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*President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).*

*Address by Mr. Samora Moisés Machel,  
President of the People's Republic of Mozambique*

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will hear this afternoon a statement by the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique. On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour to welcome His Excellency Mr. Samora Moises Machel, President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, to the United Nations and to invite him to address the Assembly.

2. Mr. MACHEL (Mozambique):<sup>1</sup> In addressing this Assembly for the first time I should like to acknowledge the honour that this represents for our people. This Assembly embodies the just and profound yearnings of the peoples of the world gathered in the United Nations and is a valuable instrument for surmounting the ills that still affect humanity. In its short but intense history our Organization has already made many contributions towards the solution of problems deriving from situations of injustice and oppression, and from threats to peace and international security.

3. Mr. President, on behalf of the People's Republic of Mozambique and the Mozambican people, we wish to congratulate you on your election as President of this Assembly and for the way in which you are presiding over the work of this Assembly. Your work for the success of this session is also a valuable contribution to the United Nations that we all wish to see strengthened. Allow me, Mr. President, to recall here the relations of solidarity that have united the peoples of the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and the People's Republic of Mozambique since the time of our national liberation struggle.

4. We wish to express our appreciation of your predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, and congratulate him for the successes achieved by the United

Nations during his mandate. The way he conducted the work of the thirty-first session of the Assembly is in the fine tradition of leaders of the Republic of Sri Lanka, a country with which we are associated within the non-aligned movement.

5. We welcome with great pleasure the admission to the United Nations of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The historic contribution of the Vietnamese people to the struggle against colonialism and for the liberation of their homeland, and the successive defeats they inflicted on the world's most powerful armies, brought added hope to dominated peoples and opened new perspectives for their struggle. The history of Viet Nam is, therefore, the patrimony of all nations which have freed themselves from the colonial yoke and foreign occupation and which today constitute the vast majority of this Assembly. The place that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam occupies by right in the United Nations was won by the courage and countless sacrifices of its people in a struggle against continuous aggression over several decades.

6. With the experience it brings and with its exemplary determination to struggle against injustice and for the dignity of the human being, Viet Nam's presence in the United Nations will certainly enrich the work of the Organization and its actions in favour of freedom, peace and progress for all peoples. The decision to admit the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam represents another victory for the Vietnamese people and for mankind as a whole, and gives meaningful substance to the lofty objectives of this Organization.

7. We also rejoice at the admission to the United Nations of yet another African State, the Republic of Djibouti. The independence of Djibouti is the fruit of the courageous determination of its people in its struggle against French colonialism. The role played by the Organization of African Unity [OAU] should, however, be emphasized, particularly in the final stage of the delicate process of decolonization. Yet another African people has liberated itself from colonial domination and, in joining the community of independent countries, is beginning to build its future in freedom and sovereignty.

8. The universal dimension that the United Nations acquired by bringing together almost all the independent countries of the world has enabled it to fulfil the deepest aspirations of all peoples for progress, peace and the construction of increasingly just and equitable international relations, and for the affirmation of the rights and dignity of man. Only that dimension will enable States to participate actively in the solution of problems affecting peace and coexistence among nations, and will reinforce the conditions required for the United Nations to achieve the principles and objectives explicitly stated in its Charter.

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Machel spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

9. Through its committees and specialized agencies, the United Nations carries out effective and vigorous actions in the struggle against oppression, humiliation and exploitation, thus contributing to the progress of peoples and to the strengthening of peaceful co-operation among nations.

10. We support the intensification of such actions, which represent a valuable contribution to the elimination of many of the causes of contemporary conflicts.

11. The international community has an extremely important role to play in isolating the regimes that persist in oppressing peoples and in practising inhuman policies whose characteristics in some cases have profoundly degrading aspects.

12. We know how difficult the realization of these principles and objectives has been. The causes of conflicts between men still remain. Social injustice, oppression, humiliation and exploitation continue to exist and, in many cases, give rise, as the only possible solution, to the violent revolt of the oppressed in defence of their legitimate rights.

13. At other times we see ourselves faced with conflicts provoked and generated by imperialist ambition and the domination of a people, a country or even an entire region.

14. The rebellion of the colonized peoples against the oppressor regimes and their just struggle for independence have found growing understanding and support within the United Nations.

15. The presence of many States in this Assembly today bears concrete witness to the contribution of the United Nations towards the fulfilment of the deepest aspirations of the peoples of the world.

16. The historic resolution 1514 (XV) adopted by the General Assembly on 14 December 1960, recognizing the right to self-determination and independence of peoples under colonial domination, marked a big and important step forward in the achievement of the objectives of the United Nations and was the fruit of the assumption by the international community of its responsibilities.

17. The history of the liberation struggles of our country is eloquent proof of this. The actions of the Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the Commission on Human Rights, the Security Council and other organs and specialized agencies brought international recognition to our struggle and denunciation of the massacres and crimes perpetrated by the Portuguese colonialists in Mozambique. Consequently, in 1972, the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola and the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde received observer status at the United Nations. The United Nations also gave aid of inestimable value to our people in the field of humanitarian assistance, particularly in literacy programmes and medical care and in the reconstruction of the areas liberated from the colonial administration.

18. It is with gratitude that we salute and express our appreciation to the African and socialist countries, the movement of the non-aligned countries and the democratic countries and forces throughout the world who supported us in the difficult moments when our very existence as a people was being denied.

19. The victory of the Mozambican peoples, achieved on 25 June 1975 with the proclamation of the People's Republic of Mozambique, was also a victory for the international community and the result of the firm action of the United Nations.

20. We wish to salute the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, on his re-election. He was with us in the decisive moments of our diplomatic struggle against Portuguese colonialism, defending the justice of our people's aspirations.

21. After the decision of the People's Republic of Mozambique to apply fully the sanctions decreed by this Organization against the illegal minority Rhodesian régime and during the aggression of which our country is a victim, the Secretary-General has faithfully interpreted the full meaning of international solidarity with our Government and our people.

22. Our victory asserts itself today in the coming to fruition of the fundamental objectives for which our people agreed to make so many sacrifices—the creation of a popular democratic State.

23. On 25 September last all Mozambican citizens began the process of the effective exercise of people's democracy by electing people's assemblies at the local level, in population centres at the base, and at the national level. We are building a new type of State on the ruins of the colonial State. Power belongs to, and is exercised by, the broad masses through the people's assemblies.

24. This is an unprecedented event in our history and was made possible only by our people's victory over Portuguese colonialism and the revolutionary gains won since the proclamation of independence.

25. In this way the Mozambican people are constructing their history, building democracy, consolidating the victories they have already achieved and determining their future in freedom and sovereignty. Allow us to associate the action of the United Nations with this event of such high significance for the Mozambican people.

26. The present international juncture is eminently favourable to the people's struggle for independence and peace as a result of the successes of national liberation struggles, the consolidation of the socialist camp and the successes of the workers' democratic movements in the capitalist countries. From this point of view the outstanding victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and Democratic Kampuchea are a stimulus and a permanent encouragement to all those who struggle for freedom, independence and peace. They prove that imperialism can be defeated on the battlefield.

27. The liquidation of the oldest and most retrograde colonial empire through the combined efforts of the

peoples of Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe, and the creation in these countries of sovereign States dedicated to the total liberation of the continent, have profoundly transformed the balance of power in Africa, particularly in southern Africa.

28. All these factors extend the liberated zone of humanity and create a situation favourable to the full liberation of all peoples from oppression and exploitation. In increasing numbers and with an increasing awareness, the broad masses throughout the world are rising against tyrants, against the exploiting classes, and against monopolies that enslave men, pillage nations and oppress continents.

29. We shall now touch upon the problem that is of particular concern to the peoples in our area but which is at the same time a source of concern for the international community as a whole, namely, the existence of oppressive and discriminatory régimes in southern Africa and the threat of confrontation that they represent.

30. The geographic situation and the economic resources of the countries in the area turned them into the object of the greed of the colonial countries which, taking advantage of favourable conditions for the implantation of settlements, established in those countries large colonies of immigrants who exploited the wealth of the subsoil and the soil and the labour of the peoples in the region.

31. Thus was born the whole complex of white domination in southern Africa which until very recently comprised South Africa, Rhodesia, Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. The highly favourable conditions prevailing in southern Africa as compared with other areas of the world, in particular its mineral and agricultural wealth, led to the settlement of millions of whites in this part of Africa. With the exception of Algeria—and even there to a much smaller extent—no such phenomenon occurred in any other part of our continent. However, we find something rather special in the situation prevailing in southern Africa: it is not the size of the numbers involved but rather the creation of a system of exploitation which has already been set aside by capitalism in the rest of the world, a system characterized by pillage and by the denial to the population of its most elementary human rights.

32. With different procedures and institutional forms, that was the situation prevailing throughout southern Africa. The patterns of exploitation implanted in southern Africa varied, however, depending on local conditions and the level of development in the colonial countries.

33. *Apartheid*, the most extreme and degrading form of domination imposed by force by a Nazi-type régime, reduced black South Africans to the condition of mere instruments of production. This inhuman form of subjection, placed at the service of an aggressive capitalist régime, led to the creation of a bastion of white power in southern Africa. Using an essentially similar system, and with South African support, the settlers of southern Rhodesia, in their unilateral proclamation of independence, sought to extend the power of this racist bastion northwards. Namibia, placed under the Mandate of the Union of South Africa in the days of the League of Nations, was later appropriated

by South Africa and integrated into its sphere of economic domination.

34. Portuguese colonialism, equally dedicated to plunder and to the exploitation of the peoples and wealth of its colonies, could not, however, achieve the same degree of economic and military consolidation owing to the limitations of the colonial State, itself economically underdeveloped. That was the weak link in the chain. On the other side of the barrier are the African peoples—peoples who were refused the status of men among men and lived as peoples without land in their own country, as foreigners in their own homeland, suffering a long history of subjection to massacres over generations.

35. This is the scenario in which the great confrontations are taking shape, a scenario which now includes even the nuclear threat. The heavy responsibility for preventing the consummation of such threats and for finding the road to peace devolves on all of us, and especially on the United Nations. That road can only be that of just solutions: not a peace that is reached by silencing the shots of rebellion of the oppressed or by gagging the voice of the peoples but the kind of peace that is affirmed by asserting the right of peoples.

36. We evoke this situation in the framework of new responsibilities and of the consequences of our indifference, of our lack of decision, of the commitment of those whose monopolies enriched themselves at the cost of human suffering. It is therefore among ourselves that we must try to find the answer to the questions which are put to us. How is it possible that a system which is diametrically opposed to the deepest convictions shared by all humanity has been allowed to survive until our times? How is it that a régime like that of Ian Smith, condemned since its birth and cast aside by the international community, can survive 12 long years despite the condemnation of the international community? How is it that in this interdependent world of ours it can survive, growing stronger year by year in the face of compulsory sanctions ordered by the United Nations? The survival of the Ian Smith régime has been possible only with the direct support of the Portuguese colonial-Fascist régime and South Africa and the camouflaged support of some Western countries through their companies and their nationals.

37. In the light of the present situation, we must assume our responsibilities; we do not want to substitute ourselves for the people of Zimbabwe in their liberation struggle but to support them firmly and resolutely. To assume our responsibilities is to isolate and eliminate the Ian Smith régime now and to guarantee majority rule; to assume our responsibilities is to direct our efforts towards ensuring true independence for Zimbabwe.

38. It is in this context that the People's Republic of Mozambique views its participation together with that of the United Republic of Tanzania, the Republic of Zambia, the People's Republic of Angola and the Republic of Botswana in the quest for a solution to that problem. This action is inseparable from the political, material and moral support to be given to the freedom fighters grouped in the Patriotic Front.

39. The recent Anglo-American proposals for a solution to the situation in Zimbabwe present serious limitations. On the one hand, the colonial Power seeks, in the phase of transition to independence, a concentration of power the like of which it never had during the whole colonial period and which does not guarantee the immediate participation of Zimbabweans in the exercise of power. On the other hand, the proposals maintain intact the whole state apparatus of the illegal régime and clearly show excessive concern with the protection of the rights of the settlers.

40. We should like to broach this problem in the light of our experience. If it is a matter of protecting the lives and legitimate interests of citizens from violence, we can understand that concern; if, however, it is a matter of protecting privileges acquired during the colonial era because of skin colour and, consequently, because of colonialist discrimination, such guarantees go beyond the protection due, and any attempt to impose them is in fact interference in the affairs of an independent Zimbabwe. In fact, in the long run that protection would be prejudicial to those it claims to serve.

