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

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1 Mr. KINENE (Uganda): Mr. President, I am delighted to have the opportunity to convey to you, and through you to all the delegations represented here, the warm greetings of His Excellency Alhaji Field Marshal Idi Amin Dada, V.C., D.S.O., M.C., C.B.E., President-for-Life of the Republic of Uganda, the Government and the entire people of Uganda and to wish you fruitful deliberations during this session.

2. It is now 15 years since Uganda was admitted as a full Member of this Organization and it is my pleasure to reaffirm my country's belief in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

3. Allow me, on behalf of my delegation, to convey to you, Mr. President, our heartiest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. It is, indeed, a fitting tribute to your eminent qualities as a diplomat and statesman. Your election is also a well-deserved honour for your gallant country, with which my country, Uganda, enjoys excellent relations and which has played a leading role in the non-aligned movement. There is no doubt that with your renowned abilities you will carry out your very heavy responsibilities to the satisfaction of this Assembly, which I am certain will record great successes under your wise guidance.

4. Our congratulations go also to the officers of the General Assembly, who will be assisting you in the fulfilment of your noble duty.

5. By the same token I should like to register my sincere appreciation of the creative efforts and considerable results achieved at the last session under the guidance of the outgoing President, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka.

6. I wish also to pay a special tribute to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who since he began his second term of office has brought great dedication and a sense of personal commitment to his heavy task. My country has noted with appreciation the dynamism with which he has been performing his duties since the last session of the General Assembly. The role that Mr. Waldheim is playing in maintaining international peace and security and in bringing about justice and human equality among all peoples of the world has been hailed and commended by all peace-loving nations of the world.

7. I have no doubt that you will agree with me, Mr. President, that of all the changes which have occurred in the international community since the inception of this Organization none has more profoundly changed the face of the world than the achievement of independence by those countries and peoples formerly under colonial rule. Equally you will agree with me that the process of decolonization is not yet complete, especially on the African continent. However, we can look to a day in the near future when no people or country will be under the control of any imperialist Power.

8. It is with great pleasure, therefore, that my delegation congratulates the people of Djibouti on their accession to independence. My country welcomes that new sister State from Africa to the ranks of this Assembly. Africa's determination to stamp out all vestiges of colonialism and imperialist manoeuvres has been demonstrated once again and it is now the duty of all States Members of the United Nations to give all possible assistance to this new sister State in order to preserve its political and economic independence.

9. My delegation is also very happy to see the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam take its rightful place in this universal Organization. We all recall the heroic struggle which the people of Viet Nam waged to liberate itself from the fetters of imperialist forces in order to establish a free and peaceful society. The presence of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam among us today clearly demonstrates yet another crushing political defeat inflicted upon the forces of the imperialists and reactionaries who are resentful of the political and economic independence of countries of the third world, particularly members of the non-aligned movement. It also signifies that the people will always win, irrespective of whether the enemy is a super-Power.

10. There have been many international changes since the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up in 1945. The number of Member States has increased and so have the activities of the Organization. Since the last session also there have been some changes on the international scene and new developments within this Organization which for

millions of people throughout the world provides an indispensable forum in which to bring to the attention of the international community some of the problems that plague the world and for which all too often there is no apparent forum or solution. These factual changes in the life of this Organization necessitate changes in its structure. My delegation suggested during the last session that the negative vote system—more precisely, the veto—had become more distasteful to most members of this Assembly because it is incompatible with the principle of the sovereign equality of all States and gives to a few a privileged status eclipsing the will of the majority.<sup>1</sup> It is thus imperative that a more democratic and representative system be adopted so that the majority of the membership of the United Nations can play a more effective role in the Organization. I hope that at this session the General Assembly will give this question more serious consideration.

11. Since the end of the Second World War this Assembly has been preoccupied with the task of finding ways and means of freezing the proliferation of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments. Last year my delegation expressed its concern at the lack of progress in disarmament and the increased tendency towards the production, stockpiling and proliferation of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments. The arms race undertaken by rival super-Powers is a threat to world peace and security, which are of cardinal concern to our Organization.

12. It would be contrary to the aspirations of the people of the world if this Organization did not make positive moves in the field of disarmament for the maintenance of peace and security among the nations of the world. My delegation is of the strong view that the vast resources which some Members of this Organization are devoting to the production of arms should be utilized to meet the very serious problems of social and economic development of all countries, particularly the developing countries.

13. It is in the light of this that my delegation welcomes the convening of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to the question of disarmament. It is our hope that the special session will adopt concrete proposals for the solution of the problems regarding disarmament.

14. On the question of southern Africa we are happy that there has been increasing world concern, especially on the part of some of the big Powers which have made attempts to ensure that a negotiated settlement is found for the issues of the independence of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. But while Uganda appreciates the current moves for finding a negotiated solution to the problems of southern Africa on the part of some countries, we have time and again made it clear that nothing short of armed struggle will save the situation in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa. This remains our view. We have taken and maintained this stand, mindful of several provocative events by the racist régime in southern Africa and their collaborators.

15. We have taken note of the Anglo-American proposals on Zimbabwe, but we still urge caution in the handling of

the issue so that the victories caused by the liberation movement are not reversed through the sweet words of the imperialists. Likewise, we maintain that the primary responsibility for the independence of Zimbabwe rests with the colonial Power, namely the United Kingdom. And nothing will convince us that the United Kingdom cannot discipline the rebel Smith if they so desire, as it has indeed done in many other countries which were former colonies of Britain and which had a more complicated situation.

16. On the other hand, the world community should not lose sight of the fact that the imperialists, after having been routed in other parts of the world, such as South-East Asia, have now turned their eyes to the African continent, especially its southern part, as the centre for their exploitation. So when we see the forces of the racist Vorster and the rebel Smith committing naked aggression against southern African States, such as Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana and Mozambique, and when at that very time we see the imperialists uttering sweet words about a peaceful solution or a negotiated settlement for the problems of southern Africa, we become more convinced that the imperialists are just trying to buy time while they are arming the racists to the teeth with conventional as well as atomic weapons, so that they can crush the liberation movements and keep Africa safe for imperialism, or what they call Western civilization. Our appeal to Africa is this: "Africa, keep your eyes open and be more vigilant now than ever before." As for the liberation movements, we say: "Do not listen to the sweet words of the imperialists and do not lay down your arms until the last enemy soldier has surrendered." In other words, the armed struggle must continue and be intensified so that the fire Africa has started does not go out.

17. Similarly with Namibia, the atrocities that are being committed by the racist régime of Vorster must be met with increased fire, and any proposals such as those which were presented by the five Powers for a constitutional settlement must be rejected *in toto*. We have once before been duped by the so-called talks of the Windhoek school, talks which were meant to hoodwink the gallant Namibian people under the able leadership of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] into accepting the obnoxious policy of bantustanization. We in Uganda are none the less happy with the new victories scored by SWAPO on the war front and hope that they redouble these efforts for the total dislodgement of the racists and the eventual establishment of a government led by the Namibian people.

18. Turning to the question of South Africa itself, my delegation would like to reaffirm our stand that Vorster has no right to deny over 18 million Africans their fundamental human rights. At the same time we appeal to the Western Powers, particularly the member States of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, to desist from the nuclear conspiracy that has for a long time characterized their relations with South Africa. In this spirit, we once again call upon the United Nations to consider yet again, and with greater seriousness, the question of isolating the racist régime in South Africa from the world body and its affiliated organs. Further, the United Nations must urgently impose a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa, together with economic sanctions, against the racist régime in that part of Africa. In this connexion, Uganda calls for

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 24th meeting, para. 22.

the full implementation of the Lagos Declaration<sup>2</sup> and the Programme of Action on South Africa adopted at the last session of the General Assembly [*see resolution 31/6 J, annex*].

19. As we have said before, Africa is not fighting to annihilate the white man. What Africa is fighting is oppression, injustice and the degrading and dehumanizing *apartheid* system imposed forcibly on our black brothers and sisters by the racist régime in South Africa.

20. Whether the racists and their collaborators like it or not the struggle for self-determination and human dignity in southern Africa will triumph in the long run. At this stage we would, however, wish to pay a tribute to all the gallant sons and daughters of Africa who have fallen in this struggle and to single out for mention the late Steven Biko, a very distinguished leader of the Azanian people, who was murdered in cold blood by the racists of South Africa. We appreciate the material and moral support that Africa has received from several friendly countries in this struggle and express the hope for increased assistance until the final victory is won.

21. The Middle East crisis remains one of the most serious threats to international peace and security. It is a crisis whose core has too often been overlooked. And this central issue is the rights of the Palestinian people. For this reason, the United Nations, as the custodian of peace, cannot afford to remain indifferent when the fate of a people is at stake.

22. For over two decades now, the Middle East problem has been the subject of heated and increasingly intensive debates in this Assembly, to say nothing of other international forums, such as the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] and the League of Arab States. But each time, the reality and indeed the crux of the problem have been obscured, as have the essential facts of the crisis, which have been falsified by Western and Zionist propaganda. Needless to say, the problem is essentially neither one of border arguments between Israel and the Arab States, nor one of humanitarian care for the Palestinian refugees.

23. The essence of the problem, as we see it, is that the Palestinian people have been deprived of their homeland by the Zionists and denied their right to self-determination by the expansionist régime in Israel. Against this background, the belief of my delegation is that no lasting peace can be achieved in the Middle East until the rights of the Palestinians are fully restored. Furthermore, the Zionist régime must withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since the 1967 war, and adhere to all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations on this matter. Time and again the United Nations has passed resolutions calling upon Israel to withdraw unconditionally from all the Arab lands which it has occupied illegally since the 1967 war, but to no avail, because of Israel's obstinate and arrogant attitude. Indeed, Zionist Israel, supported by certain Western Powers, has virtually become a huge military arsenal threatening to wipe out the Arab peoples and threatening international peace and security. That is why

the Arab peoples have taken up arms against Israel; they have no other choice. It is a choice that we in Uganda support unequivocally and we shall continue to give all our support to the struggling people of Palestine.

