselves or others. We stand for mutual respect of each country's national identity and its choice of political, economic and social systems, free from external interference in any manner or form. This is the cardinal principle that must govern all inter-State relations involving Thailand.”

106. Thailand has demonstrated its goodwill and willingness to assume friendly and meaningful relations and to live in peace and amity with the countries of Indo-China, on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. We are gratified that we have received a positive response from all concerned. It is our conviction that mutual trust and confidence can be rebuilt, and our common desire to usher in a new era of peace, progress and security can soon be translated into reality.

107. One aftermath of the war in Indo-China which constitutes an acute problem for Thailand is the influx of displaced persons from the three Indo-China States into my country. Today, about 45,000 displaced persons from Kampuchea, Laos and Viet Nam are seeking temporary shelter in our territory, and this creates vast problems for Thailand. It has proved an extremely heavy burden in both costs and administration for the Thai Government, which has made every effort to provide care and maintenance for them.

108. In this regard, I should like to take this opportunity to reassure the Assembly that the Thai Government's purpose in extending temporary shelter and assistance to these displaced persons is solely humanitarian, and that it seeks neither to protect nor to assist these displaced persons for political reasons or other selfish ends. Our authorities did not seek them out, nor did we encourage them to come, but none the less they came to Thailand of their own free will. All we are doing at present is to alleviate the human suffering and hardship arising from this influx of refugees. It is our hope that this emergency situation is of a temporary nature, and the Thai Government, I can assure you, is prepared to assist these people eventually to return to their homeland.

109. In this connexion, my Government wishes to place on record its deep appreciation to Prince

Sadrudin Aga Khan, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for his concrete response to our appeal for additional assistance. The High Commissioner paid an official visit to Thailand during September this year which enabled him to gain an insight into the immensity of the problem of displaced persons now faced by the Thai Government. In accordance with our humanitarian aim, we have asked the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to supervise the efforts to alleviate the hardships of those displaced persons in Thailand. The High Commissioner's Office has now launched an urgent appeal for a fund of \$12.4 million for the various projects to be implemented in Thailand, with assistance and full co-operation from the Thai authorities.

110. My Government, therefore, wishes to take this opportunity to make an appeal to all members of the international community for generous contributions to the fund so as to enable the High Commissioner to carry out the activities in an urgent and effective manner. I also wish to thank the Government of Japan for its prompt and substantial contribution to this fund.

111. With the passing of hostilities in Indo-China, it is now time to rebuild and rehabilitate the nations that have long been ravaged by the war. Thailand stands ready to co-operate with those countries and peoples in their constructive and productive endeavours.

112. While a realistic assessment of the South-East Asian scene can bring forth a ray of light and optimism, the developments in the Korean peninsula offer little hope for concrete and decisive measures to remove tensions and prevent armed conflict in that area.

113. Although 30 years have elapsed since Korea was divided into the North and the South, and 22 years since the establishment of the armistice, the reunification of Korea has not yet been achieved. It is, therefore, necessary that measures to accelerate its peaceful reunification be taken by all the parties directly concerned. When the joint communiqué was issued on 4 July 1972,³ it was generally anticipated that the dialogue between the North and the South would result in some concrete progress towards the attainment of the goal of peaceful reunification of the country. Such, however, was not the case. My delegation would like to urge both parties to continue and intensify the dialogue and to observe the principles of the North-South joint communiqué.

114. It appears to my delegation that, so long as mutual distrust and hostility continue to exist, it will be difficult to resolve the issue of United Nations military presence in Korea. Irrespective of any Government's views on the United Nations military involvement in Korea, the fact remains that only the Security Council has the authority to decide on the question of the dissolution of the United Nations Command. To facilitate such dissolution, it is incumbent upon all parties directly concerned to enter into negotiations with a view to concluding an alternative agreement to replace the military Armistice Agreement in Korea. Pending such substitute agreement, it is doubtful that any discussions or resolutions here would have practical effects upon the question of the United Nations Command or the peaceful reunification of Korea.

115. It cannot be denied that one of the major achievements of the United Nations since it came into existence is in the field of decolonization. The vast expansion of the United Nations membership is a living proof of the central role played by the Organization itself. This year, my delegation is happy to see an orderly and peaceful movement towards the full independence of three former Portuguese colonial Territories on the continent of Africa. The Thai Government welcomes their independence and joins others in greeting the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Republic of Cape Verde and the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe on their membership in the United Nations.

116. We should also like to congratulate Papua New Guinea on the attainment of independence and in anticipation of its admission to the world Organization.

117. It is our fervent hope that the Republic of South Viet Nam and the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam will soon take their rightful places among us here.

118. My delegation is seriously concerned over the recent developments in Angola. However, we should like to express our hope that the efforts to settle the differences between the three liberation movements will be successful so that their long struggle for independence can happily be concluded.

119. Very little progress has been made in the case of southern Africa. The adamant stand taken by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia is the major obstacle preventing the fulfilment of the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe. The situation in Namibia, in which the United Nations has long been directly involved, has shown no sign of improvement. It seems that all the initiatives and efforts made towards the achievement of self-determination and independence have been frustrated by both Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, whose authorities continue to adhere to the inhumane practice of *apartheid*.