41. The whites of Zimbabwe, like the whites of Mozambique or of any other country in our zone, can choose to become citizens of the country in which they live, while becoming integrated into its political and social life. The maintenance of discriminatory situations based on race, far from assisting in the creation of an egalitarian society, is prejudicial to the integration of the whites of Zimbabwe into an anti-racist Zimbabwean society and does nothing but aggravate social tensions and create conditions which could lead to racial confrontation. This has been borne out by recent history.

42. We demand the dismantling of the rebel army with its mercenaries and puppets, its shock troops of racism, which is the instrument of permanent aggression against independent Africa. The dismantling of this army is a necessary condition for guaranteeing peace and stability in independent Zimbabwe. This is the army which destroyed Mapai; this is the army which murdered in cold blood 800 defenceless refugees at Nyazonia; this is the army which is still today committing continued acts of aggression against the territory of the People's Republic of Mozambique.

43. The criminal army of aggression must disappear; otherwise it will frustrate the best efforts for the establishment of a durable peace in the region.

44. Those who think that they can use puppet troops for the protection of whites in Zimbabwe are mistaken. History shows, and our own experience confirms, that it is these elements who, given their initiation in the school of terrorism by the occupier, turn against their former masters at the end of the occupation and carry out the most barbarous acts against them.

45. Finally, we cannot help but point out the profoundly anti-democratic character of the attempt to impose rigid, immutable clauses which will remain in force for eight years after independence; such clauses constitute, therefore, many grave limitations on the full sovereignty of the people of Zimbabwe.

46. The recognition of the principle of national independence, the determination of the period in which it should occur, and the principle of universal elections contained in the same proposals, will enable us to make progress towards the solution of the problem. In the same way, the United Kingdom's acceptance of responsibility in the process, the acceptance of the principle of basing the future army of Zimbabwe on the liberation forces, and the participation of the international community in the process, also merit emphasis.

47. However, the immediate removal of Ian Smith, the head of the racist, minority Government, is clearly a condition for the success of all efforts. It was Ian Smith who was chiefly responsible for the failure of all attempts at negotiation during the 12 years of his racist rebellion, and the sincerity and effectiveness of the present proposals depend to a large extent on the determination and ability of the United Kingdom and the United States to remove Ian Smith from the political scene forthwith.

48. The Anglo-American proposals contain many negative points and leave many questions unanswered. However, they can provide a basis for negotiation. This was the conclusion arrived at at the last meeting of the front-line Heads of State, which took place in Maputo.

49. The People's Republic of Mozambique intends to continue to assume its full share of responsibility in support of the Zimbabwe people.

50. In this context, aware of its internationalist duty of solidarity, the People's Republic of Mozambique will remain firm in its determination to implement fully the sanctions imposed by the United Nations against the illegal racist régime of Southern Rhodesia until the liberation of the people of Zimbabwe.

51. In Namibia, the people's struggle is being intensified and has achieved new victories at both the political and the military levels. Incapable of openly opposing the demand for independence, South Africa is seeking above all a way out which safeguards its interests. With this aim in mind, the South African régime multiplies its manoeuvres designed to divide the territory while searching for a sham independence in Namibia.

52. It is in this context that the consultations between the colonial administration and the tribal puppets put forward at the eleventh hour as representatives of the people must be placed. Even stranger is the participation of settlers' parties, which always opposed independence in any talks on the country's future. And it is still in this context that the attempt to separate Walvis Bay, an integral part of Namibia, as a condition of the real independence of Namibia, must be placed.

53. The countries in the region have closely followed the consultations carried out by the five members of the United Nations Security Council. To the extent that those consultations are to be placed within the context of Security Council resolution 385 (1976), the initiative of those five Powers could contribute to the solution of the conflict. However, we believe that they will be successful only if their objective is the total and complete independence of all

of Namibia, if they respect the will of the Namibian people as expressed through the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), their only true representative, and if the five Powers do not attempt to substitute themselves for SWAPO in the solution of the problem of Namibia.

54. A solution to the problems of southern Africa implies, above all, elimination of the *apartheid* régime. The existence of this régime, hostile to humanity, creates intolerable tension and constitutes a threat to the peoples of Africa.

55. South Africa is propping up the Ian Smith régime in flagrant violation of sanctions proclaimed by the United Nations. It invades the People's Republic of Angola, militarizes Namibia, creates, finances and supports groups entrusted with armed subversive operations in the independent African countries.

56. Therefore, to supply weapons or to create conditions enabling South Africa to manufacture them is tantamount to fanning the flames of war and destruction in southern Africa and collaborating in acts of oppression against independent Africa. In this context the introduction of nuclear weapons in our area creates a highly dangerous situation.

57. However, no weapon, no manoeuvre, will be able to stop the liberation of the South African people, who today resist with their bare hands the murderous bullets of the South African forces of repression and the torturers in the prisons where people allegedly commit suicide. Soweto symbolizes the movement of the rebellion of the South African people—a rebellion whose flame will never be quenched and a people whose great cry of rebellion will never be silenced. These voices are arrows which penetrate our conscience and demand our support. All of humanity must make the cause of the southern African people its own.

58. The complete liberation of Africa, the elimination of discrimination and *apartheid*, shadows of a past which is still projected into the present, are the sacred duty of all the African people and of all the peoples of the world.

59. The People's Republic of Mozambique is aware of its special responsibilities as a Member of the United Nations and as a country geographically adjacent to the last bastions of racism in Africa. The People's Republic of Mozambique will not waver in its fulfilment of that internationalist duty. We will not yield before any intimidation or blackmail. We will not yield before any aggression, no matter how barbarous and cruel it may be. In this struggle we fight with the active support of all countries sensitive to the cause of the liberation of peoples.

60. Here, we should like to hail the decision of the Security Council in its resolution 411 (1977) appealing to all Member States to strengthen the defence capacity of the People's Republic of Mozambique. That act represents valuable encouragement: it is a significant act of solidarity, a great victory for all the oppressed peoples and a victory for the United Nations. This support is all the more important because the Ian Smith régime continues to send its murderous troops against the people and peaceful villages of our country. Provocations, subversion and the

infiltration of agents are increasing in preparation for even greater aggression. This means that the destabilization plan hatched by imperialism against our country continues and that its active instruments are the racist régimes of Rhodesia and South Africa.

61. Today more than ever we see the end of colonialism in Africa drawing near. It is true that threatening clouds darken the horizon; but it is within the reach of our determination to overcome the remaining obstacles and finally to implant a true peace based on just relations among men and nations.

62. The People's Republic of Mozambique enshrined in its Constitution the principle of the transformation of the Indian Ocean into a denuclearized zone of peace. We consider that the peoples of that region who suffered so greatly from the evils of colonial and imperialist domination and who today are engaged in the campaign against poverty, ignorance, disease and all the consequences of under-development in a struggle which is a pre-condition to achieving true human dignity and true freedom should be spared the threat of a nuclear war with all its attendant destruction.

63. The peoples of the countries bordering the Indian Ocean share a common heritage of relations and culture that they wish to develop; they have a shared desire for progress and peace and a will to preserve their hard-won independence against any form of domination.

64. Until a short time ago, the Indian Ocean was safe from involvement in the event of nuclear conflicts. For that reason, although we welcome warmly all those who come to the Indian Ocean with peaceful intentions or for the development of fruitful economic relations, we are extremely apprehensive about, and resolutely condemn, the establishment of any military bases of foreign Powers in the zone.

65. In this context, we deem it necessary that the international community and, in particular, the countries of the region should dedicate themselves to studying ways and means of prohibiting the presence of any foreign military bases in the area while guaranteeing the dismantling of those already in existence and enabling the coastal countries to control the presence and movement of foreign military fleets.

66. In the Middle East the situation created by the continued denial of the right of the Palestinian people to their own homeland has for decades been a factor of tension that has led to increasing violence, wars of aggression, the occupation of the territory of sovereign countries and, above all, to a persistent and systematic violation of human rights. The painful events in Lebanon are a result of that situation.

67. The root of the problem is to be found in the racial basis and expansionist nature of the State of Israel, which obstructs peaceful coexistence among the countries of the region.

68. The nuclear threat aggravates the climate of tension. The collaboration of the new axis of oppression—South



Africa/Israel—is aimed at intimidating the African and Arab peoples and deterring them from engaging in a just liberation struggle in the occupied territories and countries. At the same time it aims at blocking the consolidation and economic progress of the independent neighbouring countries.

69. We believe that the stabilization of the Middle East can be achieved only by the recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to create their own State and by the withdrawal of all Israeli troops and settlers from the Arab territories occupied in 1967.

70. Anti-Semitic racism, with its aftermath of horror, must be buried once and for all. Those who were its victims are today, in many ways, becoming real agents for the resurrection of analogous and equally reprehensible forms of racism. From that standpoint, we consider the resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East to be an imperative need, a conference in which the Palestine Liberation Organization should participate as an equal member.

71. Other situations of confrontation continue to exist across the continents and require the attention of our Organization in the context of support for the struggle of peoples for their liberation. On our continent, the violation of the generally accepted principle of respect for existing boundaries and the greed of the great Powers have led to the invasion, the annexation or the dismemberment of certain countries. Such is the case of the island of Mayotte—an integral part of the Republic of the Comoros—occupied by France. In the north of Africa, the Saharan people are unable to exercise the right to self-determination inasmuch as their territory is occupied.

72. The People's Republic of Mozambique condemns the illegal occupation of Mayotte and Western Sahara, which violates the right of all peoples to self-determination enshrined in the United Nations Charter, and expresses its solidarity with the struggle of the Comorian and Saharan peoples and demands that an end be put to the violation of the integrity of their countries. At the same time, the People's Republic of Mozambique reaffirms the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes between African countries.

73. In East Timor, after almost two years of military invasion by Indonesia, the Maubere people are resisting heroically. That occupation was launched, not as an anti-colonial act against Portuguese domination, but after the collapse of colonialism.

74. We firmly support the fight of the people of the Democratic Republic of East Timor and call on the Government of Indonesia to withdraw its troops and establish relations of good neighbourliness and co-operation with that country.

75. We firmly support the efforts undertaken with a view to the peaceful reunification of Korea, to which the withdrawal of American troops is linked as a condition to enable the Korean people to resolve their problems without external interference.

76. We support with equal determination the just struggle of the People's Republic of China for the recovery of Taiwan, which is a part of its national territory illegally occupied by imperialism.

77. We welcome the recent agreements on the Panama Canal which constitute a positive and decisive initial step towards putting an end to the old imperialist policy of dismembering countries and dividing peoples.

78. We condemn in particular the terror instituted by the Chilean military régime in violation of all the values held by the community of nations. We condemn the arbitrary arrests, the torture, and the disappearance of prisoners.

79. We are, however, confident that the dark shadow of fascism, which at the moment engulfs various countries of Latin America as a desperate reaction to the conquests of their peoples, will finally be overcome and that democracy will be re-established.

80. We should like to believe that the campaign that has been launched in favour of human rights will represent the beginning of a new phase in the policy of denunciation of Fascist régimes in Latin America, whose inhumanity is notorious in the extreme. May the results of that policy be the withdrawal of support to those puppet régimes.

81. The People's Republic of Mozambique cannot but condemn the continuation of situations of oppression, and demands the fulfilment of the principles of the United Nations Charter.

82. We are convinced that harmonious relations between States are achieved through the recognition of the right of peoples to decide their own destiny, along the paths of their own choice, for the good of all mankind. The peoples of the world want peace.

83. Disarmament is a fundamental necessity if we are to achieve co-operation between States in peace and security. We are greatly concerned at the development of weapons research, and of research into the development of increasingly powerful and inhuman lethal arms capable of the irremediable destruction of life on earth.

84. Consequently, the People's Republic of Mozambique defends the principle of general and universal disarmament and of the immediate cessation of the arms race, embracing all types of weapons of mass destruction. In this context, too, the People's Republic of Mozambique congratulates the European peoples for their successes in their policy of European détente, while at the same time expressing its conviction that that process must not be limited to one part of the world alone, but, rather, should be affirmed universally as a constant factor in international relations.

85. We wish to affirm our full support for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations to deal with this question, as an important step towards the holding of a world disarmament conference.

86. In every continent, the peoples under colonial domination have progressively won political independence. The countries thus liberated from the colonial yoke have

become support bases for the peoples still struggling for their freedom.

87. However, the consolidation and strengthening of those victories demands that we intensify our fight for economic and social development, and that this in turn requires a constant and rapid increase in the productive capacity of recently liberated nations, this being the only way to solve the basic problems of our peoples.

88. The rapid development of our productive forces and the overcoming of inherited backwardness and dependence necessarily imply technical and economic co-operation with all countries. However, those economic relations and that technical co-operation are not always approached with a view to just mutual benefits, reciprocal respect, and non-interference in internal affairs.