24. It is in the light of this that my delegation hopes and believes that this current session of the General Assembly will attach the greatest importance and urgency to this issue and adopt firm proposals, especially with regard to the continued Zionist aggression and colonial expansionism.

25. We support the declaration of the non-aligned countries, adopted at the extraordinary meeting of the Foreign Ministers of the non-aligned countries, held in New York on 30 September 1977 [*A/32/255-S/12410, annex*], pledging their help and support to the struggle to recover all Arab occupied territories since 1967 and to restore the natural rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the right to establish their own State on Palestinian soil, as well as the right to compensation for their property, stolen by the Zionists. We believe that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East should be held within the ambit of this declaration and that the Palestine Liberation Organization, which is the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, should participate in these negotiations, aimed at settling the Palestinian issue and the whole question of the Middle East.

26. When the Charter of the United Nations was signed in 1945, it created a world with a background of two devastating world wars in half a century. Naturally, the Charter highlighted the United Nations' quest for peace and security. The authors of the Charter were not, however, oblivious of the important role to be played by economic stability and orderly development in the world. A world divided between those who live in lavish affluence on the one hand, and those who live in abject poverty and deprivation on the other, is hardly conducive to continued peace and security. In such conditions, a time might come when those who feel condemned to perpetual poverty and suffering might think that they have nothing to lose but their misery. Then those who enjoy the luxuries of affluence might have no guarantee of their continued prosperity in peace and security.

27. The Charter of the United Nations turned the world community to the solution of economic, social and humanitarian problems, so that a better world could be evolved for the happiness of man, enabling him to live in peace, security and prosperity. However, the inclination of some Members of this Organization to maintain the world economic *status quo* has perpetuated the gap between the poor and the rich nations.

28. Since the United Nations was founded, its impact has been exhibited in the increased number of developing countries that have achieved political independence and joined the world community. Those countries have rightly realized that political independence without economic independence and without a fair and just share of the fruits of the world's economic development is fragile. Their solidarity, moulded out of common aspirations, has had an impact on economic relations among nations. Their just claim to share in world economic development culminated in the Declaration and Programme of Action on the

<sup>2</sup> For Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*, see *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

Establishment of a New International Economic Order, which emanated from the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. That document, together with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*] and the decisions of the seventh special session of the General Assembly and other relevant General Assembly resolutions, constitute an important corner-stone for the establishment among nations of new economic relations based on equality and justice.

29. The new international economic order should be the basis for the eradication of poverty, hunger, malnutrition, disease and ignorance. This new order of relationships has been strongly advocated and supported by the developing countries, having in mind the way the old economic set-up in the world has functioned; but even if the developing countries had not advocated this approach, other groups of countries would probably have advocated a change and realignment of world economic relations. Since the world community set itself on the path of establishing a new international economic order, meetings and negotiations have taken place in order to give practical effect to our aspirations. However, due to a lack of political will, mainly on the part of developed industrialized countries, little progress has been achieved towards the establishment of a fair and just economic relationship among the nations of the world. Some developed countries still want to maintain the old *status quo* in world economic relations.

30. The meagre results achieved so far in the establishment of the new international economic order underline the inflexibility of some developed countries in the face of fast changing world economic relations. The recent Conference on International Economic Co-operation, or North-South dialogue, in Paris points to the fact that, unless there is a reasonable accommodation to the aspirations of the majority of mankind in the world, we face a rough road ahead in our endeavours to establish fair and just economic relationships among nations.

31. The United Nations, as a universal and fully representative body, is the most appropriate forum in which global issues concerning economic development should be negotiated. We said this at the inception of the Paris negotiations and in our later statements on this issue, and the meagre results of the Paris dialogue only serve to underline our scepticism. We hope that future negotiations of this nature will be carried out within the United Nations system, where all countries are represented.

32. In this regard, my delegation would like to underline the declaration of the Foreign Ministers of the developing countries issued in New York on 29 September 1977 [*A/32/244*]. Unfortunately, there was no agreed assessment of the Paris dialogue at the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly.<sup>3</sup> We should now bring all negotiations of a global nature under the auspices of the United Nations.

33. We should also like to reaffirm emphatically the inalienable right of the developing countries to full and

permanent sovereign, over their natural resources and all their economic activities, including the right of nationalization according to their national laws. This position is in line with the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Uganda's declaration of its economic war was a national expression of this right, and we have already made compensation settlements with some of the people affected. Uganda has now embarked on a three-year action programme to rehabilitate its economy.

34. As a land-locked developing country, we welcome investments in our country as long as they are in line with our laws. We also welcome assistance from the United Nations, its agencies and the world community. In this regard, we should like to underline the declaration of the Foreign Ministers previously referred to in which, among other things, that declaration urges the developed countries to pay special and urgent attention to the particular and pressing needs and requirements of the least-developed, land-locked, most seriously affected and island developing countries, and calls for the implementation within specific time-frames of the special measures and decisions adopted in their favour by the organs, organizations and other bodies of the United Nations system. To this special pronouncement by the foreign ministers of the developing countries, I should like to add the question of transit for land-locked developing countries. We hope that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will work out a satisfactory convention safeguarding the right of access of land-locked developing countries to and from the sea.

35. As regards coercion in international trade, we welcome the declaration of the Foreign Ministers of developing countries and the reiteration of their commitment to condemn, reject and resist all forms of threats or coercive and discriminatory economic policies and practices, including the imposition of restrictions on the direct or indirect transfer of advanced technology to individual or groups of developing countries by the developed countries. Any country contemplating the use of such measures, including sabotage, against my country would not only be violating the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States but would also be acting contrary to the spirit of co-operation of the developing countries as contained in the declaration of their Foreign Ministers which was adopted by acclamation in New York on 29 September 1977.

36. Uganda attaches great importance to human settlements in the totality of development. We have closely followed the evolution of the concept of human settlements within the United Nations system and have participated actively in discussions at different levels, both nationally and within the United Nations, and in preparatory committees, culminating in the Vancouver Conference<sup>4</sup> at which my country was represented at a very high level.

37. Since the Habitat Conference at Vancouver, encouraging developments on the follow-up to Habitat and the issues of institutional arrangements in the field of human settlements, have taken place. It will, however, be recalled that at its thirty-first session the General Assembly

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 108th and 109th meetings.

<sup>4</sup> Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, held at Vancouver from 31 May to 11 June 1976.



was unable to resolve sensitive issues of institutional arrangements in the field of human settlements. At that session, the General Assembly referred these issues to the sixty-third session of the Economic and Social Council, requesting the Council to take definitive decisions.

38. Despite the time, patience and talent deployed by all members of the delegations which participated in the consultations, the Economic and Social Council was not able to reach a consensus on some issues contained in Conference Room Paper No. 8, and therefore decided, without prejudging the final position that Member States may take on the matter, to transmit the draft resolution on institutional arrangements for international co-operation in the field of human settlements<sup>5</sup> to the General Assembly at the current session as a text for further negotiations [A/32/3, para. 301]. My delegation hopes that the further negotiations envisaged by the Council will be completed on the issues outstanding at the present session of the General Assembly so that the central and regional secretariats can operate and play their important role in the development of towns and villages, especially in developing countries like Uganda.

39. Before concluding, let me touch briefly on the question of refugees. Uganda has for a long time been playing host to refugees from many neighbouring countries, and we have been doing this in accordance with our traditional African hospitality. We have given the refugees land on which to settle and grow food. We have made available to them not only health care but also educational facilities for their children from the level of primary school up to that of university. In doing this, Uganda has never allowed those refugees to engage in any subversive activities against their countries of origin. Uganda has never supplied a single gun to any of them to go and attack his country of origin. In fact, their continued stay in our country is conditional on their undertaking that they will never engage in any subversive activities against their former countries. Now, while doing this, we have seen in contrast how certain countries have been shamelessly violating those elementary rules governing the stay and conduct of refugees in any country. These imperialist countries have gone even to the extent of signing agreements with the refugees according to which they would support an invasion of Uganda in return for recolonizing Uganda for at least 25 years. Knowing how hypocritical and malicious these imperialist countries are, it is not surprising to see that they are the same countries which, while engaging in subversive activities and joining hands with exiles in such criminal acts, have had the audacity of coming to this rostrum to talk about human rights. Their tears from this rostrum were nothing but crocodile tears. They were nothing but a deliberate cover-up for their diabolical plans against Uganda.

40. The real reason behind this wild campaign against Uganda is not so much the concern for human rights; it is the resentment those hypocrites have against Uganda and in particular against the conqueror of the British Empire, President-for-Life Idi Amin Dada, who put an end to their criminal exploitation of Uganda's economy when he declared the economic war in 1972. They were so furious that

they even cut off their so-called technical assistance, with immediate effect. That meant that technicians such as engineers, teachers and lecturers had to leave Uganda immediately. What is more, even doctors and nurses were ordered to leave Uganda immediately. Their calculation at that time was that Uganda's economy would collapse within three months, after which they would come back and continue their exploitation.

41. But, of course, that was nothing but day-dreaming. It is now over five years since Ugandans took full control of their economy, and today we have even more industries than we had before the declaration of economic war. Our economy is in a stronger position than ever before, our plan of action is in progress, and experts from over 50 friendly countries are working with us on various developments projects. These experts do not, of course, include the imperialist exploiters, who are preoccupied with subversive activities against Uganda.

42. Uganda has no time to waste. It is fully engaged in implementing its action programme. But if the imperialists and Zionists and their puppets attempt to interfere with this process of nation-building, Uganda will not hesitate to hit back very hard at them.

43. This leads me also to make a comment on certain unfortunate remarks voiced in this hall this morning by the representatives of certain puppet régimes. My delegation reserves the right to reply to these remarks at an appropriate time. But while reserving that right, let me say this: we in Uganda, a country which won its independence through hard struggle and which has paid, and is still paying, the price of having dared to kick out foreign exploiters through the declaration of economic war, will never allow any country or any puppet régime, for that matter, to interfere in our internal affairs in any guise.

