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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. The PRESIDENT: The first speaker this morning is the personal representative of General Kjell Eugenio Laugerud, President of the Republic of Guatemala, Her Excellency Mrs. Helen Losi de Laugerud. I invite her to address the Assembly.

2. Mrs. LOSI DE LAUGERUD (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is in this forum that nations and their representatives express their ideas and their aspirations in a continuing human effort to ensure progress and peace. Despite the diversity and dynamics of conflicts, despite differences in interests and ideologies, the United Nations has proved its ability to find and implement solutions. This is because man has learned that the determination to live together in peace is not only desirable but essential.

3. However, Guatemala is not before this Assembly today to preach any cause. Guatemala comes simply to express to every nation represented here its appreciation and gratitude for the aid provided by the peoples and the Governments of your nations when the tragedy of 4 February this year destroyed one third of our territory.

4. Guatemala is not the only country in the world that has suffered earthquakes, floods and other natural disasters. But it is the smallest of the countries that have experienced destruction of such magnitude.

5. It is true that one no longer sees the tears or hears the moans of the more than 15,000 disabled. The graves of the 24,750 dead are still and dark. The orphans will be growing up without the warmth of a family, but they will have the solidarity of their countrymen. The more than 94,000 injured are recovering.

6. But, of our total population of 6 million, 1,200,000 lost their homes, and the homes of another 400,000 will have to be restored or reconstructed.

7. With the destruction of one third of our territory, the infrastructure that we had before the earthquake was completely wiped out. Centres of agricultural production have lost plantings and crops; moreover, the ecology has changed, and this change will affect our agriculture.

8. By consulting the map and United Nations statistics, you will be able to appreciate the devastating effects of the disaster we have suffered. If, as the result of an earthquake, a country loses its vital resources, human and otherwise, and if that country is also small and poor, such a disaster must mark the beginning of a new era. It means that the country must start anew.

9. That is why the emergency aid that your countries furnished us at a time of crisis not only saved lives but demonstrated that human solidarity continues to be one of the qualities ensuring the survival of mankind.

10. We Guatemalans shall not forget that your nations shared our grief and made our needs a common cause. We are aware that in many of your countries sacrifices had to be made in order to help us. We know that thousands of your countrymen did not eat in order to send food to our victims. And we are also aware that children of your nations who do not even know where on this planet our country is located none the less cried for our children and sent them clothing, toys, and candy.

11. None of this can ever be forgotten. Neither can we forget the medical assistance missions, the specialists in many fields, and the volunteers of all races, religions and political ideologies who came to Guatemala to offer help, expecting no compensation.

12. At this very moment, the sight of these dedicated men and women passes before my eyes—people engaged in a dramatic, noble and heroic task, in the midst of the rubble and the weeping victims. I see them today as I saw them then. They spoke in languages that we did not understand, but we witnessed their help and sensed their sympathy and resignation in the face of death.

13. In the midst of the cataclysm, volunteers of your nations helped to mitigate the effects of the disaster. Penetrating unknown territory, they entered the caves where rural folk lay dying and scaled the mountains where survivors begged to be saved.

14. So how can Guatemala fail to be grateful to your countries? How can we repay you? We cannot.

15. It is for that reason that I have been commissioned by my people to appear before this Assembly to express our appreciation and gratitude. Please accept them, since this is

the only way that we can compensate your countries for their solidarity and generosity.'

16. In the meantime, we are repaying and shall continue to repay you for your assistance through the work that Guatemala is now doing and will continue to do in years to come to rebuild our country.

17. I can assure you that a great national crusade is under way in Guatemala, aimed at its reconstruction. And, in accordance with the request of my husband, President Laugerud, a request to which the people agreed, we have dried our tears and started to work.

18. In the national crusade for reconstruction, the Guatemalan woman is not a spectator but a necessary participant. I can attest to the amazing fortitude of the Guatemalan woman during the most difficult stage of the catastrophe and to her devoted dedication in the present effort to create and build.

19. Though carrying a newborn infant on her back and perhaps having seen her husband buried in a common grave, that woman grasped a tool to clear the rubble from the streets of her village and from the access routes. Her sorrow burned within her, but she did not weep. Under the blazing sun or the drenching rain she worked tirelessly, through long, dark hours.

20. In the tormented faces of those women one could observe the serenity of our race in the face of adversity; one could sense the stoicism of people who remained erect in the face of death and devastation in their homes, death and devastation in their towns, death and devastation among their neighbours.

21. The Guatemalan woman is not redecorating her home; she is rebuilding it with her own hands. Side by side with the men, she is rebuilding houses, working in the wheat and corn fields. She is helping the needy. She is a mother and a refuge to the orphaned and the old who have lost everything, even an awareness of their age.

22. May I say that as a woman I am proud of the stature and greatness of the Guatemalan woman.

23. Nevertheless, we Guatemalans and our President believe that in this reconstruction we must not again build things as they were. Through the reconstruction we are working to create new living conditions and a better standard of living for all our people. Guatemala believes that reconstruction means improvement. In reconstructing we are also establishing the instruments for promoting social development and for giving impetus to human progress.

24. We do not want any country to live through the terrifying experience Guatemala has lived through. We do not want any country to face a catastrophe such as we have faced.

25. I sincerely pray that the Almighty will spare the nations here represented from the cataclysmic destruction we have suffered.

26. In closing I ask you to accept the homage Guatemala wishes to pay to the victims of earthquakes and other disasters in all parts of the world.

27. On behalf of Guatemala, may I ask that we say a prayer in tribute to those who have died in your countries.

28. Finally, on behalf of Guatemala I wish to tell you that we thank you from the bottom of our hearts.

29. The PRESIDENT: I thank Her Excellency the Personal Representative of the President of the Republic of Guatemala. Her Excellency has with fervor and poignancy expressed her country's gratitude to the human community for the assistance it rendered Guatemala at a time of acute anguish and distress. On behalf of the General Assembly I should like to assure Her Excellency that we very much appreciate her gracious gesture and wish her country a speedy recovery from the terrible calamity it has suffered.

30. Sir Keith HOLYOAKE (New Zealand): Mr. President, it is my great pleasure to congratulate you on your election as President of this Assembly session. This has been a great year for you. You have already demonstrated your presidential capacity in five sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and at two of them this year. At the same time your country has been the host for a summit meeting of the non-aligned countries in Colombo.¹ Your election as President not only ensures that this session will run with unusual punctuality and efficiency, but also reflects honour on Sri Lanka and on the Asian countries which showed their wisdom in selecting you for this high post.

31. I offer my warm felicitations to our Secretary-General and his staff on their untiring efforts in the interests of all mankind.

32. New Zealand, as a fellow member of the Commonwealth, gives a special welcome to Seychelles as the newest Member of the United Nations. In accordance with the principle of universality, New Zealand will support the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam when it comes before this Assembly.

33. The General Assembly is the great key forum for the discussion of world issues, and the attendance of so many distinguished political figures at this session proves this.

34. Some might think that New Zealand is not well placed to be much more than an onlooker in such a discussion. We are tucked away at the south end of the world. We are small; we are isolated; we are rather out of the way. But I assure you that any such assumption would be wrong. In spite of our geographical position, we are very much a part of the world. We depend for our livelihood, as much as any other country in the world, on our overseas trade.

35. When things go wrong with other parts of the world, particularly in the economic sphere, we feel the effects and we feel them heavily and badly. As a result of the recent international recession our economic fortunes have suffered

¹ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

a significant downturn. We are still struggling to put things right, and I am not being pessimistic when I say that we still have a long way to go. Times are difficult for New Zealand. Unemployment has increased, and belts have had to be tightened. All this has inevitably placed strains on our society.

36. But although we are going through a lean time I have no apprehension about our future. This is because our society is fundamentally strong, and it is strong because it is fundamentally just.

37. We are multiracial society. We are British, we are Maori, we are Polynesian, we are Chinese, we are Danish, Yugoslav, Indian, Dutch and of many other nationalities. Some might see this cultural diversity as a liability or as a source of friction. We do not. It is a strength. We believe that our society is more mature, more accommodating and richer because we have learned and are still learning to get along together. I will not pretend that stresses do not occasionally arise. The movement in recent years of large numbers of our Maori people to the cities and the immigration of other Polynesians from the Pacific Islands have created problems of adjustment that did not formerly exist. The change from a traditional community life in comparatively isolated rural or island areas to a somewhat frustrating and perplexing one in what may seem to many to be an uncaring city is never easy.

38. I would claim, however, that the change is perhaps easier to make in New Zealand than in many other places throughout the world, and I believe that is because we have a stronger egalitarian tradition and because we believe that human rights are not the preserve of any one group. Divisions of class, status or cultural background are of less significance than they are perhaps anywhere else in the world. I know that is a bold statement to make, but I believe it to be true. To put it into our colloquial terms, we believe in giving the other chap a "fair go", and it does not matter whether the other chap is a Maori, a Samoan, an Indian, a European, or whatever. We all share the same rights and the same responsibilities.