89. Responsibility for the existing situation of imbalance which must be changed, falls in particular on the highly developed countries, whose development process was achieved at the expense of those countries which are today the most backward.

90. The present tensions in the world have been brought on essentially by the economic interests and the unbridled greed of the international monopolies. It is in this context that we understand the differences between countries, the existing situation of injustice in international economic relations and the contradiction where we see some colonial-type relations.

91. In the present-day world the contradiction between developed and developing countries cannot be put on a geographical North-South basis. There exists a profound contradiction between exploitation and the people's interests, a contradiction which opposes the oppressed peoples and the colonial Powers, the working classes and the monopolies, socialism and capitalism.

92. It is this situation of injustice and inequality, surviving from colonialism, which confines the young independent States to the role of mere producers of raw materials and importers of manufactured goods. There is also a tendency on the part of imperialism to transfer to those countries industries having obsolete technology or those which carry out the partial processing of raw materials through the use of cheap and abundant labour. On the other hand, when highly advanced industries happen to be established, this is done in such a way as to create situations of technological dependency. The conquests of science and technology are thus used as weapons of domination.

93. The new international division of labour which imperialism seeks to impose on the world by internationalizing the brutal exploitation of human labour will serve only to sharpen world economic conflicts.

94. It is in this context that we participate in the struggle of the developing countries for the establishment of a new international economic order. This struggle, which is hindered by great obstacles, requires an effective and co-ordinated effort against those economic and political forces which seek at all costs to maintain their relations of exploitation with the developing countries and which use

financial institutions which they control for the purpose. This struggle is absolutely necessary if the countries which make up the overwhelming majority of Members of the United Nations are to overcome their economic and technological backwardness and make progress in every sphere of action.

95. The struggle for the establishment of a new international economic order requires concerted action by the international community with a view to transforming the relations of dependency and exploitation into relations of mutually advantageous co-operation based on equality and reciprocity of benefits. It further requires greater technical and economic co-operation among developing countries struggling to create a strong and independent economy, which is the basis for the solution of the countless social problems caused by the domination to which they were subjected in the past.

96. A new international economic order will constitute an important factor in the solution of the problems of developing countries and will undoubtedly facilitate their efforts to overcome their economic under-development. However, the decisive factor for the achievement of victory over the backwardness left behind by colonial domination must be found in the development of productive forces and in profound social changes that will make possible the construction of the material and ideological bases that will help us build a society free from exploitation.

97. At the same time we believe that at present our fight cannot be limited to the struggle for economic independence. That independence and the steps that marked its conquest, particularly the right to dispose of one's own natural wealth and resources, could be emptied of content or even wiped out if these victories are not consolidated through the establishment of new relations in production at the internal level and of a popular régime.

98. Fundamentally, in order to break away from the state of dependency it is necessary to industrialize our countries and consequently to have our peoples control their natural resources while fighting the international monopolies. The creation of a heavy industry capable of producing the necessary equipment and factors of production required by our economies will allow the mechanization of agriculture and make it possible to meet the people's fundamental needs in food. Thus the bases for developing a manufacturing industry will be created and high levels of productivity and true and independent economic development will be achieved.

99. Our conception of development is that the building of a national heavy industry is the decisive factor for our effective liberation from economic dependence.

100. We are firmly convinced that the Manila Declaration<sup>2</sup> is a valid basis for discussion in the United Nations. We hope that, unlike what has happened in the past, in future talks there will be the political willingness necessary to break the deadlock in which we find ourselves.

<sup>2</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

101. The germs of colonialism have not yet been totally wiped from the face of the earth. While our participation in this Assembly is proof of the success of our struggle against colonialism, nevertheless a great deal still remains to be done. The United Nations must meet the aspirations of the oppressed peoples and minimize the sacrifices to which they must consent in order to conquer the fundamental right to decide their own destiny.

102. Our presence in this Assembly today enables us to reaffirm our deep conviction that only harmonious co-existence between nations will make possible the development and consolidation of correct and fraternal relations among peoples.

103. In greeting the peoples of the world through their representatives in this Assembly we are also expressing certainty that the hope for freedom which lives in all men will be transformed by our action into the reality of justice, well-being and peace so earnestly desired by the peoples of the world.

104. The struggle continues.

105. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency, the President of the People's Republic of Mozambique, for the comprehensive and important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

106. Mr. CONTEH (Sierra Leone): May I start, Sir, by offering you my heartiest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and by pledging the co-operation of the Sierra Leone delegation in the execution of the duties of your high office.

107. I find it reassuring that the problems facing the contemporary world are being considered and discussed under your guidance. In addition to your personal qualities, you represent a country which, together with a few others, pioneered the evolution and successful establishment of the non-aligned movement which became, and still is, a strong moderating force on the harsh ideological struggle and sterile military competitiveness of the super-Powers. With your outstanding diplomatic and international experience and your experience as your country's Deputy Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs, we are assured, Mr. President, that you are well placed to execute the task of steering the General Assembly through its thirty-second session.

108. Secondly, Mr. President, permit me to express my Government's recognition and appreciation of the invaluable role played by Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka when he was serving in the position you now occupy. His contribution to the work of the United Nations and to international understanding in general goes some way beyond his presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. Difficult as his task was, Mr. Amerasinghe also very ably presided over the law of the sea Conference and the *Ad Hoc* committee on the Indian Ocean. His efforts contributed greatly to bringing about

some measure of understanding among the nations of the world on issues some of which are of an intricate nature and of vital concern to the international community.

109. This current session marks the admission to membership in our Organization of two new Members, namely, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. In the view of my delegation, this event is more than a merely formal act. In the case of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, after a long and destructive period of internecine conflict exacerbated by external involvement, it is decidedly with universal approbation that this great and heroic country takes its rightful place in the council of nations. In the case of the Republic of Djibouti, its accession to membership marks yet another step in the inexorable march of all peoples to the goal of self-determination. In admitting these two States to the United Nations, our Organization has given yet another positive testimony to its adherence to the principle of the universality of membership. It is in this spirit that Sierra Leone welcomes these two new countries into the ranks of our Organization, secure in the belief that they both will contribute constructively to our collective search for solutions to our common global problems.

110. The issues which will dominate this session are not new. Some of them are as old as the United Nations itself. The fact that we continue to discuss them means that we are all determined to arrive at some solution. The world is beset with problems, among which the inequality of opportunity in satisfying the most basic human needs should be of primary concern. Furthermore, we are compelled to contend with the reinforcement of bastions of racism and the denial of basic human freedoms and fundamental rights to millions of people all over the world. This situation has been aggravated by the unbridled accumulation by nations, both large and small, of weapons of mass destruction. We entertain the hope that under your presidency, Sir, solutions will be devised to accommodate the differences that have long divided us.

111. Significant among the issues before the Assembly is the grave threat to world peace and security, which, every minute, even as we sit here now, looms above in southern Africa like a gathering storm. Almost every year, shortly before this body is scheduled to meet, there is a flurry of diplomatic activity which quietly dies down with the closing of the session. Whether at this podium, as I stand here, or in State capitals all over the world, representatives of governments loudly proclaim their support for efforts at ending South Africa's illegal presence in Namibia, bringing down the illegal régime of Ian Smith in Zimbabwe and putting an end to the odious crime of *apartheid* in South Africa itself. It has become customary for these pledges to serve in the great majority of cases only as masks for hiding what is actually going on behind the scenes.

112. In a plural society—and my delegation is persuaded to assert that South Africa is in fact such a society, as indeed are many, if not all, of the States in the international community gathered here today—it is imperative that every section of that society, through its elected representatives, participate fully in government. *Apartheid*, by its nature, and its failure to acknowledge this principle represents the very negation of humanity and a denial of the democratic process.



113. It is not enough to have South Africa modify its policy on petty *apartheid*. This may appear to South Africa and its collaborators as a major concession on its part. My delegation cannot accept this. The least we ask of South Africa is that the pluralistic character of its society be proportionately reflected in its Government, as it is in every civilized nation in our world today.

114. South Africa must note that adjusting to the views of others, accepting and benefiting from their information and experience, requires a sensitivity and restraint which makes all the difference between what is civilized conduct and what is not.

115. The choice, as my delegation sees it, is a simple one. Mr. Vorster is left with the choice of either ensuring the survival of all minorities in South Africa by accepting the immediate and imperative process of democracy, or enduring the consequences of the bloodshed which will inevitably result from his stubborn determination to stick to the obdurate policy of *apartheid*. The Sierra Leone delegation hopes that Mr. Vorster will be persuaded to choose democracy because time is decidedly running out for him.

116. It is a disturbing fact that South Africa has acquired nuclear capability, in spite of its shameless denial that it has done so. Already the régime is steeped in the blood of innocent African schoolchildren, whose only crime, if crime it be, is to have dared to question the way they are taught and governed. With its acquisition of nuclear technology, South Africa's aims must be ominously clear to all of us. It is quite conceivable that, either through desperation or by a deliberate act of aggression, or a combination of both, it may embark on the dangerous adventurism of the total annihilation of all Africans from the African continent in order to preserve it for its so-called white civilization and against the "spread of communism" for which the principles of *apartheid*, we are told, have become Holy Scripture. The responsibility for this criminal intention is as much South Africa's as, indeed, it is of those who by their complicity, silence or indifference have encouraged it.

117. South Africa continues to occupy Namibia with a superciliousness that baffles even its most loyal collaborators. It has deployed and continues to maintain a large part of its armed forces in that territory in defiance of General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and the International Court of Justice. In addition, and in total disregard of international public opinion, it decreed on 1 September last the annexation of Walvis Bay and with characteristic arrogance added that its annexation of the Bay, although without prejudice to the future status of Namibia, was not negotiable. How long can the international community tolerate this arrogant flaunting of power or remain indifferent to this illegality?

118. Sierra Leone, for its part, once again reaffirms its support for SWAPO. It reiterates that any settlement which excludes SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the people of Namibia is unacceptable and should not be recognized or countenanced by the international community. We therefore call upon South Africa to comply with Security Council resolution 385 (1976) without further delay, for that is the only way to sanity.

119. With respect to the situation in Zimbabwe, the policy of the Government of Sierra Leone has been to support armed liberation struggles as long as peaceful attempts to resolve the constitutional problems remain unproductive and deadlocked. In spite of the fact that there have been several attempts to resolve the constitutional crisis peacefully, the illegal Smith régime has continued to intensify its repression of the indigenous people of Zimbabwe and has committed acts of aggression against neighbouring independent States, which are all Members of this Organization. It is against this background that the Sierra Leone delegation reaffirms its unflinching solidarity with the liberation movements in Zimbabwe, whose continued struggle may well be complemented by the most recent Anglo-American proposals for a settlement.

120. Commenting on these proposals, His Excellency Mr. Siaka Stevens, President of the Republic of Sierra Leone, had this to say:

"The preoccupation of the Government of Sierra Leone to see the restoration of legality to the political process in Zimbabwe, has for long remained as primordial as has been our solidarity with the African liberation movements in that country.

"One of the most enduring tenets of the conduct of our foreign policy is buttressed by our fundamental belief in the settlement of disputes by peaceful means. This is why we do entertain considerable hopes about the possibilities of a peaceful settlement of the Zimbabwe problem, as contained in the new Anglo-American proposals for restoring legality in Zimbabwe."

121. In this spirit, the delegation of Sierra Leone welcomes the practical measures contained in these proposals. In view of the failure of previous attempts, however, we call upon the United Kingdom and the United States of America to prevail on Ian Smith to accept the proposals, and to define in clearer terms, the role of the principal participants, so as to ensure the effective transfer of power to a majority government within a specific period and in an atmosphere of peace and security for all concerned.

122. We have never believed in the delusion to which Smith and his illegal white minority régime have given expression in claiming that an "internal settlement" can be possible within the foreseeable future. We warn him, as before, that time is decidedly running out and that this might be the last chance for him to accept with honour the inevitability of majority rule, and thus prevent the unnecessary loss of human life and property that will otherwise result from the armed struggle.

123. I wish to reaffirm before this world body that the Government of Sierra Leone is ready and willing to contribute its share to the United Nations Zimbabwe force as contemplated in the proposals. It is also our conviction that the Zimbabwe development fund, if generously subscribed to by the international community, could, along with the measures proposed for security, ensure a prosperous start for an independent State of Zimbabwe, which we are avidly looking forward to welcoming in this Assembly.

124. If the South African issue has been a matter of concern to us in Sierra Leone, the Middle East question, in our view, also rightly evokes concern. This Arab-Israeli conflict itself has had repercussions far and wide—if only manifested to some of us in this Assembly in phenomenal price increases in the cost of certain essential products.

