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Address by Sir Eric M. Gairy, Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Grenada

1. The PRESIDENT: The Assembly will now hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Grenada. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency Sir Eric M. Gairy and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Sir Eric M. GAIRY (Grenada): "O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people. For his merciful kindness is great toward us: and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever" [*Psalms 117*].

3. I bring with me from the Government and people of a small but vibrant and aspiring nation, Grenada, the land of spice, a land of warm and genuine friendship, a land of sunshine and a land and people irrevocably dedicated to the philosophy of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man—it is from this land and people that I bring you warmest and sincerest greetings and felicitations, as they have mandated me as their humble chief servant to make a contribution to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of this veritable and august body, the United Nations. This mandate I have accepted with a mixture of feelings and emotions in that, first, I harbour some measure of apprehension as to my ability to attain the standard already established by previous speakers. Secondly, I am under an aroused emotion of excitement in the matters I intend to raise at this session. Thirdly and fortunately, I have a degree of faith and satisfaction in being motivated by divine inspiration to present by my humble address some contribution towards the lessening of world tension and the establishment and maintenance of total human freedom and a meaningful and lasting world peace.

4. May I, on behalf of the Government and people of Grenada, offer you, Mr. President, our sincere congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General As-

sembly. Indeed, your ascendancy to that enviable and exalted office is the culmination of a distinguished record of public service both inside and outside the United Nations and more particularly in the areas of international relations and diplomacy, as well as your excellence in the fields of law and journalism. The standard set by your predecessor certainly offers you a great challenge which you have accepted by virtue of your assumption of this office. I have absolutely no doubt that you, Mr. President, will face the challenge with optimum success and distinction and perhaps establish new records for your successors.

5. At this juncture may I be permitted to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, for his invaluable, excellent and dedicated leadership as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. His dedicated service to the United Nations during his presidency and even before will be indelibly recorded in the annals of the United Nations.

6. May I crave the Assembly's indulgence to focus the spotlight of congratulations on a very modest but extremely able and distinguished personality, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our beloved Secretary-General, a man who undoubtedly appreciates the needs, requirements and the growing problems especially of the under-developed and developing countries. Mr. Waldheim's extreme dedication and the diligence with which he has been dealing with some of those problems must unquestionably place him on the pinnacle of love and admiration for all those who have had the privilege of coming into direct contact with him.

7. Please permit me also to take this opportunity to congratulate the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam on their admission to full membership in the United Nations. It is quite significant to note that, since Grenada's admission to membership in the United Nations, 12 other countries have been similarly admitted—a salient fact that indicates a trend towards the fulfilment, *de facto*, of the United Nations' entrenched obligation to work towards universality within the Charter.

8. We have always expressed the view, more particularly so since we became an independent country, that, in spite of our size with respect to landmass and population, we will not allow ourselves to be inhibited in any way, least of all in our obligation to make a meaningful contribution within the framework of this Organization. In this context, we have been quite clear and loud in our submissions during previous debates of the General Assembly and in committees dealing with specific issues. Admittedly, some of the matters that we have raised here and shall continue to raise here may be considered by some to be strange and somewhat extraneous, but at least some of those matters have triggered speculation and ignited the hearts and minds

of at least some people involved in various areas of human endeavour and development.

9. Permit me here to mention just a few of those matters to which we have given expression over the last three years: Grenada's firm commitment to the rule of law and order; its acceptance of its international obligations; the fatherhood, supremacy and universality of God, and man's duties to his fellow man; Grenada's dedication to world peace; human rights; women's rights; Grenada's concern and provision for its youth; the mystery of the Bermuda Triangle; our support of territorial integrity; decolonization and the liberation of all peoples; economic cruelty and exploitation as meted out by imperialist masters; man's fear of unlocking the door to himself and evolving; the release of information and data on unidentified flying objects and related phenomena; the new international economic order; pollution; the human environment, and psychic research.

10. Today I should like to address my first contribution to the concept of the new international economic order as it relates to third-world countries.

11. Unfortunately, we are not satisfied that there is among many of the world's richer nations a full understanding of and a sympathy for some of the real problems facing small island nations like Grenada, where the deep imprint of exploitation remains indelible and the disabilities of geography continue to be an obstruction to development.

12. Grenada is concerned and feels a sense of frustration over the seemingly endless dialogue that has been proceeding in international forums on the establishment of a new international economic order, though there are certain hopeful signs which indicate that the discussions concluded so far cannot be regarded as a "dialogue of the deaf". However, many countries have not yet succeeded in providing to the developing countries anything near what they should give in the form of economic and technical co-operation, thus allowing the gap between the developed and the developing countries to grow even wider.

13. May I reiterate an important observation that Grenada has been making at other international forums to the effect that it is somewhat significant that international lending agencies sometimes operate against the interest of developing countries. In this connexion Grenada is fully convinced that the international lending agencies require a fundamental reorganization of their traditional and outdated criteria in evaluating a country's qualifications for borrowing, as well as a reorganization of their policies and their operations. We urge them to take greater cognizance of the political and social realities prevailing in small developing countries and to modify their approach in appraising the needs of such countries. For example, we are often advised to cut expenditure and/or increase revenue in order to achieve a specific objective. In any economy like Grenada's, the scope for increasing revenue is very limited, but when we painfully impose measures for raising the necessary revenue we hear talk of multiple currency practices contravening the philosophy of the agency. This is all a confusion and represents an imperfect appreciation of the realities of life in small developing countries.

14. Grenada shares with the emerging peoples of the less developed island nations the plight of small size, openness, lack of mineral resources, scarcity of investment capital for production and an inadequacy of job opportunities. Countries like ours can do little to insulate their economies from the ill effects of world inflation because of the weaknesses of their external sectors and their extreme dependence on the metropolitan countries for both guaranteed prices and financing. Thus, when the economies of the metropolitan countries become sick and precarious, the economic backlash must essentially manifest itself in budgetary deficits in the small island economies. The mechanisms available to our countries for counteracting those adverse circumstances are severely limited.

15. Invariably the first and foremost suggestion, in most cases a directive, is that expenditure be reduced forthwith.

16. But we know that it is almost suicidal for our people if we cut expenditure to an irreducible minimum. We are riding on the horns of a dilemma because the very aid that we need to help us to undertake programmes which could ensure self-sustaining economic growth is denied us on the basis of *per capita* income, a criterion which imposes tremendous hardships on developing countries, a criterion which has been ill-conceived and one which is obsolete and inequitable in terms of a realistic view of all the relative circumstances.

17. Grenada is heartened by the commitment given during this General Assembly by many nations to increase their levels of developmental assistance to the developing countries. We discern also in the new policy of the United States a strong desire to take a more lively and meaningful interest in the problems of developing countries, and we might as well take the opportunity now to suggest that in providing technical and economic co-operation, not only the United States of America but any other country should give more consideration than at present to bilateral arrangements, especially among the smaller countries which traditionally get crushed, trampled upon and left in the mire of events while the struggle for the survival of the fittest continues to our great disadvantage. Indeed, it was a struggle, with tremendous odds against us, for Grenada to have acted as host to the seventh regular session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States. However, we did, and it was acclaimed by all concerned that by any standard it was an overwhelming success. I thank God.

18. I wish to take note also of the welcome approach taken by the Secretary-General in inviting richer nations in the international community to act in concert to provide assistance to individual countries with special problems—a form of bilateralism. In a way, such assistance recognizes that a chain is as strong as its weakest link, and that, as we are fully aware, each one of us is his brother's keeper. And in this regard we welcome with distinct pleasure and satisfaction the initiative of the United States Government within our region.

19. As my second contribution today I should now like to touch on the subject of human rights and, because I consider my contribution on this subject at the thirty-first session is of such importance and of current relevance, I must crave your indulgence, Mr. President, before ad-

vancing additional and supportive material, to repeat some of what I said then:

"I am submitting, with respect, that it is most urgent and vitally important for the world to take a new look at the concept of human rights"—and specifically to include the equality of women. "It is my strong feeling that those who propounded the principles of the rights of humanity that culminated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 must necessarily have had completely different ideas from those that seem to prevail in some quarters when one speaks of human rights today. Let me say here and now that human rights must not—I repeat, not—be interpreted as a one-way street for evil individuals and small subversive groups whose aims and objectives are mainly and simply to disrupt the peace and harmony of society in their attempt to overthrow governments and establishments. In regard to their acts of violence, terrorism, vandalism, kidnapping and arson and other criminal acts and threats to the security of society there is always a conspicuously loud silence among individuals and organizations that spontaneously present themselves as advocates and representatives of all such terrorists, criminals, vandals and kidnappers when they come face to face with the law. These individuals and organizations, perhaps too many to mention, seem always to offer themselves as a counsel of solace, thereby abetting the activities of such offenders and giving them and others of their kind encouragement to commit similar crimes. When a Government or Governments take the necessary action to secure and ensure for the majority of their people the human right to enjoy peace of mind, I often wonder whether the organizations, groups and individuals that keep on shouting out for human rights and trying to defame and vilify the character of good Governments ever thought of issuing warnings to those wicked individuals and groups before they actually commit their mischief. Human rights must work both ways. When a child is kidnapped, perhaps more than 99 per cent of the population are deprived of its human right to sleep in peace, not knowing whose child will be next. So it is that, when a building is burned or bombed or a man is shot or an aircraft is hijacked or some other acts of violence or vandalism are committed, automatically the human right to peace of mind is infringed or violated. It is in these cases that the shouters for human rights should shout, and not when the criminals come face to face with the law. Governments are not only justified in taking preventive measures for the safety and security of life, property and the welfare of all of the people; they are obliged to do so."¹

20. But certainly my entire concept of human rights must essentially go beyond these boundaries. Human rights must identify, tackle and solve the problems affecting the basic needs of humanity. It is conceptually fallacious to speak of the right to use a public address system at a time considered not to be in the best interest of a Government or nation and at the same time to overlook man's needs in the areas of shelter—proper housing for himself and his family—clothing, food, education, recreational facilities, religious obligations and freedom of worship, medical and health

facilities, the right to work, to earn and to own, and many other areas which rightfully come within the compass of human rights. There is a tendency among many people to confine human rights to civil and political activities.

21. Furthermore, there are many people who have been appointed to serve on human rights commissions and committees who, for fear of reprisals, have never exercised their duties in terms of investigation, evaluation and recommendation with any measure of objectivity. Yes, indeed, there are many people who have formed their own commissions and committees on human rights who are themselves dissidents, delinquents and recalcitrants of the highest order and whose main purpose is to satisfy their own selfish political aspirations. There are others, however, of admittedly high integrity and calibre who have been appointed to committees and commissions but who because of the frailties of man and the fear of reprisals—the fear of being attacked physically or otherwise by dissidents and activist groups—have never been able to give a fair and unbiased picture of the confrontations, the strife and confusion from which have emanated the cries for human rights. Should we here, Members of this Organization, pause for a moment and gather diligently and objectively all the relevant information surrounding the issue of human rights as reported by commissions, committees and the communication media with regard to certain countries of the world today, we would certainly be shocked when government's side of the picture is honestly and comprehensively presented.

22. For some peculiar reason Governments have always been placed on the defensive, and in this context I am not including the régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia, where there are blatant, gruesome and intolerable violations of human rights. It is very easy for individuals, committees, commissions, groups and even certain institutions to become emotionally intoxicated and to allow the emotions to supersede sound reason and a sense of justice.

23. Brothers and sisters, let us consider ourselves as one big family on this planet earth, and let us desist from passing arbitrary judgement on countries like Chile and others until we are satisfied that we have ourselves properly and objectively investigated without fear or favour all the relevant circumstances from all parties concerned. It is my fervent prayer that Governments, commissions, committees, certain religions, other groups and individuals may refrain from passing judgement on some Governments while they are under the influence of emotional intoxication.