39. And this approach is well reflected throughout our history. Representatives might be interested to know that our indigenous people, the Maori, were granted the democratic right of universal suffrage—the "one man, one vote" that we hear so much of today—in 1867: over a hundred years ago. At that time the rest of the New Zealand community still had to have property qualifications in order to vote. The most reliable test of racial harmony is often claimed to lie in the rate of intermarriage between different groups. In New Zealand the rate of intermarriage is so high that it has been estimated that within a generation or two every New Zealander of British or European stock will have at least one close relative of Maori or Polynesian extraction.

40. As New Zealanders, we have thus come to see clearly that our separate destiny as a nation lies in building upon the heritage of our two main cultures—that of the Polynesian and that of what we call the Pakeha, or European. What we are striving to do is to leave to our children and their children the inheritance of the best of what is to be found in the traditional values of our different cultures.

41. This has necessarily meant coming to terms with New Zealand's geographical position. As I mentioned earlier, we are located in the far South Pacific, and so New Zealanders of all races have developed a sense of belonging to the Pacific. It is not for us an area that we look on from a long distance and with detachment, as it will be looked on by most people of the world. It is our region.

42. Our acceptance of this identity has been accelerated by the emergence of new island nations in our neighbourhood, and when I talk of "neighbourhood" it is pretty vast: I am talking of an area of 2,000 to 4,000 miles wide. It has been fostered, too, by the experience we have had in administering our former Territories, the Cook Islands and Niue. The United Nations was closely associated with the process by which those Territories came to self-government, and New Zealand assisted and welcomed that association.

43. We were pleased, earlier this year, that a Visiting Mission from the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples was able to go to our remaining island Territory, which used to be called the Tokelau Islands, but is from now on to be known simply as Tokelau, to discuss its future. The Mission has since submitted its report [*A/31/23/Rev.1, chap. XVII, annex*]. We in New Zealand are giving most serious consideration to what the report has to say and, of course, particularly to its recommendations. Tokelau comprises an isolated, tiny and thinly settled group of islands. My Government will co-operate fully with the United Nations in finding ways to meet the expressed wishes of the Tokelau people regarding their future.

44. The process of political change is at work, not only in New Zealand's corner of the Pacific, but in other parts as well. The South Pacific has sometimes been called a quiet backwater. I doubt that that has ever really been true, and certainly in my long experience the South Pacific has always been a busy place; there is always something going on and some changes taking place.

45. Yet I also believe it is true that the South Pacific is indeed entering upon a new era: new forms of political co-operation are evolving, notably the South Pacific Forum, in which the heads of government of the independent nations of the South Pacific meet at least once each year, with committees in between times. I had the very great privilege of presiding over the first Forum, which was held in New Zealand in 1971. There is a growing sense of collective interest evident in the work of that Forum. Perhaps the best example of this is the concerted approach its members have adopted towards those aspects of the negotiations on the law of the sea which have very great implications for all those who live in our region.

46. New leaders have emerged and are emerging. They have new ideas and they are determined to give expression to the expectations of their people. This is a good thing, something to be encouraged. Because of the kinship link New Zealand has with the Pacific people, we are that much more aware of their aspirations for advancement and their aspirations for higher living standards. We are also aware—keenly aware—of the expectations that New Zealand and Australia inspire because we are of the relatively more affluent members of the Pacific family.

47. My Government is committed to assisting the island countries of the Pacific, and this year a greater share than ever before of New Zealand's aid programme is going into the South Pacific countries. A special effort is being made to promote employment opportunities in those countries. We will, however, continue to leave it to those countries themselves to decide their own priorities and the direction in which they wish to go in building towards self-sufficiency.

48. We are doing all that we can to help. We look also to the United Nations and the specialized agencies to continue their good work in our region. The United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], we know, faces a grave resources problem. It has, however, made a valuable contribution to the South Pacific in recent years, and this is an opportunity for me to reinforce the previous representations that the New Zealand Government has made, that the UNDP should maintain its support for the important key projects it has been involved in in the region.

49. There has recently been a quickening of outside interest in this region. To the extent that it reflects a genuine concern to promote the well-being of the developing countries of the South Pacific, it will be welcome.

50. Having a special interest in the South Pacific does not mean that we take a parochial view of world economic problems. The same egalitarian tradition which I mentioned earlier, the same concern for the basic human rights, leads us to attach great urgency to early progress in restructuring the world's economic and trading system along more equitable lines. We share Secretary-General Waldheim's own blunt assessment when he said: "A world economically divided could not and would not be politically stable."

51. As a country heavily dependent on the export of a narrow range of agricultural commodities, New Zealand knows at first hand the difficulties and uncertainties faced by developing countries whose economic progress is dependent upon a stable and remunerative trade in commodities, mainly primary commodities. I have mentioned our own problems arising from the international recession. But we realize fully that many developing countries were hit even harder than we were, and that for them export earnings have shrunk to a level at which their development efforts have been crippled. We believe that improved commodity training arrangements are an essential ingredient of any new international economic order worthy of that name.

52. Again, as a net importer of investment capital and technology, New Zealand has a special appreciation of the requirement for better and more equitable international arrangements in those two areas. My Government also believes that the daunting debt-servicing problems currently faced by the poorer developing countries demand immediate attention, and in the future the question of the terms of development assistance generally must receive continuing international consideration in a multilateral context.

53. There has been some progress since the encouraging conclusion of last year's seventh special session of the General Assembly. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris and other important meetings, both within and outside the United Nations system, have

provided an important element of continuity in the global consultations. The number and the intensity of these meetings reflects a growing recognition of the interrelated nature of our problems and the urgency with which we must tackle them.

54. The fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] succeeded in establishing a framework and a time scale for consideration of the key question of the international commodity trade. It cleared the way, at least, for a more detailed analysis of the specific issues involved. These are welcome developments, although less progress was made in other key areas. But in the new climate, consideration of these issues will not be allowed to lapse; the debate is, fortunately, now a continuing one.

55. International efforts are focused on many different problems—food production, human settlements, the commodities trade, the transfer of science and technology, the flow of development assistance and investment capital, and the restructuring of the United Nations system itself to make it more responsive to the current needs of the world community. In all these efforts New Zealand is committed to full and constructive participation.

56. One of this Organization's real achievements in its 30-year history has been in the elaboration of standards for basic human rights. We know, however, that despite those standards and despite all the efforts made by men of good will, people in many parts of the world are still being denied their basic human rights. We know, too, that nowhere is the denial as blatant as it is in the countries of southern Africa. The refusal of those who rule South Africa, Namibia and Rhodesia to accept the principle of human equality has caused acute tensions and has brought the situation in the area to a critical stage. Watching the developments of the last few months, we in New Zealand, like people I know in other countries, have had the feeling that we may be seeing the beginning of a maelstrom of violence.

57. For Rhodesia, time is rapidly running out. Until recently the Smith régime seemed determined to make no concessions to the demand for early majority rule. It has seemed more and more likely that that objective would be achieved only by armed force, with much bloodshed. My Government is, therefore, very encouraged by the decision of Mr. Ian Smith and his colleagues, belated though it may be, to accept majority rule within two years. So the way is now open for negotiations on the detailed arrangements for the transfer of power, and we in New Zealand earnestly hope that, through British good offices, these can soon begin and that they will be successful.

58. When the Security Council imposed mandatory sanctions on Rhodesia in 1968,² the Government of which I was then head immediately put them into effect in New Zealand. Since then, successive Governments have applied the sanctions consistently and rigorously. After Mozambique had announced its decision to apply sanctions, and in view of the consequent loss to it, my Government agreed to contribute to the programmes of assistance to that country

² Security Council resolution 253 (1968) of 29 May 1968.

launched by the Commonwealth Secretary-General and the Secretary-General of the United Nations. Although New Zealand is not directly involved, we are prepared to play our part in any international effort to end the bloodshed and to help the people of Rhodesia to achieve a just multiracial society.

59. Namibia, too, seems dangerously close to the brink of conflict. We in New Zealand believe that South Africa was wrong to go on occupying Namibia after its Mandate was withdrawn, and we have said so consistently. South Africa was even more wrong to try to impose its own policy of *apartheid* on the people of Namibia. We welcome South Africa's recent acceptance of the goal of independence for Namibia. But independence is meaningless unless it is genuinely based on self-determination. And the refusal of the South African Government to deal with the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] has created a justifiable and reasonable doubt in the minds of African and other countries whether the act of self-determination envisaged by that Government will be fully genuine.

60. As Namibia was once a League of Nations Mandate, this Organization has a special responsibility towards it: its responsibility is to see that all the people of Namibia are given the opportunity to decide freely for themselves what the future of their country should be. It is essential, therefore, that the United Nations should be given the opportunity and the means to supervise free elections in Namibia and to approve any new constitution for that country.

61. Much is at stake in Rhodesia and in Namibia, but in the longer term the greatest potential for disaster is in South Africa itself. I think this is obvious to all men. South Africa is not by any means the only country in the world where human rights are consistently violated, and we all know this. But it is the only country where racial discrimination is the basis of the whole social, economic and political system. Our own experience in New Zealand has taught us that racial harmony is essential to the well-being of a multiracial society. The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Mr. Muldoon, said in a speech about a month ago:

"The New Zealand Government's attitude to *apartheid* is very clear: we believe it is wrong and we want to see it ended. It should now be plain even to South Africans that *apartheid* will not work. Based as it is on racial discrimination, it is an unjust and inhuman system. It can be maintained only by the ruthless use of force, and it cannot be maintained that way indefinitely."