125. The momentum generated by the disengagement agreements on the Sinai peninsula and the Golan Heights initiated and negotiated by the former United States Secretary of State, Mr. Henry Kissinger, was acclaimed universally as a step in the right direction. Those disengagement agreements marked the beginning of a genuine search for a durable peace. When those efforts culminated in the convening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, we entertained the hope that a real possibility existed for a lasting settlement. Unfortunately, the story of the Geneva Conference was that of an exercise in futility, and the thrust of the initial efforts became dissipated by procedural pedantry, ranging from the shape of the table to who should attend and in what capacity.

126. While we welcome the renewed peace initiatives, we are convinced that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of November 1967, notwithstanding its studied ambiguity and omissions in certain particulars, provided to a large measure the point of departure for a viable peace settlement in the Middle East. While we acknowledge and reiterate the right of Israel to exist within secure and recognized boundaries, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the said Security Council resolution 242 (1967), we remain resolved that the right of Israel to exist within those borders is as valid and as imperative as the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. In other words, we affirm that the Palestinian people have a right to a secure homeland—indeed, to a State of their own—and we believe that the recognition, acceptance and application of that fact by the parties concerned in particular, and by the international community in general, would supply the missing but indispensable link in the chain of a durable and just settlement in the Middle East.

127. In this connexion, therefore, we regard the establishment of Jewish settlements on the West Bank and other areas of Israeli-occupied territory and the recently disclosed Sharon plan for further settlements in those areas to be not only patently illegal according to certain principles of international law but also a real impediment to the efforts now being undertaken to bring peace to that area. The plan for further settlements in the occupied territories are, we suspect, inspired by a kind of Jewish *lebensraum*, and it will, we are certain, inevitably evoke an *Arabia irredenta* response from the other side. This, unfortunately, is a recipe for perennial instability. The world cannot tolerate it.

128. We therefore call upon Israel to discontinue plans for the establishment of new settlements and to dismantle those already established.

129. Finally on this point, no fact in the history of the twentieth century is more staggeringly improbable than the State of Israel itself. Its establishment owes much to the finest ideals in man and much to his darkest barbarism. We therefore call upon Israel to recognize as a fact that the

Palestinian people have a right to self-determination in a State of their own, as was envisaged and stipulated nearly 30 years ago by this Assembly in the partition plan resolution [resolution 181 (II)]. We are convinced that it is only through the recognition and application of this fact that peace—a durable and just peace—will be restored to this part of the world.

130. The Cyprus situation continues to elude efforts towards a meaningful solution—a fact further complicated by the premature demise of President Makarios. The concerns of the Secretary-General as expressed in his report to this Assembly [A/32/282] are therefore real. We shall support any solution which does not impair the independence and territorial integrity of that Republic and which assures the harmonious coexistence of the two communities without external interference. We therefore support the recent Security Council resolution [414 (1977)] which encourages the intercommunal dialogue and calls upon all concerned to exercise restraint.

131. When the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe convened in Helsinki in the summer of 1975, my country and, I believe, many others in this Assembly, expressed the hope that that event marked the beginning of a general period of stability. We took the optimistic view that military empires belong to the past, and that thenceforth science, technology and productivity would determine the ranks of individuals and nations, and we looked forward to sharing as beneficiaries of this great accord. In other words, détente meant, to us, a general lull in confrontation and a guarantee of our security, and, indeed, it created an atmosphere in which our economic well-being would be catered to. We entertained the hope, expressed by many speakers before me from this podium, that the enormous resources, both material and human, now devoted to armaments would be diverted to development. It is in this light that we support this same idea, as enunciated by the Foreign Minister of Sweden when she addressed this Assembly earlier [13th meeting], and we look forward to the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament.

132. None the less, we have been disappointed in the fact that the events that have been unfolding in Africa since the Helsinki Conference bear all the marks of a shift of the theatre of confrontation from the European continent. We cannot remain indifferent to the proxy wars being fought on the African continent. We therefore appeal to those Powers that have influence to take joint action with us to avert the disasters attendant on those confrontations. For us there is no substitute for peace.

133. The United Nations system represents a continuum in man's drive for co-operation and a search for peace on this one planet, earth. The Charter in 1945 realized, then as well as now, that for prosperity, as well as for peace and freedom, the world is one. The basis of the international economic system should be that poverty anywhere constitutes poverty everywhere for poverty like peace is indivisible. Articles 1 and 55 of the Charter of the United Nations commit the Organization to the solution of problems of an economic, social and humanitarian character. It cannot be otherwise, for neither peace nor freedom can resist disruptive forces if the economy fails to provide

for the general welfare. Economic stability and the elimination of poverty have therefore occupied—rightly, in our view—a central place on the agenda of the United Nations.

134. Since the seventh special session of the General Assembly, the world community has embarked on a number of meetings and negotiating rounds the main objective of which has been to arrive at a *modus operandi* for the implementation of the definitive decisions adopted since the sixth special session. Those decisions we believe, complement the thrust of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2525 (XXVI)] in so far as they are related to the universal endeavour to plan, on the basis of quantitative data, targets and projections, the growth and development of the least developed countries.

135. Unhappily, we have not on the whole succeeded in translating those decisions into reality. We have often ended up with different groups within our system maintaining uncompromising positions on all the crucial issues. Such a situation, we believe, not only is undesirable, but is likely to lead to that confrontation and sterility which we have laboured so much to avoid. It is our firm view that the developed market economies have not made the concessions which we expected of them, nor have they yet made the required rational and equitable adjustments of their consumption of the non-renewable resources of the world. The result of such an attitude has been the failure to finalize our negotiations on such key issues as the common fund for buffer stocks which, within the Integrated Programme for Commodities,<sup>3</sup> we expect to be a key stabilizer of the earnings of developing countries.

136. Seven years after the launching of the Strategy for the Second Development Decade, the targets which were set to narrow the gap between the developed and developing countries have not been achieved. Only a few developed countries succeeded in meeting the target for the transfer of official development assistance in the form of grants and concession loans in accordance with the requirements of that Strategy.

137. The various negotiations on problems of the world's economy held with a view to bringing the new international economic order into being, produced equally unsatisfactory results. Among the efforts made in the past 12 months to achieve an equitable international economic order, my delegation believes that the Conference on International Economic Co-operation provided a useful and challenging forum for resolving the differences that exist between the developed and developing countries. To be sure, the Conference achieved only limited and meagre results on a number of crucial issues; but then one does not expect the new international economic order to emerge overnight. My delegation would like to see the discussions continued and sustained throughout this session of the General Assembly, so that some compromise and understanding will be achieved on the key issues which are still unresolved.

138. Speaking specifically of the International Development Strategy, we can say that its failure is due manifestly and mainly to the performance of the developed countries,

which have not, as a whole, attained the targets or implemented the policy measures contained therein. Furthermore, it is our view that the Strategy itself proved ineffectual in that it attempted to tackle the problems of economic development through a series of unrelated measures within an existing international institutional framework which had evolved a structure which gave a greater share of the benefits to the developed market economies.

139. Those nations which are most powerful and whose interests are best served by the *status quo* have advocated stability far more than change. This was the case when the developing countries demanded a redistribution of the world's resources and called for a fuller participation in the decision-making process. In this regard, stability for the developed countries became conterminous with the "continuance of their material prosperity." But that very continuance of material prosperity happens to be the root-cause of instability in the world economy and, unless this fundamental contradiction is resolved, concepts like "the new international economic order", "international co-operation" and "interdependence" will merely continue to mask the political and economic self-interest of the more powerful. The extremely meagre achievements of the Paris talks, in our view, confirm this assessment.

140. Unfortunately, the failure of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation to resolve crucial issues continues to create considerable anxiety and concern among developing countries. Nevertheless, we in Sierra Leone believe that the Paris talks formed a basis for promoting understanding and have brought into fuller focus some of the underlying problems connected with development and international economic co-operation. We therefore took a keen interest not only in the proceedings of the Conference itself, but in all the subsequent international efforts deployed for the continuation of the dialogue within the forums and under the auspices of the United Nations. Sierra Leone's guiding principle here is to give each and every member of this community of independent and sovereign States an opportunity to participate and to be heard.

141. My delegation's concern for the impasse reached in the Paris talks transcends the much-talked-about understanding of contemporary economic relations which was thought to have been engendered. While acknowledging the limited results of the talks, therefore, Sierra Leone does understand and share the frustration of the South, to which we rightly belong, at the way the spirit of goodwill, so refreshingly manifested by all concerned during the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, failed to translate that understanding into the vital agreements on crucial issues which the group of 19 developing countries represented at the Conference fought so hard to secure. The perpetuation of that goodwill suffered an even greater setback by the failure of the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly<sup>4</sup> to come up with an agreed text for an objective assessment of the outcome of that Conference.

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

142. During that session, we noted a disquieting hardening of the positions of different groups, positions which are fodder to the lingering spectre of the very imbalances in economic power that dictated the need for the establishment of the new international economic order. It is my delegation's sincere hope that bringing such intricate negotiations within the competence and under the aegis of the United Nations system will not mean that they will suffer in the future from this trend.

143. We are convinced that related to the global search for a new international economic order are the endeavours embarked upon in Caracas in 1974<sup>5</sup> for rational and more intelligible ground rules for the exploitation and utilization of the sea, which represents three-quarters of mankind's living environment.

144. We therefore believe that the international community should proceed in its efforts to develop a body of rules—an institution, if you will—to regulate the use, exploration and exploitation of the sea. It is for us rather disappointing that the international community has so far not been able to complete the negotiations necessary for the adoption of a comprehensive régime for the law of the sea. We hope, however, that those areas on which a reasonable amount of agreement has been reached will be protected against further amendment which, if encouraged, will continue to move the Conference round in circles in a never-never world.

145. In spite of the many criticisms aired in recent times about our Organization, my delegation still has faith in the validity and viability of the United Nations. We believe that an institution of this nature, once established, acquires a life of its own, independent of the elements which have given birth to it, and it must develop, not necessarily in accordance with the views of those who created it, but in accordance with the requirements of contemporary life.

146. In meeting the challenges attendant on this transition of the Organization from the way it was conceived in San Francisco in 1945 to the way it is adjusting to the demands of contemporary life, it is our view that the Secretariat has over the years discharged its functions with praiseworthy effectiveness, despite the meagre resources upon which it has had to rely.

147. In this respect I should therefore like to pay my delegation's special tribute to our Secretary-General and the dedicated members of his staff, through whose untiring efforts the ideals and principles of the Charter still continue to keep us together in our joint venture to a better and prosperous world.

148. Mr. ÇAGLAYANGIL (Turkey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, allow me, on behalf of my Government, to congratulate you warmly upon your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your election should be considered a tribute to your country, whose contributions to the United Nations, to the cause of international

co-operation and to efforts aimed at strengthening peace are unanimously appreciated.

149. We are particularly pleased that the choice has fallen upon you. In the past you have given ample evidence of your personal qualities and diplomatic skills. We are confident that you will guide the work and the deliberations of the Assembly towards balanced, objective and fruitful conclusions.

150. Speaking on behalf of Turkey, I should like also to express our satisfaction at seeing as President a representative of a country with which Turkey has traditionally enjoyed excellent relations based on a common desire to safeguard and develop understanding, harmony and co-operation in the Balkan region.

151. Allow me also to take this opportunity to pay a well-deserved tribute to Mr. Amerasinghe, who presided over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, distinguishing himself by his diligence and competence.

152. I should also like to reiterate the appreciation of my Government to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our Secretary-General, for all his efforts to promote the principles and ideals of the United Nations.

*Mr. Molina-Orantes (Guatemala), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

153. At this session the United Nations family has expanded with the admission of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. A new and very important step has thus been taken in the field of decolonization towards the ultimate objective of the universality of the United Nations and the consecration of the ideals and principles of the Charter.

154. I should like to welcome with joy the representatives of these countries. The road which has led to the independence and unity of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has been marked by countless trials and tragic sufferings. We wish the people of Viet Nam every success in its task of reconstruction, which it has already begun.

155. We look forward to establishing close relations with Djibouti, which will surely be facilitated by the cultural affinities existing between our two countries.