24. My third contribution would be on the subject of wars and conflicts. Grenada, like other nations, recognizes that continued strife among super-Powers, as exemplified by the continued arms race, constitutes a major obstacle to world peace. While we recognize that there has been some softening of the hard line hitherto taken by the great Powers in respect of disarmament, regrettably we also observe a spreading of the arms race in areas and among countries which hitherto remained outside of this area of friction. This leads to a great waste of resources and significantly obstructs the social and economic well-being of those nations whose main concern, within the international community, is social and economic development and peaceful coexistence. It is a real concern to us in

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 22nd meeting, para. 11.

Grenada that billions of dollars are spent every year to promote a dangerous build-up of arms which, in our view, can be more effectively utilized in providing conditions which would narrow the yawning gap between the rich and the poor.

25. In this regard Grenada strongly supports any and all efforts dedicated to disarmament and likewise strongly endorses all statements and efforts in favour of the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. We were extremely pleased to hear President Carter give the assurance that the United States would exercise the highest degree of caution in the use of nuclear weapons. That promise and his determination to ensure a reversal in the build-up of armaments and the trade in armaments constitute a solemn pledge to this Assembly and the global community generally. It is with extreme joy and profound satisfaction that we have welcomed that solemn pledge to the General Assembly by President Carter, and I am sure that I am reflecting the sentiments of all the peace-loving nations of the world in stating that his words will stand as a living symbol of America's determination to end world tension and provide a sound basis for lasting peace. May God bless the United States of America for this new thrust and initiative.

26. Grenada bemoans the continued struggle of black and disadvantaged races throughout the world for an equal place in society. We cannot tolerate the racial policy of *apartheid* in South Africa, and we totally abhor the existing situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe and offer full support to the peoples within those countries who are struggling desperately for liberation, as well as to those countries in Africa and elsewhere that are also aiding in the struggle. In this connexion we strongly support the new British initiative for a just settlement, and we are likewise convinced that the United Nations has a legitimate role to play in dealing with this problem.

27. The world has witnessed a continuous striving of peoples for self-determination and territorial integrity. Panama and Belize are two other examples of interest to Grenada. We are happy at the progress made thus far with regard to Panama and the recent signing of an accord, which represents a very historic step in hemispheric relations. It is our hope that all obstacles will be quickly overcome so as to ensure that Belize can assume full sovereignty and take its rightful place in the community of nations.

28. I touch now on my fourth area of concern, a matter which I have been raising in this very chamber since 1975. In 1975² I made mention of the various inexplicable phenomena which continue to baffle even the most advanced branches of science, citing the Bermuda Triangle as one example, and calling upon the United Nations to set up an agency or department for psychic research. In 1976, I broadened the scope of my concern to include unidentified flying objects, and called upon the nations of the world to make available to mankind information and other data on this unique phenomenon which lay hidden in national archives. I repeated the call for a United Nations agency or department to be established to study of these phenomena.

29. On those two occasions the members of the General Assembly politely took note of my concerns but, in fact, no United Nations action flowed from my presentations. Meanwhile, I have been literally inundated with letters and communications from individuals, groups and organizations from all over the world, some too modest to come into the open, expressing tremendous interest in the matters I had raised in the United Nations and urging me to continue the initiative in seeking involvement by the United Nations in the way I had suggested.

30. I have myself seen an unidentified flying object, and have been overwhelmed by what I have seen, but my main interest in this matter is not scientific but essentially political, since I am of the firm belief that this world body should take a legitimate interest in a matter which has aroused general world-wide concern, including that of the leaders of several countries. That concern in unidentified flying objects and related phenomena was more than amply demonstrated and expressed at the First International Congress on the Unidentified Flying Object Phenomenon, held in Acapulco, Mexico, earlier this year, which was attended by over 400 persons, including some of the leading scientists, researchers and authors in the field of the study of unidentified flying objects, and at which I had the pleasure and the privilege of delivering the key address. That group strongly supported my efforts to bring this important subject within the official knowledge of the United Nations, and unanimously endorsed a resolution to that effect. Right now the communications media are agog with interest in the progress we have made in having included on the agenda for this thirty-second session an item calling for establishment of an agency or department devoted specifically to research into unidentified flying objects and related phenomena [item 123], which will be discussed in greater detail later in this session by the Special Political Committee. The media are also, understandably, full of excitement and curiosity about the discussion I might have had on this subject with President Jimmy Carter when I had the honour and the pleasure of a 45-minute visit with him on the occasion of the ceremony marking the signature of the Panama Canal treaties.

31. Grenada takes no categorical theoretical stand on the question of unidentified flying objects. Theories as to the nature, origin, and intent of unidentified flying objects are many and are amply known to civilian and governmental research groups. Irrespective of theory, however, the major research groups are dedicated first and foremost to achieving the following main objectives in their endeavours: to study all significant reports on unidentified flying objects with a view to making a reasonable and acceptable determination of the nature, origin and intent of unidentified flying objects; to disseminate the substantive results of such study to the public and the news media; to work co-operatively with, or within the framework of, the United Nations to help establish a communications system through which important data can be rapidly exchanged internationally.

32. Research groups are aware of the risks of making a premature judgment at this juncture, knowing that the constant input of new data on unidentified flying objects, or any single dramatic incident, may trigger a break-through

² Ibid., Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2378th meeting.

to support any one theory or show evidence that two theories can be unified.

33. Despite the wording of Grenada's item on the agenda, we are prepared to adopt a very flexible posture in this whole matter regarding the item, because we feel that what is important in this case is not so much to foist another agency upon Member nations, with all the ramifications of cost and the like that are involved, but rather to provide an opportunity for open discussion of this matter and the adoption of some resolution which will keep it alive in the General Assembly. Mindful of the experience in other situations—for example, in the preliminary study leading up to the establishment of a committee on the law of the sea, many nations, which now see an agency or department of the United Nations for the study of unidentified flying objects as being too far-reaching an objective to be introduced by little Grenada, may be more easily inclined to give support to a more modest objective: calling for a small *ad hoc* committee to study the problem and report back to the General Assembly.

34. Many very important United Nations activities grew out of modest beginnings in small *ad hoc* committees, and somehow I am confident that all nations will lend support to the quest to discover more about unidentified flying objects and related phenomena, thus contributing to the unfolding of important scientific information which has so far continued to baffle man.

35. It is significant to note that it has been reported that two of the super-Powers, those which earlier initiated a joint space programme, have now launched a new co-operative effort to look into the problems of the Bermuda Triangle as well as to discuss the possibilities of life in outer space, against the backdrop of the experience of the astronauts and cosmonauts. These are very significant developments, and, when coupled with the fact that other countries are now beginning to take official cognizance of unidentified flying objects and make public pronouncements about them, it seems quite clear that such objects might not be such a laughing matter after all.

36. I wish now to focus some attention on man, the greatest thing that God has created on this planet earth. But, as I said before, man is afraid to unlock the door to himself and so evolve beyond the material, beyond his immediate external environment, and make a thrust beyond earth's orbit. In that context man would more easily appreciate extraterrestrial existence. And because man is the greatest thing that God has created man must make a search within himself—his inner self—with a view to awakening his inner consciousness and so bringing to light his fullest potentials as his divine heritage. Regrettably, in this regard man has been going through a steady process of degeneration. This could be attributed to various factors—invention, modern gadgetry, perhaps man's greed for material power, for dominion and domination over brother man; or, perhaps, man admits failure before he actually fails and consequently uses his mind as a conductor by which all the elements of failure are induced within his system, and the natural sequel is actual failure. Conversely, I accept the philosophy that "what is difficult is that which can be achieved with some effort; what is impossible is that which can be achieved with greater effort". When we remember

that man is the greatest thing that God has created on this planet and, basically, he is everything that he himself has invented, we see that the power of creativity in man is certainly without boundary. But man has lost many of his natural endowments. For while he is greater than any other creature on this planet, we observe that the cat can see through the dark and man cannot today; the dog, the horse and other creatures of the animal species not only can see but also can sense existences beyond those that man has the capacity to sense. Man is always at war with himself, which is an obstacle to his full in-depth understanding of some of the problems with which we are faced today. Man is inextricably obsessed with the love for power as against the power of love.

37. Science has taken some tentative steps to help in bringing to light some of the secrets of man's inner life, but science itself is so clouded by traditional concepts that the hope for man lies in a redefinition of, and an entirely new thrust in, science such as would recognize the authenticity of psychic research and actively promote such research in the over-all interest of man and mankind.

38. If the ultimate objective of the United Nations is to bring about peace and the happiness of mankind, then it follows quite naturally that the Organization should take a deep and keen interest in the condition of man as an individual person.

39. I wish now to focus my attention on our planet earth. In the light of scientific discoveries it would be more than fallacious to conceive our planet as being the sole and only estate of God's domain. But, since the planet earth is man's natural habitat, it is incumbent upon man to have a full and comprehensive knowledge of our planet in relation to man and in relation to other planets. And speaking here of our planet in relation to man, we must admit that man has not reached out sufficiently to understand and to utilize to the fullest the resources and potential with which our planet is endowed. To a great extent man limits his activities to only a small portion of our planet, and to a great extent man misuses, man wantonly destroys, and in some cases man is guilty of underutilizing our land. And let us not forget that we are talking only of the earth land mass, which is approximately only one quarter of our planet.

40. In my opinion it is necessary for us to redirect our scientific, technical and technological skills from constructing destructive weapons and instruments to identifying and multiplying the natural resources and potential of our planet. Today we speak of family planning; today we speak of legalizing abortion; today, as before, we are faced with famine and deprivation. But man must reckon with himself to recognize that on this planet we are simply the guests of a benefactor—the Universal Divine, God, the Great, Supreme Architect. And this God of which I speak is too perfect in goodness, too perfect in love, and, simply, too perfect to cultivate this planet with human species, animals, mammals, birds, reptiles, insects, fish and plant life, among other things, and not provide us, human beings, His greatest creation, with the basic needs and requirements for our existence. In other words, the problem of population explosion is in reality no problem at all: the real problem lies in the improper distribution of our natural resources, the improper utilization of our arable lands and

man's failure effectively to identify and harness the wealth of resources yet untapped on the land and in the air, but more particularly in the ocean. We recognize that marine biology and hydrophonics and so forth, as they exist today, are but a simple scratch or dent on the surface of the study and utilization of the ocean's resources.

41. In conclusion, I wish to tackle the subject of the universality of God—the concept, acknowledgement and acceptance of our Supreme Being. Last year, in referring to this subject, I said that there was no other subject of greater significance or importance or urgency. Today this is still my irrevocable conviction. I admit that some people are far removed in practice from this subject. Other people deal with God as a part-time enterprise. Some deal with God as a weekly exercise in which they visit with Him in church for an hour or two with a prayer book and then return home and, as it were, place God in a drawer or on a shelf or dressing table—"till next week", as they may say. It is my fervent prayer that the subject of the Supreme Universal Being, regardless of the name used, should be discussed not only in church and in religious symposia, but in homes, in meetings and conventions, in conferences, and in international organizations, institutions and forums. And in this context I feel that all ceremonies, be they signings of treaties, meetings of minds or others, should commence with the acknowledgement of God and the invocation of His blessings on the event. That is a thought I particularly wish to leave with leaders in various fields of endeavour.

42. Finally, for and on behalf of all of us and in humility I now implore the universal head of the holy cosmic, as I did before: Lord, help us to know who we truly are; Lord, teach us to know ourselves and our potential, help us to use our potential to the fullest extent; Lord, help us to understand better the specific purpose or purposes for which we have been placed on this planet earth and help us to perform our duties and our obligations more promptly, more nobly, more diligently, more effectively, without fear or favour and to Your greater satisfaction and glory.

43. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Grenada, His Excellency Sir Eric M. Gairy, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

44. Mr. KAMOUGUE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): The adoption in 1945 of the Charter of the United Nations marked a step forward towards the establishment of the rule of the law that should govern relations among nations. The respect for and observance of the universal principles stated in that important document should facilitate the maintenance of international peace and security, which are the fundamental goals of our Organization. My country remains deeply dedicated to the sacred principles of the Charter; in particular the principles of non-intervention in the internal and external affairs of other States; strict respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of every State; non-recourse to force in international relations, and the peaceful settlement of disputes through negotiation, mediation, conciliation or

arbitration. Unfortunately, we note that these principles are flouted by certain States.