44. If those allegations had been made by the imperialists themselves, I would have given them the fire they deserve. But since they came from a puppet, then let me say this: in Uganda we have an African proverb that, if a girl comes to you weeping and then starts accusing the boy, you should not condemn that boy before you listen to his story because you may hurt the wrong person. The imperialists and Zionists, through their press media and through their puppets, have been making wild and malicious allegations against Uganda for the reasons I outlined earlier in my statement. Now they want to drag others into their war against Uganda in order to divert this Organization from the real issues facing it, such as the problem of southern Africa where, even now when they come and hypocritically condemn *apartheid*, their governments continue to invest millions of dollars with the racist régime practising *apartheid* and which is oppressing millions of black people. As far as I know, Uganda and Papua New Guinea are two sister countries, and I think representatives of that country should have enough courage to listen to the boy's story before they give credit to the girl's story, especially when they know that that girl is an imperialist prostitute sent to confuse this world Organization.

45. Mr. KARGOUGOU (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, since I am speaking for the first time here in this Assembly, by your leave I should like

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-third Session, Supplement No. 1*, decision 262 (LXIII).

to associate myself fully with the warm congratulations which have already been addressed to you on the occasion of your election. The unanimous decision of this Assembly to entrust to you the task of guiding our work is a stirring tribute to the policies of your country and to your personal qualities as a seasoned diplomat. The considerable experience you have had in the United Nations and your undisputed authority make you particularly qualified to preside over the important debates of this thirty-second session. Mr. President, I can assure you of the complete co-operation of the delegation of Upper Volta in the discharge of your duties.

46. It is also a pleasure to pay a well-deserved tribute to your eminent predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe who, with his wisdom and talents as an enlightened diplomat, guided with exceptional success the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

47. Finally, I should like to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the devotion, perception and dedication with which he guides the destiny of the Organization. I should like to express to him our complete satisfaction and total support for his praiseworthy efforts in his lofty and exalted post.

48. I could not go into the substantive problems in my statement without first expressing my personal happiness at seeing seated among us the representatives of the brother people of Djibouti and the Vietnamese people. Those two States will, I am certain, make a dynamic contribution to the work of our Organization and to the attainment of the noble objectives of the Charter. Their admission represents also a further step towards the universality at which the United Nations aims.

49. I wish now to touch on some of the complex and disturbing questions that deserve the full attention of our Assembly. Despite exceptional efforts made by our Organization and the international community, the world is beset with grave problems that require urgent solutions—first and foremost the problem of southern Africa.

50. Southern Africa remains a dangerous tinderbox which threatens peace in that region and in the world because *apartheid* is violence, both moral and physical, and because *apartheid* represents a total contempt for our Organization and its Charter. Upper Volta, whose philosophy is based on respect for man, whatever his civilization or culture, denounces and condemns once again the anachronistic and ignoble scourge of *apartheid* which stops at nothing to repress and massacre innumerable Africans, whose only crime is that they have a black skin. From this rostrum I wish to pay a tribute to the memory of Steven Biko and to all the martyrs of southern Africa who courageously fell before bullets or were crushed by torture, and to all those who, while we are meeting here, are paying dearly in the horrors of the gaols of Vorster and Ian Smith for their rejection of *apartheid* and for their ardent quest for dignity, justice and independence.

51. The situation in southern Africa is all the more disturbing since the racist régimes strive ferociously to increase and improve their means of repression and destruction, including nuclear weapons. From this rostrum we

solemnly appeal to all the great Powers and their allies and to the entire international community to take appropriate measures so as to make Vorster incapable of threatening African States and world peace. The black community will no longer be content with beautiful words while Vorster, with the benefit of the lucrative economic relations which South Africa maintains with a good number of States, openly arms in defiance of innumerable resolutions of this Assembly.

52. The illegal occupation of the international Territory of Namibia by the racist régime of Pretoria and the introduction into that country of the policy of *apartheid* and bantustanization constitute a defiance of the United Nations and of the international community. It is necessary decisively to counter that action by South Africa so as to hasten Namibia's accession to independence by democratic means and under United Nations supervision. In this respect we reaffirm the need to give SWAPO all the political and material support it needs in the just struggle it wages for freedom.

53. The obduracy of the rebel racist minority in desperately holding on to its power and the resulting situation of conflict jeopardize the very existence of the white community of that country. We believe that it is more urgent than ever to find a final solution for the Rhodesian problem on the basis of majority rule.

54. The Anglo-American plan is the last chance for a peaceful settlement. If it fails Africa would have no choice other than to resort to the only solution capable of making Ian Smith give way—armed struggle to the end.

55. The situation in the Middle East continues to threaten the peace and development of the region. Upper Volta attentively follows the evolution of that disturbing question and hopes that in the Middle East a just and lasting peace will soon be established on the basis of the following elements: withdrawal from the Arab territories occupied by force since 1967; the right of every State in the region to live within secure and recognized borders; and the recognition and implementation of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people.

56. All that leads us to deplore the recent measures taken by Israel to establish new settlements on the West Bank. It is, nevertheless, our hope that the negotiations under way for a resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East will be positive. However, it would be an illusion to imagine that that Conference will arrive at lasting results without the effective, full and complete participation of the Palestinian people represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

57. The separation of the island of Mayotte from the rest of the Comoros is still a situation that worries all African States. We trust that the lofty mission entrusted to the current President of the OAU with respect to the President of France will rapidly produce a satisfactory solution to this question.

58. We welcome the efforts made by the Secretary-General to find a lasting solution to the painful problem of Cyprus. Upper Volta deplores the interference of other

States in the internal affairs of Cyprus and sincerely hopes that the two communities, Greek and Turkish alike, will arrive at an understanding and agreement with independence and in non-alignment.

59. In 1976 military expenditure reached the fabulous sum of \$350 billion; that is the equivalent of the combined gross national product of all the nations of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East; it is the equivalent of national expenditure for education throughout the world, double the expenditure for health, and 15 times higher than foreign aid to developing countries.

60. Given such waste and the destructive potential it entails, the disarmament problem becomes acute. We are pleased, therefore, with the many attempts at, and laborious discussions on, disarmament. The initiative of the non-aligned countries to convene in 1978 a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament will perhaps allow us to lay the groundwork for effective disarmament.

61. These developments warrant the hope that moderating influences will carry more weight on behalf of the cause in which man, by his inalienable right to existence, happiness and to a future, must always have the final word.

62. Among the matters involving our Organization, I wish to highlight the consensus agreements reached here and State sovereignty, a sacrosanct principle of international law, which, in current circumstances, no one could think of renouncing.

63. Yet, here perhaps more than in ideological confrontations and conflicts of interest lies the bone of contention, since it is obviously inconceivable that United Nations resolutions should be perceived or received with indifference by the countries concerned without serious damage to international order itself. The pressure tactics or retaliatory measures which have sometimes been resorted to, and their generally unfruitful results, are certainly among the most basic causes of the feeling of dissatisfaction with the international political order in our times.

64. The bitter fruits of this state of affairs are: violence in all its forms, the crystallization of selfish interests, intolerance, the balancing act between the great Powers now elevated to a new diplomatic art, and the feeling of helplessness experienced by the weakest.

65. Now, let us not be misled: never has our world been in greater need of an international morality endowed with the essential legitimacy which would derive from its unreserved acceptance, without ulterior motives, by the whole international community.

66. Indeed, what led to the creation of the United Nations on the morrow of an atrocious war was mankind's need for new foundations for his future and for his survival, for a new approach to the world's problems, for a new philosophy of international relations—in short, for a new international morality.

67. But, as you will agree, that new ethic has not, unfortunately, gained ground as it should have because of the narrow interests of States.

68. Yet, the situation we find ourselves in, overshadowed by economic crisis and monetary disarray, coupled with a fresh outburst of foreign competition on the African continent, may aggravate the all-too-well-known symptoms.

69. Hence it is with particular seriousness that I appeal for an attempt to define this new international morality so urgently needed by our world. Otherwise there may be a dangerous escalation of unbridled competition, violence, and perhaps, alas, the ultimate apocalypse. What our world needs, individually as well as collectively, is a reason to believe—a reason that is sufficiently imperative to justify forgetting circumstantial interests, so as to rise above selfish interests. In a word, what our world needs is a new brotherhood of man, a new practice in international relations based on the innate feeling of justice common to every man. Only such a practice will be able to create a feeling of real and binding obligation before which even the principle of State sovereignty itself will be bound to yield.

70. True, centuries of traditions, ways of life and thinking will not easily be altered. Nobody wants to give away his trump cards, his ability to respond to events, that enable him to perpetuate his dominant position or his material interests. Yet, some doctrines would lose much of their attractiveness and would more clearly reveal the price to be paid if this new international morality, the requirements and implications of which are certainly not difficult to define, could find its proper course in the light of the profound crisis which our world is undergoing, and could in the immediate future be established boldly where confrontations are becoming manifest, namely in Africa.

71. I have deliberately dwelt on the political factors and prospects which form the background of international relations, but I would be remiss were I to overlook economic problems, because the survival of our civilization is threatened not only by conflicts and the arms race, but also, if not more so, by disparities in economic development. In this field, the countries concerned must, of course, make the major effort; but, regrettably, such efforts have often failed because of external forces entirely beyond their control. That is what is happening, for example, in the Sahelian countries, where droughts and floods alternate, leaving in their wake death, devastation and poverty. Who can affirm in all conscience that this seasonal disruption is in no way related to all the atmospheric and stratospheric experiments that have been carried out? Meanwhile, the submission to States, for their consideration, of an international Convention on the Prohibition of Military or Any Other Hostile Use of Environmental Modification Techniques proves, if that were necessary, that man can now deliberately manipulate the natural elements.