62. The rioting that has been going on around South African cities for over three months now began as a spontaneous explosion of black anger. By ruthless repression, the South African authorities have managed to confine it largely to the black townships. They have not been able to stop it. The outside world can see that they are in a blind alley. Only a fundamental change of direction can prevent an inevitable escalation of the hatred, violence and bloodshed.

63. Setting up what are called "homelands", or "bantustans", for the African people of South Africa will not solve

the problem. The black and coloured people of South Africa cannot accept being deprived of citizenship in their own country—the country of their birth and the country they have helped to develop. They must be accepted as citizens of South Africa, entitled to a fair share in South Africa's resources. We note that many countries including in particular Britain and the other members of the European Community, have made it clear that they are unable to extend recognition to the Transkei and other homelands as sovereign, independent States:

64. New Zealand's position is the same. Indeed, I recall that in 1971 New Zealand voted for the resolution adopted by the Assembly condemning the establishment of the bantustans [resolution 2775 E (XXVI)]. Then, as now, a National Party Government was in office in New Zealand. In 1975 New Zealand also supported the Assembly resolution calling upon Governments not to recognize any of the bantustans [resolution 3411 D (XXX)]. That action was taken by a Labour Government, but it was in accordance with the policy that the previous Government had initiated. There is a consistent line of policy in New Zealand on this question.

65. We note with regret that, 31 years after the United Nations Charter was signed, threats to the peace continue to exist in many parts of the world: notably in the Korean peninsula and in the Middle East. Good sense has prevailed here, and we are not going to have another sterile confrontation over Korea at this session, but the fact remains that the border between North and South Korea remains in a state of continuous tension and that talks between the two Governments have reached an apparent stalemate. As a result, Korea remains divided and outside the United Nations.

66. We feel deeply for the people of Lebanon in the tragic situation in which they find themselves, a situation not of their own choice or of their own making. We are equally concerned at the lack of progress towards a solution of the Cyprus problem, despite the tireless efforts of the Secretary-General and others. Again, it is the people of Cyprus who are the innocent victims. We can only join with others in saying that what is needed is simply the implementation of previous Assembly resolutions: the withdrawal of foreign troops, the repatriation of refugees and the resumption of negotiations between the two sides. New Zealand strongly supports this line of action.

67. This has been an active year in the field of international law-making, although it has not been as productive as most of us would have wished.

68. New Zealand attaches the greatest importance to the achievement of a new convention on the law of the sea. When you think of that vast area of ocean around us and around the Polynesian islands with which we are so closely associated, you will realize how keenly we are interested in this question. We have, therefore, shared the widespread sense of frustration at the lack of progress during the last session of the Conference on the Law of the Sea on the main issues which are delaying general agreement. We remain committed to the goal of a universally supported treaty on this vital subject. We believe that rapid progress towards this goal is now absolutely essential if the

Conference is not to lose the great chance it has to secure an equitable and stable régime for the world's oceans. In the absence of such progress, New Zealand, like many other States, will inevitably shorten its focus and concentrate on consultations and arrangements within its own region.

69. I shall turn now to one aspect only of a subject which perhaps overrides all others in its global implications: the question of disarmament.

70. The aspect that has especially worried New Zealanders is the question of nuclear weapons testing and proliferation. We know that to put an end to the testing of nuclear weapons is not, in itself, a disarmament measure, but we believe that it is an important confidence-building step, an essential preliminary to nuclear disarmament.

71. It is a great relief to us in New Zealand that the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere in our part of the world has stopped during the past 12 months. We regret that it continues elsewhere. As recently as yesterday, we have had news of substantial radioactive fall-out right here on our doorstep from a nuclear explosion many thousands of miles away. What the safety level for such fall-out is no one can be sure, but it is obviously desirable that any increase in existing levels should be avoided.

72. However, that in itself is not enough. Only a comprehensive test-ban treaty, ending weapons testing in all environments and not only in the atmosphere, can be counted as a genuine first step on the road towards nuclear disarmament. One of the main stumbling-blocks to the conclusion of such a treaty has been the question of on-site inspection. We think it is very encouraging that, in a document recently circulated [see A/31/232], the Soviet Union has now indicated willingness to consider a compromise on this issue. The language of the Soviet note is, however, not altogether clear. It is important, we feel, that on-site inspection should not depend entirely on the consent of the State in question.

73. Another stumbling-block in the way of a comprehensive test-ban agreement has been the unwillingness of certain nuclear Powers to take part in the negotiations. It is our hope that they will take heed of the increasing concern of world public opinion about the ever increasing growth and proliferation of nuclear weapons and that they will adopt a more co-operative approach.

74. In this connexion, I stress the need for the utmost control over the exportation of sensitive nuclear facilities—and I am thinking particularly of processing plants. Things are bad and dangerous enough now, but they could get very much worse, and even over the short period. The suppliers of nuclear fuel and material have a responsibility not only to themselves but also to the rest of the world to ensure that their commercial activities do not facilitate nuclear weapons proliferation. Profits will be of little value in a nuclear holocaust.

75. I have touched on several aspects of what I might call a general human rights theme: I have discussed human rights in New Zealand, economic rights in the South Pacific and the developing world generally; I have discussed human rights in southern Africa, and, in relation to disarmament,

what I might call the human right to survive. I should like to conclude by referring to one further aspect of the human rights theme, and that concerns the question of international terrorism. I agree absolutely with the comment of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his annual report to the Assembly on the work of the Organization that the time has come for a new and determined approach by the international community to this growing and worrying problem [see A/31/1/Add.1, sect. V]. No one can deny that the increasing frequency and scope of acts of terrorism pose a serious threat to the integrity of the whole human society as we know it. My Government therefore welcomes the initiative taken by the Government of the Federal Republic of Germany on the elaboration of a convention on the taking of hostages and we hope that the Assembly will be prepared to examine it in a positive spirit [A/31/242].

76. Surely it is not too much to hope that, when this Assembly ends, its work may be marked down as a positive contribution towards strengthening economic, social and political rights, especially of all poor and oppressed peoples everywhere, and to the freeing of all mankind from the fear of nuclear destruction.

77. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): It is a special pleasure for me to extend to you, Sir, my warm congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The delegation of the Kingdom of Morocco is convinced that the unanimity with which you were elected is but the expression of the esteem of the international community for your outstanding qualities. That unanimity is a credit to your country and its leaders and is a manifestation of the consideration which the active policy of Sri Lanka has earned in the international arena as that of a country in the vanguard of those defending the principles of the liberation of peoples and of peace in the world, a country which was recently host to the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or government of Non-aligned Countries.

78. I should also like to congratulate you as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, a Conference which is of great importance for all the members of our community, in particular for the Kingdom of Morocco, a State which has a coast on one of the most important straits in the world, a coast washed by both the Atlantic and the Mediterranean, and which has always served as a junction and a cross-roads of civilization.

79. I am happy to extend to your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, our deep gratitude for having conducted with such wisdom and clear-sightedness the proceedings of the last session. The work done during that session yielded appreciable results, thanks to his competence.

80. We should like to bid a warm welcome to the Republic of Seychelles, which has just been admitted to membership after the recovery of its independence.

81. I should also like to convey our warm congratulations to the Republic of Angola which has finally won its independence, after a long and heroic struggle. We hope that we will be seeing that country, too, among us soon, as

well as the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, because of the universal nature of our Organization and the legitimacy of the desire of each national entity which has freed itself from the yoke of colonialism to become a Member of our Organization.

82. I hope that the Secretary-General of our Organization may find here a mark of our appreciation and our gratitude for his tireless efforts to bring about a triumph of the principles which we espouse, the essential purpose of which is the promotion of a just and lasting peace throughout the world.

83. Finally, I should like to pay a sincere tribute to the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung, who in his lifetime became the great helmsman of China and left his mark on the evolution of his country and the history of our century.

84. We find ourselves on the threshold of the fourth decade in the life of our Organization, yet the world remains a scene of serious confrontations and difficult economic, social and political changes.

85. We had hoped that profound changes would occur in international relations, whether economic or political, and that a new international order would emerge; but that hope has, so far, remained a mere tissue of tentative ideas.

86. International conferences recently held under the auspices of our Organization have demonstrated to us, even more than in the past, the solidity of the organic links between various world problems. It is becoming increasingly apparent that this is the result of a single but multifaceted phenomenon, that of economic and social under-development, which affects the life and fundamental needs of two thirds of mankind. It is becoming more than ever apparent that development efforts at all levels—national, regional or international—would be jeopardized if the structures and rules of the world economy were not brought into line with present-day realities, a goal which calls for total international equity.

87. It is from this standpoint that the developing countries embarked, along with the developed countries, on a dialogue designed to bring balance into existing economic relations within the framework of an economic order which would be negotiated between equal partners; this would in no way prejudice the long-term interests of the developed countries or destroy the prosperity of their peoples.