120. Ever since the formation of the League of Nations the international community has had before it the question of world disarmament. Some important agreements on arms control and limitation have been concluded. But the solution to the problem of real disarmament measures remains as elusive as ever. The arms race in both nuclear and conventional weapons goes on unabated. In fact, while we all subscribe to the principle of disarmament and proclaim our sincerity in adopting disarmament measures, global expenditures on armaments are approaching \$300,000 million a year. Is it any wonder that all over the world there should be a grave shortage of funds for development purposes?

121. The Secretary-General, in his very candid and lucid introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/10001/Add.1], has posed some very interesting and pertinent questions about the future role of the United Nations in disarmament. Year after year the First Committee allocates some 50 meetings to the general debate and the adoption of numerous resolutions, some of which are of no practical value. Perhaps it is high time that we devoted more time to the basic review of disarmament and

to the question of structures and procedures of the United Nations negotiating machinery.

122. My Government, together with the Governments of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines and Singapore, is now actively engaged in discussions on measures leading to the creation of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. This objective, as propounded by the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of 1971,⁴ is in line with our common desire to minimize big-Power rivalry in our region. In our view, the Declaration will pave the way to the establishment of a climate of regional harmony and co-operation, which will strengthen our efforts, individual and collective, to construct a peaceful and stable region. We believe that this worthy effort on the part of the five members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations deserves understanding and support and the participation of all the major Powers, as well as those within the region.

123. There have been many changes in the world in the past 30 years. The political map of 1975 reflects the complexity of the political issues of our time. Military pacts have lost their effectiveness, political walls have crumbled, realignments and new orientations have come into play. A new international economic order is being devised. Interdependence and co-operation appear to be the key words for the solution of such global problems as the environment, the law of the sea and the population explosion. Also, the women of the world have become more assertive of their rights and have deservedly assumed their roles in the affairs of the world, especially in the realm of economic and social development. All are welcome changes, proving that the peoples of the world are no longer prisoners of the very rigid ideas and convictions of the past. Perhaps a further evidence may be our willingness to examine the United Nations Charter, which, after all, does not even reflect the authorship of half of the present United Nations Members.

124. The Organization itself is also prepared to examine and review the economic and social structure of the present United Nations system. The question is not whether some restructuring of the system is called for, but how the restructuring should be undertaken in order effectively to meet the new challenges and requirements of the next decades. The actions and measures we may agree upon to correct the present system and capacity should improve our ability to cope with present and future world problems. Towards this end, we must all strive together.

125. Mr. CHATTI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, may I, first of all, address to you the heartiest congratulations and best wishes of the Government of Tunisia on the occasion of your election as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Our congratulations are not a mere formality or a matter of habit. We are, in fact, convinced that you are one of the most qualified statesmen to occupy this important office. After what has been said by those who have spoken before me, it would be inappropriate for me to embarrass you by listing your many qualities, your ability, your clear-mindedness and your experience. I shall merely mention, as representative of a State that has the best of relations with Luxembourg, that you are devoted to the highest humanitarian values, to the spirit of justice, equality

and sincere co-operation, particularly between the major Powers and the developing countries, in order to bridge the gap between them. Your familiarity with these problems is, in view of the circumstances of the present session, the best guarantee of success for the mission the international community has entrusted to you. Tunisia pledges to you its full and complete co-operation.

126. I should also like to extend our congratulations to your predecessor, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of our sister Republic of Algeria, on his eminent services to the international community and in defence of the causes discussed by the General Assembly during the past year.

127. It is a particularly pleasant duty for me to pay a tribute to the constant efforts of the Secretary-General to increase the chances of peace in the world and to give the Organization its proper role and place. I should like particularly to mention his tireless efforts to settle certain problems in the Middle East, the Western Sahara and Cyprus.

128. We are convinced that the thirtieth session will be just as important as the previous session in the life of the United Nations.

129. The international situation during the past year has not been clarified in a way which would prompt us to believe that mankind has finally moved towards détente and peace. Indeed, confusion continues to surround most of the problems that we have been considering for a number of years. We are still confronted either by certain problems for which a just settlement has not been found or by others left in a state of stagnation, awaiting settlement; still others have deteriorated and become particularly acute.

130. One perceives, however, a glimmer of hope here and this inclines us to be more sanguine about the future.

131. The constant shuttling back and forth between hope and fear, the considerable differences in the political, economic and social conditions of the lives of people on the different continents have the effect of disrupting whatever balance has been achieved in the world and which disfigures its map, in a sense, and is a threat to world peace.

132. It is not my intention to dwell on all those matters which appear on the agenda of this session. My delegation will have occasion to state the views of Tunisia on those subjects in the various Committees. But I should like to state our views on a number of issues at the present time.

133. The past year has been marked by important political events and has led to the entry into our Organization of some new States which have just acquired independence, namely, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe, and Mozambique. The independence of those countries and their entry into the United Nations is a victory for freedom and dignity and a defeat for colonialism and hegemony.

134. While addressing our congratulations to the delegations of those three fraternal countries, may I express the conviction that these nations will strengthen our Organization and will make a firm contribution to those who are still struggling for their liberation?