72. Upper Volta, despite these difficulties, is tirelessly pursuing a policy which combines a desire for rapid economic growth and a concern for integrated development. After the five-year plan which has just been completed with specific achievements, a new plan is under way which will place greater emphasis on agricultural production, the essential basis and principal vehicle of our economic development.

73. If, in spite of everything, our situation still encounters obstacles to be overcome, it is not so much because of our

unfavourable geographical position as because of the erratic climate which makes Upper Volta a Sahelian country. The tragedies suffered by the Sahelian countries from 1968 to 1973 endangered the already difficult lives of 20 million human beings. But again this year, drought has clearly reminded us that, in order to deal with the over-all damage to our lands and environment, the solution must not be found in any effort to change the climate because this is a recurrent and inevitable climatic condition of arid, semi-arid and subhumid regions.

74. We must perforce learn to control water by a sound and rational policy with regard to water resources. In this respect, two world conferences have indicated their vital importance this year. One was the United Nations Water Conference, held in Mar del Plata some months ago, which reached positive conclusions on the most rational method of managing water resources throughout the world in order to meet the growing requirements, particularly in the arid-zone countries.<sup>6</sup> The other was the United Nations Conference on Desertification, held in September last in Nairobi. This important Conference, at which more than 100 States of our Organization met, including the Scandinavian countries, bears witness to the interest that mankind attaches to this problem.

75. However, my country, Upper Volta, did not wait for the Conference on Desertification to attack the evil at its roots. In fact since 1963 our public authorities have undertaken a vast anti-erosion campaign in the north of our country. Thus we reclaimed more than 300,000 hectares. Since then, action by the Government has also been carried out on a certain number of strategic projects intended in particular to remedy ecological imbalances. Among these measures, Upper Volta gives a high priority to reforestation, and that is why, within the framework of the regional development organizations, we are experimenting with reforestation in villages. It is true that in our Sudan-Sahelian zone deforestation is at present the most serious form of ecological deterioration. Therefore a bold policy must be undertaken by an extensive and intensive programme of reforestation. For such a programme to be effective it must be included in a subregional or regional context and have the support of the popular masses through their being made aware of the problems and being mobilized to deal with them, because it is the attitude of men and their ability to assimilate new factors which will largely determine productivity.

76. The United Nations has an eminent role to play in the success of this vast and sound undertaking. It is from this standpoint that the Government of Upper Volta would like to propose to this Assembly that the tree should constitute the theme for our thinking when it comes to fighting desertification. We are prepared to seek with all States concerned the appropriate context for action along these lines.

77. The hopes of half a billion human beings are at present based on the plan of action which marked the end of the work of the Conference.<sup>7</sup> Even though we did not attain

<sup>6</sup> See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Water, held at Mar del Plata, from 14 to 25 March 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.II.A.12), chap. I.

<sup>7</sup> See document A/CONF.74/36, chap. I.

unanimity, because of differences among industrialized and developing countries regarding the establishment of a special fund for desertification, and even though the effective implementation of the plan of action would require the solution of a certain number of prior questions, it remains no less true that the Nairobi Conference has paved the way to genuine international solidarity in regard to that new international economic order to which we all aspire.

78. This new economic order, as we have all recognized, assumes a redefinition, or rather a readjustment, of North-South relations, with a systematic search for justice and equity. We are bound to recognize that in this matter the rich and the poor do not speak the same language. The fourth session of UNCTAD, the results of which did not fulfil our hopes, and the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, or North-South dialogue, which did not succeed in making positions more flexible, both bear eloquent testimony to the differences in assessment and equally in the approach to relationships based on interests. The situation we are witnessing at the end of this century is not only a worsening of the terms of trade but also a deterioration in the terms of negotiation.

79. Yet a little attention to the actual facts is all that is needed to be convinced of the need for international action for the benefit of the poor countries, in which the tragedy of man daily becomes more distressing.

80. In most of these countries the *per capita* annual growth does not exceed 0.3 per cent, whereas the rate scheduled for the Second United Nations Development Decade is 3.5 per cent. This rate appears to be even lower in the Sahelian countries, where most of the least advanced poor countries are located. When one notes that in the region nature is inclement and that the shortage of rainfall so far this year threatens to aggravate the grain crisis at a time when it is at a critical threshold, one immediately realizes how necessary and urgent a solution is.

81. As far as trade is concerned, the balance of world trade has deteriorated at the expense of the developing countries, whose exports have risen by a little less than 4 per cent since 1975, that is, far below the 7 per cent target set for the Second Development Decade. Conversely, their imports have risen in the proportions imposed by the persistent inflation, the rising prices and the economic recession in the developed countries. Hence they have experienced a trade deficit of approximately \$35 billion.

82. The same tendency is apparent in their external indebtedness, which remains disturbing, particularly because of the high rate and unequal distribution of the indebtedness of the developing countries to their creditors. This indebtedness has doubled in three years and it has now risen to \$130 billion. For this year alone statistics foresee an increase of the order of \$30 billion.

83. In these circumstances aid for development becomes marginal, particularly if one takes into account the financing needs of the poor countries, which will rise to approximately \$60 billion at the end of the present decade.

84. It is evident that one can no longer expect these countries to finance, by borrowing, a deficit imposed on



them by the international crisis and by the selfishness of the market-economy countries.

85. This rather sombre picture reveals the alarming situation of the developing countries, which urgently need measures of assistance if chaos is to be avoided. In this respect we must warmly thank the friendly countries which, through bilateral and multilateral assistance, have given valuable aid to our development effort.

86. Those among them which have not hesitated to devote 1 per cent of their gross national product to development aid above all deserve our profound gratitude. We appeal to them to intensify this effort and to make it more dynamic by increasing assistance for our development. In particular we appreciate the decision taken by States which, like Canada, have decided to convert debts into selfless aid. Upper Volta firmly believes that the future of the world depends on co-operation among men if we wish to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, as was proclaimed as long ago as 1945 by the nations among us which had the historic mission of laying the foundations of our Organization. An international conference, the Afro-Arab summit,<sup>8</sup> paved the way for this form of multilateral co-operation. May it lead to other similar initiatives so that our world may advance in peace and prosperity.

87. For our part we wish to reiterate our commitment to discharge our common responsibilities unflaggingly alongside the other nations represented here, not only to liberate mankind from the spectre of war but also to ensure for coming generations a universe of justice, progress and prosperity.

88. Mr. FELLI (Ghana): Mr. President, on behalf of the Chairman and the Government of the Supreme Military Council of Ghana I must first of all congratulate you most warmly on your election to the presidency of this Assembly. This session has come at a critical time in the history of the United Nations, when the strength and purpose of our Organization will be tested, particularly in the next few weeks. But we have no doubt that the diplomatic skill, competence and tact which have characterized your distinguished career in the service of your country will be employed in conducting the affairs of this Assembly. By this election the international community represented here not only gives recognition to your personal merit but also does honour to your country and its great leader, Marshal Tito. As you are aware, we in Ghana have for many years enjoyed cordial relations with Yugoslavia and have always held its leader in the highest esteem as a founding member and mentor of the non-aligned movement. Marshal Tito's singular association with this movement is well known. If the concept of non-alignment has today secured international recognition and respect, we in Ghana believe, as indeed many others have confirmed, that this is due in large measure to his conviction, interest and perseverance. The election of Yugoslavia to the presidency of the General Assembly for this session undoubtedly gives recognition to this fact and in a way reflects honour on the non-aligned world in general.

<sup>8</sup> First Conference of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity and the League of Arab States, held in Cairo from 7 to 9 March 1977.

89. I also join previous speakers in expressing to Mr. Hamilton Amerasinghe the Ghanaian Government's deep appreciation of his excellent and devoted service to the United Nations General Assembly throughout the past year. Our gratitude also goes to the indefatigable Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his staff, who in various capacities in the past year have served the interest of humanity with sincerity and dedication.

90. It is indeed a happy event that at the current session we welcome the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti to membership in our Organization.

91. On the happy occasion of the admission of Viet Nam, therefore, the delegation of Ghana salutes its Government and people. Ghana has no doubt whatsoever that in assuming its rightful place in the United Nations the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will make an invaluable contribution to the Organization's understanding of third-world aspirations as well as to the promotion of peace and stability in the world. The Government and people of Ghana look forward to most fruitful and lasting co-operation with the Vietnamese people and Government.

92. Similarly, the admission of Djibouti to the United Nations gives particular satisfaction to the Government and people of Ghana, for it sets the seal on what has been the latest triumph of the liberation movement in Africa.

93. It was only in March this year that the Government of the Supreme Military Council of Ghana played host in Accra to a round-table conference on Djibouti sponsored by the OAU—an event that brought the various leaders of the then colonial Territory together in preparation for independence from France. My personal knowledge of and association with the tremendous difficulties involved in the final stages of the negotiations in Accra make our joy at the admission of Djibouti all the more sincere. It is with all sincerity that I express in the name of the Government of Ghana the hope that the independence won by Djibouti will continue to be jealously guarded by all parties concerned. We are happy that for Djibouti there will now be added to the safeguards of OAU membership the invaluable protection of the United Nations Charter.

94. Our struggle against colonial domination, racism and racial bigotry in southern Africa still rages and political events in that part of our continent since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly make us all the more convinced that our cause is just. We have proclaimed in the past and wish to reiterate today our total rejection of *apartheid* and other forms of colonialism and racial inequality. Our uncompromising stand against these socio-political evils is made not because we are black, for justice and equality are not denied only to the black race, but because the practice of these evils constitutes a grave threat to international peace and security.

95. It is precisely because of this threat to peace that any constructive initiatives aimed at peaceful solutions in the region would be welcome. At the same time, until there is a guarantee of the success of these initiatives, we will continue to support the armed struggle against *apartheid*, colonialism and racial oppression as the surest means of

achieving victory over forces that have for too long deprived our people of their legitimate rights.