88. This dialogue was inevitable because we are living in a world of interpenetration, the elements of which are closely linked, and because our interdependence stems from the subtle and complex links between the various problems we face.

89. This dialogue was necessary because it has enabled us to understand and also to discharge our serious responsibilities, which are to eliminate the genuine threat of poverty and insecurity which faces mankind now and in the future.

90. Scores of nations have in our day embarked upon an evolutionary process without precedent in history, a process which will determine the future of human beings and the fate of their civilizations.

91. However, in the light of the scanty results of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] and the building of international economic co-operation, we cannot but acknowledge that it is presumptuous to speak of success in this dialogue, especially since the fourth session of UNCTAD.

92. It is, however, true that the protagonists are narrowing their differences in an effort of constructive consultation which was begun at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, and there are good grounds for believing that we are on the threshold of institutional and economic restructuring, which should lead to the establishing of a new international economic order.

93. The intergovernmental meetings to be convened between the end of 1976 and the end of 1978 under the aegis of UNCTAD, which are aimed at the implementation of an integrated programme for commodities in all its aspects, particularly the creation of a common fund for the financing of buffer stocks, is something which deserves our attention and support. Their success will indeed determine the introduction into international trade of new rules designed to eliminate the deterioration of the terms of trade and thus help to promote the economic and social development of the developing countries.

94. These countries are striving to achieve collective self-sufficiency within global interdependence, in thus following the recommendations of the Fifth Conference of the Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see A/31/197*] and the resolution of the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held in Mexico.³ It is important that these efforts should be supported by the international community and international organizations.

95. The objective of growth, which is included in the International Development Strategy, cannot be achieved without a rapid increase in net transfers of resources to developing countries by the end of the decade.

96. As no radical solution to the major problem of the foreign debt of these countries, which has worsened in recent years to unacceptable levels, was found at the fourth session of UNCTAD, it is essential that the developed countries should make a particular effort to see that the transfer of resources matches the projected level of the annual net capital needs of the developing countries.

97. In this context we believe that the vast social and technical progress which humanity has achieved in the first half of this century and which has made possible discoveries unknown to any other century, should itself serve as a catalyst for the emergence of a new concept of international morality worthy of our ambitions and efforts, marked by justice and equity, based on a genuine concept of democracy and having as its goal international détente and the flourishing of human society.

98. If we take a quick look at the geopolitical map of the world, we realize that there remain hot points which still

³ See document A/C.2/31/7.

constitute a threat to international peace. It is really regrettable that most questions which have been discussed before are still on the agenda of this session and awaiting a solution.

99. In spite of the retreat of colonialism throughout the world and our conviction that it will inevitably disappear, there are many parts of the world dear to us which are continuing to suffer from a yoke which is perhaps more oppressive than the one we ourselves knew.

100. Morocco is legitimately proud of the role it played in its assistance to most of the liberation movements which declared war on colonialism in Africa or elsewhere. The initiatives it took in the holding of the Casablanca Conference, held from 3 to 7 January 1961, and in the summit conferences—African, Arab or Islamic—for which it had the honour of serving as host, are just a few of the reasons why we are proud of Morocco's contribution to the liberation movement of peoples and its ambition to participate actively in the rapid elimination of under-development, injustice and colonialism.

101. The African continent continues to suffer from colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

102. The people of Zimbabwe, who have displayed so much patience, has resolutely embarked on the path of armed resistance against a minority racist Government which is determined not to cease humiliating Africans on their ancestral soil.

103. Namibia continues to suffer from subjugation, while South Africa persists in ignoring the relevant resolutions of the United Nations and disregarding the principles and the values to which the whole of mankind has subscribed.

104. From this rostrum the Kingdom of Morocco reaffirms that the only possible solution is to eliminate all racist hotbeds in Africa.

105. It is fitting for us to be side by side with the fighting people of Zimbabwe, to support it, to give it aid and assistance and to offer it our solidarity until it wins final victory. It is our duty to tighten the economic and political blockade decided upon by the United Nations and to prevent infiltration of mercenaries into the Territory.

106. In this regard my delegation wishes to express its complete solidarity with neighbouring countries and its admiration for the sacrifices they have made and are continuing to make in the positive assistance which they are providing for the liberation of southern African countries still under foreign domination. We also wish to support the many efforts which are now being made to find a solution making it possible to place power in the hands of the majority, and this in the shortest possible time.

107. Furthermore, the particular responsibility of our Organization with regard to Namibia makes it our duty vigorously to oppose any attempt to partition this country, particularly to create an artificial State on any part of its territory.

108. Morocco, which considers SWAPO as the only authentic and lawful representative of the people of

Namibia, once again supports the resolutions adopted in at the Dar es Salaam Conference in April 1975⁴ and in Dakar in January this year⁵ with regard to Namibia.

109. With regard to South Africa itself, we remain convinced of the need to pursue the firm policy which our Organization has adopted, particularly in view of the tragic events which are occurring there and which are so repugnant to the conscience of mankind.

110. The Middle East continues to be the most disturbing hotbed of tension.

111. Israel persists in its policy of occupation of Arab territories. And while the initiatives taken more than a year ago are, to be sure, a new element in the efforts to achieve withdrawal from those territories, we note with concern a stagnation of the situation, which indicates a deliberate intention on Israel's part to protract matters for purposes that are easy to understand.

112. The cases of Sinai, the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Jerusalem require that the efforts already undertaken be resumed with all the necessary diligence, in order to defuse a situation that endangers international peace and security, entailing incalculable political, economic and human consequences.

113. The tragic situation of the Palestinian people still awaits a just and equitable solution. The international community is now certain that the Palestinian resistance is pursuing a legitimate course in order to recover its inalienable right to exist as a nation. The determination of the Palestinian people, its heroic resistance and its spirit of sacrifice have indeed brought the nations of the world to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and lawful representative of that admirable people, and to allow it to be present in order to demonstrate the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to independence, national sovereignty and a return to their homes.

114. It is now for the international community to draw from the events the conclusions capable of leading to a rapid and equitable solution, which must be imposed in the face of Israeli arrogance. It is now for the international community to guarantee that the Palestinian people can return to the territories from which they were arbitrarily driven out and to ensure that that people is enabled freely to exercise its rights to independence and national sovereignty.

115. Of course, the events in Lebanon have, regrettably, become a matter of priority recently in the Middle East context. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the Arab-Israeli conflict remains and could get worse at any moment.

116. The Kingdom of Morocco, whose sons gave the best example of heroism and sacrifice during the war of October

⁴ Ninth extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Dar es Salaam from 7 to 10 April 1975.

⁵ Dakar International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights, held from 5 to 8 January 1976.

1973, side by side with their Arab brothers, in their action designed to put an end to Zionist aggression, solemnly reaffirms today its determination to support the Palestinian resistance, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, until victory is won and to support Arab action until all the territories occupied by Israel are liberated.

117. My delegation deplores the tragic situation in the fraternal country of Lebanon and shares its suffering, the cause of which lies in events which leave no member of our international community indifferent.

118. Foreign hands, and particularly Zionist hands, have played a nefarious role in the plot that led to the civil war in that fraternal country. We are, however, convinced that our Lebanese brothers will finally be able to thwart all these plots, thanks to their determination, their vigilance and their sense of nationality. It is indispensable that the Lebanese problem should be solved by the Lebanese themselves.

119. The Government of His Majesty King Hassan II reaffirms its total and unconditional support for all efforts towards guaranteeing Lebanon's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and in particular the efforts now being made by the League of Arab States. It is our great hope that in the course of the forthcoming Arab summit conference to be devoted to the Lebanese situation we shall succeed in our efforts to enable the people of Lebanon to play once again the role they have always played in our community, and to enable Lebanon to become once again a land of humanity, peace and tolerance.

120. The situation in Cyprus remains of concern. We are still convinced that the solution lies in the adoption of a constitution safeguarding the interests of the two communities, guaranteeing the independence and national unity of Cyprus and making it possible for the citizens, whether Turkish or Greek, to live together in the understanding and fraternity dictated by the imperatives of a common life and the interpenetration of interests.

121. My country has, indeed, constantly stressed the necessity of maintaining the Mediterranean, the cradle of so many civilizations, as a sea of peace. That remains our deep conviction.

122. We have the same conviction with regard to the Indian Ocean, which must be and remain a zone of peace.

123. Thanks to the active solidarity of the international community, to the goodwill, patience and vigilance of our Organization, and to the wisdom and determination of the peoples of Morocco and Mauritania, another decolonization problem, that of the Sahara, has been solved in a just and equitable way, in keeping both with the sacred principles that guide our action and with the aspirations of two peoples deprived for more than a century of part of their national territory.

124. Indeed, today the Sahara, concerning which an item was regularly included in the Assembly's agenda for more than 15 years, has expressed its unshakable will to be reintegrated into the motherland; it has done that through its most authentic representatives, the members of the Saharan Jema'a.