135. Our congratulations and best wishes for prosperity go also to Papua New Guinea and to the Comoros, which recently declared their independence. It is our hope that we shall soon see them occupying their rightful place in our Organization.

136. Speaking about newly independent States, our thoughts go to a country whose independence will be declared next month. It has known the ordeal of a divided land and has had intractable problems, of a kind which no other country has ever had so near to independence.

137. From this rostrum, may I express to our brothers in Angola our sympathy and our compassion. We urge their leaders to stop their fratricidal struggle and to close their ranks as they take over the destiny of their country. We urge them to spare the blood of their brothers, and to protect their country from division so that it will not again fall to foreign domination. May they heed this appeal and may their country soon become an active Member of our Organization.

138. When will the day come when colonialism, having completely disappeared, will no longer be discussed? The liberation of peoples is an irresistible current; it is in a sense a law of nature and of human evolution.

139. The sufferings of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia in southern Africa because of the reactionary policies of *apartheid* arouse our indignation and require that we multiply our efforts to put an end to those retrograde and sterile ideas.

140. The Tunisian Government feels that the persistence of those régimes in their policy constitutes a flagrant challenge to the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and shows scorn for the universal conscience.

141. It is necessary for all peace- and freedom-loving peoples to do what they can to put an end to anything which might increase the political, military or economic potential of those régimes and to exert pressure to bring them to negotiate with the liberation movements, the only legitimate representatives of the peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

142. During the last session we considered the question of the Western Sahara, which is part of the problem of decolonization. Today we are moving towards an equitable solution. A United Nations Visiting Mission has been to the area; the International Court of Justice has handed down the advisory opinion which was requested of it;⁵ furthermore, Spain has made known its determination to withdraw from the area. Morocco and Mauritania have had the good sense to move towards consultation and co-operation with a view to a peaceful settlement, to the satisfaction of both parties. It is our hope that that process will proceed apace and that no obstacle will be allowed to stand in the way until it is possible for the parties concerned, under the auspices of the United Nations, to reach a peaceful and final settlement, guaranteeing peace, stability and good-neighbourly relations.

143. Turning now to the question of Cyprus, we appeal to the parties to follow the same course towards a settlement of the problem. In the opinion of my delegation, dialogue and accommodation are the most effective ways of bringing their views closer together,

regardless of differences. Therefore the Tunisian Government encourages the negotiations under way between the Turkish and Greek communities under the auspices of the Secretary-General. To be sure, while the fate of the island depends essentially on the Cypriots themselves, and while no one has the right to try to shape their destiny without their consent, we believe none the less that a federal system within the framework of a single State might be the most effective way of guaranteeing the interests of the two communities and safeguarding the essential conditions of coexistence and co-operation between the two parties.

144. However that may be, the Tunisian Government supports any solution leading to the coexistence and co-operation of both communities and will not fail to give its support to any settlement acceptable to both sides in the conflict, to whom we wish conciliation and concord within the framework of a common Cypriot nation.

145. May I now take up the most serious problem in the world today: the question of the Middle East. Is there any need still to say that that is the most serious problem for our current session? Statement after statement by Member States has acknowledged that the Middle East is the source of international disputes and the starting-point of complications, the consequences of which go beyond the area and threaten peace in the world. For many years now that question has regularly appeared on the agenda of our Assembly, which has considered it and tried to resolve it or at least to make it less acute.

146. The most important result which the United Nations has reached in this connexion is perhaps the decisions at the last session to recognize the PLO as the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people [resolution 3236 (XXIX)] and to grant it observer status [resolution 3237 (XXIX)]. At the same time the General Assembly affirmed that the solution resides not only in the separation of the armed forces in conflict, or in the partial or complete withdrawal from the occupied territories, but in a settlement of the fundamental problem, which is the Palestinian problem. Recognition of that fact and the inclusion of that cause in the agenda of the General Assembly is essential.

147. As President Bourguiba has constantly proclaimed since 1948, any solution which does not lead to a full settlement of that problem, and fails to recognize the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, would be incomplete and doomed to failure.

148. By recognizing the existence of the Palestinian problem, by considering it a problem of struggle for national liberation, and by including it on the agenda as a separate item, the Organization took its most important step since its creation, with a view to correcting the errors of the past committed at the expense of the Palestinian people and to embarking on a wise course of action by examining the Palestinian question in an appropriate manner.

149. But if we consider what has been done since last year we realize that nothing concrete has been accomplished chiefly because of Israel's stubbornness in refusing to take the facts into account and in defying

world public opinion and the resolutions of the United Nations. Israel continues to practise the law of the jungle and occupies the territories of others. It continues to ignore the Palestinian people and denies it its right to live as an independent and sovereign people; it has even gone so far as to disregard the international document to which it owes its existence.

150. By taking that attitude Israel refuses to follow the dictates of reason and obstructs the search for an appropriate solution. Moreover, that country, while it claims to be devoted to peace, is in fact preparing for another war and is equipping itself with sophisticated weapons, some of which have never been used.