96. The situation in Zimbabwe has recently taken on a new dimension, through the publication of the British proposals for a rapid transition to independence and majority rule in the Territory.<sup>9</sup> Even though we have reserved our position on certain aspects of the proposals, we in Ghana have no intention of obstructing the Anglo-American initiatives. We are compelled, however, to remind the British Government of the grave responsibility that it bears for the complete decolonization of Zimbabwe.

97. It is our hope that the Territory will see a smooth transition to freedom and independence without being subjected to such a reign of terror and anarchy as characterized the birth of the independent Congo in the 1960s. Should any such degeneration set in, Ghana will give its fullest support to the United Nations Security Council in taking firm action, including action under Article 42 of Chapter VII of the Charter, to ensure that the Territory becomes independent on the basis of majority rule.

98. On the question of Namibia, our stand is equally firm. As we are all aware, the decisions taken by the United Nations on the Territory and the advice given to Vorster have throughout the years been scorned by the South African régime. Today, the plight of the Namibian people is no better than it was a year ago when this Assembly last discussed the problem. We are thus compelled to declare that, in spite of the initiatives of the West to find a lasting solution to the situation in Namibia, we will continue to give SWAPO our fullest support in its fight against the South African administration until we are convinced that majority rule is guaranteed for the people of the Territory.

99. Since the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, the world has been gravely disturbed by the developments, as publicized in the press, concerning the nuclear programme of South Africa. It is indeed ironical that while the international community is concerned about the dangerous proliferation of nuclear weapons that threatens our security and civilization, some of the States Members of our Organization should place their knowledge and personnel at the disposal of South Africa to develop a nuclear capability. This is indeed a terrifying prospect about which we cannot remain silent or condone. We are compelled by this development to raise our voice in utter condemnation of those Western Powers which, through this collaboration, have helped place the security of the African continent in serious jeopardy.

100. Since the last session of the General Assembly, the United Nations has sponsored two very important meetings on southern Africa. I refer, of course, to the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May 1977, and the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, which took place in Lagos in August 1977. In particular, the Maputo Declaration and its Programme of Action<sup>10</sup> contain significant recommendations, to which we call the General

Assembly's special attention, on the international community's moral and legal duty to correct the political injustices and racial inequalities prevailing in southern Africa.

101. Secondly, the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos recently, adopted a Declaration which might serve as our charter for the final onslaught on *apartheid*. In addition, the same Conference made recommendations to the international community as to how this system could be eliminated. The Ghana delegation wishes to reiterate its acceptance of the Declaration and pledges support for the recommendations. We would have preferred them to go further than they do, but we accept the resulting consensus as a point of departure, and hope that the reservations made on it by some Western Powers will be withdrawn in good time. We are prepared in the meantime to work hand in hand with all countries on the basis of the two documents for the total eradication of *apartheid* and political subjugation. Let us hope that this session will advance the anti-*apartheid* cause beyond the position so far achieved in these documents.

102. As far as South Africa itself is concerned, nothing significant has occurred in the last 12 months to alter our resolve against the *apartheid* system and all its related injustices. On the contrary, we salute the black majority, particularly the schoolchildren of Soweto, whose determined efforts have testified eloquently to the non-acceptability, to them and to mankind, of the Fascist rule of the majority by a racist minority.

103. In this regard, the proposed constitutional changes recently announced by the Republic deserve the close and serious attention of this Assembly. In our view, the move to continue to exclude the black majority from parliament, even though some representation will be accorded the Coloured population, is one more subterfuge of the South African administration to further enslave the black majority politically and economically. Little wonder then that even the Coloureds have rejected the proposal. We feel morally bound to denounce the so-called constitutional proposals. We therefore call upon this Assembly to deliver the moral verdict of our common conscience.

104. It is indeed a matter of happy coincidence for my delegation that our statement in this Assembly should fall on the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners. On behalf of the Government of Ghana, and on my own behalf, therefore, I wish to convey our warmest felicitations to the struggling people of South Africa on the occasion of this anniversary. Even though the fight against *apartheid* and minority rule has entered a crucial phase, we in Ghana are not daunted. We share with our brothers and sisters today the hope that our cause will be victorious over those of racism and racial discrimination.

105. At this stage, permit me to pay the Ghana delegation's tribute to the memory of our comrade and brother, Steven Biko, who was foully murdered only a few weeks ago by the security forces of the Vorster régime. The death of comrade Biko should serve as a grim reminder to all those involved in the fight against *apartheid* and racial injustice that the struggle is still at a critical stage and that the enemy will continue to be more and more ruthless as

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

<sup>10</sup> See document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

our struggle achieves success. To Steven Biko's family and comrades we offer our sincerest condolences in the hope that his death will not be in vain, for victory will surely crown their relentless efforts.

106. I cannot end my remarks on Africa without touching briefly on the unfortunate war which has been raging with growing ferocity in the Horn of Africa. Attempts by the OAU to settle the conflict through peaceful negotiations proceed with determination. But my delegation regrets that success has not attended the efforts of the OAU. It is an accepted historical fact that the present African frontiers were drawn by the colonial Powers, almost a century ago, with scant regard for ethnic and other relevant considerations. African frontiers have always, therefore, constituted potential sources of conflicts between one country and another. It was in order to bury for ever such inherent dangers that the founding fathers of the OAU in their wisdom adopted, as an essential element in the Charter of their organization, the principle of the inviolability of frontiers, by which the boundaries inherited from colonialism were to be accepted without question by the successor States. For it should be fairly obvious that, if one were to proceed to a general modification of African frontiers in response to the dictates of ethnicity and other reasons, there would be no end to friction between African countries. It is our hope, therefore, that all the parties involved in the present conflict will cease their fire and talk, so that the scant resources of the area can be channelled to the economic and social advantage of their peoples.

107. Furthermore, we Africans in particular should realize that the situation existing in the Horn of Africa has unfortunately created a fertile ground for super-Power rivalry in that region. It is, however, the African countries concerned who, in the final analysis, will have to pay the price for such rivalry. It is therefore vitally important for the peaceful development of our continent that the two super-Powers, which have agreed to observe the principle of détente in their mutual relations and with regard to questions of European co-operation and security, should not depart from that principle when the issue relates to Africa. For, to be valid, a principle should lend itself to general application in comparable circumstances. What is good for Europe's peace is also good for the peace and stability of Africa.

108. As we look around us, in Africa, Europe, the Middle East and Asia, we see tension and conflict engulfing mankind and threatening to negate the principles upon which our Charter stands. Month after month, and year after year, global peace and security have proved illusory and we, especially in the third world, have become helpless witnesses to a world severely divided by ideologies and rendered unsafe by the stockpiling of the most destructive and efficient nuclear weapons. It is in such an uncertain world that Ghana, true to the tenets of its foreign policy, has placed implicit faith in détente.

109. Admittedly, there has been a thawing in the cold war in Europe and the major Powers are no longer plagued by the siege complex that characterized the 1950s and 1960s. However, the arms race continues, and the competition to gain international influence, particularly in Africa, is keen. Our territories have thus become the jousting ground for

power and ideological conflict, in the mistaken belief that the third world desperately needs the political patronage of one or the other of the two major ideologies to survive. Nothing can be further from the truth. Africa today has only one wish and that is to be left alone to develop its economic and social potential.

110. For these reasons, we have a deep commitment to détente not only in Europe but throughout the world. It must be understood, therefore, that what the world needs now is not ideological bickering and neo-colonialist influence but the development of responsible relationships between nations, which alone can guarantee us all security from conflict and catastrophe. We again call on the major Powers to continue relentlessly to pursue détente so we can all live in a world that is free from fear and motivated only by the will to provide the best for mankind in an atmosphere of peace and harmony.

111. Another area of crucial importance to peace and stability in the world is the Middle East. It is true that the situation in that region has seen some improvement, especially since the signing and coming into force in 1976 of the second Israel-Egyptian disengagement agreement.<sup>11</sup> However, within the intervening period there has been the civil war in Lebanon, which proved singularly destructive. In spite of the heavy toll claimed by that unfortunate war, we are encouraged to note the strenuous efforts made to contain the war and to prevent it from engulfing the other countries in the region. The need, however, to move faster towards a permanent peace settlement in the Middle East is perhaps greater today than at any other period in recent times. We in Ghana have always maintained, and still maintain, that the self-determination of the Palestinian people and the withdrawal of Israel from all Arab occupied territories are indispensable conditions to any lasting peace.

112. The Government of Ghana considers that the United Nations has a sacred responsibility in helping to establish a national home in Palestine for the largely dispersed Palestinians, in the same way as it accepted and endorsed the creation of Israel in 1948. The justice of the intense struggle for freedom in which the Palestinian people have been engaged has been accepted by the international community and due recognition should be taken of this fact in determining the eligibility of the Palestine Liberation Organization to represent the Palestinian people at the proposed Peace Conference on the Middle East to be held in Geneva. The new Israeli régime should therefore take into account the long-term interests of Israel, and not let slip the opportunity for restarting the process towards the achievement of permanent peace.

113. Before I touch briefly on the current situation in Cyprus, please permit me, on behalf of my delegation, to express to the Government and people of Cyprus the shock and pain with which the Government and people of Ghana received the sad news of the death of His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios. It was only last June that we met in London on the occasion of the meeting of the Commonwealth Heads of Government. Archbishop Makarios' clear exposition of the Cyprus problem, as well as other

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1975*, document S/11818/Add.1.

contributions to the success of the summit meeting, was much appreciated by his colleagues. To his successor, Mr. Spyros Kyprianou, who has no doubt inherited a grave political burden, go our best wishes for the happy future of that beautiful but troubled island.

114. It is a matter of deep regret for my delegation that practically no progress has been made on the Cyprus problem since the thirty-first session. For the Cypriots, each passing day is a painful experience in their present predicament. In various resolutions on the Cyprus issue, both the General Assembly and the Security Council have stressed the importance they attach to the sovereign independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. The United Nations has also called for the withdrawal of all foreign armed forces from the island and the resumption of the intercommunal talks between the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. None of these objectives has been attained in Cyprus, and there is still no encouraging sign that a just solution will be found in the foreseeable future.