125. Although the implementation of General Assembly resolution 3458 (XXX) was not easy, because of the illegal presence in the Territory, for a certain time, of foreign troops, the consultation that took place on 26 February last did constitute faithful compliance with the provision laid down in the Madrid agreement of 14 November 1975, as indeed it was a scrupulous application of the same provision recalled in General Assembly resolution 3458 B (XXX).

126. In the introduction to the report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization [*see A/31/1/Add.1, sect. III*], it is indicated, on the one hand, that in January 1976 a Special Representative was named who undertook an exploratory mission in the region, but for well-known reasons that mission could not be concluded; and, on the other hand, that the Secretary-General then resumed his consultations with a view to clarifying the situation and decreasing the tension, but further initiatives by him were precluded by the actions of some of the parties.

127. With regard to the failure of the Special Representative's mission, I do not wish to dwell unduly on the pattern of events, but I would remind the Assembly that the mission was not successful because of certain initiatives which were taken and which did not fall within the framework laid down by common agreement, under which contacts were to have been undertaken only with Governments.

128. As for the measures taken by some of the parties, to which the Secretary-General ascribes responsibility for the preclusion of action by him, it is precisely those measures that I am denouncing; one of the most serious was the encouragement given to the creation of an artificial Saharan republic. These are, moreover, measures which are at the basis of the grave tension existing in the region. There were some examples at Addis Ababa and in Mauritius, during conferences of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], and at Colombo, during the Conference of non-aligned countries. They were all designed to ensure the so-called Saharan authorities, which had been artificially created, an international existence that no one is ready to accord them and to mobilize—although this was in vain—regional and international opinion in their favour.

129. It is to the honour of the regional organizations which were seized of this issue that they chose the path of wisdom and refused to allow themselves to be drawn on to the road of adventurism.

130. Indeed, aware primarily of the concern created by the deterioration of the situation in the region, the heads of State of Africa, demonstrating the wisdom that has always characterized their initiatives, took the decision to convene an extraordinary summit conference to be devoted to the consideration of the tension in North Africa.

131. As for the non-aligned movement, noting that OAU still had this question on its agenda, it expressed the hope that that organization would succeed in its task of good offices, which it had voluntarily undertaken, thus refusing to take a stand on what is after all only a regional dispute, but, rather, completely supporting the African initiative

and thereby conceding the inadvisability of any other measure.

132. It is thus apparent that the question of the decolonization of the Sahara has been replaced by another question just as delicate but more dangerous—that of relations among the various States of the area.

133. Born of different concepts of the question of the Sahara and diametrically opposed assessments of the solution required by this problem, tension between the adherents of the two schools of thought is increasingly becoming a matter of concern.

134. Morocco has no intention of allowing itself to be intimidated by pressures or threats, still less of accepting any renunciation of any of its legitimate rights whatsoever.

135. The history of our relations with the States of the area over the last 15 years eloquently demonstrates the constant concern of Morocco in the search for peaceful solutions to problems between us and our neighbours.

136. But the spirit of good-neighbourliness, understanding and co-operation which has constantly prevailed in its regional and international policies, and for the sake of which, in other circumstances, it was willing to make considerable sacrifices should in no way be interpreted as willingness on its part in any way to pay the price of the ambition of others.

137. We believe that, above all, there is a limit to patience, and we cannot indefinitely remain indifferent to the provocations we are suffering.

138. It is therefore our conviction that any discussion of the question of the Sahara at the present stage is liable to be dangerous, premature and inappropriate—dangerous, because unfortunately there is every ground for believing that some people are looking for any pretext in order to lend any possible future military action the semblance of legality and international justification; premature and inappropriate, because OAU has decided to devote to this question an extraordinary special summit meeting and it has always been our Assembly's practice to respect procedures that have been embarked upon by a regional group.

139. The true problem to which our Organization should now devote all its efforts with all appropriate diligence is that raised by the situation of our brothers who came from the Sahara but are now being kept in Tindouf. These are Moroccans and Mauritians living in the most precarious conditions. They are, in fact, involuntary refugees and exiles.

140. I do not want to get involved in detailed explanations as to the process which led these people into the situation in which they now find themselves, but I think I can claim that most of those at Tindouf are there against their will and if they were given the opportunity they would return home without the slightest delay or hesitation.

141. The special problem of these refugees is a matter we have been raising for months now.

142. When, July last, His Majesty King Hassan II spoke with the President of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Mr. Moktar Ould Daddah, a joint communiqué was issued, stating, *inter alia*:

"The two Heads of State, fully aware of the state of extreme poverty in which a number of Saharan natives live in the region of Tindouf, issue an urgent appeal for them to return to their respective homes, where they are sure to be welcomed with all the solicitude and concern merited by their situation. The duty of the Saharans is no longer to live on international charity in a foreign country but to return home and rejoin their families and to take part in the building of the prosperity of their countries alongside their Moroccan and Mauritanian brothers in a climate of liberty and dignity.

"The King of Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania are determined to do everything in their power to ensure the repatriation of their nationals in close co-operation with the competent humanitarian international organizations. They invite those organizations to help them and to put an end to the tragic plight of the Saharans. We assure them of our determination to provide them with all the facilities and all the necessary guarantees to permit these men, these women and these children, who come from the Sahara, to rejoin the society to which they belong and to live among their own in peace and freedom."

143. Since then Morocco and Mauritania have placed this distressing question before all competent humanitarian organizations, particularly the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

144. The only objective and humane solution to this problem lies in the repatriation of all the Tindouf refugees who are natives of the Sahara. The plight of these unhappy uprooted people cannot leave our Organization indifferent. That is why the King of Morocco feels entitled to call for your participation and assistance to help them return home as soon as possible. Any other solution would be ineffective and would certainly tend dangerously to increase the state of tension, which is already very serious, in the region.

145. Morocco certainly does not wish to avoid any discussion of the substance of the problem, particularly in an Organization which has given so much proof of its objectivity, its maturity and its effectiveness.

146. Morocco certainly does not wish to shirk explanations which would in any case establish once again the rightness of its position and initiatives, the international legality of the measures it has taken and what it has done.

147. But, concerned as we are for our dignity as an African country, and recognizing that the heads of State of Africa have made tremendous efforts and have undertaken praiseworthy initiatives in order to find a way of avoiding the worst with regard to the three fraternal countries involved, we for our part express our total confidence in them.

148. Our respective countries are living in a state of expectation, anxious in the case of some and confident in

the case of others. In this state of expectation, the Sahara, which has rejoined the motherland, is binding up its wounds and pursuing with determination the rehabilitation of its economy.

149. In this meritorious work the solidarity of all the inhabitants of the country has been manifested vigorously, and the Moroccan nation as a whole is now mobilized in the service of the Saharan provinces.

150. A few weeks ago His Majesty King Hussan II floated in Morocco a loan of \$225 million for the development of the Saharan provinces. A month would have been enough for this loan to be largely covered and even exceeded, because it produced more than \$250 million.

151. The Sahara is now living in an atmosphere of peace and hard work, and there is a feverish climate of activity in reconstruction and rehabilitation.

152. Morocco, like Mauritania, confident of its rights and satisfied that it has given our Organization a modest contribution for a solution in the settlement of the question of the decolonization of the Sahara, once again would like to declare its confidence in our august institution, its unshakeable faith in our ideals of peace and justice, its determination to persevere along with you in a constructive search for an equitable and harmonious settlement of all the other problems of the same kind which still await a solution, convinced, as we are, that no sacrifice is too great ultimately to preserve the dignity of man, to consolidate his achievements and to ensure his prosperity.

153. From its very foundation, our Organization, with generosity and discipline, with perseverance and determination, has attempted to lay down the principles of its mission and the rules for its activities.

154. Throughout its constant efforts it has reconciled the imperatives of the most diverse ideologies and has transcended particular circumstances for the benefit of an emancipated and objective concept of man and his ideals.

155. Thanks to the wealth of its ideas, the multiplicity of its options and the relevance of its preferences, it has roused the conscience of mankind to fight for the total liberation of the peoples of the world and for respect for their restored sovereignty.

156. In this noble work it has not hesitated to resort to different ways and means of finding the most judicious solutions, bearing in mind the specific features of each case and the collective aspirations which have been expressed, or the needs which have made themselves clearly felt.

157. Therein lies the secret of the success of the noble mission which it has agreed to undertake. That in itself amply justifies the confidence and gratitude of present and future generations.

158. Mr. MWALE (Zambia): Sir, allow me, first of all, to join the representatives who have spoken before me in congratulating you on your well-deserved election to the high office of President of the thirty-first regular session of the United Nations General Assembly. My delegation is

confident that in the genuine tradition of justice and equity, which are vital principles of non-alignment, your dedication and eminent qualities will guide this session to a successful conclusion. We are particularly happy that we have a President from Sri Lanka, a non-aligned country, where the latest summit Conference of non-aligned countries has just been held. We are convinced that your eminent qualities as an experienced and able diplomat, which have proved invaluable in the current negotiations on the law of the sea, will be a great asset to this session. On behalf of the Zambian delegation, I pledge our co-operation in the execution of your heavy and important task.

159. May I also pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, for his untiring and successful efforts in presiding over the deliberations of the thirtieth regular session of this Assembly.