45. The thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly is taking place at a crucial moment in the history of my country. Chad has been subjected to serious aggression on the part of Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi's Libya, which has, since 1973, placed the Aozou Strip in the north under military occupation, and to his constant interference in our internal affairs. This interference is designed to overthrow the lawful Government of Chad through Chad traitors and mercenaries, to perpetuate the occupation of the Aozou Strip and to break up the State of Chad with a view to satisfying expansionist designs, on the one hand and, on the other, to set up a puppet State, which would give its allegiance to Tripoli.

46. At this very moment when I am addressing the Assembly, the uranium-rich region of Aozou is being ruled with an iron rod by the Libyan army and police. The Libyan authorities have established there the various branches of their administration, while an air base is being built with the help of foreign technicians.

47. This new phenomenon in relations between neighbouring States is taking place at a time when independence and open co-operation should encourage rapprochement between the peoples of Chad and Libya, who have been living in brotherhood and harmony for thousands of years. Our people, who have shared the same destiny in the past and are today facing the same tasks in fighting against the enemies of Africa, should understand each other, come together and unite their efforts for their better future.

48. The most serious thing is that this aggression and interference by Libya, supported and encouraged by certain Powers in the form of military aid, seriously threaten peace and security in our region, cause needless loss of human lives, and obstruct our economic and social development. We believe that in behaving as they do, sparing no thought for a peaceful country such as Chad, these Powers are assuming a grave international responsibility. We then ask ourselves why it is that here they preach détente, disarmament and the elimination of conflicts, when elsewhere they are creating hotbeds of war. As for Libya, does it believe it can start a revolution by interfering in the internal affairs of its neighbour or by squandering petrodollars which could be used for the benefit of its own people.

49. For its part, the Supreme Military Council, the highest body in the Chad nation, has, since the events of 13 April 1975, consistently advocated dialogue as the method for settling disputes with neighbouring and friendly countries, in conformity with the provisions of the Charter of the United Nations and of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. I therefore feel that I ought to inform this Assembly of the various attempts which the Council has made to secure the restoration of the rights of the Chad people.

50. In 1971, rumours were circulating at N'Djamena concerning the Libyan military presence in the northern part of the country. While for political reasons—which still remain to be made clear—the then Government of Chad thought that it need not immediately denounce this serious

situation, it nevertheless remains true that some patriots attempted to do so as early as 1972 because they felt that a blow was being struck against Chad's independence and sovereignty. In 1973, Libya installed itself at Aozou without further ado, invoking the Franco-Italian Agreement of 1935,³ the so-called Mussolini-Laval Agreement. Now, that agreement never met the full requirements of existing international law and was even denounced by Italy and France.

51. Thus, true to the line of conduct laid down by the Supreme Military Council, the leaders of Chad have sent several missions to Tripoli, with a view to a friendly settlement of the problem of the occupation of the Aozou strip, and the aid which Libya has been giving to the opponents of the régime.

52. The most recent mission to Tripoli was led by the Vice-President of the Supreme Military Council. The mission failed because of Libya's claim that Aozou formed a part of southern Libya under the Mussolini-Laval Agreement and on the basis of lines traced on some maps. It was, however, agreed that the two parties should meet again at N'Djamena, as early as possible, in a technical commission, to discuss the border problem. The meeting, which was postponed several times, took place on 23 June 1977 at N'Djamena.

53. This new meeting again failed, since the Libyan representatives insisted on speaking rather of the implementation of the agreements concluded between our two countries in the economic, trade, cultural and technical fields. According to them, the frontier problem was a political one and had no place in a technical discussion. Nevertheless they indicated in this connexion that, in their view, the Mussolini-Laval Agreement still remained valid and even said that the Treaty signed between France and Libya in 1955,⁴ which recalled all the agreements and conventions on the present frontiers of Chad, in no way bound their country. That Treaty, "full of hypocrisy, with confused articles"—to use their own words—had apparently been signed by a non-independent Libya because of the American and British presence on its territory and the French colonial presence in Chad. In their view too, Libya's desire would be "to triumph over colonialism, which had created ideological and psychological separation between the north and the south and between the blacks and the other races of the continent by drawing up artificial frontiers which in no way corresponded to reality, to customs, or to races".

54. But to our horror, at the very moment when the Chad and Libyan delegations were beginning these talks, unprecedented attacks instigated by Libya were launched by the rebels against the Chad military posts of Ounianga-Kébir, Zouar and Bardaï, situated in areas close to Aozou, with heavy arms weapons and rockets causing many deaths

and casualties. The clear aim of these attacks was to influence the course of those talks.

55. As we have seen, all the negotiations between Chad and Libya have failed. The Chad Government therefore thought it appropriate to bring this matter before the OAU at the time of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, which was held at Libreville, Gabon, at the beginning of last July. President Malloum there stated Chad's position without any ambiguity. After having listened carefully to the parties concerned, the Heads of State and Government unanimously decided to set up a six-member committee of mediation and arbitration charged with finding a solution to the problem and reporting back to the Assembly [*see A/32/310, annex II, decision AHG/Dec.108 (XIV)*]. Thus the Committee, which met at Libreville on 10 August 1977, adopted a recommendation creating a sub-Committee of experts to study the frontier problem in all its aspects and to report back to it as quickly as possible.

56. Now, it should be noted that the former colonial Power, France, stated on 3 August 1977, after a meeting between President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing and General Joseph Garba, Commissioner for External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, specifically on the frontier dispute between Chad and Libya, that "the only frontier of Chad recognized by France, by virtue of the responsibilities that it exercised there, is the frontier which marked the boundaries of territory of Chad at the time of its independence on 11 August 1960". By this statement Paris stated by implication that it did not recognize the occupation since 1973 of the Aozou Strip in the north of Chad by the forces of Tripoli.

57. I reaffirm that the people of Chad are asking only for recognition of its independence and sovereignty, the inviolability of its territory and non-interference in its internal affairs.

58. Thus, faced with the Libyan threat, which is becoming increasingly serious, the masses of the people held enormous demonstrations throughout the country from the month of July on, to demand from the Government that the Aozou Strip be immediately restored.

59. The Government of Chad hopes, however, that a just and peaceful settlement is still possible, since the problem has been laid before the OAU in clear terms. We have full confidence in the wisdom of the African Heads of State or Government and we express the firm conviction that they will be able to find an urgent solution to the dispute between Chad and Libya.

60. The specific problem of Chad which I have just described has not caused me to lose sight of the topics which are a source of international concern.

61. At the present time southern Africa is going through a period of crisis, and we should make the necessary effort to find a just solution in favour of the Africans, who have been stripped of their rights by a white racist minority.

62. In Zimbabwe, all the plans aimed at permitting the transfer of power to the black majority have failed. We

³ Treaty between France and Italy regarding their Interests in Africa, signed at Rome on 7 January 1935. See *British and Foreign State Papers, 1935*, vol. CXXXIX (London, HM Stationery Office, 1948), p. 948.

⁴ Treaty of Friendship and Good Neighbourliness between France and Libya, signed at Tripoli on 10 August 1955. See *British and Foreign State Papers, 1955-56*, vol. 162 (London, HM Stationery Office, 1965), p. 470.

firmly support, on the one hand, the effort made by the leaders of the Patriotic Front as well as by the five front-line countries and, on the other, the recent Anglo-American plan for power to be transferred to the genuine representatives of the people of that country.

63. In South Africa, with the recent bloody events at Soweto, *apartheid* constitutes a true scourge which should be fought with the appropriate weapons. Many combatants have fallen in the struggle against *apartheid*. We pay a tribute to all those who, like Steven Biko, have fallen in the cause of justice, freedom and peace.

64. Independence must be granted to Namibia without any conditions. The extremely clear situation of this country has been lost sight of because of the egotistical designs of certain States.

65. It was through the complicity of the great Powers that a territory in Palestine was granted to Israel. For 30 years now the United Nations and, in particular, the Security Council have been considering the problems of this part of the world. We believe that the principles for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East contained in Security Council resolution 242 (1967) remain the basis for any negotiation. However, we think that that resolution should be supplemented to take into account the legitimate claims of the Palestinians, in particular concerning their return to their homeland and their recovery of the property stolen from them.

66. We vigorously condemn the Israeli practices in the occupied Arab territories. The expansionist policy of Israel is a flagrant violation of the 1949 Geneva Conventions—in particular the Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War—and the principles of non-transfer and non-immigration of the nationals of the occupying country to the occupied territory and respect for the laws and regulations governing the territory before its occupation.

67. In our opinion, it is essential to reach a final settlement of this problem. Thus, there would be benefit to be derived from working for the early resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East, in which all the parties concerned would take part, including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

68. Chad cannot fail to express its indignation at the ceaselessly renewed designs on Mayotte, Cyprus and East Timor.

69. Mayotte should once more be included in the Comorian nation, of which it is an integral part.

70. The independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus should be respected.

71. With regard to East Timor, like the other former colonies, it should attain sovereignty.

72. Disarmament is a problem which concerns the survival of mankind. The world community is seeking international peace and security, and we are convinced that they can only be attained by means of general and complete

disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament under international control.

73. The delegation of Chad cannot fail to stress its disappointment at the failure of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation and to express its disapproval of the negative attitude of the developed countries at the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly.⁵

74. Indeed, after 18 months of discussion at Paris, we really wonder whether Governments, particularly those of the industrialized countries, have genuinely taken into account the economic problems that arise at the international level, although they have recognized that interdependence is a reality and that solutions can be found to issues only in an atmosphere of co-operation and compromise.

75. The lack of imagination and of political will to seek daring initiatives leads us to note these nationalist, even protectionist, attitudes and makes us think that the economic prospects for the future are grave, both for the developed countries and for the developing countries.

76. The stubbornness of the developed countries in protecting their privileges, as well as their refusal to give the necessary support with regard to the concerns of the disadvantaged peoples, are causing economic relations, which are already bad enough, to deteriorate still further.

77. This is a humanitarian question and we think it is unjust and abnormal that a tiny part of the world should live in abundance, while millions of men, women and children are reduced to poverty, unemployment, sickness and ignorance.

78. So as to avoid confrontation, the third world appeals to the international community and to the conscience of mankind to put an end to exploitation and poverty. Today more than ever before, international co-operation is necessary and the industrialized countries must reconsider their positions and take the opportunities which are offered us to ensure that the future will be better for everyone.

79. To enable the third world to satisfy its aspirations, it is necessary for it to receive just payment for its products; for its economies, harmed by inflation, to be rebuilt, and for it to enjoy relief from its debt and effective participation in the world economic process, particularly in the monetary field.

80. As my delegation has repeatedly done from this very rostrum, we again appeal to the rich countries to show greater understanding in alleviating the disastrous economic situation of the third world.

81. Mr. President, in conclusion, I should like to discharge a pleasant duty, that of offering you, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, most sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

⁵ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

82. I should also like to say how grateful we are to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe. Because of his impartiality, objectivity and understanding, he was able to direct the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly in an outstanding manner.

83. To Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our eminent and tireless Secretary-General, who devotes himself daily to the cause of peace in the world and, particularly, in Africa, I wish to express the gratitude of the Republic of Chad.

84. My country's delegation welcomes the admission to membership in the world Organization of the sister Republic of Djibouti, a State whose accession to independence demonstrates once again that the process leading to the complete elimination of all the vestiges of colonialism in the world which has already begun cannot be stopped. We appeal to the conscience of all States, in particular to that of Djibouti's immediate neighbours, to respect its independence and territorial integrity scrupulously and to give it friendly and disinterested assistance in consolidating its economy.

85. Finally, we welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which has just taken up its rightful place in our Organization. The admission of that country to the United Nations is both a victory for the Vietnamese people and a just application of the principle of universality of the United Nations.

86. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure on behalf of my country's Minister for Foreign Affairs, who is unable to attend this important session, to offer you our most sincere and whole-hearted congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. My delegation is quite sure that your long experience, your great merits and your diplomatic tact will ensure success for this session. The positive role which your country, Yugoslavia, plays as a member of the Group of Non-Aligned Countries strengthens our faith and confidence that you will make sincere efforts to consolidate the role of the United Nations in establishing pillars of security and peace in the world.

87. I also avail myself of this opportunity to express our appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, for all the experience and tact he revealed in conducting the meetings of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

88. It gives me great pleasure to commend the positive role that has been and is being played by the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the fulfilment of his responsibilities and in support of the unity of the international community and its greater effectiveness in serving the issues of justice and peace.

89. On this occasion I should like on behalf of my country's delegation to welcome the delegations of the Republic of Djibouti and of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which have recently joined the United Nations. We wish them both stability and progress.

90. At present we are witnessing in the international arena crises that have not come about by accident; these crises are

too sophisticated and complicated to be ignored or disregarded, and it is not mere pessimism that leads us to emphasize that it is tension and not international détente which prevails in our world. As we, representatives of the nations of the world, meet here at United Nations Headquarters, we should realize the objective and civilized difference between being part of this world Organization and being outsiders. We should realize the historic responsibility placed on all of us when we committed ourselves to the United Nations Charter, which we all accepted. We must therefore resolutely consider the true causes of the disturbing phenomenon of world tension, which we are witnessing with bitter feelings, and explicitly and firmly determine our positions regarding any party which violates or obstructs the United Nations Charter.

91. Our comments on the presence of tension and the absence of world détente would be incomplete unless we stressed before the international community the role played by the Zionist entity in causing this tension and so dragging the world to the brink of world confrontation as a result of the denial for more than 25 years of the rights of the Palestine people by this abhorrent entity based on Zionism, which the General Assembly has labelled as a form of racism and racial discrimination.

92. My country's Government emphasizes its respect for and appreciation of the just international will which backed General Assembly resolutions 3236 (XXIX), 3375 (XXX), 3379 (XXX) and 3376 (XXX), which constitute no more than a starting-point in rectifying the historic blunder committed by the United Nations against the rights of the Palestinian people when it adopted the partition plan in 1947 [resolution 181 (II)].

93. Speaking of the just international will, we consider it to be a synonym for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, and believe that it must necessarily and in the name of justice and the United Nations Charter assert its existence and effectiveness in respect of the establishment of peace and security in the Middle East.

94. My delegation wishes to reassert that a just and lasting peace in the Middle East cannot be achieved without fulfilment of the two following basic principles: first, the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab territories occupied since 5 June 1967, including the city of Jerusalem; and, second, the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian Arab people, including their right to return to their homeland, self-determination, and establishment of their independent State in Palestine through representation by the Palestine Liberation Organization. We believe that, without the fulfilment of those two principles, peace negotiations will remain meaningless in that part of the world, as long as Zionist aggression against Arab territories and against the rights of the Palestinian Arab people persists. It is deplorable that this continuing aggression is becoming worse and taking new forms. In this respect it suffices to point out only the latest provocative Zionist measures, as evidenced in the establishment of new settlements in Arab occupied territories and the attempt to impose on Arab citizens in those territories Zionist regulations which emphasize the aggressive nature of the Zionist settler colonizing entity, which aims at the eventual annexation of these occupied territories and the destruction of their character and Arab qualities.

95. To confirm this policy, the Israeli Prime Minister declared in his report to the Knesset following his recent visit to the United States, that his Government insisted on the so-called Israeli right to settlement on the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip because they are, he claims, "liberated lands". Hence the Israeli Government violates international laws and the right of the Palestinian Arab people to self-determination in that part of their homeland.

96. The legalization of Israeli settlements on the West Bank and in the Gaza Strip and the imposition of Israeli law upon the Arab Palestinian populations, as well as the legalized affiliation of those territories to Israel, which tacitly means annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, reveal the expansionist intentions of Israel and its aggressive policy.

97. The policy adopted by Israel and the settlement plans being executed by it in the occupied Arab territories sustain our belief that Israel is disregarding peace plans and violating international law and United Nations resolutions, as it also imposes on the peoples of the region a perpetual state of war.

98. We sincerely call upon all countries that provide Israel with material and military aid to refrain from extending such assistance, because to continue that practice would encourage Israel in its expansionist and aggressive policy at the expense of the Palestinian Arab people and other Arab countries. To refrain from providing such aid to Israel would undoubtedly help achieve a just and comprehensive settlement in the area.

99. We believe in peace and peaceful coexistence and we also believe in the right of people to self-determination and their right to live in peace. It is therefore natural for us to call upon the international community to force the Zionist entity to respect and apply all those principles. If we are to have a proper conception of the essence of international détente then the Soviet Union and the United States in particular must emphasize that the core of détente is satisfying the interests of peoples and not taking action prejudicial to them. The Middle East problem, with the question of Palestine as its core, is the real test of that détente, which we hope will play its full and positive role in serving world peace.

100. We state again that the Palestinian cause is the core of the Middle East conflict, a conflict between the racist Zionist entity and the Palestinian people, who, according to irrefutable proof available in full in the reports of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories, are exposed to the most hideous forms of humiliation and the flagrant abuse of their dignity, freedom and humanity.

101. The United Nations Charter calls on all countries to respect the rights of man, his humanity and freedom wherever he may be. But does the racist Government of South Africa respect the principles enshrined in the Charter and does it apply those principles in letter and in spirit? The tragedy of *apartheid*, a policy adopted by both South Africa and Rhodesia, has been one of the worst events to take place in the history of mankind, and it is one of the

major crimes still being committed to this day with unusual ferocity against the black majority populations of South Africa and Rhodesia. While we find some consolation in the increasing world blockade imposed on those two racist régimes because of their inhuman policies, we believe that the United Nations and the Security Council must play a role which is much larger and more important than the mere denunciation of that policy. That role is to liquidate those two régimes, thus putting an end to them. Accordingly, we in the State of Qatar believe that it is our duty, because of considerations involving humanity and civilization, to extend all possible aid and support to the African liberation movements, particularly those in southern Africa, so that the people may achieve their freedom and independence. In addition, we also support and praise the efforts exerted in this respect by the OAU.

102. In the same way that we call upon the international community, represented by the United Nations, to impose severe sanctions on South Africa and Rhodesia, we at the same time call for the same sanctions to be imposed on Israel, which still refuses to respect the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations.

103. Our attention is drawn particularly to the increasingly close ties which have been maintained, in defiance of Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, between Israel and South Africa. Those ties which link the two racist régimes have become closer, and co-operation in the political, economic, military and technological fields has been intensified in the attempt to suppress and oppress the indigenous populations.

104. The possession of nuclear weapons by Israel and South Africa and the continued co-operation of the two countries in developing them, as we see it today, and the aggressive policies of those racist régimes will not only create crises and catastrophes for the African and Arab peoples but will also threaten the world as a whole. The international community is in duty bound to meet its responsibility in the face of such irresponsible conduct, as the urgent need for a permanent and just peace for the peoples of those two areas requires.

105. My country, firmly believing in the principle of the right to self-determination and independence of all peoples, denounces colonialism and racial discrimination in all their forms and maintains that independence cannot be achieved in South Africa and Rhodesia unless majority rule is established. In support of that belief, His Highness Sheikh Khalifa Bin Hamad Al-Thani, Amir of the State of Qatar, declared on the occasion of the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination:

"It is now time that all the efforts of world peoples and Governments should unite with the efforts of the United Nations to take positive and effective measures capable of totally eradicating this major stigma putting humanity to shame and completely eliminating the disgrace of *apartheid*, which tarnishes the ideals of our civilization."

106. The lessening of international tension is a necessary prelude to international stability. It will help firmly to establish the pillars of security and peace in the world, which can only be achieved through serious and positive dialogue.

107. From this point of view, the Cypriot crisis, which has gradually deteriorated since 1963 despite the sincere efforts exerted by the Secretary-General—efforts which we appreciate—still requires the effective involvement of our international Organization in order to establish a just solution which will preserve the security and stability of the nationals of the island and the independence and unity of Cyprus.

108. Establishing peace in order to create a suitable atmosphere for the development of the potential of nations and for the attainment of the welfare and prosperity of the world is one of the noble goals of our international Organization. To achieve that goal it is necessary to have constructive and sincere international unity.

109. We must also exert the same effort to prevent the devastating advance in nuclear weapons. International détente is still fragile and there are still several flash-points which run the risk of exploding into war. In the face of this nuclear horror, we still find countries impatiently seeking to possess such weapons, which threaten to wipe out the world and its civilization.

110. To preserve the civilization of mankind, we are obliged clearly to define in all consciousness our steps and goals in the march to the world of tomorrow in order to be able to establish peace, the goal of the United Nations to which we are all dedicated.

111. Today, therefore, we are more than ever before in dire need of making effective and joint efforts to put an end to the arms race, to confront the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and to divert the effects and direction of nuclear technology to serve peaceful purposes. Today when we speak of armaments systems, disarmament and the depletion of human and material resources in financing both hot and cold wars in Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, we find that the world spends more than \$300 billion annually on armaments and on the monopolistic arms trade—despite the urgent need of the world to confront the dangers of hunger, drought, ignorance, disease and poverty on our planet. Hence, we find ourselves obliged to participate jointly in strengthening the desires of the international community by working to eliminate completely those destructive weapons and the constant threat that they represent.

112. We in the State of Qatar praise and commend every step taken in that connexion and would welcome the establishment of nuclear-free zones in the Middle East, in South Asia and other areas of the world. We consider that as the beginning of comprehensive disarmament.

113. On the Middle East, we question the reasons for the obstinacy of the Zionist entity, its persistent refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, and its possible use of such weapons.

114. As we refer to the necessity of concluding an international treaty on the prevention and use of force in international relations and of adopting effective measures to implement the aims and goals of disarmament, we remind the United Nations that it must do its duty with respect to solving the Middle East problem on the basis of

justice and equality, including the rights of the Palestinian Arab people, who should be enabled to exercise such rights in their homeland, and not omitting their right to establish an independent, sovereign State so as to allow that struggling people to work at developing their creative capabilities and at putting an end to their misery.

115. The world of today ought to be different from the world of the past, which was ruled by the law of the jungle. Furthermore, there should be increasing understanding of the justified and urgent demands of the developing countries. Under present circumstances, international monopolies have been dividing up the regions of the world and its markets, controlling its raw materials and manipulating its potential from the turn of the century until this day. In addition to this, we must take account of the rashness of the major Powers and the industrial countries, which dominate the seas and the oceans, including the gigantic wealth therein. Under such circumstances, the developing countries are deeply concerned and demand the regulation of all means relating to the use of the seas and respect of the right of regional sovereignty represented in the principle of freedom of the use of the seas to all countries. My Government supports and endorses anything that may lead to an international agreement to determine the law of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and how they should be exploited for the benefit of the international family through a competent international organization.

116. As a developing country, we wish to emphasize our rejection of monopolistic enterprises and the capitalistic exploitation of the seas and oceans. We urge that positive steps be taken to organize international and maritime relations among the countries of the world.

117. With great concern we refer to the increasing military ventures which are using the seas and oceans as a platform for the establishment of military and naval bases. As a result, tensions are intensified and the possibility of military confrontation will continue as well. As we refer to all that, we attach great importance to declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace far removed from international conflict.

118. The present international economic order calls for international political will to create a new and just international economic order—one that will not be an obstacle to the efforts of the developing countries to achieve growth and economic development. The new international economic order must be established on the basis of co-operation and democracy in international economic relations, rather than on the basis of monopolies and exploitation. As we see the extent of the danger of the economic gap between the industrialized and the developing countries, that danger compels the international community to realize that it must speed up its efforts to bridge that gap by creating an international economic equilibrium. Since the industrialized countries have exported to third-world countries the problems of inflation and of the increasing cost of manufactured goods, they should now rectify that error through positive co-operation and help the developing countries to overcome their development problems.