115. Ghana is, in principle, opposed to any invasion of sovereign States and therefore recognizes only one sovereign State of Cyprus. It is in the over-all interest of all parties that the conflict should be resolved through discussions and negotiations rather than by military confrontation. The Ghana Government would therefore lend its support to efforts tending towards such a solution, including measures decided upon by this Assembly to ease the humanitarian problems created by the war.

116. If the general political situation in the world is characterized by widespread dissensions and grave injustices, which are largely the result of man's own making, the area of international economic co-operation to which I now wish to turn my attention has not been spared the ravages peculiar to our time. Since the events of October 1973, economic co-operation among States has never been the same. The general recession that occurred essentially in the developed market economies of the world and the unprecedented hardship that was visited upon non-oil-producing developing countries underscored the importance of taking urgent and effective measures to reverse the downward economic trend. It was indeed generally conceded that the Bretton Woods system, set up more than 30 years ago, could no longer meet the needs and growing aspirations of poor countries, and could therefore no longer be tolerated without further hardship to those countries. At its sixth special session, the General Assembly addressed itself to the problem inherent in the restructuring of the system and adopted its Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. The General Assembly at the seventh special session, despite the reservations expressed by some States, was able to indicate the steps by which the objectives of the Declaration were to be attained [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*]. Three whole years have passed since the adoption of those texts, and the world has hardly been brought any nearer to the actual realization of the goals that we had solemnly set before us.

117. It therefore appears that the movement towards a basic reform of the international economic system has lost

the momentum generated in 1974. On the other hand, the persistent deterioration in the situation of the developing countries, including the terms of international trade, has reached a level that is not far from desperate. There is thus a pressing need to remind ourselves that the objectives of promoting peace and security in the world, to which the United Nations is committed, cannot be achieved without a restructuring of the present international economic system so as to achieve a more rational and equitable set of relationships between the developed and the developing countries. An essential element in this restructuring would be a comprehensive series of commodity agreements to strengthen and stabilize the markets for the principal commodity exports of developing countries. Such agreements should operate to protect agreed minimum prices, in real terms, for those commodities, and should be supported by a substantial improvement in the terms and scope of existing compensatory financing arrangements so as to offset residual fluctuations in real export earnings of individual developing countries. Of crucial importance in this context is the common fund. While the understandings reached at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation have given considerable impetus to the negotiations on this issue, it is the hope of my Government that the forthcoming negotiating conference will move away from the debate on whether or not the fund should be established and come to grips with the question of the character and modalities of the fund.

118. The restructuring of the international economic framework should also encompass policy changes on the part of the developed countries that would support the process of industrialization and the technological development of the developing countries. These policy reorientations should include adjustment assistance policies, substantial reductions in trade barriers to the manufactured exports of developing countries, and the strengthening of the technological capabilities of the developing countries. Furthermore, the process of restructuring would not be fully effective without a thorough reform of the international monetary system as well as of the rules governing trade flows. There must be a substantial increase in the volume of official development assistance on terms and conditions that are more appropriate than those applied hitherto to the weak economic position of the majority of the developing countries. At the same time, the growing external indebtedness of the developing countries requires more urgent attention than ever before. Finally, the efforts of the individual developing countries to pursue this economic development on the basis of self-reliance—a concept to which my Government attaches great importance—would be very greatly strengthened by ever closer economic co-operation among ourselves. We, the developing countries, cannot afford to neglect this type of co-operation if we are fully to exploit the complementarities in our various economies and, above all, if we are to enlarge our collective countervailing power in our negotiations and economic relations with the developed countries.

119. Another area where the need for reform has become urgent is constituted by the regime regulating the use of the sea. New problems arising from the technological and economic developments over the last decade have increased the need for a comprehensive international agreement concerning the question of jurisdiction related to the sea



and the sea-bed. Ghana has participated actively in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea since 1973. Our support for the convening of the Conference was due partly to the fact that previous conferences on the law of the sea left unresolved some main issues, like the limits of territorial waters, while other important issues were either left open or not even considered. More disturbing is the fact that the conventions that resulted from the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held in Geneva in 1958 has not, to any extent, been subscribed to by the many developing countries that achieved independence subsequent to the conclusion of that Conference.

120. These are but a few of the considerations that led many of us to support the continuation of the negotiations notwithstanding the heavy financial burden incurred by many countries, especially developing ones, in servicing the Conference. The sixth session of the Conference ended barely three months ago here in New York. Its principal result is the agreement to bring together in one document the draft articles relating to the entire range of subjects before the Conference.<sup>12</sup> The text shows that significant progress has been made on vital issues relating to international security, navigation, pollution, the transfer of technology, scientific research and the setting up of an international regime for the conduct of sea-bed mining. In spite of certain reservations here and there, the composite text embodies the principal elements of the future convention on the law of the sea.

121. My delegation hopes that the necessary political will to bring the Conference to a successful conclusion will not fail to assert itself.

122. It is the sincere belief of my delegation that this year's session of the General Assembly will witness substantial progress in man's continued search for greater justice, freedom and equality. The United Nations was created in order to help to achieve these objectives and to promote peace and solidarity among nations. The difficult problems confronting the international community—in particular the problems of southern Africa and the Middle East—and the efforts to install a new economic order are among the most serious challenges of our time. Their solution will not be easy. But whether the United Nations can continue to justify the trust and confidence that millions of people have placed in the world body will depend largely on the collective and sincere contribution of Member States and the fervour with which they are prepared to carry out their obligations under the Charter. The Ghana delegation will not be found wanting in this regard.

123. Mr. DENNIS (Liberia): Mr. President, on behalf of the Liberian delegation, I congratulate and salute you on your unanimous election to guide the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. With your own admirable personal qualities and the pioneering and pivotal role your great country of Yugoslavia has played and continues to play in promoting peace and security through non-alignment, I feel confident

that our deliberations will be ably steered toward the realization of our common aspiration.

124. To your distinguished predecessor Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, we express deep appreciation for the effective manner in which he conducted the affairs of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

125. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, to whom we extend our sincere congratulations on his re-election to this important office, is most deserving of our special commendation, not only for the efficiency and dedication which he and his able staff continue to bring to the administration of our Organization, but for his comprehensive, incisive and realistic annual report to this Assembly. We can only hope that this year of growing anxiety for the international community can also become a year of unprecedented opportunity as we resolve—all of us—to undertake bold, courageous and decisive measures to further the objectives of these United Nations.

126. Unfortunately, the note upon which we begin is not too encouraging for the failure of the resumed thirty-first session of the General Assembly to come to an agreement with respect to the assessment of the results of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation demonstrates that the international community continues to show a woeful lack of the political will and of that degree of mutual accommodation which is indispensable to the establishment of the new international economic order. What is more regrettable is that agreement could not even be reached on how best the United Nations system can carry forward the work of the Paris Conference.

127. Let us therefore endeavour to transform our differences in respect of the assessment of this Conference into guide-posts for renewed efforts and continuing negotiations in the hope that we can generate greater understanding and contribute positively to international economic co-operation.

128. Reduced to its bare essentials, what we are advocating in the establishment of a new international economic order is no more than asking the rich nations to do a little more to enable the poor nations to help themselves. This is the idea which inspires my President, Mr. William R. Tolbert, Jr. in his humanistic capitalism, a concept designed to build a world that is based on peace, security, equality, justice and human dignity for all men and nations.

129. My delegation fully supports the declaration of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Group of 77 of 29 September 1977 [see A/32/244] and hopes that the dialogue between the developed and developing countries, of which the Paris Conference was only a part, will continue to be pursued actively at the United Nations and at other international forums.

130. The recent admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti to the United Nations, which my country hails and salutes, not only represents progress for the principle of universality of membership, but bears eloquent testimony, in each case, to the changing nature of our world. Viet Nam and Djibouti

<sup>12</sup> 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.

represent, each in its own way, the victory of human will over blind intransigence.

131. And yet we can all agree that change in human affairs, as in international affairs, is inevitable. The question is whether we, as members of the international community, will seize the initiative and direct the course of change into peaceful channels for human enrichment and progress, or whether we will allow the forces of human and national selfish interest to stifle the process of change, and consequently plunge us all deeper into the abyss of interminable conflict and tension, thus increasing the threat to international peace and security.

132. As perceived by my country, the challenge to the international community in 1977, a challenge reflected in the issues of moment on the agenda of the thirty-second session of the Assembly, is whether we will collectively diagnose adequately and in a timely manner the requirements for genuine peace and progress, and then collectively undertake adequate and timely measures to advance peace and accelerate progress. We face this challenge just as much with regard to the problems of international economic co-operation and its relations to disarmament and the issue of the law of the sea, as with regard to the critical political questions, especially of southern Africa and the Middle East. We face this challenge as well in the impasse in Cyprus and the growing crisis of human rights violations. In Cyprus, all we ask is the implementation of the resolution which we have adopted here and which has been duly endorsed by the Security Council.

133. That economic problems are priorities in our concerns today we have fully recognized. As we therefore continue to deploy efforts to make sanity, reason and compassion prevail in our economic relations, let us heed as well the perceptive observation of the Secretary-General that:

“The question of disarmament lies at the heart of the problem of international order, for, in an environment dominated by the international arms race, military and strategic considerations tend to shape the over-all relations between States, affecting all other relations and transactions and disturbing the economy.” [A/32/1, sect. IV.]

134. Because my Government sees the issue of disarmament in the context of world order and progress, not only have we given full support to the convening in 1978 of a special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament, but we are of the firm belief that, whether we are talking about nuclear or conventional arms limitation, nuclear proliferation, or the relationship between development and disarmament, the issue is a concern of all, not simply of the more powerful of the international community or those who are members of the “nuclear club”.