160. The death of Chairman Mao Tsetung has left the people of Zambia with a deep sense of grief. Chairman Mao Tsetung symbolized those qualities that have marked and will continue to mark the outstanding and phenomenal achievements of the People's Republic of China and that country's contribution to the world as a whole in many fields of human endeavour. Chairman Mao Tsetung was a great revolutionary leader whose life was a shining example of dedication and self-sacrifice in the cause of the Chinese people and that of mankind as a whole. Even before the founding of the Chinese Communist Party in July 1921, he dedicated his life to the cause of the oppressed people of China against imperialism and domestic reaction. He was a worker, a teacher, a great guerrilla leader, a philosopher and a great statesman. In all these and other walks of life, he was an uncompromising champion of the cause of the downtrodden.

161. China's commitment to the cause of liberation and to the fundamental rights and interests of the developing world is an inspiration to the majority of mankind. We in Zambia mourn Chairman Mao Tsetung because he and his great revolutionary country have been reliable supporters, not only of Zambia, but of our oppressed brothers and sisters in southern Africa. Under the wise chairmanship of Mao Tsetung, the friendly people of China have forged a profound bond of friendship and co-operation based on a genuine commitment to the just cause of mankind. Chairman Mao Tsetung has left us with lasting inspiration and pride.

162. In this connexion, Mr. President, I wish to convey, through you, to the delegation of the People's Republic of China my delegation's profound sense of sorrow and grief at the death of that great revolutionary leader.

163. Since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, little has taken place to shift the balance on the international scene from one of too much emphasis on national or regional military strength to one of a fairer consideration of the genuine needs of the entire world community. Yet the fulfilment of the basic needs of mankind as a whole is a more secure basis for international peace and security. In the contemporary world, the United Nations is placed in a difficult position; for, while it is trying to promote the genuine needs of mankind in the political, economic,

cultural and other fields, it is often subjected to pressures and even bullying from those of its membership who use their near-monopoly of crude physical power without international authority.

164. Let me briefly address myself to a great challenge of our times—namely, development and international economic co-operation.

165. During the past year, development and co-operation for development have increasingly become important in international politics. Indeed, development issues have today acquired a dominant, if not central, place in world affairs and in the minds of statesmen. In a real sense, development and international co-operation for development have now regained the attention previously held in the early 1960s, when the First United Nations Development Decade was initiated by this world body in order to pursue policies to accelerate the economic and social progress of developing countries.

166. This is indeed as it should be, for we have all witnessed with great consternation the widening gap between expectations and fulfilment in the intervening period of 15 years. The hopes and aspirations of the developing nations occasioned by past declarations of Development Decades have remained largely disappointed and unfulfilled. Such hopes and aspirations for a greater and a more equitable share in the world's economic and social benefits have nevertheless continued to rise. They have not, however, been met with corresponding commitment and concrete action from the developed countries.

167. Meanwhile, in the face of prolonged neglect or indifference on the part of the developed countries, old problems have become more complex, new problems have been created, and crises have emerged. Consequently, the economic and social situation of the developing nations has further continued to deteriorate. We are familiar with the various serious and complex difficulties still confronting the developing nations—difficulties which have adversely affected the ability of their Governments to ensure even basic standards of living for their peoples.

168. We in Zambia know these economic difficulties too well, having attained political independence barely 12 years ago. Since independence, the ruling United National Independence Party, the Government and peace-loving people of Zambia have vigorously worked towards the diversification of a once copper-oriented economy. We are proud to say that encouraging results are already evident with regard to self-sufficiency in staple food commodities. The implementation of the Zambian philosophy of humanism, a basic communal form of socialism which capitalizes on the importance of a man-centred society, has led to marked progress in the vital fields of rural reconstruction, education, health, agriculture and economic reforms.

169. Unfortunately, on the international scene, the continued lack of significant progress in the important areas of trade, transfer of capital resources, debt adjustments, monetary reform, the transfer and development of appropriate technology to and within the developing countries constitute a major source of profound concern. In addition, the developing countries have had to bear the brunt of the

world economic crisis, especially the ominous effects of recession and inflation in industrial countries.

170. The complex problems which have afflicted the world economy in general, and the economies of poor countries in particular, have served to demonstrate and highlight the highly interdependent character of the world community. They have, with equal force, underlined the imperative necessity for bold and comprehensive solutions which correspond, both in scope and magnitude, to those complex problems.

171. Significantly renewed and expanded efforts aimed at assisting the developing countries to be self-reliant have become all the more urgent and imperative. Evidently, additional means for an adequate effort to assist the developing countries are within the capabilities of the international community. The critical situation of the developing nations for the world social and political environment must be accurately perceived and understood.

172. Isolated, half-hearted and marginal measures applied thus far by industrialized countries are clearly inadequate to the gigantic task now before us, namely, to achieve a new and viable world order based on equity, justice and equality of economic opportunity among all countries—developed and developing, big and small. The costs of establishing such a world order are much less than the costs of the arms race, and the stakes for its achievement much higher.

173. The road towards the establishment of a new international economic order has already been clearly defined. The task ahead will, admittedly, be difficult. The cardinal point that should be borne in mind is that the movement towards the new international economic order cannot be dismissed casually by any one individual or group of countries.

174. The United Nations General Assembly, in both its sixth and seventh special sessions, has affirmed the principle of economic interdependence between the developed and developing countries. In addition, it has affirmed the principle of collective responsibility for the economic well-being and security of the world's developing nations. Moreover, common agreement was reached at the seventh special session on the need for structural changes in international economic relations through negotiation and mutual accommodation.

175. These are some of the main objectives within the context of the new international economic order which it is now the solemn duty of all States, in particular those materially better off, to attain through concerted means. Other key objectives are contained, *inter alia*, in the declarations adopted at the recent United Nations conferences on industrialization, food, employment and habitat.

176. It is therefore now incumbent on the community of nations to seize the opportunities thus afforded to give expression to its avowed solidarity in order to fulfil the commitment to change.

177. During the past year, there have been signs of small, yet fairly significant and, it is to be hoped, irreversible,

beginnings in our common endeavour to evolve a viable world order. One could discern a growing determination to work towards the achievement and equitable sharing of economic opportunities and the fruits of development. Although limited in both scope and magnitude, reference could be made to the decisions taken by the International Monetary Fund at its meeting in Kingston in January this year; the fourth session of UNCTAD held in May this year in Nairobi; the Conference on International Economic Co-operation currently taking place in Paris; and the application of the Lomé Convention.⁶

178. International negotiations in process or in prospect, such as those within the framework of the Paris dialogue or UNCTAD, require renewed political impetus to facilitate common agreement on the specific means and institutions for solving key global problems.

179. In this connexion, my delegation would like to urge speedy agreement on, *inter alia*, the establishment of the common fund for financing buffer stocks—a fund to which Zambia has already pledged to contribute—and effective measures for dealing with the critical debt problems facing many developing countries.

180. It is also encouraging that the developing countries have now, more than ever before, demonstrated their determination to develop and enhance their mutual co-operation in various fields, implementing thereby the principle of collective self-reliance which they have long espoused and championed.

181. The relevant decisions adopted, both at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Colombo and at the recent Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries held in Mexico, bear eloquent testimony to the heightened sense of collective self-reliance among the developing countries.

182. The developing countries recognize the fact that the development of their peoples and economies depends primarily on their own efforts, although the success of their development efforts could be eased, or frustrated, by international assistance and trade policies.

183. The achievement of greater self-reliance among the developing countries constitutes an indispensable ingredient of the new international economic order. It is a vital objective which deserves the unqualified support of the industrial countries.

184. For a viable and just world order, which we are all seeking to establish, depends on collective self-reliance and progress in the developing countries and on co-operation and willingness to assist on the part of the industrial countries. In the spirit of the growing recognition of interdependent interests of developed and developing countries and given the importance of equality of economic opportunity among nations, my delegation would strongly urge the developed countries to support and encourage developing countries in their determined efforts at achieving collective self-reliance.

185. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is far from accomplishing the task for which it was convened, namely, the adoption of a convention dealing with all matters relating to the law of the sea.

186. The Conference has yet to resolve central issues relating to various important matters such as, first, the rights and interests of all States to all natural resources in the area beyond the territorial seas of coastal States—whether those States are land-locked, coastal or geographically disadvantaged; secondly, issues relating to the exercise by land-locked States of their right of free access to and from the sea; and thirdly, rational exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed as the common heritage of all mankind and the equitable distribution of benefits derived therefrom.

187. My delegation is aware that various proposals have been presented to the Conference on the Law of the Sea. My own delegation to that Conference is one of those that have presented concrete proposals. In relation to the first of the three matters to which I have just referred, I should like to mention specifically one important proposal which could very well lead to a break-through in the negotiations and provide a nucleus of an emerging consensus.

188. Zambia believes that the world community should continue to recognize a belt of ocean space, of suitable width, known as the territorial sea of coastal States. This could probably be extended by the Conference on the Law of the Sea to 12 nautical miles, measured from the coasts of such States.