119. We in the State of Qatar have not spared and will spare no effort to offer co-operation and assistance to all

the friendly developing countries in the third world. In this connexion, my delegation wishes to express its disappointment at the failure of the Paris Conference in spite of the untiring efforts exerted to achieve positive results in that dialogue between North and South. We therefore appeal, with all sincerity, to all the developed countries to exert all possible efforts for the attainment of solutions that can play a role in achieving economic progress for the developing countries and tangible advance in the field of international economic co-operation. We also reiterate our readiness to make fresh efforts within the framework of the United Nations for the achievement of the desired objectives. Here I wish to emphasize once more that my Government will continue its efforts jointly with the international community for the establishment of a new international economic order and for an improvement in the situation of the developing countries.

120. It is not impossible to solve international contradictions and conflicts in our present world under an international collective commitment to the Charter of the United Nations.

121. The establishment of democratic international relations and the fostering of those relations within United Nations organs would constitute a radical solution to all the contradictions and conflicts we are facing and would open a new horizon of peace, security, prosperity and freedom to mankind. These goals and hopes must be achieved in fulfilment of the aspirations of our peoples. It is our duty to secure the rights of future generations, in order to honour and cherish the heritage of mankind.

122. Mr. AL-ASNAG (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me pleasure, on behalf of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic, to congratulate you on your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-second session. We hold high hopes that you will meet with success in steering these deliberations towards the positive results to which we aspire and which we hope will constitute a step taken by the peoples of the world on the road towards a world where security and prosperity will prevail.

123. While congratulating you on your assumption of this lofty post, may I also congratulate, through you, the Government and people of friendly Yugoslavia, a country to which we are bound by cordial and firm ties in the framework of the principles of the non-aligned movement, the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the norms which govern the family of nations to which we belong.

124. Your election to this high office is but an expression of our need to benefit from your personal ability and experience as you guide the proceedings of this important session, as well as a mark of the appreciation of the Members of this Organization for the role played by your country and your great leader, President Josip Broz Tito, in consolidating international security and understanding through your pioneer action in the non-aligned movement.

125. Your predecessor, our dear friend, Mr. Amerasinghe, the head of the Sri Lanka delegation and the President of the thirty-first session, left a remarkable impression as he presided over its deliberations. For this he deserves praise and appreciation.

126. I also express my Government's appreciation for the fruitful efforts deployed by the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, in order to find a just and lasting solution for the problems of Palestine and the Middle East and of the domination of the white minority in Africa. The efforts exerted by the Secretary-General, his dedication and his devotion to achieving peace and security in our troubled world will undoubtedly contribute to promoting the work of this Organization and increasing its effectiveness. The important role assumed by the Secretary-General merits co-operation from all Member States so that peace and stability may prevail all over the world.

127. It has become an obvious fact in our day and age that co-operation has become a necessity for solving increasingly complex and interrelated problems. The technological revolution and the population explosion witnessed by contemporary generations have created great problems which transcend geographical as well as political boundaries and impose collective action for their solution. These variables in turn reaffirm the importance of the role played by this Organization as an effective instrument for directing the efforts of the international community towards appropriate solutions to the sum of problems, in all their aspects. The need for such a collective instrument increases day by day in a world parts of which are afflicted by conditions which contravene the principles of international law and the ethics of contemporary man. The United Nations is called upon today more than ever before to assume its responsibility for tackling the problems ensuing from aggression and usurpation, to put an immediate end once and for all to the occupation of land belonging to others and to racial oppression and to halt the exploitation of poor States by rich States. These conditions constitute a challenge to our collective will and at the same time represent a derogation of the principles and goals of this Organization. In practice we have to reaffirm our compliance with the principles of justice, equality and self-determination in our bilateral and multilateral relations.

128. The Yemen Arab Republic is fully convinced that the best method of dealing with contemporary international relations is by means of collective co-operation within the framework of this Organization and, given such a premise, we are extremely happy to witness the admission of two new Members to this Organization—the fraternal Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. These admissions confer greater universality on this Organization and secure the participation of almost all the peoples of the world in forging our common destiny.

129. As we welcome the admission of the Republic of Djibouti to membership in this Organization, we are confident that that young Republic, through its strategic location and the vitality of its people, will play a constructive role in achieving understanding and co-operation between the countries of the region.

130. The Yemen Arab Republic has associated itself, at an early stage, with those who have called for the avoidance of any obstacles which impede the exercise of the right of every country to membership in this Organization. We called upon the permanent members of the Security Council not to abuse their right of veto so as to prevent the exercise of such a right.

131. The responsibility entrusted to the Organization is weighty and mankind is looking for peace to prevail all over the world. If the powerful States do not contribute to the implementation of the resolutions of the Security Council and of the General Assembly they will thereby fail the Organization and thwart the aspirations of mankind and its desire to achieve peace, security and prosperity.

132. There are many issues under consideration by the General Assembly, issues which have been discussed at length in the past and on which numerous resolutions have been adopted. Had those resolutions been implemented, such issues would not figure on the agenda now, nor would they cause and give rise to complications and aggravation. There is no doubt that the lack of solutions to such vital questions constitutes a great threat to peace and stability in many parts of the world. The fact that certain Members of the Organization disregard some United Nations resolutions and that those resolutions remain unimplemented harms the effectiveness of this Organization, causes great anxiety and shows up the responsibility of all Member States and especially the great Powers, which are permanent members of the Security Council.

133. Among the most important issues which concern the international community is the question of Palestine, which is still under consideration by the General Assembly after 30 years. The core of this problem is the usurpation by Israel of Palestine and its continued denial of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, its insistence on following an aggressive, expansionist and racist policy, and its repressive practices vis-à-vis the Palestinian people. This situation constitutes a challenge to the international community at large and clearly flouts the principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

134. We maintain that the realization of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East region cannot take place unless there is a solution to the Palestine problem, which is the crux of the conflict in the area. And prominent among the elements of a settlement is the recognition of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people, including that of self-determination and the full exercise of their national rights, together with the establishment of their independent State on the soil of Palestine.

135. In spite of the efforts made to solve the Palestine and Middle East questions with a view to achieving peace and security, the intransigence and stubbornness of Israel, its disregard of United Nations resolutions and its persistence in challenging the will of the international community are an obstacle to attainment of a just and lasting peace. Furthermore, Israel's constant efforts to distort the facts, to dilute the substance of the question and to preoccupy the international community with procedural and formalistic questions undermine all the efforts made in this respect. Israel has utilized the procedure of holding the Geneva Conference as a dilatory tactic to water down the basic issues, and continues to seek to distort and deceive world public opinion, belittling the efforts of the super-Powers to solve this problem and to hold that Conference.

136. Israel continues undeterred in its policy of expansion, annexation, mass expulsion and repressive actions

taken against innocent inhabitants, and of setting up settlements in occupied lands, especially on the West Bank. Israel continues to take measures and to issue decrees aimed at changing the religious character of the City of Jerusalem and the political, demographic and cultural situation in the occupied Arab territories. Proof of this is the latest Tel Aviv decree whereby Israeli laws and regulations are applied in the occupied Arab territories.

137. The new Israeli leadership continues its arrogance and recalcitrance in full view of the whole world, and continues to establish new settlements and to deny the rights of the Palestinian people. The international community is convinced that no just and lasting peace in the region can be established without a comprehensive settlement based upon the subsequent Israeli withdrawal from all of the occupied Arab territories, including the city of Jerusalem, the recognition of the full rights of the Palestinian people and the establishment of a Palestinian State on the soil of Palestine. In order to ensure the success of any efforts aimed at settling the Palestine and Middle East questions, the Palestinian people—as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization—must take part in the deliberations of any such conference, because the Palestine issue is the crux of the problem and the core of the conflict. Israel has excelled in devising new methods of deceit, treachery, mass murder and political extortion, to an even greater extent than all of the repressive Fascist and racist régimes recorded by history.

138. On the African continent, peoples are still suffering in the same way as the Palestinian people: from the usurpation of their rights and the most atrocious sort of human repression. The peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania continue to struggle under the yoke of the white minority. Hence, the United Nations must put an end to injustice and the policy of *apartheid* and racial discrimination by co-ordinating its efforts with those of the OAU. The African majority must be enabled to exercise its right to self-determination on its own land, according to its own will and aspirations.

139. The Yemen Arab Republic would like to reaffirm the importance it attaches to the Korean question and to the reunification of the Korean people by peaceful means, as well as to the fostering of propitious circumstances for a continued dialogue between the Korean parties with a view to satisfying the aspirations of the Korean people.

140. As for the situation in Cyprus, we wish to affirm that the United Nations must take effective steps to guarantee the implementation of its resolutions on Cyprus. We believe that continued serious negotiations between the representatives of the two communities, in an atmosphere of freedom and full equality, will eventually lead to a satisfactory agreement acceptable to both sides and thereby protect the interest of both communities in the practice of their respective faiths and in the conduct of their personal affairs, in such a way as to consolidate the stability, independence and territorial integrity of the island.

141. The Yemen Arab Republic, like all peace-loving Arab States, views with great concern the terrifying arms race and the production of lethal weapons which threaten human civilization and mankind itself with extinction. We

hope that the special session on disarmament scheduled for the middle of next year will lead to an international convention to halt the arms race and to foster disarmament. We should like to reaffirm here our earlier position in support of making the Middle East, Africa and South Asia nuclear-free zones and of declaring the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea as peace zones far removed from the conflict and from competition between the great Powers so that the peoples of those regions may devote their efforts and resources to the development of their countries and to the exploitation of their resources, without having to face exploitation, repression or the fear of foreign interference..

142. Consistent with that position, the Yemen Arab Republic views with great concern the events unfolding in the Horn of Africa, that is to say, the foreign interference aimed at dragging that area into a conflict between the Powers.

143. The Yemen Arab Republic has, on many occasions, taken the initiative in offering its good offices in an effort to solve the differences between the countries of the area, and has stressed the need for dialogue among the parties concerned and for adherence to peaceful means in the solution of their differences.

144. From this rostrum we appeal to all interested parties to step up their efforts to solve their problems through dialogue and by peaceful means, in the light of the true facts, equity and fairness.

145. Our country makes every effort to play a positive and effective role in the attempt to put a satisfactory end to the existing situation and to achieve better co-operation among the peoples and countries of the area.

146. The determination of the Yemen Arab Republic to strengthen co-operation among the countries bordering the Red Sea has been demonstrated by our hosting the Quadripartite Summit Conference in Taiz on 22 March, at which President Gaafar Mohamed Nimeiri of Sudan; President Mohamed Siad Barre of Somalia; the Chairman of the Presidential Council of Democratic Yemen, Salim Robay'a Ali; and the President of the Supreme Command Council of the Yemen Arab Republic, Colonel Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, confirmed in their Final Declaration [*see A/32/154, annex*] the need to keep the Red Sea a zone of peace and co-operation for the exploitation of its latent potential by the people of the region.

147. The Yemen Arab Republic believes that the conclusion of a convention regulating the law of the sea is among the paramount issues before us. The sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in May this year, has made its mark in terms of providing an exchange of views and fostering an understanding of the issues under consideration.

148. We wish to reaffirm our position that the provisions of any law of the sea should conform to the principle of the equal rights of States and should take into full account the total sovereignty of the coastal States over straits located within their territorial waters. All efforts should be devoted to serving the interests of all the peoples of the world,

without prejudice to the sovereignty of the countries concerned.

149. As a small developing country, we find in this august gathering an excellent forum for the exchange of views and ideas on matters of mutual interest, in the light of our firm conviction that, together with other peoples, large and small, we share the responsibility for creating a more prosperous and secure tomorrow.

150. The new international economic order is but an expression of the sincere and intensive efforts that translate the will of the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world. We are gravely concerned at the obstacles being placed in the path of the implementation of United Nations resolutions and recommendations in that respect. Those resolutions and recommendations are really an expression of basic approach towards building the new international economic order, an approach that may break the grip of backwardness and economic crises and create new prospects for justice and equity for all States, with freedom from hegemony and encroachment on the rights and interests of developing countries in respect of their trade, economy, industry, science and technology.