135. My Government regrets exceedingly that there is a continuing absence of international agreement to regulate the affairs of the oceans of the world. At a time when the call is persistent for a new world-wide political and economic order, the vital area of the sea cannot be left unregulated, as that would favour power at the expense of

justice. We fervently hope that next March in Geneva we will witness the beginning of the process of initiating in this area international regulation conducive to the interests of all States.

136. A happy note in international relations is the recent signing of the United States-Panama Treaties on the Panama Canal. My Government renews its welcome of that development as a positive step towards furthering international understanding.

137. The issue in southern Africa is continually one of fundamental human rights denied a preponderant majority of the people by a lunatic clique of petty-hearted racists; it is one of restoring justice and human dignity to an oppressed segment of humanity; of effectively curbing support and sustenance for *apartheid*; of following through with determination the process of decolonization, and removing the anachronism of racist minority rule and *apartheid* from the continent of Africa. The issue is moving away from catastrophic racial confrontation to racial harmony.

138. While southern Africa is essentially an African problem, the principles which suffer flagrant violation in the subregion are universal principles. Moreover, for diverse reasons, associations have been nurtured over the years between the subregion and various elements particularly external to the continent. The international community must be constructively involved in evolving an early but genuinely African solution. That imperative found echoes in the Maputo Declaration on Zimbabwe and Namibia, as well as the Lagos Declaration on South Africa—declarations which have the unreserved endorsement of my Government.

139. Some of the developments of late have given cause for guarded optimism. I refer particularly to the Anglo-American proposals on Zimbabwe, proposals which my Government sees as constituting a good and important basis for initiating the process of negotiation. With an emerging united national patriotic leadership for the people of Zimbabwe and goodwill on the part of all the parties involved, we entertain the hope that the limited step already taken by the Security Council in implementation of an element of the proposals will gain momentum so that the anxiety we now feel for our brothers and sisters of Zimbabwe will be transformed into the satisfaction of our expectations. At any rate Liberia will persevere with free Africa and the OAU in the liberation struggle until majority rule and independence come to the people of Zimbabwe.

140. The efforts of the contact group of the five Western members of the Security Council in respect of Namibia also deserve our commendation, as long as they remain within the framework of Security Council resolution 385 (1976). While it would seem that there is now a brief interlude in those talks, we remain hopeful that the talks will soon be resumed with no prejudice to the progress so far achieved. In the meanwhile, my Government will continue its full support of the efforts of the OAU and SWAPO until Namibia, in the entirety of its territory, attains independence.

141. The Republic of Liberia, whose existence was the end-result of grinding oppression, will remain unrelenting in

its opposition to the evil system of *apartheid* in South Africa. The recent death in police custody and under highly questionable circumstances of the South African nationalist Mr. Steven Biko and the callous insensitivity of the *apartheid* régime to that human tragedy are yet further demonstrations of the wanton brutality which *apartheid* rains daily upon the oppressed masses of that country. Liberia will continuingly concert its efforts with a view not only to the total destruction of *apartheid* but also to bringing majority rule and self-determination to South Africa.

142. We want here fully to associate ourselves with our brothers and sisters in South Africa today, 11 October—the Day of Solidarity with South African Political Prisoners—as they remember the plight of political prisoners and other victims of *apartheid*. We are with them in heart and spirit.

143. As regards the problem of the Middle East, Liberia considers that the question of Palestinian rights is one of the principal elements. My Government believes that all States in the region have a right to independent existence within secure and recognized boundaries.

144. We are of the view that it is imperative that the current situation in the region of “no war, no peace” should be replaced by genuine mutual accommodation and mutual preparedness to act in good faith. That would entail, among other things, the return by Israel of all Arab territory occupied since the 1967 war; an immediate end, in the interim, to the establishment by Israel of “settlements” in the occupied Arab territories; and the recognition by Israel of the political reality of the Palestinian people and their legitimate national rights. But that would also entail unequivocal Arab acceptance of the existence and permanence of the State of Israel.

145. Liberia believes that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East would serve as a most useful forum for initiating negotiation with a view to resolving Arab-Israeli differences. But that Conference can be successful only if all the concerned parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization, participate. That is why Liberia applauds the joint American-Soviet statement of 1 October in that regard, and fervently hopes that fears and suspicions on the part of Israelis and Arabs alike can give way to courageous action and accommodation—and even calculated risk—so that the Geneva Conference can in fact be convened before the end of 1977.

146. My delegation believes that the question of the violation of human rights is also implicit in the leading international issues on our agenda. We see that fundamental principle blatantly assailed in southern Africa, in the Middle East, in Cyprus and in other areas of world tension. The issue is also of consuming concern at the important review meeting of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe which is now under way in Belgrade. And yet, as Members of the United Nations, we have all solemnly pledged, by the fact of our United Nations membership, to uphold, defend and promote fundamental human rights, especially as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. My Government continues to take very seriously the responsibilities inherent in Liberia's adherence to that Declaration. And we wish here to indicate our support for

the idea of upgrading the head of the United Nations Division of Human Rights to a commissioner, as a means of focusing greater attention on that vital area of the United Nations.

147. With reference to the growing contemporary crisis of human rights violations, the President of Liberia, Mr. William R. Tolbert, Jr. said at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU in Gabon last July:

“There must be a common standard which the international community should recognize and apply equally for the protection of life and limb, liberty and property; and no one should be deprived of those sacred rights, contrary to universal laws or declarations.”

Continuing, President Tolbert said:

“Mankind is the same everywhere, and its rights should be respected and safeguarded in every way at all times and in all places. It is therefore absolutely wrong in North, West, Central, East and South Africa or for that matter in any part of our one world for human dignity and human rights to be irreverently invaded and assailed.”

And in a note of admonition to the OAU Assembly, President Tolbert indicated:

“The same standards of moral integrity and humane uprightness we apply to our foes must also be applied to our friends; we must consider ourselves obligated to practice the same among ourselves and accord to our own peoples.”

148. Thirty-two years have elapsed since the founding of the United Nations, which was dedicated to the active promotion of peace by constructively and co-operatively responding to world human needs which still remain central to international relations. This great international Organization and the phenomenon of international organizations in general have been invaluable, almost indispensable, instruments in mankind's quest for a stable, just and progressive world society. Whether young or old, regional or trans-regional, such international organizations as the Organization of American States, the OAU, the League of Arab States, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, the non-aligned countries movement, the Afro-Arab Conference, and perhaps even those that have grown out of the antagonism of the cold war, have each in their respective regions or areas of emphasis, complemented the efforts of the United Nations, advanced the idea of a global community, and thus promoted international understanding and co-operation. In recognition of this role of international organizations, perhaps the United Nations, the most universal of them all, should resolve to devote a year to international organizations.

149. My delegation formally proposes that as a tribute to these great institutions for facilitating international relations, the year 1980 be designated International Organizations Year, a year when world-wide attention would be focused on the significant contributions of international organizations in containing or resolving world problems and thus serving even more effectively as instruments for the maintenance of global peace and security.

150. At the outset, I spoke of the challenge of change in our contemporary world and suggested the need for us all genuinely to recognize it as imperative if international co-operation is to be maximized and conflict minimized. With regard to some of the major political and economic problems we face, we can entertain some hopes as of now. With regard to others, such as those, notably, of interference in the affairs of States and the issue of human rights, optimism as of now would be premature.

151. And yet, in the nature of things we cannot despair. From every situation of conflict we must diligently seek possible elements of co-operation; from our differences we must extract the least likelihood of agreement upon which to build understanding. Our condition of interdependence on this planet leaves us no viable alternative. We must therefore nurture the forces for conciliation, co-operation, collaboration and accommodation in our international relationships. Above all, let us work at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly so that the growing anxiety we feel in 1977 about the burning issues on our agenda will be transformed into hopeful and wholesome break-throughs in 1978 and in the years ahead.

152. Mr. SAUDE MARIA (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*):<sup>13</sup> Sir, I wish to say how happy I am to associate myself with the preceding speakers in welcoming with great satisfaction and friendship your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. In my view, that choice is fully in accord with the eminent qualities as a diplomat and statesman for which you are noted, and is a tribute to the Federal Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia, a sister country with which we have solid, friendly relations which were established at the beginning of our national liberation struggle and have since been consolidated. Your election also crowns the tireless efforts and dynamic action which you have constantly contributed to our Organization in the interests of the progress of our nations and of peace for mankind. In other words, your election represents to us a pledge of the devotion, effectiveness and success with which you will be guiding our work.

153. May I also, through you, extend my sincere thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, the Permanent Representative of the Republic of Sri Lanka to the United Nations, who won general acclaim by the great skill with which he presided over the thirty-first session of our Assembly.

*Mr. Rossides (Cyprus), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

154. May I be allowed to greet the United Nations Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom I am pleased once again to assure of our full co-operation. On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, I offer him our congratulations on the noteworthy results constantly being achieved by the United Nations in the interests of our respective nations and of peace for mankind.

155. I wish also to express my delegation's satisfaction at the admission to the United Nations of the Socialist

Republic of Viet Nam, a country which is both our brother and our friend. Viet Nam, which represents to us the finest example of a people's courage, self-abnegation and love of freedom, has finally taken its rightful place in this comity of nations. To attain that place it has had to make innumerable sacrifices in defence of the principles of our Organization. Hence its admission is, in our view, a historic event and a step forward in the achievement of the objectives of our Charter and of the principle of the universality of the United Nations. I am sure that the brother-people of Viet Nam, for which we have deep admiration, will enrich the United Nations through its remarkable qualities and, above all, its long and dynamic experience in the struggle for peace.

156. The entry of the Republic of Djibouti into this great United Nations family is a source of pride for all African peoples and for the world at large, which has followed with interest and supported with admiration that people's struggle for independence. We hope that the international community will give the people of Djibouti all necessary assistance in the defence and consolidation of its independence.