151. So it is that the problem remains intact. It has even become more serious, and the complications which have emerged in the area are the result of the fact that interest has focused, regrettably, on the consequences and on what can be done about them, and not on the causes.

152. I do not wish to yield to pessimism, which would hardly be helpful, but I must admit that the situation in the Middle East hardly encourages optimism or calm. It is the duty of all, therefore, to combine our efforts to convince Israel to give up its dangerous racist views and to make it understand that security is not compatible with arrogance and stubbornness and that a people's right to live in an area cannot be ensured by waging war on the other peoples of the area and by kindling their feelings of hostility.

153. The Palestinian people are determined to assert their right to exist. There will be no peace for Israel, there will be no peace in the area, until that people has obtained its right to its homeland, as an entirely sovereign people.

154. What I have just said is not said in a spirit of intransigence and does not mean that we are opposed to a step-by-step policy of wisdom. Everyone knows that Tunisia has always favoured peaceful solutions and has always believed in the effectiveness of step-by-step policies, rejecting the blind stubbornness of an all-or-nothing policy. However, step-by-step policies require, to our way of thinking, certain conditions, without which they cannot achieve their objectives.

155. The first of these conditions is to define the objectives, for without such a definition we are likely to get lost in unfamiliar ways and dead-end streets and not attain our goal. In other words, we are convinced that any attempt to bring about a settlement of the question of the Middle East, be it in a bilateral or multilateral framework, must be made within the context of an over-all settlement; that is to say, it must be aimed not only at the evacuation of Arab territories occupied since 1967, but also at recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to its homeland.

156. On the basis of those considerations we believe that the disengagement agreement concluded in September 1975 may be an effective step towards peace and could create a climate favourable to negotiations, thereby promoting peaceful coexistence between the Arab States and an Israeli State freed of its obsession with hegemony and expansionism that has finally accepted the existence of a people, the Palestinian people, and their right to live in the land of their ancestors. That will happen if, as some of the parties concerned say, it emerges that the September agree-

ment is in fact to be followed up by negotiations on the evacuation of the Golan Heights and on the evacuation of the West Bank of the river Jordan.

157. However, if negotiations do not begin very soon with Syria and with the PLO, and if those negotiations once under way do not lead within a reasonable period of time to positive results that cannot be regarded as a freezing of the situation as a result of Israel's intransigence under cover of continuing negotiations, the September agreement may produce quite the opposite of what was expected. Instead of being a dynamic force for peace in the area, it might well constitute an obstacle to that peace. In the same way, instead of creating a climate favourable to negotiations and peaceful coexistence, it might cause further disappointment in some quarters and profound despair in others, prompting everyone to believe that war is still the only way of bringing about a just and lasting settlement.

158. The September agreement is based on two types of commitment: one between Egypt and Israel in accordance with which the latter pledges itself to give up certain sectors of Egyptian territory, in a move that it appears has procured it considerable advantages; the other between certain Arab States and the United States in accordance with which the United States commits itself to negotiations with the parties concerned with a view to a parallel evacuation of the Golan Heights and the West Bank.

159. If the United States did begin negotiations with a view to the evacuation of the Golan Heights and the West Bank and if those negotiations did lead to positive results, then we should be entitled to say that the September agreement was an historic event with considerable consequences.

160. But, as we all know, it is not the provisions of the agreement that matter, but the real intentions of the signatories; and those intentions will be bound to be revealed when the agreement is carried out. However, early indications do not justify optimism. Israel has in fact exploited this period of peace to prepare for war. It has demanded weapons from the United States that will give it a certain military superiority, so that it can impose its will on everyone; and that leads us to believe that its intention is to create a *de facto* situation that will satisfy its greed and that some have already called a *Pax Israelina*.

161. That situation will never be accepted by the Arabs, even if it means war for centuries to come.

162. Peace in the Middle East will never be the kind of peace that Israel is trying to impose by force of military superiority; it will be a peace arising from agreement among all the parties concerned.

163. That is why, while we appreciate the importance of the agreement of September 1975, which might be a decisive stage in the development of the Middle East question, we will pass final judgement on it only when the second stage is under way, that is, when the three contracting parties carry out their respective commitments, which, by the way, are not so much as mentioned in the text of the agreement.

164. It seems that negotiations concerning the Golan Heights will begin in October. If that is so, how long will they take? And what will the results be? Until we

get replies to those two questions it will be difficult for us to pass final judgement on the agreement. However that may be, Tunisia, as already stated, considers that the crux of the problem, namely, the Palestinian question, is still before us. Tunisia will always stand by the Palestinian people and the PLO, regardless of circumstances, until that people have regained their legitimate rights.

165. The continent of Europe was this year the scene of one of the most important events since the Second World War: the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. The Tunisian Government has already said how impressed it was with the results of that Conference. Tunisia is a small developing country and can only welcome the efforts made to bring about the success of that Conference. We welcome also the new spirit which it seems will now imbue future relations among the States of Europe.

166. We hope that the decisions adopted by the Conference will be implemented fully and sincerely and that they will strengthen confidence and co-operation in Europe, because we are convinced that whenever it emerges anywhere in the world peace, just as much as war, trends to spread to other areas.