151. The Yemen Arab Republic regards the dialogue between the developing and developed countries that is known as the North-South dialogue as a positive beginning, as something which must continue. We regret, however, that this dialogue has not yet produced an over-all settlement of the main problems impeding the efforts towards the development of the developing countries. Solutions are within reach. What is lacking is the political will and determination on the part of the Governments of developed countries that is necessary to ensure success for this dialogue.

152. The developing countries did not voluntarily accept conditions of backwardness; rather, these conditions were imposed upon the peoples of those countries, thereby placing them at the tail end of the march towards economic progress and development.

153. The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic is deeply involved in the march towards the prosperity and development of its people. Every year new gains are being scored in many projects, in co-operation with the United Nations, other international organizations and friendly brother States. These gains have been made possible by the implementation of the three-year development plan, with an annual increase in the gross national product of 12.6 per cent. That was followed by the drawing up of a draft of the first five-year development plan, to be implemented between 1976 and 1980. The aim of that plan is the development of all sectors of the national economy; it is focussed primarily on establishing an infrastructure. A conference to discuss this draft plan will be held next month in our capital, San'a.

154. The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic, as it strives to shake off economic backwardness and raise the standard of living of its people, is working at the same time to reunite the two parts of Yemen, through constant dialogue and co-ordination with the Government of the southern part of the homeland. We are cognizant of the fact

that this continuing division is inconsistent with the historical social and cultural facts and cannot lead to the fulfilment of the aspiration of the Yemeni people in both parts of the country to achieve reunification.

155. Finally, the Yemen Arab Republic, as it deals with the issues on which the attention of the world is focused, is making diligent efforts to rise above its own limited means and thereby to put into effect the exemplary goals of co-operation and understanding. This is reflected in the cordial and sincere ties binding us to the other countries of the Arab peninsula, which foster a climate propitious to redoubling co-operation and understanding between the peoples of the region.

156. The Yemen Arab Republic, under the leadership of its President, Ibrahim Al-Hamdi, seeks to help in the solution of many regional differences through quiet diplomacy and responsible action, in connexion with any friction or provocation that it may face, including even intentional or unintentional violations of its territorial waters, land and air space. We thereby reaffirm our adherence to the United Nations Charter and our keen desire to seek appropriate solutions through dialogue and bilateral contacts.

157. We hope that the world Organization will remain strong, united and effective in order to be able to discharge its great responsibilities and meet all challenges, thereby ensuring that peace will prevail throughout the world and that tension and the spectre of war and conflict will disappear from the international scene once and for all. We hope that this thirty-second session of the General Assembly will fulfil the hopes placed in the Organization by the peoples of the world. Hence, we shoulder our responsibility for ensuring that these deliberations produce positive results, in the interests of mankind.

158. U HLA PHONE (Burma): I avail myself of this opportunity to extend to you, Sir, the warm congratulations of the delegation of Burma on your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and to assure you of our support and co-operation as you discharge your high office.

159. At the same time, we pay a tribute to the President of the thirty-first session of the Assembly, Ambassador Amerasinghe, for the dignity and distinction with which he steered the work of that session.

160. This year we are happy to see the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam swelling our ranks. After a heroic struggle for over three decades to gain acceptance as a unified legitimate entity in the international community, Viet Nam has achieved at last its rightful and deserved place in our family of nations. Its admission to the United Nations signifies a positive step towards fulfilment of the goal of the universality of this Organization.

161. Yet another African State has shaken off the shackles of colonialism and emerged as a sovereign, independent State. I refer to the Republic of Djibouti, whose delegation is among us for the first time. We congratulate it on its admission to the United Nations and extend to it the hand of friendship. The birth of a new State like the Republic of

Djibouti certainly demonstrates that colonialism is being progressively eliminated and it marks another milestone in the discharge of the historic tasks of our Organization. It reminds us not only of the vast field we have traversed in this area but also of the persistent need to march forward.

162. A classic case in point is the upheavals involved in the current situation in southern Africa. The policies and practices stubbornly pursued there by the minority racist régimes in open defiance of United Nations authority continue to exacerbate the world situation.

163. The situation in Namibia and Zimbabwe is in a critical phase and is dangerously fraught with the risk of civil war and outside intervention. Both Territories are being subjected to an "internal solution" by the illegal racist minority régimes in occupation. This is in complete disregard of all positive initiatives taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly to enable the people concerned to achieve genuine national independence.

164. In Namibia the racist minority régime of South Africa continues to consolidate its illegal occupation of the Territory. It has embarked on a policy of imposing its own constitutional formula for Namibia that would fragment the country into several States with subservient régimes. In this manner, the South West Africa People's Organization, a liberation movement internationally acknowledged as the representative of the people of Namibia, is being excluded as a partner in any effort to settle the problem of Namibia. Furthermore, that régime has escalated its military build-up in the Territory. All this has brought the situation in Namibia to a crisis.

165. The delegation of Burma reaffirms its support for the inalienable right of the people of Namibia to self-determination and independence. We consider that the United Nations commitment to carry out the decolonization of Namibia and to ensure the handing over of power to the people of Namibia in a united Namibia should be scrupulously honoured.

166. The explosive situation in Zimbabwe is another area endangering peace and security in the region.

167. Considerable diplomatic efforts have been invested, both within and outside the United Nations, for effecting a negotiated transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe. The policy of the so-called internal settlement pursued by the illegal racist minority régime has frustrated all positive endeavours in this direction. If that régime were not stopped from implementing its plans in Zimbabwe, an escalation of the armed conflicts with disastrous consequences would become inevitable.

168. In this situation, the delegation of Burma would hope that the present United Nations decision to help with the necessary arrangements to effect the transition to majority rule in Zimbabwe will prove fruitful. We further express the hope that it will be possible for all parties concerned to co-operate in finding a solution which would reflect the legitimate aspirations of the people of Zimbabwe for transition to majority rule and national independence. As we see it, the struggle over Zimbabwe has reached a stage in which there is less and less scope for manoeuvring and for delaying a solution.

169. The delegation of Burma is unequivocal on the question of southern Africa. Burma is committed to the struggle for freedom, equality and human dignity, which has swept over Asia and Africa. It firmly believes that the evil system of colonialism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination and oppression must be finally eliminated in the interests of peace and friendly relations among nations.

170. The critical Middle East situation remains a perplexing issue. International peace-making efforts in the current year have not brought the Middle East problem any nearer a solution, though they did at times seem to be moving forward to enter a period of active negotiations for a peaceful settlement.

171. The burden of prolonged confrontation in the Middle East and its political and economic consequences is beginning to tell on all parties concerned. These are pressures compounding the dilemma of peace or war. Unless serious negotiations get under way, we are in agreement with the Secretary-General that:

“... the situation would almost certainly deteriorate, with incalculable consequences not only for the Middle East but for the international community as a whole”.
[See A/32/1, sect. III.]

172. In the search for a just solution to the problem, much stress has been laid on the withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from Arab territories occupied in 1967; on the recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a State; and on an end to the state of belligerency. These are indeed important prerequisites to a negotiated settlement in the Middle East.

173. As we see it, the key to a Middle East solution is still the Palestine issue. It is now generally agreed that the Palestinians are a national entity entitled to their own State in Palestine. It goes without saying that the Palestinians should accordingly be represented with all other parties in any negotiations for a just and lasting settlement in the Middle East.

174. The prospects for reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East appear to have moved closer than before. This is a trend which we welcome. At this point, the delegation of Burma must express its deep regret over the recent Israeli establishment of new permanent settlements on the West Bank. Such action can only be deplored as an obstacle to international peace-making efforts and as compounding further the complexities of the Middle East problem.

175. I now turn to the pressing problem of disarmament. This has been a matter of prior concern since the inception of the United Nations. It is a paradox of our times that, while the world talks of disarmament, the science of war has progressed enormously in terms of the range and destructive power of weapons, both nuclear and conventional. Disarmament negotiations have been deadlocked for years and the arms race continues unabated, thrusting to ever new heights. The agreements reached thus far are largely measures of control and limitations of armaments in environments where weapons do not as yet exist, such as outer space, the moon, the sea-bed and ocean floor, and so

on. In other words, these agreements do not constitute actual disarmament measures and have not acted to stop the escalating arms race.

176. The Geneva Conference of the Committee on Disarmament has been meeting yearly since 1962. Outside its framework are the bilateral Strategic Arms Limitation Talks conducted between the major nuclear Powers since 1969. No less significant are the East-West talks in Central Europe held since 1973, on reducing armed forces and armaments. The United Nations designated the 1970s as the Disarmament Decade, which is now well past its half-way mark. There have been no tangible results in the field of disarmament measures basically because of a lack of political will on the part of the principals of the arms race. This situation reveals a serious crisis in the current negotiations on disarmament and arms control.

177. In particular, the disarmament scene today is heavily overshadowed by new and ominous developments in the nuclear arms race. Currently, the thrusts and responses of new advances in weapons technology, of shifts in the orientation of strategic doctrines, and of the political-level decisions taken in their wake are threatening to set off yet another frenzied and dangerous nuclear arms race between the world's most powerful nuclear-weapon States.

178. It has long been recognized that nuclear weapons and their carriers lie at the heart of the disarmament problem. Given the magnitude and gravity of the present state of the nuclear arms race, the delegation of Burma strongly feels that the forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on Disarmament should address this key area as the matter of first priority. Nuclear disarmament can pave the way to arms control and disarmament measures in the other fields. To tamper with the established programme of priorities between nuclear and non-nuclear measures will do a grievous disservice to the cause of general and complete disarmament and of world peace and security.

179. The delegation of Burma is glad to note what appears to be hopeful signs of movement in two important areas of arms control. We refer to the trilateral talks on the prohibition of underground nuclear weapon tests and the bilateral talks on the banning and elimination of chemical weapons.

180. In this connexion we welcome the assurance that the results of the negotiations will be laid before the appropriate international forums. This would enable positive improvements to be made through democratic discussions and the broadest possible multilateral dialogue and consensus. Only thus can the over-all responsibility of the United Nations in the disarmament sphere be upheld and agreements responsive to the interests of the international community as a whole be achieved.

181. World economic trends over the past year continue to reflect the prevailing crisis of recession. What is worrisome is that no solution has yet been found to alleviate the problems of economic growth, unemployment, monetary difficulties, hunger, poverty, and so on. These ills afflict all countries in some form or the other and to a greater or lesser degree.

182. No single country has been spared the economic shocks of crisis in the domains of energy, raw materials, food, industrialization and technology.

183. The latent instability and prolonged crisis in the world economy more than ever points to the fact that the present international economic system no longer conforms to the demands of the times. A restructuring of the world economy has become imperative to resolve the inequalities and imbalance in international economic relations by the establishment of the new international economic order.

184. The past year witnessed an intense debate at the Paris Conference to resolve some of the main problems in international economic relationships. Despite concerted efforts, the achievements did not go much beyond clarifying problems and enhancing our understanding of the basic issues. We feel that no substantive gains were made towards the establishment of the new international economic order.

185. Under these circumstances, negotiations must necessarily be resumed. We endorse the view that the United Nations system is the most appropriate and fully representative forum for these negotiations. We also believe that there is general consensus on this. Such a process should, in our opinion, begin with the current session of the General Assembly.

186. There is much that can be done within the United Nations system on the question of international economic co-operation. But a successful outcome will depend on our efforts to strengthen the United Nations and make it a more effective instrument for such action. Hence we support the current endeavour to restructure the Organization, to increase its efficiency and to enhance its role.

187. The discussions of the past year have identified many key issues in the current economic scene. Some are structural in nature and here changes can only come with time. But others, such as the rapid deterioration in the balance of payments of many developing countries, are more pressing and require urgent attention. We hope that our continuing dialogue on these important issues will take place in a spirit of co-operation and mutual benefit and that we shall be able to find just and concrete solutions to these complex problems.