189. Beyond such limits, however, the area and its resources should continue to belong to all mankind and may be apportioned according to regions or subregions. All States in such regions or subregions, whether land-locked, coastal or geographically disadvantaged, should continue to have equal rights, especially with regard to all natural resources. Such areas, which could be delimited in such a manner as not to undermine the economic viability of the remainder of the international area, might be known as regional or subregional economic zones.

190. Similarly, proposals reflecting equitable solutions have been made in respect of the second and third matters that I have just mentioned. Zambia's position on both these matters has already been elaborated in the course of the current negotiations on the law of the sea.

Mr. Salim (United Republic of Tanzania), Vice-President, took the Chair.

191. My delegation has a keen interest in ensuring that the Conference on the Law of the Sea achieves satisfactory results. It should do so expeditiously but without sacrificing the hopes of all mankind for equity and justice. It is my delegation's view that this will be possible if all participating States renew their faith in, and recognition of, the fact that the mandate of the Conference relates to the ocean space and its resources which are the common heritage of all mankind and *res communis*. All States, whether land-locked, coastal or geographically disadvantaged, are looking forward to the equitable sharing of benefits derived from this common heritage.

⁶ APC-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé.

192. People want to be free from foreign and domestic oppression and exploitation. It is only when man's freedom and development are ensured that prospects for peace can prevail. Otherwise man will continue to move within a vicious circle, alternating between hot wars and relative peace. For the past three decades, the arms race has taken on frightening proportions. Yet this spectre is man-made, as it initially grew out of an essentially Euro-centric ideological war.

193. We are convinced that the relaxation of tensions in the world and the promotion of international peace and security are intricately related to the substantive progress in the field of disarmament. We also agree with the declaration made in Colombo by the 85 members of the non-aligned movement that the arms race is inconsistent with the efforts aimed at achieving the new international economic order in view of the urgent need to divert the resources utilized for the acceleration of the arms race towards socio-economic development, particularly that of the developing countries [see A/31/197, annex I, para. 136]. It is in this context that we are convinced that meaningful and durable universal peace and security can be achieved not only through general and complete disarmament under effective international control but also through a consistent and sustained promotion in the basic needs of mankind, as failure in this regard greatly contributes to tensions between and within nations.

194. To tackle the problem of the arms race effectively, we in Zambia call for the convening of a World Disarmament Conference. In this respect, this Assembly should welcome and adopt the recommendation by the Colombo Conference for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly as early as possible on the question of disarmament [*ibid.*, annex IV, resolution 12].

195. The arms race, with its concomitant adverse spheres of influence, is spreading danger to traditionally peaceful areas of the world. For centuries the Indian Ocean has been relatively peaceful except during the painful period of the slave trade. Through it, man's interdependence was promoted by the use of its waters mainly for peaceful trade and commerce between continents. However, as I am speaking today, the peace of the Indian Ocean is being disturbed by its increasing militarization. The rivalry between the big Powers in the Indian Ocean is increasingly posing a great threat to the genuine interests of littoral and hinterland States and to the international community as a whole. It is because of this threat to the Indian Ocean, and even more so to the littoral and other States in the area, that Zambia and other countries have continued to call for the preservation of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

196. The Middle East situation still remains a great threat to international peace and security. In Lebanon, people are being killed almost every day. The war in Lebanon must end, because its continuation is only diverting the attention of the world from the fundamental problem in that area. In the view of my delegation, there is nothing that has taken place in the Middle East since 1967 which would nullify Security Council resolution 242 (1967) and other United Nations resolutions.

197. Israel continues illegally to occupy Arab territories in defiance of the relevant resolutions and decisions of both

this Assembly and the Security Council. Furthermore, Israel continues to deny the Palestinian people their inalienable rights to self-determination, national sovereignty and independence. Zambia believes that the Middle East problem will be resolved only when the rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination and nationhood are realized; when the security of all States in the Middle East is ensured; and when Israeli withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories is completed.

198. The problem of Cyprus is a matter of great concern to us all. Numerous declarations have been made and resolutions adopted in the United Nations and other international forums, upholding the independence, the territorial integrity and the non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus. Zambia submits that there is no justification for any State to go to the lengths of dividing another sovereign State into two or more entities on the grounds of ethnic diversity. We are opposed to the creation of new colonial situations in the world. In this connexion, we call upon all parties concerned to comply fully with the decisions and resolutions of this body in respect of the problem of Cyprus. It is our firm belief that as long as there is foreign interference in the internal affairs of Cyprus no durable solution will be found to the problem and thus it will continue to be a threat to international peace and security.

199. In Korea tension is high, primarily because of foreign intervention. The continued presence of foreign forces in the southern part of Korea masquerading as United Nations forces is inimical to the legitimate interests and aspirations of the people of Korea as a whole. This continued threat to international peace and security calls for urgent international action. We strongly urge the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea.

200. The Democratic People's Republic of Korea has already demonstrated to the international community its seriousness of purpose and high degree of understanding in respect of the Korean problem. Zambia strongly supports the position that Korea should be admitted to the United Nations as a single unitary State. Once again, we in Zambia reaffirm our total support for the Korean people in their genuine efforts for the reunification of their country and the enjoyment of their lawful and legitimate rights in the United Nations.

201. Interference in the internal affairs of the developing countries by the big Powers and other developed countries has assumed dangerous proportions. The independence and sovereignty of a number of developing countries remain under constant threat.

202. Zambia has noticed, with dismay, that in the past months some reactionary Powers and forces are back in a vigorous way at their old game of destabilization. Efforts are being made to undermine the independence and sovereignty of a number of progressive Latin American, Caribbean and other developing countries whose only interest is to free themselves from centuries-old imperialist and neo-colonialist exploitation. We want to state here that affluence based on the exploitation of other States and peoples is criminal and is not in the interests of the millions of exploited people in the world. Such actions are meant to establish unequal relations between developing and so-

called developed countries through a variety of subtle and insidious means.

203. We are aware of the intensified determination and efforts by some big Powers to undermine the independence and sovereignty of Latin American and Caribbean States. Because of a growing yearning for genuine independence in Latin America and the Caribbean free from imperialist and neo-colonialist political and economic exploitation and plunder, some big Powers bent on perpetuating their political and economic domination of these regions have embarked on vicious measures aimed at destabilizing progressive and peace-loving countries of that region.

204. In this connexion, the non-aligned countries and other progressive forces of the world will continue to render full support and offer solidarity to the progressive peoples of Latin America and the Caribbean in their just struggle against international imperialism and neo-colonialism. Some countries of that area are members of the non-aligned movement, and many more have shown a keen interest in the objectives and principles of the movement. We shall remain in full solidarity with our Latin American and Caribbean friends in their legitimate struggle for genuine national independence and sovereignty, including full control over their natural resources.

205. The negative view held by some States in the world that the United Nations continues to play a marginal rather than a central role in world affairs will continue to have some validity, unless the institutionalized dictatorship of some permanent members of the Security Council through the veto system is removed. The United Nations must be democratized. The argument that the power of veto must go hand in hand with responsibility in world affairs is invalidated by the fact that some of the Member States which continue to enjoy the right of veto in the Security Council have far less power and responsibility in the world of today compared with other Member States or groups of States which do not have such power of veto.

206. Furthermore, the veto has largely been more abused than exercised responsibly. In most cases it is used merely to serve the perceived national or group interests of the factions within the world power structure. One of the most vivid expressions of abuse of the veto is in the area of undermining the principle of universality. It is therefore intolerable to note that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola have not taken their rightful places here in the United Nations. We are, however, confident that soon the heroic peoples of Angola and Viet Nam will assume their legitimate and rightful places in this august Assembly.

207. Let me now turn to issues of colonialism and racism. My delegation is happy to welcome the Republic of Seychelles as a Member of the United Nations. The accession of those islands to independence is a significant development in the history of decolonization and a matter of great encouragement to the other peoples of Africa which are still fighting against colonialism and racism in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

208. One of the fundamental objectives of Zambia's foreign policy is to assist those struggling against colo-

nialism and racism to win genuine freedom. Therefore, while we rejoice at the success of the people of Seychelles, my delegation is very disturbed at the continued neo-colonial situation on the Comorian island of Mayotte. We strongly deplore and reject that position because it constitutes a flagrant and unacceptable interference in the affairs of an independent African State; it has disturbing implications for all areas which are not yet free—other imperialist Powers may be tempted to maintain similar spheres of influence elsewhere—and it confirms the French Government's insincerity and inconsistency on questions of colonialism and racism. Zambia therefore calls upon this Assembly strongly to censure the French Government and to call upon it to stop forthwith that unwarranted interference in the internal affairs of the Comoros.

209. Colonialism and racism are on the retreat in southern Africa. The oppressed peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia have stepped up the war of liberation against their oppressor, represented by Smith, Vorster and their imperialist collaborators. In South Africa itself, the black people and other non-white people oppressed in all aspects of their human existence have decided to call the bluff of the reactionary *apartheid* régime. Thus, as I am speaking today, armed struggle is going on with increasing intensity in Zimbabwe and Namibia. In South Africa itself, the black population and other progressive people of that country are sacrificing their blood for the liberation of their country. Many more are ready to fight. What they need are medicines, guns and other war material. No doubt, victory is on their side.