167. However, we believe that peace in Europe will be limited and threatened, so long as other areas of the world have problems of war and aggression, and poverty, particularly when those areas comprise the countries bordering on Europe, as is the case with the Mediterranean countries. The Conference, as a matter of fact, did not live up to the expectations of the peoples of the area south of the Mediterranean. We believe that the criteria adopted for Europe should be considered for other areas of the world as well, inasmuch as security cannot be maintained in the western part of the Mediterranean while war is being waged in the eastern part. Similarly, co-operation cannot have full meaning if it is confined solely to Europe and not extended to all countries having close relations with Europe.

168. Although Tunisia did not take part in the Conference as we would have wished, it will not fail to make every effort, with fraternal and friendly countries, so that the spirit which prevailed at the Conference may extend to the entire Mediterranean region, whose inhabitants wish it to become an oasis of peace and a centre for co-operation in the interests of all. The European-Arab dialogue will perhaps provide an opportunity for finding ways and means of establishing in the Mediterranean lasting peace based on co-operation.

169. I should like to take this opportunity to say that my Government very much welcomes the good results achieved at the seventh special session of the General Assembly, which studied the problems of development and international economic co-operation. That session began a movement towards the establishment of a new international economic order, which would be based, not on the criteria of relative power, but on the common interests and aspirations of one and all for peace, prosperity and economic balance. Although the results are not entirely in keeping with the desires of the developing countries, the session none the less did produce a consensus on the measures to be adopted with regard to matters on which the existence and development of a considerable part of

mankind depend. I might, for example, mention the establishment of a system capable of improving the terms of trade and promoting more balanced and expanded international trade; the transfer of real resources in order to make solidarity among nations effective, by means of more direct participation on the part of the well-to-do countries and less unfavourable terms for the financing of the development programmes of the third-world countries; the acceleration of the industrialization of developing countries, which is a necessary condition for their development, by means of the relocation of certain industries in accordance with the Plan of Action adopted at the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries held at Lima [see A/10217 and Corr.1, annex]; and the satisfaction of the food needs of three quarters of the world's population by increasing agricultural production and food aid from the well-to-do countries, along with certain changes in the way in which that aid is offered.

170. The Tunisian Government welcomes the spirit which prevailed throughout the session. It was characterized by understanding and co-operation, which will have a most definite effect on future international economic conferences. We hope that all States will ensure that the decisions adopted in the course of the session are implemented in the same constructive spirit and that efforts are continued to bring the views of the developing and the industrialized countries closer together. That would guarantee the kind of co-operation needed to establish a new economic order based on justice and interdependence.

171. Over the past 30 years, mankind has experienced a considerable upheaval and an unprecedented development. The technological revolution has extended to most countries. Men are increasingly thirsting for knowledge and progress. They are demanding ever more insistently social justice and the safeguarding of human dignity. The political and economic facts of life have changed considerably, both nationally and internationally. The United Nations has played a central role in this evolution, but it has not always kept pace with it, hampered as it has been by texts and machinery created before those major changes took place. That has made us keenly aware of the need for changes in its structure and the need to adapt it to the new situation. We are aware of the need to introduce certain reforms in order to make that structure as effective as it should be.

172. Last year from this rostrum I had occasion to say that we did not wish to diminish the responsibility of the major Powers, nor did we wish to divert the Organization from the objectives that are its *raison d'être*; but we must observe that the international responsibilities of other nations are increasing in scope and number. If we do not wish the Organization to be overtaken by events it is our duty to associate all the other nations more closely than before with the process of decision-making in this Organization and to place them in a position from where they can supervise the implementation of those decisions on an equal footing with the rest. That will make it possible for our Organization to become universal and able effectively to solve international problems.

173. If we survey the past 30 years we must note that the Organization has not always put an end to

aggression, nor has it always adopted sanctions against the aggressor. Israel and South Africa, for example, have flagrantly and consistently defied the Organization, without having had to fear the slightest sanction. On the contrary, those two countries have increasingly defied the dictates of the conscience of the international community by practising new forms of collaboration and new forms of mutual support in order to pursue designs condemned by mankind as a whole. The Organization does not yet have the means which would make it possible for it to implement the decisions of its various bodies, which accounts for the disappointment and the failures of a number of international institutions. That is why we must begin to study the various ways and means of strengthening our Organization so that its decisions will not remain a dead letter.

174. Will our Organization find the ways and means to give it strength and courage to make it possible to develop in harmony with the requirements of the day? Will Member States reach that unanimity which will generate a common and sincere will to move towards peace and development? That is our sincere desire, in the interests of our Organization and of all mankind.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly (continued):*

(b) Report of the credentials committee

FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE

175. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I invite the Chairman of the Credentials Committee, Mr. Longerstaey of Belgium, to present the report of the Credentials Committee.

176. Mr. LONGERSTAEY (Belgium), Chairman of the Credentials Committee (*interpretation from French*): I have the honour to present to the General Assembly the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/10270]. I do not think that this report calls for any observations by me. I shall confine myself to drawing the Assembly's attention to paragraph 12.