188. Before I conclude, let me turn briefly to a fundamental difficulty of our Organization.

189. It is a matter for satisfaction that steady progress is being made towards the universality of the membership of the United Nations. It is clear, however, that universality of membership alone is not sufficient to bring about the kind of international order, the kind of world community, envisaged in the Charter. As is clearly indicated in the Charter itself, such a world community will emerge only if Member States steadfastly pursue the purposes of the United Nations and act in accordance with its principles in pursuit of these purposes.

190. It is a fact that every State, when it joins the United Nations, cannot help but bring with it its own national interest and it expects that it will be satisfied, or at least not be infringed upon, by membership in the United

Nations. In practice, however, it is often not possible to avoid some serious conflict or incompatibility between national interest, on the one hand, and the wider international interests pursued by the United Nations, on the other.

191. Obviously, a new international order, a more just, fair and equitable system of relations among States, will emerge only to the extent that States Members of the United Nations harmonize their national interests with the long-term interests and purposes of the emergent international community as envisaged in the Charter. It is therefore apparent that Member States should address themselves more consciously to such practical measures so as to translate the ideals of the United Nations into reality.

192. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): Mr. President, I have the honour of conveying to you, and through you to the representatives gathered here, the greetings of my sovereign, His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, and of expressing His Majesty's best wishes and hopes that, under your stewardship, the thirty-second session of the General Assembly will deal courageously with the urgent questions confronting the world community.

193. It is also my privilege, on behalf of the Kingdom of Bhutan, to congratulate you most warmly on your election as President of this session of the Assembly. Your long and eminent service both in the field of international diplomacy and in important positions in your own Government assures us that you will provide wise and able leadership. It is a matter of joy for us that this year, like last year, a fellow-member of the non-aligned movement holds this important post.

194. To your predecessor, Ambassador Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, I should like to express our deep appreciation for the efficient manner in which he guided our deliberations during the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

195. As the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, enters his second term of office, we should also like to add our appreciation for his tireless efforts in the service of peace and international understanding and for the dedication, alertness, far-sightedness and tact which he has brought to the important task entrusted to him.

196. Each year Heads of State, Heads of Government and their representatives from many different regions meet in this great Assembly to review the international situation and to promote peace and security for the world's nations and their peoples. We are gratified that, through their efforts, the world has so far been spared another global war. At the same time, however, we are aware that many good and well-intentioned efforts to fulfil the peace-keeping responsibilities laid down by the United Nations Charter have been frustrated. The machinery of collective security is often obstructed and decisions are usually delayed. When decisions are taken, obstacles frequently stand in the way of their implementation. In the light of this, the United Nations presents a picture of uncertainty and institutional impasse which often overshadows its many significant achievements.

197. We believe, therefore, that one of the most important concerns of this Assembly should be the strengthening of

the United Nations as a peace-making body. The General Assembly and the Security Council are vital instruments in the quest for world peace today. As the Secretary-General pointed out in his report at the beginning of this session, misuse of the Security Council or lack of respect for its decisions “may bring us to a time when the Council is desperately needed and will be found to be too weak to fulfil its responsibilities” [see A/32/1, sect. II]. We believe that the strengthening of this body and the implementation of its decisions should receive our utmost attention.

198. One of the most crucial objectives on the international scene continues to be the relaxation of tensions between the two major Power blocs and, in particular, between the two super-Powers themselves. The developing countries have always maintained that, if efforts to bring about this relaxation are to be effective, they must be more broadly based. Any situation which perpetuates rivalry for spheres of influence, condones the results of colonialism or leaves the way open for interference in the internal affairs of States has been consistently rejected by members of the non-aligned movement. The Political Declaration of the movement's Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met in Sri Lanka last year, takes this point categorically.⁶ Acceptance of any situation which endorses the existing balance of power and the threat of domination of smaller nations by those more powerful would shatter the sovereign equality that is the very basis of the United Nations.

199. It is for this reason that the non-aligned movement has become such a valuable and credible force for peaceful coexistence. Non-alignment enables a State to join with like-minded nations which face economic and political odds similar to its own, while at the same time preserving its freedom of action on the international scene.

200. During the 32-year-life of the United Nations, substantial progress has been made towards decolonization, which is an essential prerequisite for the emergence of a new and just international order. The United Nations is now close to achieving universality of membership. The Kingdom of Bhutan attaches great importance to this principle of universality. We believe that all sovereign, independent nations have a right to join this family of nations. Last year we had much pleasure in welcoming the Seychelles, Angola and Western Samoa to this great Organization. This year we congratulate the Republic of Djibouti on its accession to independence and welcome it with equally great pleasure to the United Nations.

201. We warmly welcome also the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, a fellow member of the non-aligned movement. Viet Nam and its people have undergone tragic losses and suffering, and our good wishes are with them in their efforts to rebuild their great country. We are confident that the representatives of Viet Nam will make valuable and constructive contributions to the fulfilment of the goals and ideals enshrined in the Charter, and we look forward to working with them here at the United Nations.

202. Although much has been achieved in decolonization, remnants of colonialism still exist in different parts of the

world. Nowhere is this situation more shamefully apparent than in southern Africa. Here oppression, colonialism and racial discrimination are being practised unabatedly. It was with profound shock and sorrow that we learned last month of the untimely death of Steven Biko. That a young black leader of Steven Biko's stature and promise should die in this tragic and questionable way is a further indictment of the unconscionable *apartheid* policy of the Pretoria régime. The practices of both this Government and of the illegal white minority régime in Zimbabwe contravene all the principles of justice and human rights. His Majesty the King, at the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries last year, said:

“The inhuman practice of *apartheid*, which has been condemned by the international community times without number and which no civilized person can support, continues to be practised. The peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia continue to be denied their just and legitimate right to self-determination and independence. We are firmly of the view that concerted and joint action should be taken to bring about a speedy implementation of the relevant resolutions and decisions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Organization of African Unity.”

203. My Government's policy on this urgent question remains unchanged. We believe that the majority of the people, and they alone, must be allowed to shape their own destiny. Unless the minority régimes are prepared to change, and change fast, to accept immediately the inevitability of majority rule, they will be the architects of their own destruction. We believe the great Powers have a special responsibility in this area. It is in view of this that we welcome the recent Security Council resolution 415 (1977), which authorizes the Secretary-General to appoint a representative to enter into discussions with all the parties concerning the military and associated arrangements that are considered necessary to effect the transition to majority rule in southern Rhodesia. The will of the international community has already been clearly demonstrated during the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, Mozambique. We endorse the Maputo Declaration in support of the oppressed peoples in the area, and the Programme of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia.⁷

204. The continuing delay by the international community in coming to grips with long-standing major problems increases the likelihood of new tensions and problems arising in these areas. The situation in the Middle East is one of these long-standing major problems. As we stated in this forum in 1975,⁸ and again in 1976,⁹ we are firmly convinced that any negotiations aimed at a just and durable peace in the Middle East must be based on the right of the Palestinians to return to their homeland and to establish an independent State, and on the right of all States in the area, including Israel, to exist within universally recognized boundaries. In this context, we welcome the Soviet-American statement of 1 October on the prin-

⁶ See document A/31/197, annex I.

⁷ See document A/32/109/Rev.1–S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2374th meeting.

⁹ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 24th meeting.

ciples and objectives of a new Middle East peace conference in Geneva as a positive step forward in the search for a just and permanent peace in the region.

205. The other area of our concern is Cyprus. Unhappily, present developments and past efforts have brought us no closer to a peaceful solution of the conflict besetting this island. It is hoped that a formula can be found which makes it possible for the island's two communities to live in harmony, and to preserve the integrity of Cyprus as a single State. The principles enunciated in General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX), and the subsequent Security Council and General Assembly resolutions, in our opinion, still provide a valid framework for a just settlement. We would like to express the hope that the lifelong efforts and sacrifices made by the great son of Cyprus, Archbishop Makarios, for the independence, unity and integrity of his beloved country will not have been in vain.

206. I wish to stress that it is a cause of particular concern to my Government, as it is to those of the other littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean, that the potential for great-Power conflict in this ocean still exists. Six years ago the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. This declaration has not been honoured by the great Powers. It is our earnest hope that these Powers will co-operate with the littoral and hinterland States to implement resolution 2832 (XXVI) in the near future, and to remove the foreign military presence, including bases, from this sensitive area.

207. Some of the problems of maintaining international peace and security are intractably buried in the ongoing negotiations on disarmament. To our regret, there has been no substantial progress in these negotiations. We completely endorse the Secretary-General's statement, in his report to the Assembly, that "the developing countries . . . must be involved, and actively so, in a problem which vitally affects them all" [*see A/32/1, sect. IV*]. In this spirit, we welcome the decision taken by the last General Assembly, at the initiative of the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries, to convene a special session on disarmament next year. Success in this critical area, long overdue, would bring far-reaching benefits, not only in relaxing tensions but also in releasing much-needed resources for development purposes.

208. In an address to the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, the Secretary-General pointed to an accumulation of arms far beyond the needs of legitimate defence which not only endangers world security but now annually absorbs some \$350 billion, at a time when the struggle to alleviate the hunger, poverty and disease that plague many hundreds of millions of the world's people suffers from lack of resources [*see A/32/27, paras. 14-19*].

209. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly have made us realize more than ever that we live in an interdependent world and that the old order must give way to a new one. It is unacceptable for the process of interdependence to continue indefinitely to accentuate the expansion of only the great industrialized nations. At present almost all the world's technological capacity and resources are concentrated in a few countries, while at the

same time two thirds of humanity live in poverty, a great many of them below the subsistence level.

210. There is an urgent need to bring fresh thinking and an enlightened and positive approach to these vast and disturbing inequalities. We must in particular, see that the benefits of scientific and technological development are used for the good of all and not just of a privileged few. The world's scientific community must bear in mind the principle of a new international order under which prevailing economic, social, cultural and scientific conditions will be restructured. The paths towards this new order have been paved by the sixth and seventh special sessions and by the Manila Declaration of the Group of 77,¹⁰ which led to the adoption of UNCTAD resolution 98 (IV).¹¹ Through the Integrated Programme laid down in UNCTAD resolution 93 (IV)¹² the inequities of the past will be replaced by international co-operation based on the concept of collective self-reliance.

211. Many of the problems the world faces today stem from the imbalances and inequalities inherent in the world economic order. At present the products of all the world's labour contribute to consumption and material accumulation in only a small number of the world's countries. The gap between the rich and the poor nations has continued to grow. Today it is sadly true that most of the world's population have little to expect from life and are excluded from the material and spiritual benefits necessary for human dignity. This is particularly true of the least developed countries. The extremely difficult economic conditions under which the poorest countries labour are the result not just of disabilities arising from their geographic location but also—in fact, largely—of man-made impediments to growth.

212. If it is to provide a decent and dignified life for all its peoples, the world has to undergo immense transformation. We believe it is the mission of the United Nations to shape and contribute to this new order, for upon it rests the maintenance of peace and security, which is the very purpose of this Organization.

213. Another urgent issue which faces the international community is the equitable distribution of the vast wealth of the sea. Almost a decade has passed since the adoption of United Nations resolution 2749 (XXV), which declared the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and the resources of the area as the common heritage of mankind. As many as six sessions have been devoted to formulating an international law governing the uses of the sea. Yet we are nowhere near concluding an acceptable convention. The conflicting claims and views that still exist indicate the dimensions of the complex task ahead of us in what the Secretary-General has so rightly called "one of the most important and far-reaching endeavours ever embarked on by the international community" [*see A/32/1, sect. IX*].

214. The time has come to put an end to the interminable quibbling over technicalities and to demonstrate states-

¹⁰ 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.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, part one A.

¹² *Ibid.*,

manlike wisdom in completing this long and arduous task. The informal composite negotiating text that has been brought out¹³ should be used to fullest advantage. All Member States, whether land-locked or coastal, must endeavour to harmonize their views and interests as rapidly as possible.