210. The Zambian Government's position on Zimbabwe is very clear. Zambia supports the intensification of armed struggle. As is well known, attempts at achieving peaceful change in Zimbabwe that were undertaken strictly within the framework of the OAU mandate failed principally owing to the intransigent attitude of the racist régime of Ian Smith. Rebel leader Ian Smith then had every opportunity peacefully to transfer power to the majority. But the illegal Smith régime's short-sightedness had led to the intensification of armed struggle.

211. The heroic struggle launched by the patriotic people of Zimbabwe has inflicted severe blows on the Smith minority racist régime. It is now obvious that the Smith régime has been forced to recognize and accept the inevitability of majority rule and the need to establish immediately a transitional Government to implement that principle.

212. I wish to state here that Zambia is determined that Zimbabwe shall be born under a genuine, free and independent government. To that end, the armed struggle will continue in Zimbabwe until a genuine majority government is in control. We want to add here that what is best for Zimbabwe shall be determined by the people of Zimbabwe themselves, who have been victims of colonialism and racism for too long.

213. In their Lusaka communiqué of 26 September 1976, issued as a reaction to Ian Smith's statement accepting majority rule for Zimbabwe within two years, the Presidents of Angola, the United Republic of Tanzania, Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia put the entire Rho-

desian situation in its true perspective: they gave credit to the armed struggle and paid a tribute to the gallant black freedom fighters of Zimbabwe. For it is the success of the armed struggle that has compelled the rebel leader Ian Smith and his collaborators to capitulate. Because of the unreliability of Ian Smith, the Presidents have insisted that a conference should be convened outside Zimbabwe by the Administering Authority, namely, the United Kingdom, with the authentic and legitimate representatives of the people in order:

“(A) To discuss the structure and functions of the transitional government.

“(B) To establish the transitional Government.

“(C) To discuss the modalities for convening a full constitutional conference to work out the independence constitution.

“(D) To establish the basis upon which peace and normalcy can be restored in the territory.”

214. In calling upon the United Kingdom to convene the conference, we are taking precautions against giving the white racist minority régime of Ian Smith any semblance of legitimacy or legality. It is for that and other reasons that Zambia rejects Ian Smith's proposals on the structure and functions of the council of State and council of ministers in which he plans to leave in the hands of the whites the chairmanship and the ministries of defence and law and order.

215. We shall continue to support intensified armed struggle until majority rule is assured and achieved. We appeal to the international community to continue the application of sanctions against the rebel colony of Southern Rhodesia until the establishment of an African majority government in Zimbabwe is attained.

216. Having declared the inevitability of continued intensified armed struggle, it is important for the international community to increase its assistance to the liberation movements both materially and financially. Furthermore, it is now imperative to strengthen existing programmes of assistance to the countries that have either closed their borders with Southern Rhodesia or have cut off vital trade in implementation of United Nations sanctions against that illegal white racist minority régime. In that respect, the international community should not, at this crucial stage, minimize the attention it is focusing on the adverse economic and social consequences and human suffering experienced by those countries.

217. For instance, in the struggle for human rights in southern Africa, Zambia has suffered considerably in human, financial and material terms. The cost to Zambia for implementing sanctions against the rebel régime of Ian Smith is already in excess of \$US 450 million over the past three years.

218. In Namibia, the racist régime of South Africa continues illegally to occupy that international Territory. The racist *apartheid* régime of South Africa continues to flout with impunity the United Nations resolutions on Namibia. In particular, it has blatantly ignored numerous Security Council resolutions on that Territory. In January of this year, the Security Council gave South Africa until

31 August 1976 solemnly to declare its intention to withdraw from Namibia and to agree to the holding of a national election in the Territory under United Nations supervision and control.⁷ South Africa has arrogantly refused to withdraw from that Territory so as to enable the Namibian people to determine their own future. The racist régime of South Africa has increased its oppressive rule over Namibia and has conducted premeditated and flagrant wholesale massacres of the innocent peace-loving Namibian people. Furthermore, the South African régime is using the international Territory of Namibia as a military base from which it launches attacks against the people of Namibia and the neighbouring independent African countries, in particular the States of Angola and Zambia.

219. The liberation struggle in Namibia has reached a decisive and crucial stage. Mere declarations of support and solidarity with the Namibian people in its struggle for independence and freedom are not in themselves enough. The Namibian patriots, under SWAPO, need practical material assistance in order for them effectively to conduct the war of liberation in their country. Therefore, we call upon countries and peoples that genuinely believe in the cause of the liberation of Namibia to provide SWAPO with the necessary assistance so that the people of Namibia can also enjoy peace, justice and freedom.

220. Zambia reaffirms its position that the armed struggle in Namibia will continue unless South Africa immediately withdraws its armed forces and the entire oppressive administrative machinery from Namibia; Namibia becomes independent as a single unitary State; and SWAPO takes its legitimate place in Namibia as the sole and authentic representative of the Namibian people.

221. To this end Zambia will continue to support SWAPO and to co-operate with the United Nations and the rest of the international community in working towards the achievement of these objectives. We shall neither accept nor co-operate with any puppet régime in Namibia sponsored by racist South Africa. However, Zambia, having rejected the so-called Turnhalle Constitutional Conference in Windhoek, strongly feels that any meaningful future conference on Namibia should be between SWAPO as the authentic representative of the Namibian people and South Africa as the illegal occupation régime. Such a conference should be held under the auspices of the United Nations as the legal and legitimate authority.

222. In South Africa itself, the revolutionary situation that has been growing over the years is now ripe. As I stated earlier, the oppressed people of South Africa have now come out into the open to confront their oppressor. The spirit of Sharpeville has kindled the hearts of South African patriots, whose blood now flows in Soweto, Alexandra and in many other townships in South Africa. These patriots have chosen the only way open to them—indeed the only way—to liberate their country, and that is with blood.

223. Zambia condemns in the strongest terms the South African racist régime for its brutal massacres of the innocent oppressed people of South Africa. However, it is our firm view that, whatever military machine South

⁷ See Security Council resolution 385 (1976) of 30 January 1976.

African can apply against the oppressed people of South Africa, their determination to achieve their cherished goal will surely surmount the evil and reactionary forces in their motherland. There is no doubt that the goal of freedom and justice for the oppressed people in South Africa will soon be attained.

224. The racist régime of South Africa must know that the game of *apartheid* is up. That régime should scrap the system of *apartheid* immediately.

225. The revolt that has now erupted throughout urban South Africa will be the determining factor in the advance towards social justice and human dignity. The situation in South Africa will never be the same. The obnoxious system of *apartheid* will be eradicated and replaced by majority rule. The freight train of revolt is on the move in South Africa and the Vorster racist régime, with all its military and naval arsenal, with all the kith-and-kin support from its traditional allies, will be violently pushed aside or knocked down never to rise again. To this end we appeal to all peace-loving countries and other progressive forces of the world to render more material assistance to the liberation movements of South Africa, namely, the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress, so that they can wage the struggle for their birthright.

226. We are all aware of the unholy alliance existing between the racist South African régime and a number of Western countries, including Israel. The collaboration between these countries and the *apartheid* régime of South Africa in the political, economic, military and other fields is primarily aimed at oppressing and dominating in perpetuity the African and other non-white people in the interest of monopoly capital. In particular, we are gravely concerned at the French nuclear collaboration with the racist régime of South Africa, which has implications for peace and security in southern Africa as a whole. We call upon France to abandon this scheme and instead to join with all well-meaning countries in ostracizing the *apartheid* régime of South Africa.

227. Let me also make it clear that Zambia rejects and condemns the decision of South Africa to grant so-called

independence to Transkei, in pursuance of the evil policy of "bantustans". This is nothing more than a scheme to divide and rule.

228. Therefore, in southern Africa the war of liberation will continue in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa itself until genuine independence, freedom and justice are won under authentic representatives of the peoples of these countries. Zambia will continue to support the just struggle by our patriotic brothers and sisters in southern Africa. We shall continue to render all moral and material assistance possible to the oppressed people of southern Africa through their authentic liberation movements until their cherished goals and aspirations are fully attained.

229. Allow me to state that, while our Organization continues to experience short-comings, especially in its role of maintaining international peace and security, it nevertheless manifests increasing strength and viability in many other areas of global concern. In this connexion we are mindful of the increasingly central role assumed by the United Nations in vital international discussions and negotiations covering various fields of global co-operation.

230. It would be remiss of me if I did not pay a special tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our most dedicated and distinguished Secretary-General, for the vigilant and untiring efforts he has continued to render at the helm of this august Organization, oftentimes in extremely delicate and difficult circumstances. Mr. Waldheim has proved that he is committed to working relentlessly towards the fulfilment of the sacred principles of human dignity, social justice and world peace and security—all of which renders credence to the *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

231. Zambia once again pledges its full support of and confidence in the United Nations as a sanctuary of peace and security for all mankind. We appeal to all Member States, large and small, to pull together in order to enable the United Nations to function effectively.

The meeting rose at 1.20 p.m.