177. Mr. KIKHIA (Libyan Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): My delegation would like to make the following statement regarding the credentials of the delegation of Israel to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

178. The United Nations has been seized of the problem of Palestine since the termination of the British Mandate for Palestine in 1947. Without going into a debate on the origins and historical development of the question of Palestine in the United Nations, the General Assembly, lacking all legal qualifications to approve the partition of any nation, issued its famous resolution 181 (II) of November 1947, partitioning Palestine.

179. The United Nations, by taking such an action, not only contradicted or acted at variance with its Charter, but inflicted a permanent and relentless injustice upon the Arab people of Palestine, who represented the majority of the population. Thus,

* Resumed from the 2351st meeting.

the United Nations not only denied the Arab Palestinian people their right to self-determination, but helped to evict the Palestinians from their national home and turned them into refugees without hope, making way for an alien régime to be established on the basis of the usurpation of land, aggression and terrorism.

180. Imperialism, with the United States taking the initiative, manoeuvred to legitimize the racist Zionist régime by calling for a special session of the General Assembly of 51 Member States—I repeat: 51 Member States, because the majority of the States of the third world were still fighting for their independence and sovereignty—to use the Assembly as a rubber stamp to legalize the unjust scheme, thereby creating an alien régime in Palestine.

181. Notwithstanding the fact that the fundamental tenet of the Charter was based on the right of peoples to self-determination, the Palestine question was submitted at that time to the General Assembly and treated in a manner contradicting that very basic principle. Therefore, those who today decry the expulsion of a régime on the pretext of upholding the principle of the universality of the United Nations should be silenced for ever. There should be no double standards in the criteria of carrying out the international ethical code of nations. Those are the same States that devised the plot of the illegal partition of Palestine in 1947, violating the Charter.

182. Furthermore, those forces that helped to hatch the Zionist egg into a *de facto* régime sought *de jure* recognition by ensuring its admission to the United Nations. The General Assembly adopted its qualified resolution 273 (III) of May 1949, admitting the Zionist régime to membership in the United Nations. That resolution admitted a colonial, racist régime to membership in the United Nations on the condition that it unreservedly accepted the obligations laid down in the United Nations Charter and complied with the preceding resolutions of the General Assembly—in particular resolutions 181 (II) and 194 (III) on the partition of Palestine and the resettlement of the Palestinian refugees in their homeland.

183. On the contrary, succeeding Zionist policies have shown total disregard for the United Nations resolutions and decisions. Furthermore, the Zionists have not been satisfied with the area they have unlawfully acquired, but, like any other colonial régime, have continued to covet and have perpetrated their aggression and expansion over the whole of Palestine and beyond, into the territories of other Arab States.

184. In their deliberate effort to liquidate the Palestinians, they pursue a policy of genocide and mass slaughter aimed at the total destruction of the Arab people of Palestine.

185. At its twenty-ninth session, the General Assembly, in resolution 3236 (XXIX), recognized the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. Furthermore, the General Assembly reasserted the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and reaffirmed their inalienable right to return to their homeland and property in Palestine. Nevertheless, the Zionist régime, which was illegally granted a home as well as membership in the United Nations, persists

in disregarding the overwhelming will of the United Nations.

186. Based on the foregoing, therefore, we should not accept the credentials of the Zionist delegation to the thirtieth session of the General Assembly because they are not based on any ethical or legal basis and, consequently, we should like to register our strongest reservations of the credentials of this delegation to this session.

187. The statement which I have just made as Chairman of the Arab group of States during this current month of October reflects the viewpoint of the other brother Arab States which are members of the League of Arab States. They are: Algeria, Bahrain, Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Democratic Yemen, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates and Yemen.

188. In the view of the Libyan delegation, the least that could be done in this current session to implement the resolutions adopted by the Islamic Conference, which was held at Jeddah, the resolutions at Kampala of the African group and the resolutions of the Lima Conference of non-aligned States, in answer to the request of our peoples, is to warn and caution the Zionist entity regarding its membership in the United Nations. We do not doubt for one instant that at the appropriate time and with regard to the continual perpetration of its policy of intransigence and arrogance, this question of the membership of this racist and artificial régime in the United Nations will be reconsidered and reviewed. We are sure that our peoples will not remain silent for long in these abnormal circumstances.

189. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): It would appear that there are no other speakers on the list for this debate. The General Assembly has before it, therefore, the report of the Credentials Committee and has to take a decision on the draft resolution recommended by the Credentials Committee in paragraph 12 of its report. As I hear no objection to the proposal of the Credentials Committee, may I take it, therefore, that the General Assembly approves the draft resolution before it?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3367 A (XXIX)).*⁶

190. Mr. HERZOG (Israel): As I listened to the statement of the Libyan representative and, indeed, during this General Assembly debate, to the by now familiar and very tiresome stream of invective which has become common parlance on the part of a number of delegations vying with each other as to the degree of hate and spite which they can inject into the debate, I allowed myself to ponder what was their purpose. Do they really believe that this is the way to solve problems? Can they possibly imagine that these diatribes influence anybody in this Assembly, least of all the object of their attacks? This may be the standard of debate to which they are accustomed in their own countries, if indeed debate is allowed at all, but surely it is an insult to the intelligence of a world assembly such as this to submit it to this monotonous diatribe. Debate, yes; disagreement, yes; an attempt to convince one another, yes; an effort to achieve

consensus, yes; but the form of purposeless abuse which we have just heard: No, never. It is surely beneath the dignity of a forum such as this to accept this type of utterance as a standard of international dialogue.