215. The right of free access to and from the sea and freedom of transit facilities are vital to all land-locked countries, and Bhutan is no exception. The position of a land-locked country, especially a developing one, is one of serious disadvantage in the modern world. Fortunately, we have been receiving the genuine understanding and generous co-operation of our coastal neighbour, India, not only in expanding our trade but in modernizing our economy.

216. Bhutan belongs to the South Asian subcontinent. In that area, despite many changes in the recent past, the prospects for peace and stability are particularly good. The present trend towards the abatement of tension in the region offers, we believe, an opportunity for the countries to develop and become more self-reliant. With many of those countries, and especially with our immediate neighbour, India, Bhutan shares an ancient cultural heritage and a long, varied history. Today we share also a common purpose in building our nations in the long-term interests of our peoples.

217. The Kingdom of Bhutan places special emphasis upon good neighbourliness based on concord, trust and co-operation. It is our constant endeavour to promote peaceful and mutually beneficial relations with countries both near and far, relations based on mutual respect for national sovereignty, territorial integrity and non-interference in internal affairs. We are firmly committed to the fundamental principles of the United Nations and reaffirm our support for the ideals of justice and peace. Under the inspiring leadership of our wise and dynamic monarch we are wholly committed to the orderly and uninterrupted economic development of our country and to the attainment of our national goal of economic self-reliance.

218. The issues we will debate at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly do not admit of easy solutions. Many of them are long-standing and complex. Some give rise to fierce and intemperate passions. A number have been under debate here for more years than most of us care to remember. But whatever disagreements we may have on their substance, there is one thing on which no disagreement is possible: solutions must be found to them all, and in the shortest possible time, if the peace of our planet is not to be gravely endangered. The responsibilities and duties of the Member States to the United Nations emanate from their commitment, freely and spontaneously undertaken, to the Charter of this great Organization. It is a commitment which does not admit of exceptions and reservations. Let us prove to the world that the United Nations is fully aware of its responsibilities and that it is determined to live up to them.

219. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply. As representatives will recall, the General Assembly has decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply shall be limited to 10 minutes, and I am sure that representatives will co-operate in complying with that limitation.

220. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): It is really paradoxical that Mr. Abdullah Al-Alawi from this lofty rostrum [23rd meeting] has defended the régime of the Sultanate of Oman, whereas he was the official representative of the Liberation Front of Dhofar, and head of its Bureau in Cairo. Even though the Sultan of Oman was able to buy a handful of mercenaries in order to lead his opposition to the heroic struggle of the Omani people, that struggle continues with the objective of achieving independence and sovereignty under the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, which emanated from the Liberation Front of Dhofar.

221. The Omani question has for many years been on the agenda of the Fourth Committee, which adopted several resolutions to assure to the Omani people the exercise of its right to self-determination as well as the withdrawal of foreign forces from its territory. What is the situation in that country today?

222. First of all, the régime of Sultan Qabus bin Said relies totally on the presence of Iranian forces and bases in Oman, conforming to the traditions which had already been established by his father, who reigned over that country for dozens of years by relying on the régime of the English protectorate.

223. Secondly, the army of the Sultan is still led by British officers, who organized a palace coup d'état in order to give power to that new leader, who respects their interests in Oman.

224. Thirdly, the Sultanate of Oman lacks the basic elements of sovereignty, given the presence of foreign troops in that country. Its foreign policy is made in Teheran. With respect to its cultural, educational and information policy, it is in keeping with the expansionist schemes of Iran in the Arabian Gulf and the Arabian peninsula.

225. The Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman, which is struggling against the foreign presence and for the independence of Oman, began its national struggle on 9 June 1965, that is to say, two years before the independence of Democratic Yemen. That movement expressed the discontent of the people towards the dynasty which governed the country and the presence of foreign forces. At the time the Sultan considered that liberation movement to be a terrorist organization. That should not surprise us, because the Zionists, for example, consider that the Palestine Liberation Organization is a terrorist organization. By the same token, the white minority régime in southern Africa considers that the African freedom fighters are also terrorists. In any case, the size of the Iranian forces in Oman and the fact that they have land, sea and air bases and that they use sophisticated weapons, including Phantom aircraft, cannot convincingly justify the claim of a struggle against what is called the terrorists. That being the

¹³ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

case, the goal of maintaining those bases can only be interpreted as protection of the Sultan against his people.

226. It is very interesting and amusing in this regard to note that the representative of the Sultan feels that his country has assumed a special responsibility with respect to the security of navigation in the Hormuz Strait. The Sultanate is actually nothing but an Iranian protectorate. But in this regard Democratic Yemen would like to recall that the foreign bases used by Oman are for the purpose of aggression not only against Democratic Yemen but also against neighbouring Arab countries. On this occasion I should like to draw the attention of the General Assembly to some acts of military provocation which have threatened our security and peace. In fact, Iranian military aircraft have violated our air space and such an action took place on 24 October 1976. On that day those planes left their Iranian base and our defence forces shot down a Phantom military aircraft over our territorial waters. That aircraft, together with its pilot, was returned to the Iranian authorities, who recognized their responsibility in that incident.

227. The representative of the Sultan also said that more than half a million Yemenite citizens were living in neighbouring countries as refugees. I do not know from what sources he gathered his information, but it is totally groundless. It has been clearly established that there are more than a million Yemenites who live either in neighbouring Arab countries or in other countries but not as refugees. They live as workers participating in the reconstruction of the host countries. Democratic Yemen would be happy to welcome back its children because it needs them. In this connexion, we should like to recall that more than 5,000 Omani refugees live in Democratic Yemen, where they were forced to take refuge after the repeated bombings of their villages, which were destroyed.

228. That leads us to recall the report of the Red Cross Mission which helped those refugees and, in addition, the assistance given by the Omani Red Crescent and by the World Council of Churches.

229. We categorically reject from this rostrum all the false accusations which were put forward by the representative of the Sultan with respect to the internal situation in my country. I should like to reaffirm the fact that my country respects the principles and ideals of the United Nations and we wish to have the most cordial relations with all the other countries of the region, relations based on good neighbourliness, mutual respect for national sovereignty and non-interference in internal affairs.

230. Finally, I should like to reserve the right of my delegation to speak again, if necessary.

231. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I apologize to the representatives for having to waste their valuable time in order to reply to the false allegations made by the representative of the minority régime in Chad.

232. We in the Jamahiriya appreciate the difficult circumstances in which the régime in Chad finds itself. This régime is a creation of the imperialists, who have bestowed power

on the Elsara tribe of southern Chad, which, according to the census, represents 2.5 per cent of the Chad population. In any case, the responsibility is neither yours nor ours, but I wanted representatives to understand the nature of that régime and the reasons which led the speaker—Mr. Abdelkader Kamougué, an ex-police officer and friend of Koufink, the man who organized the last coup d'état in Chad—to make such a statement.

233. If I may so, what the Foreign Minister of Chad said is part and parcel of the hostile campaign initiated by imperialism against the Jamahiriya and of which everyone is undoubtedly aware. The representative of Chad spoke of occupation and aggression. I know him personally and I believe that he does not mean what he said, but it was imposed on him and I forgive him.

234. The Jamahiriya respects the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions. It respects the Charter and resolutions of the OAU, particularly, the Cairo resolution, which calls for respect of the sovereignty of the territories wrested from imperialism. At the same time, it wishes to protect the sovereignty of its own territory after having lost half of its children in its struggle against Italian fascism between 1911 and 1931. My country and Chad had and will always have good-neighbourly ties; we are one African nation; we are bound spiritually and we even have the same roots. We regret the fact that the minority régime imposed on Chad by imperialism ignores this fact. We are aware of the hardships of this régime, which really controls only the towns protected by foreign forces, whereas three quarters of the country is under the domination of the liberation front of Chad. That is not our responsibility. This situation existed 10 years before the revolution in the Jamahiriya took place. I do not wish to elaborate any further. I only wanted to shed light on the full implications of these words.

235. In 1975, I personally went to Chad and met with President Malloum. I expressed our wish to improve relations. We were the first country to recognize the Chad régime because we were under the impression that it was a national régime.

236. Chad is the poorest country in the world in spite of its potential because of that régime. Here, we may seek guidance from the statement made by the President of the Ivory Coast at the fourteenth regular session of the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government at Libreville: "When there is internal failure one should not direct one's attention to the exterior". I believe that is a very wise step. The Chad régime, however, had turned to the exterior within the framework of a campaign, so familiar to the representatives here. We have always shown our willingness to discuss any matter. The Foreign Minister of Chad visited the Jamahiriya twice to take back Chad refugees and we facilitated his mission. In spite of our efforts, and those of our brothers in the area, to promote national reconciliation in Chad, the minority régime in Chad, the régime of the Elsara tribe, has not responded because of the particular circumstances it is experiencing.

237. I do not wish to discuss technical points, but we sent a delegation to N'Djamena and declared—although we are aware of the statement made by the Chad delegation, which

is unfounded—our willingness to discuss matters. Our delegation was taken by surprise when it found in N'Djamena an agreement already drawn and ready for signature. Our delegation was given eight hours to sign that agreement or else leave Chad.

238. I have here the United Nations map accompanying the Adrien Pelt report prepared in 1952¹⁴ when, with the approval of the General Assembly, Libya became independent. This document can be obtained from the Secretariat by any delegation that may wish to see it. It reflects the real situation of the Jamahiriya. Geographically, our country is vast, but our population does not exceed 3 million inhabitants. Why then would we have any ambitions in Chad? On the contrary, you will find that the map attached to the text of the Chad minority régime's allegations, submitted to-day to the representatives, shows its interference in our affairs. There is no need for me to go into details, for if the representatives compared it to the United Nations map that is attached to the report of Adrien Pelt, the representative of the United Nations to Libya at that time, they will understand the real situation. In spite of that régime's violations of all international laws, such as severing diplomatic relations with our country, imprisoning some of the members of the diplomatic mission, confiscating valuables of the Embassy in the banks, nationalizing the bank which was assisting Chad—although Chad had not contributed one cent to the bank's capital, it was given a grant of 49 percent of its funds—in spite of all these violations, we remained conscious of our responsibilities because that régime does not know the meaning of international relations or international agreements and because we are aware that the Chad population is but a victim of that régime.

239. When this question was brought before the OAU, the OAU rejected the Chad allegations and formed a technical committee to study the problem. We have contributed to that committee's work. We are prepared to study this issue and to begin a dialogue, but we reject those allegations.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifth Session, Supplement No. 15* and *Ibid., Sixth Session, Supplements Nos. 17 and 17 A*.

Perhaps the minority régime, representing 2.5 per cent of the country's population, has its own reasons for attacking us, and that is why we chose to ignore those attacks.

240. I should like to assure the representatives that these allegations are false and have no foundation. The map attached to the Chad text constitutes interference in our internal affairs and a violation of the Charter of the United Nations. I wish to go on record that the Chad Government alone bears full responsibility with respect to this question, in spite of all our efforts which have been so far—and our African brothers are well aware of it—to have good neighbourly ties and brotherhood with all African countries. But by the same token, patience has its limits and we hope that this régime will soon come to realize that it is in its own interest to act in favour of national reconciliation. I have messages, which I shall distribute to the representatives, from the former President of Chad in which he describes his people as heroes fighting for the independence of Chad. That is a Chad internal problem, yet we have to bear the consequences. There are tens of thousands of Chad refugees in our country, an equivalent amount in neighbouring countries and more than a million others in the Sudan. Because of the presence of all these refugees, all of us in that region suffer from the Chad régime and have to bear enormous expenses on account of it. We can invite the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees to come to our country, and perhaps visit the Sudan also, to ascertain the situation.

241. In spite of everything, we are ready to help Chad and to begin a dialogue, but within the framework of friendly and brotherly relations and not in a spirit where aerial contacts are forbidden, although all other planes flying to Chad cross our land. We will not engage in the same kind of demagoguery as the minority Government, which represents 2.5 per cent of the population of Chad.

242. I wish to apologize once more for having taken up the Assembly's precious time. I promise that I shall not reply again to any further allegations that may be made by the representative of the Chad minority.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.