156. It is always difficult to make a global evaluation in the field of human activities. In reviewing the problems which confront us, in reflecting on the situation which exists at this particular time and on the prospects for the future and in evoking the recent history on which today's world has been modelled, one cannot help being perplexed by the developments which inspire optimism and those which give rise to apprehension and even distress. The changes and developments which have taken place over the last quarter of a century, particularly the progress in science and technology, the intensification of international and regional co-operation, the absence of a generalized conflagration, the achievements in the economic and social fields in certain parts of the world, détente between the major Powers, and the moral and political force, exercised by the third world in favour of peace and an international order in

<sup>5</sup> Second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in Caracas from 20 June to 29 August 1974.



keeping with the principles of justice, have certainly brought immense benefits to mankind. But the greatest danger, that of the destruction of the whole world as a result of nuclear war, has not yet vanished. The objective of an international order guaranteeing the harmonization of the interests of the members of the international community still seems to be very remote. The problems on a world scale seem to multiply with the increase of the danger of the proliferation of nuclear weapons, the allocation of enormous resources to the ever accelerating arms race, the increasing urgency of energy problems, the depletion of non-renewable resources, the persistence of under-development and poverty, and the accentuation of the disparities between the industrialized countries and those countries which are developing. To all these problems, one should add the continuation of the acute conflicts and tensions in several regions of the world.

157. Each year we gather in this universal forum to discuss these pending problems and to attempt to provide a substantial contribution to their solution. At this session our attention will be concentrated in particular on issues concerning southern Africa, the Middle East, disarmament, human rights and international economic co-operation.

158. For several years now, southern Africa has been a focal-point for the preoccupations of the United Nations. But the situation there has never been as critical as it is at this time, nor has it ever presented a greater danger to the peace and security of the world. It is both urgent and imperative that a peaceful solution be found for the problems of southern Africa. The International Conference, in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and of Namibia in their struggle for liberation, which convened in Maputo in May, and the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, which met in Lagos in August, have emphasized the need for urgent and appropriate action concerning problems of southern Africa. Those two Conferences constitute important steps towards the mobilization of international action for the support of the peoples of southern Africa. We are of the opinion that the international campaign against the minority régimes of southern Africa should be conducted with vigour and perseverance.

159. Despite the deplorable tension which exists in southern Africa today, we still maintain our hope for a peaceful solution. We are following, with special interest, the efforts made with a view to achieving independence for the peoples of Namibia and of Zimbabwe through negotiations. We hope that those efforts will be crowned with success and will lead to just and early results.

160. In this context, it should be emphasized that any solution to the problem of Namibia should take into account the basic principles contained in Security Council resolution 385 (1976). In Southern Rhodesia the entire international community demands a constitutional government based on majority rule.

161. The peaceful return to legality in Southern Rhodesia must involve the restoration of peace in the first instance, so that thereafter there could be further steps towards decolonizing that Territory. We, therefore, support the Security Council's latest resolution [415 (1977)] which aims at facilitating and accelerating the transition to

majority rule in Southern Rhodesia. It should be emphasized that no lasting solution can be found to the questions of Namibia and Southern Rhodesia without the active participation of SWAPO and the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe.

162. In South Africa there can be no solution to the problem of *apartheid* as long as the Government of that country maintains its policy of excluding the majority of the population from the political life of the country and as long as it imprisons or exiles the acknowledged and respected leaders of that majority. Such a policy can only create increasing internal strife, provoke international outrage and diminish the chances of a peaceful evolution towards majority rule.

163. The Middle East conflict still constitutes the most serious source of danger for peace. We observe, with increasing anxiety, that the fundamental causes of that crisis have not yet been eliminated, that the principal elements are still unresolved, that the occupation of Arab territories continues, and that the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine are still ignored.

164. The position of my country on this problem remains unchanged. Turkey firmly opposes the acquisition of territory by force. It believes that a solution will have to be based on a restoration by Israel to their rightful owners of all the territories occupied during the war of 1967. We also believe that the solution to the problem should safeguard the independence, sovereignty and the security of the recognized frontiers of all the countries of the region. Such a solution should take into account the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to establish a State of their own.

165. The ratification of the rights of the Palestinians is an essential element of any negotiating process. The proposed Geneva Conference will have to be open to the participation of all parties directly concerned, including the Palestine Liberation Organization. In this context, we welcome with satisfaction the joint statement on the Middle East issued by the United States and the Soviet Union on 1 October. We hope that the initiatives taken with a view to convening the Geneva Conference as quickly as possible will be successful and that rapid and substantial progress will be made towards a just and equitable solution very soon.

166. Without a solution to the problem as a whole that would establish a durable peace, there is a risk that that region will once again be dragged into a crisis that might well be more devastating and dangerous than ever. On the way to substantial negotiations, the parties should refrain from all actions that might exacerbate the existing situation. In this context, the establishment of settlements on the left bank of the Jordan River clearly constitutes an obstacle to the search for peace.

167. More than 30 years have elapsed since the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted its first resolution concerning disarmament. During the period since then, despite regular appeals by the international community for disarmament, occasional intensive negotiations and a number of international agree-



ments, the arms race continues at an increased speed, threatening the peace and security of all countries and absorbing the resources urgently needed by the developing countries. This arms race is incompatible with efforts aimed at establishing a new international economic order and is also in contradiction with the policy of *détente*. Indeed, in a world where peace is essentially based on a balance of forces the distrust which results from divergent evaluations of that balance will render *détente* precarious, and there will always be the danger of a greater intensification of the armament efforts. The dangers involved in the proliferation of nuclear arms and the development of new techniques—to say nothing of the accumulation of conventional weapons—could render the present balance uncontrollable and could lead to rapid and dangerous upheavals.

168. Despite these disturbing developments, it is nevertheless encouraging that the world is becoming more and more aware of the dangers of the universal arms race. The decision to convene a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament comes at a propitious moment. My Government hopes that that special session will give a strong impetus to negotiations on disarmament.

169. The Charter itself urges the United Nations to undertake the task of promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. The constitutional and political system of Turkey is based on the concept that economic and social rights, on the one hand, and civil and political rights, on the other, are inseparable and interdependent. We are also convinced that a world order based on peace, justice and equality cannot be conceived without the respect and effective protection of human rights.

170. Mankind should be protected not only against oppression and injustice but also against terror and violence. My country, which has recently been the victim of several attacks against the lives of its diplomatic representatives, is ready to contribute to initiatives taken to combat effectively international violence.

171. The North-South dialogue on the establishment of a new international economic order will, no doubt, occupy a very important place in our deliberations. During this session we will have the opportunity to review the results of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, a task that was carried over from the thirty-first session.

172. Despite the fact that some agreements—although limited in scope and nature—were reached in the Conference, it is clearly understood that the global issues comprised in the process of reshaping the new economic order can best be dealt with in the United Nations system. We believe, in fact, that negotiations within a larger framework will facilitate the consensus and prevent repetition of discussions made in other forums.

173. In the negotiations on the establishment of a new international economic order it would be wrong to think that where one party gains the other must necessarily lose. Such an assumption could have been understandable to a certain extent in the short term; however, in the medium and long terms it will definitely be possible to deal with the problems in such a way as to converge and maximize the interests of all the parties concerned.

174. The new international economic order cannot be established overnight. But concrete measures should be taken to start the negotiating process within a reasonable period and according to a specified time-table. Those negotiations should concentrate on non-discriminatory and preferential treatment for the manufactures of the developing countries, more stable and higher prices for their raw materials, a code of conduct for transnational companies, greater access to technology, a greater voice for the developing countries in decisions on international monetary affairs and increasing financial flows towards the developing world.

175. On the other hand, the negotiations on those problems must not make us lose sight of the urgent problems faced by the developing countries. Those problems cannot await the establishment of the new international economic order. The balance-of-payments difficulties of the least developed countries as well as the middle-income countries call for urgent remedies. The international financial institutions cannot lose sight of the particular characteristics of the economies of the developing countries. In a world dominated by injustice and social and economic disparity those countries could hardly be called upon to restrict their growth perspectives for the sake of strict internal financial stability; on the contrary, emphasis should be laid on increasing the flow of external savings to them.

176. In the field of long-term measures aimed at restructuring the world economic order, a fundamental fact imposes itself. The present economic order which was established in the post-war era enables the transfer of resources to the developing countries only in ratio to the growth rate in the industrialized countries. If this concept remains unchanged, all serious efforts would be stalled until the end of the recession. But under existing conditions, it is most probable that the medium-term growth performance of the industrialized countries will fall far short of that recorded during the 1960s. Does this mean that throughout this period we should follow a policy that would delay the growth in the developing countries?

177. It becomes more and more evident that, in the final analysis, economic growth in the industrialized countries depends upon their economic and trade relations with the developing world. Increasing industrial exports to the developing countries constitutes a very significant indicator in this respect. It is evident that the transfer of real resources to the developing countries not only will help increase the supply of raw materials to the industrialized countries, but also will enable the developing countries to import more from the former.

178. It is more or less an established fact that the transformation the world economy is undergoing and the adoption of new methods of approach to development problems, should lead the United Nations to embark on a new strategy, which ought to take into account the present situation and the international economic negotiating process, as well as the concept of a new economic order.

179. The Cyprus question is once again on the agenda of the General Assembly. We regret that this conflict, which has lasted since 1963, has not as yet found a just and

equitable solution which would allow the two Cypriot communities to coexist and co-operate in their common interest. It is quite apparent that it is only through negotiations that a comprehensive solution to the problem can be reached and that the most effective contribution of the General Assembly to this end should be looked for within this context. Unfortunately, the procedural decision adopted at the beginning of this session [*5th meeting*] cannot contribute to meaningful debate. There exists a fundamental contradiction between the resolutions of the General Assembly, which call on the two communities to continue the negotiations, and a procedure which prevents the participation of one of the parties to the dispute in those very deliberations. It can very well be said that this attitude is without precedent. In these circumstances, the Assembly cannot hold to a valid debate on the question of Cyprus as long as the Turkish Cypriot community has not been given the right to participate in the debate to the fullest extent permitted by the rules of procedure. Any decision contrary to this principle can only be detrimental to the negotiations.

180. I would not like to refer to the question of Cyprus in a manner which would provoke controversy.

181. I am, rather, of the opinion that we should rigorously refrain from attributing the responsibility for the existing situation in Cyprus to one or the other of the parties. The other day mention was made here of an invasion, of the non-observance by Turkey of the United Nations resolutions, of the presence of Turkish military units on the island. But the reasons for which Turkey was compelled to intervene in July of 1974 have not been explained. Neither has there been any mention of the military coup d'état instigated at that time by Greece for the purpose of annexing Cyprus. Nor has anything been said about the presence of the Greek army in Cyprus, at times officially and at other times in disguise, ever since 1964. We are quite familiar with the usual litany, according to which Greece was governed by a military junta at the time of the coup of 1974, and that the present Government is not responsible for the crime perpetrated by that junta. This argument cannot be considered as valid. Every State is responsible for the actions of its Governments and has to bear their consequences.

182. The Turkish Cypriots are accused of being intransigent. I do not wish to enter into the details of these questions. It would be enlightening to compare the previous statements of those who used to enjoy military superiority with the declarations they now make, now that the balance of forces has changed. The striking contradiction between these two attitudes is clear evidence of the value of expressions of goodwill and sincerity so generously put forward.

183. The intercommunal talks will certainly continue one way or another. It would therefore be not only useless but also extremely harmful to try to put the blame on one party or the other for the lack of results. Let us not try to be the judge, but, rather, let us try, by all means at our disposal, to encourage negotiation and agreement.

184. The negotiating process cannot be divided. Its scope is the entirety of questions to which a solution has to be

found in order to reach a settlement within the framework fixed by Archbishop Makarios and President Denktas at their meeting last February, with the participation of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. It would be useless to prejudice the result of the intercommunal talks.

185. The position of Turkey regarding the Cyprus question has frequently been explained from this rostrum. In our opinion, the future solution should be based on the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus. Even though Turkey is not a non-aligned country, it believes that a policy of non-alignment would be desirable for Cyprus and would contribute to the peace and stability in the eastern Mediterranean.

186. The events precipitated by the Greek military intervention in 1974 have inevitably produced a regrouping of the two communities. Sixty thousand Turkish Cypriots have found refuge in the north of the island after abandoning their homes and properties in the south. A movement in the opposite direction has taken place for the Greek Cypriot population of the north of the island. An agreement between the two communities has completed this exchange of population. Various problems that have emanated from these movements can be settled only within the framework of an over-all solution.

187. The Turkish forces that are in Cyprus have been sent there in conformity with the obligations undertaken by Turkey. However, Turkey does not have the least intention of keeping its forces in Cyprus. It has already substantially reduced its forces on the island. The totality of troops sent to Cyprus after the events of July 1974 will be withdrawn as soon as a lasting political solution is reached. However, a complete withdrawal of Turkish troops in the absence of such a solution and in the present atmosphere of distrust and political tension is unthinkable. One cannot ask Turkey to abandon the Turkish Cypriot community to the mercy of a majority demanding vehemently and fanatically the return of the *status quo ante*, which, for the Turkish Cypriots, was but a régime of tyranny and oppression.