191. This Assembly has listened to two types of voices during the general debate in so far as the Middle East is concerned: on the one hand, the sterile voices of intransigence rejecting the other side's right to exist, rejecting negotiations, rejecting compromise, rejecting the move towards peace; and on the other hand the courageous voices of those who, mindful of the risks and dangers involved—and they exist for all sides—are prepared to set out on the road of moderation, of negotiation and of compromise in an atmosphere of mutual respect, in an attempt to advance towards peace. Israel belongs to that second group and indeed the issue could not be more vividly illustrated than by the debate which took place yesterday in this Assembly between the Foreign Minister of Israel and other representatives. If anybody was in doubt as to the issue in the Middle East today, an analysis of the statements made yesterday should clarify matters. I can only reiterate that Israel has embarked on the road of negotiation in an endeavour to achieve peace with all our neighbours and to bring a solution with honour for all sides to our strife-torn area. We will not be deflected in any way from this our purpose by malicious rhetoric and purposeless diatribes.

192. As for the remarks made by the Libyan representative when making reservations as to Israel's membership in the United Nations, I reject, with all the emphasis at my command, this unwarranted statement which contributes nothing to the dignity of the world body and strikes at the very roots of its existence. I note with satisfaction that world opinion, as expressed at the various international meetings in Stockholm, in Western Europe, in Kampala and in Lima, has rejected this move, conscious of the dangers to the future existence of the United Nations arising therefrom.

193. It is sobering to reflect that this standard of behaviour which we have seen today has become an accepted norm by the General Assembly in the various committees. I take this opportunity to suggest that we may have reached a time to look for new standards and norms of behaviour even among adversaries. After all, the success of the seventh special session was due in no small measure to the civilized atmosphere which characterized its discussions. When I contemplate the behaviour of some of the Arab countries, their mode of expression when addressing us, their paranoic fear of speaking to or of meeting with Israeli representatives, their unrealistic attitude in debate, I wonder if the time has not been reached for them to graduate from the kindergarten type of politics in which they indulge.

194. Mr. BAROODY (Saudi Arabia): I feel constrained to speak now because the gentleman who has just spoken reminds me of a passage in the New Testament: he sees the mote in his brother's eye, but he does not see the beam in his own. I support his right to say what he wants, but for those of you who are not contemporaries of the issue of Palestine I feel bound to make a few remarks—and I shall be as brief as possible—to clarify the situation.

195. With respect to whatever the gentleman from the Zionist State has said about terror, and about some of us still being in kindergarten, and that it is high time that we should graduate and become civilized, I have to say the following. Many of the Palestinian people had been Jews and had converted to Christianity and Islam. Those Ashkenazi Jews who were the protagonists of the territorial Zionist movement brought people who were converted to Judaism into the land and drove out the Palestinians, some of whom ethnically were the Jews of the land, our Jews.

196. Secondly, let any Israeli wash his mouth out before he casts aspersions at the people of Palestine, the indigenous people of Palestine, because after all, who brought terror to that land but the Haganah, the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang. Those who were in Palestine were a peaceful people. They always stretched their arms out wide, even during the Ottoman Empire, to receive all pilgrims regardless of faith. They were a peaceful people until those Central European and Eastern European Jews, whose ancestors converted to Judaism in the eighth century, came into our midst. We want peace with them as Jews—not only the Palestinians but all the Arabs in the area.

197. If you have good sense, you will recognize the Palestinians and make peace with them, because there will be no peace, even in the Arab lands, if the Palestinians are not given their inalienable right of self-determination.

198. The Western Powers had no business to give away land that did not belong to them. The Jews are there as aliens. But you Israelis have been there among us now for 27 years. You must get rid of—I shall not use the word "paranoia"—that psychosis that you are the chosen people of God and that you have an exclusivity that is not shared by others, and then you will find that you can live with your brothers, the Palestinians. I call them your brothers because we are all brothers in humanity, Jew or Gentile, Buddhist or Shintoist, monotheist or atheist—here in this Assembly we should declare that we are all brothers. But you want that exclusivity which you will never attain, not because of the Palestinian people but because it is against the human trend. God is no discriminator to choose one people and say they are above others. Nor is God Almighty—as I once said to one of your representatives, Mr. Abba Eban—in the real estate business to distribute land to one people and withhold it from another. I do not know how you communicated with God Almighty to say that he gave you Palestine. Show us the title deed and the seal thereon, as I have said before.

199. And you British and Americans—when did God give you the power of attorney to transfer a land that was fully populated to other people because you British in the days of Balfour were under the German threat at the time of the First World War? It was the Zionists who railroaded the United States into the First World War. And then you fought for freedom and democracy and human rights. What about the rights of the people of Palestine? What power of attorney did God Almighty give you so that you could transfer land that did not belong to you?