188. To conclude with the Cyprus question, I should like to reiterate that Turkey will continue by every possible means to encourage the intercommunal talks with a view to reaching a just and equitable solution as rapidly as possible.

189. This same desire is true also for the bilateral issues that exist between Turkey and Greece. We are ready to continue the negotiations already undertaken on these questions more than two years ago.

190. By the terms of the Charter all Member States have undertaken the responsibility for promoting international co-operation and safeguarding peace and security. The principles enshrined in the Charter must always guide our actions in our bilateral and multilateral relations.

191. It is here in this universal forum that all Governments should deploy all their efforts in order to realize the aspirations of their peoples to bequeath to future generations a world that is more just, more equitable and more prosperous. It is in this spirit that I should like to end my statement by reiterating our most sincere wishes for the success of the work of the thirty-second session and by

assuring the Assembly that my delegation will be ready to contribute its utmost to that end.

192. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It gives me great pleasure to express to the President, on behalf of Kuwait, heartfelt congratulations on his unanimous election to his high office in the General Assembly. His election attests to the General Assembly's confidence in him, which is not only a recognition of his exceptional qualities but also a token of the appreciation of the international community of the role Yugoslavia has played in international affairs as a member of the non-aligned group and the Group of 77. It is a source of great pleasure to see presiding over our deliberations a man with vast experience in United Nations work who has contributed a great deal to the upholding of the purposes and principles of the Charter.

193. I should also like to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, the Permanent Representative of Sri Lanka, for the able manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

194. Kuwait praises the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, for the maintenance of world stability and order. We support his quiet diplomacy and his call for the utilization of his good offices for the containment of existing tensions in many areas.

195. Kuwait has consistently advocated respect for the principle of the universality of the United Nations, which should make the world Organization a real microcosm of international society. In this respect I should like to congratulate the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on its admission to the United Nations, which had been for some time overdue. Our sincere congratulations go also to the Republic of Djibouti, a new member of the League of Arab States, which is now ready to discharge the responsibilities of statehood and to participate actively in regional and international organizations.

196. The Government of Kuwait welcomed détente as a major step heralding a new era in international affairs, an era in which the relations between the big Powers would move from confrontation to negotiation. It was our hope that the law of co-operation would eventually supplant the law of coexistence as the predominant body of norms. However, we may have been over-optimistic, since the entire concept of détente has not yet taken a concrete form but continues to vacillate in a manner that frequently leads to disillusionment. We should like to voice our ardent hope that détente may ultimately take deep roots and be followed by a variety of measures leading to the elimination of international tension and the strengthening of international peace and security. We should like also to reaffirm our firm belief that détente should in no way be used as a means of consolidating big-Power hegemony in international affairs or of dividing the world into spheres of influence. The primary need of the international community is to abolish political aggression and to create conditions favourable to the advance of the developing countries on the path of progress.

197. Kuwait attaches great importance to the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament because

there is a close link between security and development, a conclusion inherent in the recognition of the fact that peace and prosperity are indivisible. Disarmament and development are both tasks of utmost urgency which have to be pursued simultaneously and vigorously. Substantial progress in the field of disarmament will constitute an important element in the search for a more equitable international economic order. The continued diversion of the world's scarce material and human resources to military ends is seriously threatening the attainment of the goals of development. What the world needs is not guns but better standards of living and the eradication of the evils of poverty, illiteracy and disease.

198. The dialogue last year in Paris between the North and the South proved beyond doubt the existence of a wide gap between theory and practice, promises and performance. It is regrettable that the developed countries have not shown the necessary political will to make the structural changes required in the international economic system or to adopt the measures needed for prompt action on urgent problems. The resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly exposed the overbearing attitude of the developed countries and their reluctance to fulfil their commitments. We call upon the developed countries to reconsider their position on the unresolved issues and to continue the dialogue in a constructive spirit.

199. Technical co-operation has come to represent a necessary instrument for the development process in various fields since it is not possible to formulate and implement development plans in one country without taking into consideration the advances made and the experience gained in others. In the industrial field the developing countries are heavily dependent for new technologies on a few large transnational corporations, which impose harsh conditions for the transfer of technology, conditions which constitute an excessive burden on the limited resources of the developing countries.

200. Kuwait had the privilege during the last few months to act as host to two important meetings concerned with technical co-operation, namely, the ECWA regional meeting on technical co-operation among developing countries and the panel of consultants which issued the Kuwait Declaration on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries.<sup>6</sup> One can never overestimate the importance of technology in creating the world order under which some privileged groups in the international community live today. Economic progress cannot be envisaged for the less fortunate in the absence of technical innovation adapted to their needs.

201. Kuwait is keenly alive to its role as a donor of aid and an active participant in promoting technical co-operation among developing countries, and has been co-operating actively with national, regional and international institutions to this end.

*Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.*

202. More than two thirds of the people of the developing countries depend directly on agriculture for survival.

<sup>6</sup> See document A/CONF.79/PC/18.

Agriculture provides those countries with their main dependable defence against future famines and their primary means of overcoming the current evils of malnutrition and undernourishment. Systematic, sustained action to stimulate agriculture in the developing countries is a compelling necessity, not just to prevent hunger, but also to inject dynamism into the whole process of economic and social development. The establishment of an International Fund for Agricultural Development is a positive step in this direction. I should like to take this opportunity to express the hope that the instruments of the Fund will be ratified at an early date so it may soon become operational.

203. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has become a permanent phenomenon in international society. If the preparatory work in the sea-bed Committee is taken into consideration, the Conference will have been in constant session for a whole decade. The results, however, have been so far disappointing. The coastal States have shown little regard for the interests and needs of the geographically disadvantaged States. The developed countries are still seeking to impose their joint dominion on the area beyond the limits of national jurisdiction rather than let mankind as a whole exploit the resources of the area for its benefit. The atmosphere of the Conference has been clouded by the unilateral declarations of coastal States and threats of unilateral action by developed countries, which ignore the fact that conventions are still the main instrument of international legislation. States therefore must negotiate in good faith and decisions must be made in an atmosphere of freedom. The eventual convention will be ineffective, unless all States agree to become parties to it. In the final analysis, the Conference on the Law of the Sea is a major test of the present state of international relations, one which will decide whether the rule of law should prevail or whether the world will be dominated by those who monopolize political power, technology and managerial skill.

204. The situation in Africa still poses a threat to international peace and security. The situation in Rhodesia is very dangerous. Notwithstanding the commendable efforts made by the United Kingdom and the United States to put an end to the rebellion of the white minority in Rhodesia, that minority continues to monopolize government power and responsibility against the will of the preponderant African majority and its right to self-determination and independence. The principle of acceding to the wishes of the majority in Rhodesia on the basis of the right of every citizen to express his views is sacred and inalienable. Kuwait has always supported the just struggle of the people of Zimbabwe to abolish the illegal minority régime and to replace it with democratic majority rule. The intransigence of the white rebels kindled the flames of resistance, personified in the liberation organizations, after the people of Zimbabwe realized that the only means of escaping from the rule of the illegal minority was through resort to armed struggle.

205. Tension in Namibia also continues, owing to the refusal of the Government of South Africa to recognize the right of the people of Namibia to self-determination.

206. South Africa's attempts to fragment Namibia have increased the intensity of the armed struggle for indepen-

dence and the preservation of the territorial integrity of Namibia. The presence of South Africa in Namibia, in spite of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the decision of the International Court of Justice, and its attempts to annex parts of Namibia pose a threat to international peace and security and constitute a flagrant defiance of the United Nations Charter. Kuwait has consistently supported the imposition of economic and military sanctions against South Africa, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter.

207. The situation in South Africa is a menace to peace, not only in that region but in the world as a whole, owing to the inhuman policy of *apartheid*, that seeks to subject the African majority to the will of a tyrannical white minority, which practises a policy of suppression.

208. The recent events in South Africa, reflected in the demonstrations expressing the indignation of the majority over the policy of *apartheid*, places a heavy responsibility on the United Nations to take the necessary steps to put an end to this policy, which is inimical to basic human rights.

209. The policy of dividing South Africa into bantustans in the guise of self-determination is unacceptable, since its aim is to perpetuate power in the hands of the white minority, and to monopolize the sources of wealth in South Africa.

210. I should like to mention the reports according to which South Africa may be planning to conduct a nuclear test in Namibia. These plans will aggravate tension in the region, and will induce the African countries to take security measures to protect themselves against this violent danger.

211. The Conferences held in Lagos<sup>7</sup> and Maputo<sup>8</sup> regarding the situation in southern Africa had a considerable effect in drawing the attention of the international community to the nature of the grave situation which prevails in that part of Africa. I should like to mention in this context that Kuwait, which attended both Conferences, contributed \$1 million to the liberation movements in Africa, actuated by its belief that rights cannot be attained except through armed struggle.

212. Of all the regions of the world, the Middle East has for the past 30 years been in an abnormal situation which has made it a cause of special international concern, not only because it may explode at any moment, but because it can lead the international community to a nuclear war, which would destroy the whole world. That region has been the scene of four wars during the past 30 years; the elements of war in it are still stronger than the elements of stability.

213. More than 10 years have elapsed since Israel launched its aggression against Egypt, Syria and Jordan, and 30 years have passed since it extorted from the people of Palestine their lands and homeland for the purpose of replacing the

<sup>7</sup> World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos from 22 to 26 August 1977.

<sup>8</sup> International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo from 16 to 21 May 1977.



Palestinians with Jewish settlers from all parts of the world. Israel still occupies the Sinai peninsula, the West Bank of Jordan, Gaza and the Golan Heights and refuses to withdraw from all these territories, which have been under its occupation since 1967.

214. The United Nations has made great efforts to establish a just peace in the area; its efforts, however, have not yielded any positive results. On the contrary, Israel has formally informed the United Nations that it will not withdraw to the 1967 frontiers. Israel has established Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories to create a *fait accompli*, in violation of the Charter, which proscribes the acquisition of territory by force, and in defiance of United Nations resolutions, which provide for complete withdrawal from these territories. Nevertheless, Israel, which flouts the resolutions of the United Nations and ignores its Charter, still finds sympathizers and supporters who protect it against the indignation of the international community, expressed in innumerable resolutions. Thus, the Middle East will remain a severe test for the international Organization, to whose Charter allegiance has been sworn by all States.

215. The Middle East is a good example of the gap between words and deeds. No region has subjected the United Nations to a more severe test as to whether it would implement its resolutions, or would neglect them and relegate them to oblivion. The United Nations has adopted many resolutions calling upon Israel to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories, thus putting all its political and moral weight against Israel. The United Nations has not, however, translated these resolutions into practical steps which would deter Israel and put an end to its defiance of the international community, and it has therefore lost a great deal of its prestige and efficacy. It is a cause of regret that some Member States, who were given special powers by the Charter to protect that Charter, defend Israel and object to the imposition of measures against it. This has deprived the international Organization of its political importance, especially in the Middle East, whose peoples have lost their faith in the United Nations and its capacity to implement its resolutions and enforce its Charter.

216. The people of Palestine were expelled from their lands, homelands and possessions and driven to refugee camps to live on international charity, contrary to the resolutions of the United Nations, which defined their right to self-determination and called for the establishment of a homeland in their own country. Yet Israel seized their lands and possessions, and transformed the Arab minority which remained in Palestine into second-rate citizens, and deprived the majority of their right to return to their homeland despite United Nations resolutions. Nevertheless, Israel is still a member of the international Organization, although it had pledged, at the time of its admission, to implement all United Nations resolutions.

217. The United Nations has adopted a resolution which stated that negotiations for a just peace settlement in the area could not take place in the absence of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the lawful representative of the people of Palestine, which should take part on a footing of equality with all other parties.

218. One of the main reasons for the delay in convening the Geneva Conference has been the refusal of Israel to allow the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate, in spite of the resolutions of the United Nations, which explicitly provide for the representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the negotiations. Israel should fully realize that there is no alternative to the participation by the Palestine Liberation Organization in the peace negotiations. Peace will not be established in the Middle East unless the people of Palestine exercise their right to self-determination and an independent Palestine is established for them. Likewise, peace will not be restored to the area unless Israel withdraws from all occupied Arab territories. This matter is not negotiable, as it stems from United Nations resolutions as well as the principles and purposes of the Charter. This position has already been endorsed by a majority of States, whether in the non-aligned group, the Islamic countries, or within the framework of the United Nations, including the nine members of the European Economic Community which, in their recent statement, supported these fundamental principles. Mr. Carter, the President of the United States, has repeatedly proclaimed that it is necessary to establish a homeland for the Palestinians, and reaffirmed the need for Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. The Nordic countries have also supported this position in their recent statement in Helsinki.

219. The clouds of war are ominously gathering over the skies of the Middle East more than at any other time in the past. Israel's present policy is a prescription for war and is devoid of any real desire for peace since Israel refuses to withdraw from occupied Arab territories and objects to the representation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the negotiations for a just settlement. Israel opposes the establishment of an independent Palestinian State in Palestine. It also rejects the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people to self-determination. In addition, Israel has established settlements for Jewish settlers in occupied Arab territories. The number of those settlements there has already exceeded 80. Israel persisted in its defiance of the international Organization and of the States that still support it by recently proclaiming the legalization of three Israeli settlements and authorizing the establishment of additional settlements.

220. Israel's defiance of the whole world culminated in the declaration by the Minister in charge of Jewish settlements, General Sharon, to the effect that he had prepared a plan for the settlement of tens of thousands of immigrants in the occupied Arab territories and that a network of roads would be built to connect those settlements with Israeli cities. His plan calls for the importation of 2 million Jews to settle on Arab territories by the end of this century. The Israeli Government also took a decision to grant Palestinians under occupation a special status as a prelude to the annexation of their territories.

221. The policy of the annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan and of Gaza that was formulated 10 years ago is part of an expansionist Israeli plan to occupy the whole of Palestine and the territories surrounding it and to destroy the entity of the people of Palestine as a nation eager to exercise its right of self-determination. Israel's "peace-



loving" statements are no more than a hoax designed to mislead world public opinion.

222. The situation in the Middle East is extremely grave. In the light of those violations of United Nations and the provisions of its Charter, the Organization has no alternative but to translate the indignation and wrath of the international community into effective action against Israel, not merely by condemning its policy that will inevitably lead to war, but by adopting punitive measures in conformity with Chapter VII of the Charter, which impose political, economic, trade and military sanctions, as in the case of Rhodesia, in order to preserve the prestige and efficacy of the Organization and to protect the Charter and its purposes.

223. The Arab countries have had enough of the policy of procrastination and delaying tactics at a time when Israel is annexing the remaining parts of the West Bank, Gaza and other occupied Arab territories. It is imperative to emphasize that the Middle East region is moving in the direction of war, a fact that portends grave consequences for the whole world. The Arab countries and the Palestinian people have no alternative but to resort to force and to proclaim their rejection of Israeli policy and their resistance to the policy of creating settlements and annexing territories.

224. Whatever may be the inadequacies of the United Nations system—and they are legion—that system represents the only realistic point of departure for the sustained efforts of succeeding generations through which mankind can equip itself with the political institutions without which there can be no peace or freedom. Crisis management, however sophisticated, is no substitute for organized work towards real peace. The whole future of mankind now depends on matching the actions of Governments and the organization of society with the contemporary progress of science and technology. The United Nations has now been in existence longer than the effective life of the League of Nations and has to its credit a substantially far more impressive record of accomplishments. It has displayed a vitality and an adaptability to changing circumstances that augur well for the future. It has greatly enlarged the scope and range of international activities and achieved a directness of impact that is a great advance. But in matters of the first importance, the United Nations continues to be crippled by some of the limitations that destroyed the League. We must conceive of the United Nations as a universal community in which the obligations of membership and the policies of Members are not contradictory. We must make its services so indispensable to its Members and so build up its prestige and authority that it becomes for the world at large what the community in which the citizen is born has become for him.

225. Mr. RICHARD (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar is particularly gratified at your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your great experience in international affairs as well as the committed and decisive role that Yugoslavia has always played within the non-aligned movement and in concert with the developing countries qualifies you more than any other to preside over our deliberations.

226. Our thanks and congratulations go to Mr. Hamilton Amerasinghe, the Ambassador of Sri Lanka, who directed with tact and authority the proceedings of the previous session, respecting the principles of the Charter and always serving the international community.

227. My delegation would also like to stress the dedication with which the Secretary-General has endeavoured, in all circumstances, to make the collective will of Member States prevail, pursuant to the mandate that we have entrusted to him.

228. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar welcomes with joy the admission to our Organization of the Republic of Djibouti and of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam.

229. The determination of the liberation movements of Djibouti and the political leaders of that country have made it possible for that country to overcome the difficulties inherent in its colonial situation and to make the will for unity and emancipation of its people prevail.

230. The presence among us of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam is a source of particular satisfaction for the delegation of Madagascar because it marks the culmination of the long and difficult struggle of a people firmly attached to its freedom, its sovereignty, its independence and to the promotion of social progress.

231. The admission of these two States to the Organization bears witness to the predominant role that the countries of the third world intend to, and ought to, play in international affairs without there being any need to refer to a certain polarization that has pre-determined the direction of decisions and actions of the United Nations since its foundation. This change, which we welcome but some still question, requires in our opinion a reordering of priorities and a new attitude in the perception of the over-all interests of the community of nations.

232. Developments in the international situation between the two sessions of the General Assembly have not been such as to allay anxieties.

233. Despite our collective efforts, the United Nations has not been able to make a positive contribution to the solution of many problems the persistence of which justify our pessimism about the effectiveness of our procedures for negotiation and the sincerity and will of one and all to make the necessary compromises.

234. The conflicts of convictions, of ideas and of action continue to sustain flash-points of tension, particularly in Africa. New forms of intervention have been devised to undermine the security of certain States, the political options of which cannot and could never coincide with those of the imperialist, capitalist and neo-colonial interests.

235. However, in the past 10 years we have witnessed the emergence of conditions which in our opinion can ensure the triumph of world revolution.

236. The universal acceptance of peaceful coexistence, the growing challenge of the concept of power, the decrease in

the manifestations of the cold war and of polarization are factors which have contributed to the improvement of international relations. The third world has fully asserted itself by proposing a rational and concerted policy which takes account of the irreversible downfall of colonialism and of the primary role of the United Nations in establishing a new international order.

237. These encouraging prospects have produced negative reactions on the part of the imperialist capitalists, who cling blindly to the acquisitions and privileges of the past and are thus bent on preserving the *status quo*.

238. We are forced to recognize that there is a situation of confrontation which some seek to conceal or to force into oblivion by preaching the virtues of selective interdependence, of dialogue, of gradual action and prolonged negotiation, all of which constitute excessive delaying tactics.

239. It may be too early, of course, to speak of a real crisis, but we have the firm conviction that the preliminary signs are there.

240. Indeed, the world is today witnessing attempts at colonial reconquest and the resurgence of neo-colonialism. The principles of the Charter, such as self-determination, have been distorted in a shameful and cynical way.

241. In order to safeguard their economic, political and military interests some are not inhibited either by the resumption of the "peculiar dialogue" with the racist régimes of southern Africa or elsewhere or by the destabilization of the progressive revolutionary régimes committed to the true struggle for freedom of the peoples. Interference in the internal affairs of States has become a common practice in the name of moralizing principles and attempts are made to impose on others norms that are contrary to the safeguarding of their own security.

242. That understanding which is the main objective of international relations is still a distant goal. Positions are being marked out to such a degree that we are seeing a real regression, concealed by bits and pieces of measures and gestures of so-called "goodwill".

243. The countries of the third world, particularly the non-aligned countries, have no choice other than to take up the challenge hurled at them by international reaction. We for our part are not bent on confrontation but it is our duty to preserve, defend and promote the achievements of the past decade. It is from this standpoint that we will analyse the world political, economic and social situation and it is on this basis that we will determine our positions and our action, and decide on the measures to be taken within the United Nations.

244. Africa cannot be said to have neglected its economic and social development because two important meetings have been held there: the eleventh extraordinary session of the Council of Ministers of the OAU, held from 6 to 10 December 1976 in Kinshasa and devoted to economic affairs; and the historic Cairo Conference of March 1977,<sup>9</sup>

which established the framework of Arab-African co-operation.

245. But obviously the major problems facing the African leaders are political in nature and concern independence, security and the total liberation of the continent.

246. Indeed, international imperialism has not renounced the desire to keep the African continent under its domination: interventions against progressive countries have increased as is evidenced by the aggression against the People's Republic of Benin, the attempts at destabilization in Angola and the political assassination of the late President Marien Ngouabi. The Shaba affair and other local conflicts have unfortunately provided the reactionary forces of the West with an opportunity to establish a new form of interference in the African political scene. This means that vigilance is called for because rivalries that are no longer fashionable in a world of détente are developing in Africa and endangering the realization of the full emancipation of the African continent.

247. In southern Africa the action of the United Nations has not led to the results expected, because of the refusal of certain Powers to recognize the urgency and the gravity of a situation which threatens international peace and security. The crisis in this region would have been resolved long ago if certain Western Powers had not collaborated with the forces of racism and colonialism and had not afforded them their protection and their sanction. We are convinced of the need to deal with the problems of *apartheid*, Rhodesia and of Namibia in terms of their profound unity. But it is absolutely necessary to recognize that priority must be given to the situation in South Africa even though there might be some merit in attacking first those points where the forces of racism and colonialism offer the least resistance.

248. In South Africa the objective remains the restoration of human dignity. The true nature of the problem is not restricted to the restoration of human rights; it is not only a question of granting civil and political rights to the majority. Quite the contrary. We are faced with a situation that has to be remade, remodelled on democratic lines. In other words, it is a situation which will not be resolved without a true popular revolutionary process.

249. The elimination of *apartheid*, the cessation of massacres and repression are only phases, the recognition of political rights can only be the beginning of a new period of transformation at all levels. Government by the majority will be meaningless unless it is accompanied by an economic and social revolution permitting, *inter alia*, the recuperation of national wealth that has been seized and monopolized hitherto by capitalist, imperialist and neo-colonialist circles. The struggle should aim at the establishment of an economic system which would benefit the majority and at the elimination of all interests that are incompatible with this approach. We feel that any solution proposed must be examined in terms of these objectives.

250. We reject any initiative the ulterior motive of which is to perpetuate a certain neo-colonial structure which, on the pretext of maintaining the current prosperity of the South African economy, would in fact seek to perpetuate injustice and the exploitation of the Africans.

<sup>9</sup> First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held in Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977.

251. In view of the incapacity of certain Western countries to choose between their own immediate interests and the just cause of the majority, and in view of the intransigence of the Pretoria authorities and the heinous repressions visited daily upon the innocent people of South Africa, we firmly support the liberation movements which have chosen to combat *apartheid* by armed struggle.

252. The preceding remarks also hold true for Zimbabwe and Namibia, whose future depends upon developments in South Africa.

253. In Zimbabwe, where the Ian Smith régime is daily being driven further towards certain defeat by the blows inflicted upon it by the armed forces of the Patriotic Front, the colonizing Power, which since 1965 has not adopted any effective measure to bring down the rebels, has recently been endeavouring to find an honourable way out of the hopeless situation to the creation of which it has contributed.

254. The United Kingdom has just requested the Security Council to come to its aid and have the Secretary-General name a special representative.<sup>10</sup>

255. My delegation cannot oppose a certain United Nations presence in Zimbabwe, if that will facilitate the complete, sincere and genuine decolonization of the Territory.

256. The appointment of that representative as well as his role, his attributes and his powers must be defined in close consultation between the members of the Security Council and the Patriotic Front.

257. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar reaffirms its militant and committed support of the Patriotic Front, the genuine representative of the people of Zimbabwe, and reserves its position with regard to the links which some would wish to establish between the appointment of the special representative of the Secretary-General and the acceptance of the so-called Anglo-American plan for a settlement.

258. We continue to denounce South Africa's refusal to co-operate with the United Nations in order to find a solution to the problem of Namibia. We cannot accept or endorse the South African idea whose aim is the dismemberment of this international Territory and its transformation into a confederation of small tribal states, controlled and manipulated by the racist régime and its allies so as to make it a buffer between themselves and independent Africa. We cannot entertain the idea of negotiations before South Africa has accepted the conditions laid down by SWAPO and endorsed by OAU, namely, the withdrawal of all South African military and paramilitary forces from Namibia and the guaranteeing of the establishment of a normal political climate; the unconditional liberation of all political prisoners and the return to Namibia of all Namibians in exile; the endorsement by the United Nations Council for Namibia of the appointment in the Territory of any interim authority prior to indepen-

dence; and the accession of the Territory to independence within its present limits, including Walvis Bay.

259. The situation in other regions of Africa continues to be of equal concern to us.

260. The painful vicissitudes of the struggle of the Saharan people point to the emptiness of the claims of those who want to close the file on Western Sahara. Although sanctioned by the former administering Power, the solution of the dismemberment and annexation of that country has never been accepted by the United Nations, and still less by OAU.

261. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar supports the right of the Saharan people to a free and independent destiny and, in recognizing the Saharan Arab Democratic Republic, it has demonstrated its willingness not to accept the fait accompli created by the Governments of Morocco and Mauritania.

262. In the Horn of Africa, we deem it essential that the two brother countries, Ethiopia and Somalia, be and remain truly independent, revolutionary and socialist. But that is where the shoe pinches, for imperialism is trying to prolong the conflict in order to make us forget the Zionist colonial grip on Palestine and the grip of imperialism, racism and *apartheid* on southern Africa.

263. That is why we believe that it is the duty of all progressive countries of the world, and in particular those of Africa, to work for a reconciliation between those two sister revolutions so as not to play the game of international imperialism in that strategic region of Africa.

264. The President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, Mr. Didier Ratsiraka, is not unaware of the difficulties of mediation in this conflict. However, he believes that it is no longer possible to remain silent. It would be dishonourable for Africa not to try to find a solution to this specifically African problem or to allow non-African Powers to resolve it in their own way and even to their benefit. For our part we shall continue our efforts, even if we have to begin again a thousand times, for any conflict, whatever it may be, always ends in negotiations.

265. With regard to the Comorian island of Mayotte, my delegation cannot subscribe to the arguments put forward by France to legalize an occupation which has been repeatedly denounced by OAU and the entire international community.

266. Threats to international peace and security in southern Africa; the acute crisis in the Horn of Africa; the maintenance of the French colonial presence in the Comorian island of Mayotte—how could we remain indifferent and not share our anxiety about these issues?

267. In these circumstances, the Assembly will appreciate that my delegation cannot emphasize too much the need to implement the objectives of the solemn Declaration by which the General Assembly on 16 December 1971 designated the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)].

<sup>10</sup> See document S/12404/Rev.1.

268. Again last year the General Assembly reaffirmed its conviction that the implementation of the Declaration would be a substantial contribution to the strengthening of international peace and security [resolution 31/88]. No real progress has however been made because the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean is faced with a lack of co-operation on the part of certain great Powers and certain maritime users. Of course, we have taken note of the public statements of the two super-Powers which led to a so-called preliminary meeting. No valid result concerning the Indian Ocean can be obtained without the participation of the coastal States, for exclusivism on the part of the super-Powers can only engender mistrust and lack of understanding.

269. Furthermore, the coastal States believe that the maintenance of peace and security in their region in the final analysis fall within their authority and their competence, without being subject to the interests of Powers foreign to the region. Any bilateral or multilateral negotiations on the maintenance of peace in the Indian Ocean cannot be crowned with success if they aim only at a compromise between the interests of those Powers; what is important is to ensure real guarantees of independence and security for the countries of the region.

270. Like other coastal States, the Democratic Republic of Madagascar refuses to admit that the notion of a zone of peace can be distorted to justify any military presence or activities incompatible with the Declaration on the Indian Ocean. Indeed, history has taught us how the notion of the freedom of the seas has been invoked by the imperialist Powers of Europe to ensure maritime supremacy. Any idea of supremacy in the Indian Ocean, whether exercised by a single super-Power, or by two or several Powers with opposing interests that counterbalance one another, must be rejected; it is in this conviction that we reaffirm the validity of all the objectives of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean.

271. Elsewhere, both in Africa and in the Indian Ocean region, other hotbeds of tension are of particular concern to my Government. In the Middle East, any delay in the solution of the Palestinian question and in that of the occupied Arab and Palestinian territories increases the dangers of war. The responsibility of Israel for the prolongation of this explosive situation leaves no room for doubt. The proliferation of settlements and the recent measures taken by Israel are tantamount to a *de facto* annexation of the West Bank of the Jordan and of the Gaza Strip. The refusal of Israel to recognize the national and inalienable right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, including its right to establish an independent State in Palestine, in accordance with the Charter; to apply the relevant resolutions on the right of return and the right to compensation of the Palestinians; to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people; and finally to evacuate all the occupied Palestinian and Arab territories, which it cynically calls "liberated Israeli territories", that refusal of Israel, I repeat, aggravates the crisis and dangerously threatens world peace.

272. Moreover, initiatives have been taken by the Security Council to bring Israel to recognize the political status of

the Palestinians and to extend accordingly the scope of its resolution 242 (1967). Those initiatives, unfortunately, were met by the veto of a certain Power. It is imperative that the latter take into account the political support which the overwhelming majority of Member States lend to those initiatives.

273. With your permission, Mr. President, I should now like to speak of a question which is not on the agenda but which in the view of my Government is a source of deep concern inasmuch as it contains all those elements which can at any time bring about a violent confrontation. I have in mind the question of Korea. Indeed, preparations for war, up to and including the maintenance of a sizable nuclear arsenal under the so-called Treaty for the protection of the Seoul régime, are being pursued methodically in the south of Korea. For its part the Government of the United States does not appear to have renounced its design to divide the Korean nation.

274. The General Assembly in its resolution 3390 B (XXX), defined the framework for a political solution to this question. We call for the speedy application of that resolution as well as of the North-South joint communiqué of 4 July 1972,<sup>11</sup> in order to speed up the independent and peaceful reunification of the country.

275. The conflicts and crisis situations which I have mentioned—grave in themselves—would not be that dangerous for international peace and security if they were not set against the background of a world armed to the teeth, possessing the necessary means to self-destruct several times over, and not safeguarded against an accident or an error in judgement that could at any moment bring about its annihilation. That is a state of affairs that hardly gives cause for optimism, particularly since we are only two years away from the end of the Disarmament Decade.

276. The relative failure of any programme for controlling armaments attests to one thing, namely, the attachment of Governments to the erroneous idea that equates the level of security with the level of armaments. Whether or not such an attitude is deliberate or subconscious does not change the fact that the general interest does not lie in the ever-growing sophistication of the conventional and nuclear arsenals of the major and the super-Powers, in the dreaded horizontal proliferation of nuclear weapons, or in a quantitative or qualitative expansion in the arms trade.

277. It is in this spirit that we shall participate in May 1978 in the deliberations of the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We will do so because disarmament, desirable in itself, is one of the necessary conditions for the creation of an atmosphere of trust conducive to universal security. Its economic and social implications are evident; I will not dwell on them, except to say that it would be of great benefit to divert all or part of the \$400 billion spent annually for military purposes to development activities, because the only battle that deserves to be waged is that which will liberate man and meet his cultural and material needs.

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

278. This liberation of man is a duty which each State has assumed under the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Democratic Republic of Madagascar has respected its commitments in this field by adhering to the two International Covenants on Human Rights, one on civil and political rights and the other on economic and social rights.

279. The means of their implementation, however, should fall under the jurisdiction of each State. It is up to each State to define its own priorities among the various rights. My delegation believes that for the developing countries priority should be given to economic and social rights, whose very existence determines the enjoyment and effective exercise of all other rights and liberties. It is with this in mind that the Constitution of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, dated 30 December 1975, stressed the priority of those economic and social rights, and reaffirmed as well respect for other fundamental freedoms. In the final analysis, what is important is the will to apply the Universal Declaration and the Covenants, and it is inadmissible that a State or a group of States, regardless of its power, should usurp our right to be masters of our conscience.

280. It has become a commonplace to say that political problems or problems of human rights, such as I have just analysed, cannot be taken out of their economic context, because it is easy to find, in any situation of conflict or tension, material interests at stake. This means that we attach great significance to the numerous and complex economic and financial issues included in the agenda of the United Nations and its specialized agencies, issues for which we hope a speedy and valid solution will be found.

281. In this connexion we should not like to overlook the efforts made by the Group of 77 to work out and submit coherent programmes for change in the economic relations and structures of the international community.

282. The Charter of Algiers,<sup>12</sup> adopted 10 years ago, the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) on the new international economic order—to cite only a few instruments—attest to the constant concern of the third-world countries to put an end to the imperialist exploitation of these riches and manpower, to take into their own hands their economic destiny, to participate in decision-making which affects them and to condemn, reject and refuse all forms of coercive and discriminatory economic policy or practice.

283. These considerations will inspire us during this session, which is to consider to what extent the objectives contained in the resolutions on economic development and international economic co-operation have been implemented.

284. Nor shall we hide our concern regarding the impossibility we found during the resumed thirty-first session of

arriving at a common assessment of the current world situation. Should we not make a tragedy of the fact that the Conference on International Economic Co-operation did not produce the desired results? For our part, we believe that the context, the scope of the matters taken up and the too-limited nature of the subjects discussed, as well as the absence of political will on the part of the Western States, could only lead to the failure of the Conference.

285. We are among those who believe that the United Nations system is the most representative and appropriate body to initiate, conduct and succeed in negotiations of a global nature on the establishment of a new international economic order. Thus, our Assembly will have to elaborate specific guidelines for relevant institutions of the system and ask them to abide by the principles and priorities which it defines.

286. In the forefront of our priority concerns is the problem of raw materials. We deplore the lack of understanding of certain Western States which still voice reservations about the objectives, modalities and elements of the common fund aimed at stabilizing the prices of raw materials coming from the developing countries. That instrument would make it possible to achieve the objectives of the Integrated Programme for Commodities called for by the producing countries of the third world.

287. We also wish to see the resumption of negotiations, in accordance with the terms of the resolutions of the seventh special session of the General Assembly, on other important questions that have been left in abeyance, such as the search for global solutions to the problems of the indebtedness of the developing countries, reform of the international monetary system, and measures aimed at favouring the transfer of technology and promoting industries in the under-equipped countries.

288. Negotiations on those issues should lead to concrete measures inspired by the International Development Strategy and should not, as in the past, be confined to a search for palliatives contingent upon circumstances.

289. The picture of the international situation which I have just sketched before this Assembly might appear gloomy and pessimistic, and I hope that no one will take exception to the candour with which my delegation has endeavoured to view and comment on the realities of our time. After all, what good would it do to feign ignorance and not recognize the malaise that exists in relations among the members of the international community?

290. On the one hand, the world of reaction has not laid aside its objectives of domination and exploitation and even seeks to reverse the course of history. When it is asked to pronounce itself on matters of integration and accession to political and economic rights, it avows that it renounces confrontation, but in fact it takes refuge in empiricism. The result is a series of hesitations, delays, imprecisions and harmful improvisations in the development of normal international relations.

291. On the other hand, the forces of progress, to which we belong, firmly believe in the inevitability of the triumph

<sup>12</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. I and Corr.1 and 3 and Add.1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14), p. 431.



of liberation over oppression, in the building of an international society of justice, equality and social progress, and struggle for the establishment of a new political and economic order.

292. To avoid a confrontation of those two trends firm commitments must be made and inconsistent policies have to be abandoned, and we must all recognize the need for joint efforts for the advent of a new world which would look quite different from the old world, of which it is not necessarily the heir.

293. The choice between those two trends must be made in accordance with our determination to respect strictly the principles of the Charter and to work sincerely for the realization of its objectives.

294. If that is not done, the United Nations, a centre of consultation and harmonization, but above all a centre of truth, will no longer have its *raison d'être*.

295. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, who has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

296. Mrs. NGUYEN NGOC DUNG (Viet Nam) (*interpretation from French*): At the plenary meeting this morning the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam heard Mr. Gaston Thorn, the President of the Government of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, refer in his statement to the question of human rights in Viet Nam. With all the respect that my delegation has for him, we do not wish to enter into polemics at this rostrum. We simply want to make clear what the real situation in our country is.

297. When listening to the President of the Government of Luxembourg refer to the problem of human rights in Viet Nam, we were not clear whether he wanted to speak about the innumerable crimes perpetrated against the Vietnamese people by foreign aggressors who cynically trampled underfoot the most elementary human rights. If that was his intention, our delegation can only thank him for having subscribed to the view of many eminent statesmen who have spoken from this rostrum.

298. On the other hand, there could be another version of what he said, a version emanating from certain circles, still nostalgic for an inglorious past, which, while unleashing one of the most brutal wars of aggression in history, called themselves the defenders of human rights.

299. The truth is that, just after the total liberation of Viet Nam, while the so-called defenders of human rights were predicting blood-baths in the newly liberated areas of South Viet Nam, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam restored citizenship rights to over 1 million Vietnamese, former collaborators of the aggressors, and helped them to become totally integrated in the life of the national community as a whole, in a spirit of clemency and national reconciliation. That was unprecedented in the history of wars in the world.

300. Because of the late hour, the delegation of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam does not wish to abuse the time of the Assembly this evening, and it believes that the insight and impartiality of the representatives in this Assembly will ensure that credit is given where credit is due.

*The meeting rose at 7.50 p.m.*