200. I feel constrained to say this, not to defend the rights of our people who live in Palestine, many of

whom ethnologically had been Jews, but because I should like to see our Jewish brethren survive among us and not suffer from that psychosis that has created so much trouble in the world. I warn you from this rostrum—and I issued this warning even when I was on speaking terms with the Zionists in the 1930s in England and in other places—that if you want to live among us as Jews, for you are our brothers, you must not make zionism a motivation for a political and economic end. You will never succeed if you do that. Believe me, I am speaking to you not emotionally, but as one who has lived with this question since 1922.

201. There is no quarrel between us and the Jews. The Semitic Jews are our brothers, and we would like to have the non-Semitic Jews as our brothers if they seek acceptance among us, and not exclusivity.

202. If you do not want a secular State, you may have cantonments—as I said last night; but we do not want to see you hurt inasmuch as we do not want to see our brothers from Palestine denied their right to self-determination.

203. Thank you for being patient with me, but I believe that I am expressing the aspirations not only of the Palestinian people but of every people that is denied its right to self-determination; and I do not want to digress, but that also means the people of Namibia and the people of Southern Rhodesia, or any people of whatever race, religion or political persuasion. They should be able to exercise their right to self-determination.

204. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of the Syrian Arab Republic has asked to speak and I shall call on him. However, I should like to draw attention to the fact that it is now 1.30 p.m. and this afternoon a Head of State is going to address us, and that is why all I can do is to appeal to the Assembly and to express my regret, as President, that, following a consensus on the part of the Assembly, a debate has been provoked under cover of an explanation of vote.

205. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): The representative of the racist Zionist régime has tried to convince us that the Arab and friendly voices seeking an end to the violations of that racist régime in the occupied Arab territory are few in number, and that the international forums at Kampala and Lima have rejected these voices calling for the expulsion of the racist Zionist régime from this Organization because its very presence contradicts the very principles of the Charter of this Organization. This, indeed, is very sad because the representatives of the Zionist entity are used to condemnations and no longer have any feeling. The Zionist representatives used to come to the podium after every condemnation to use invective against the Organization and to say outspokenly that they are not going to implement any resolution regarding cessation of their aggression or withdrawal from occupied Arab territory, or the recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arab people.

206. The Zionist representative has referred to the Lima Conference, and I should like to read out a short quotation from the Political Declaration adopted at the Lima Conference. The Conference of Ministers for

Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries at Lima said the following:

“By its continuing aggression against Arab countries and by its persistent violations of the United Nations Charter and resolutions, Israel has isolated itself from the international community. The time has come . . . to consider other measures against Israel, in conformity with the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

“The Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned Countries demand, therefore, that the United Nations Security Council, in compliance with its responsibilities, take all necessary measures, including those contemplated in Chapter VII of the Charter in order to force Israel to cease its aggression and its violations and implement all United Nations resolutions concerning the Palestinian and the Middle East questions.

“The Conference most severely condemns Zionism as a threat to world peace and security, and calls upon all countries to oppose this racist and imperialist ideology.” [*ibid.*, annex, paras. 56-58.]

The Conference also called upon the Security Council to take the necessary steps to bring and to confirm the right of the Palestinian people in accordance with resolution 3236 (XXIX) [*ibid.*, para. 55].

207. Zionism has been considered by more than 80 States as a threat to world peace and security. Yesterday we heard the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Zionist régime giving us a lesson on the ideas of zionism and telling us that if we criticize Israel or if we request Israel to stop its aggression we are enemies of zionism; and if we are enemies of zionism we are then anti-Semitic. The racist Israelis are trying to threaten the world with this: “Do not criticize us. Otherwise we will say that you are anti-Semitic.” With this threat they are attempting to mislead world public opinion and to threaten it.

208. We are the last to fear such a threat. Do not forget that we Arabs are also Semitic and that we are in the forefront of those States which are against zionism. We are not against Judaism, because in the Arab communities there are millions of Arabs with thousands of Jews living among them, who are still living among us in peace. Between us and them we have never had any trouble or misunderstanding until world zionism arrived on the scene. This racist régime seeks a “promised land” at a time when segregation between peoples is completely rejected by all peoples of the world. We are not afraid to oppose zionism because we are Semitic and refuse to accept that the Zionist racist régime be granted immunity from criticism for its aggression.

209. The representative of Israel spoke about States rejecting talks for an honourable peace. Now, where is this honourable solution to be found? Under the heels of the Israeli soldiers. This has been taking place for eight years, and for 27 years the rights of the Palestinian people have been violated, and the Israelis are continually rejecting these resolutions. Now they try to impose their own ideas and to say that here we have peace, but this is under the heel of the Zionist occupation. This can by no means be an honourable peace.

210. The delegation of Syria on whose behalf the representative of Libya spoke rejects the credentials of the racist Zionist régime at this Assembly and believes that it is high time that we expel this régime until it has implemented the principles of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. As a last resort, the representative of the Zionist régime takes the floor to create more hostility.

The meeting rose at 1.40 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.7.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2350th meeting, para. 72.

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.

⁴ See A/C.1/1019.

⁵ *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.

⁶ Resolution 3367 B (XXX) was adopted at the 2436th meeting held on 11 December 1975.