157. Since the thirty-first session, there has been but little substantial change in the problems confronting mankind. Our Organization, despite its praiseworthy efforts, has not managed to give real impetus to international détente. The conflicts which persist here and there should encourage us to unite our co-operative efforts in the search for just and durable solutions.

158. Once again the oppressed peoples send us an appeal, made urgent by their sufferings, to join them, basing ourselves firmly on the fundamental principles of our Organization, in their search for the necessary ways and means of achieving the complete eradication of all vestiges of colonialism, oppression, injustice and racism.

159. For our part, we bear in mind as a constant factor in our efforts respect for human rights, equality and the right of peoples to self-determination and the choice of their own destiny. We are all the more attached to these principles because they are indissolubly linked to the documents of international law of the United Nations: the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

160. The people of Guinea-Bissau, who throughout a long armed struggle for national liberation and at the cost of many sacrifices gained their independence and right to freedom, feel as their own the bitter trials undergone by its brothers in southern Africa, and therefore follow with particular interest the developments in that part of the world.

161. That is why we feel that the United Nations must show more unity and invite Member States to respect and apply its decisions rigorously in order to be able to make an effective contribution to the struggle for peace, and give it wider dimensions and greater impetus.

<sup>13</sup> Mr. Saude Maria spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.



162. Since we are unanimous in recognizing and condemning the unjust, inhuman and criminal nature of racism, let us also be unanimous in focusing our efforts unreservedly on the struggle against this scourge of the world.

163. Armed struggle is a necessity, the only means and the only path which can lead the people of southern Africa towards total and real liberation. This means the intransigent defence of the sacred principles with which the international community as a whole is identified. We cannot deny their justice; we cannot refute their objectivity.

164. The people of South Africa, by rejecting the policy of *apartheid* and struggling against it with all their force, are defending our own freedom, that of mankind as a whole, which can only be the achievement of all men, without distinction as to race, creed or philosophical belief.

165. In other words, we have responsibilities which we must assume in full, bringing to the peoples of southern Africa assistance in accordance with their needs, intensifying it whenever circumstances and the extension of the struggle so demand.

166. First of all, we must concert our efforts to prevent, by all means possible, a situation in which South Africa would be in a position to use the atomic bomb in order to perpetuate its system of exploitation and oppression. We are aware of this danger, which may have catastrophic consequences, but our apprehension must not be taken to mean anything other than an urgent appeal to countries which, for trade, political or other reasons, feel they must ignore or breach the decisions of the United Nations concerning the supply of equipment, technology and fissionable material to the racist régime of South Africa. There is no guarantee ensuring the use of such technology for peaceful purposes in that country, in view of the inhuman and criminal nature of its régime.

167. By stepping up our assistance to the oppressed people of South Africa, we should also be contributing to the struggle of the liberation movements in Namibia and Zimbabwe. Only the triumph of the freedom fighters can put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia by the racist Government of South Africa.

168. SWAPO, which is the only legitimate representative of the Namibian people, must be assisted effectively and supported by our Organization in all its efforts to eliminate totally South African domination. We firmly hope that soon, through the concerted actions of the freedom fighters and the international community, the true sons of that country can take their place in this Assembly beside us.

169. The recent decision of the Heads of State and Government at the OAU Assembly in Libreville to recognize the Patriotic Front as the sole representative of the people of Zimbabwe, is not only a clear reflection of the common will of the African States to concentrate their efforts on concerted and more effective action in support of the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, but we believe also an appeal from the OAU to the other peoples of the world, and in particular to the United Nations, for active solidarity in support of that brother people.

170. In view of the repeated acts of aggression on the part of Ian Smith's mercenaries against Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, acts of aggression which we forcefully condemn, we cannot fail to stress the urgency and the imperative need to co-ordinate our political, diplomatic and material support for the Patriotic Front.

171. This is all the more essential since it is true that only an increase in the fighting strength of the Patriotic Front, which needs considerable material and financial resources, can really halt the perfidious acts of terrorism and barbarism carried out by the Rhodesian racists against the front-line countries.

172. The OAU Assembly, at the end of its proceedings in Libreville, also took a vital decision: to convene in the near future an extraordinary session on Western Sahara [see A/32/310, annex II, p. 10]. This session is most timely, because it is a question of reaffirming, in accordance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations and the OAU, the inalienable right of peoples to self-determination.

173. We are convinced that this session will offer good prospects for a final solution of the problem.

174. But my Government has not forgotten that it is the peoples themselves that determine their future, and no one has the right to impose solutions on them. The peoples will choose, according to the circumstances, the best way to seize their liberty, because independence in the long run must be won.

175. That is why it is essential, in our opinion, that at the next extraordinary session on the question of Western Sahara the gap between rhetoric and reality be closed and only the voice and the higher interests of the Saharan people should prevail.

176. The position of my Government in regard to this problem is clear and can only take the form of militant and active solidarity with the Frente POLISARIO and unflinching support for the cause so valiantly defended by the Saharan people. It is history itself, the history of the heroic struggle of peoples for their independence, which inspires us and encourages us in that course.

177. We should also like to express solidarity with the people and Government of the Comoros, in view of the illegal occupation of part of their national territory by the former colonizing Power. The occupation of Mayotte in contravention of the principles governing international relations is an infringement of the sovereignty of the Comoros and calls for an urgent solution to restore the full rights of the Comorian people in defence of their territorial integrity and unity.

178. The situation in the Middle East remains one of the essential concerns of my Government. The heroic struggle of the Palestinian people for its most legitimate rights continues to merit particular attention and deserves the total support of all the peoples of the world. How could it be otherwise, indeed, since we are well aware of the worst oppressions and the subjection of the people of Palestine and committed as we all are to the principles of the United Nations Charter, to the defence of man and his right to freedom, peace and well-being?

179. Faced with the stubborn refusal of Israel to respect and apply the repeated recommendations of the international community, faced with the arrogance of the successive Governments of that country, which, as in a relay race, passes the stick and entrenches itself ostentatiously in the most reactionary positions, the international community must take steps to adopt a more realistic and consistent strategy. Indeed, only the continuous pressure of our concerted forces can speedily produce concrete results and make a positive contribution to the triumph of the struggle of the Palestinian people.

180. The flood of blood and tears caused by the annexationist policy of the Government of Israel, far from dampening the liberating zeal and the determination of the freedom fighters of the Palestine Liberation Organization, undoubtedly produce new forces, daily more capable of annihilating the chains of oppression.

181. We feel that we must tell this Assembly yet again that in the opinion of our Government any negotiated solution of the problem must have as an indispensable pre-condition the recognition by Israel of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to a homeland, to freedom and to progress on the one hand and to the evacuation of the Arab territories occupied since 1967 on the other.

182. Although we recognize the importance of the positive contribution such a country can make to the much desired settlement of the conflict, there can be no substitute for the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people—that is to say the Palestine Liberation Organization, which, more than anyone else, defends the interests of this brother people. I should like to say again from this rostrum that the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau support totally and unconditionally the sacred cause of the brother people of Palestine.

183. Last year, on the occasion of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, I raised with some apprehension the question of East Timor<sup>14</sup> and said how concerned my Government was by the situation in that country. Today we have to say that, despite the appeal from the United Nations to Indonesia that country, deaf and insensible, continues its illegal occupation of East Timor, and thousands of the people of Timor, women, children and the aged, are dying or still suffering from the fire and the arrogant boots of the Indonesian armed forces.

184. This unjust war was imposed on a people which, after having known and endured the long dark night of colonialism were calmly preparing to face courageously the no less terrible problems of development and constitutes in our opinion a flagrant violation of the principles of the United Nations Charter. The very idea that, for reasons of political, military or economic convenience, a country can annex another independent country and trample underfoot the most elementary principles governing human relations is inadmissible and calls for the strongest possible condemnation. In our opinion the United Nations must take appropriate measures with a view to going to the assistance of the people of East Timor who, under the leadership and

the impetus of the *Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN]*, is conducting a heroic struggle to repel the Indonesian aggressors and to build a land of peace and progress.

185. But it must be emphasized that in this war it is not simply a matter of the interests of the victims of aggression and of the aggressors: there are also other interests at stake which are better concealed because they are more perfidious in nature, and they should be brought into the open and condemned with equal severity. The Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau firmly support FRETILIN and the people of Timor in their struggle for true independence and express again their unflinching solidarity with the Democratic Republic of East Timor.

186. The United Nations once again will have to deal carefully with the situation in Chile, where despite many appeals to the Chilean authorities from the international community urging them to restore and safeguard the rights, the freedom and the well-being of the people of Chile by observing the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Government of that country continues, with total disdain for human values, to bludgeon and make martyrs of the Chilean people. We feel that the United Nations can do more to help the Chilean people who, in extremely difficult conditions, are carrying on an exemplary struggle for their freedom and for the return of democracy.

187. The situation in Cyprus demands that we redouble our efforts and work for the maintenance of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island, inspired by the constant dynamic activity and the wisdom of the man who was and will remain one of the greatest figures in the struggle for peace, the late President Makarios. On behalf of the Government and people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau I should like to take this opportunity to pay an appropriate tribute to his stature, his merits, his talents and his valour.

188. We hope that the two Cypriot communities, Greek and Turkish, thanks to their will to maintain peace, will arrive at a lasting agreement which will guarantee a brotherly coexistence respecting the rights of all citizens of the Cypriot State.

189. We have often proclaimed our attachment to the ideals of peace and progress of the United Nations but above all we have expressed our confidence in the unshakable will of the international community to fight for the maintenance of world peace and security. This confidence is further strengthened by the conviction that all Member States are aware of the importance of peace for the progress of their peoples.

190. We have always followed with great interest the debates in this Assembly concerning this problem and have shared the concerns of the international community in the face of the imminent dangers inherent in the proliferation of nuclear weapons. Our apprehension is justified because it must be noted that the arms race has not slowed down but has even become a contagious disease which, if not tackled swiftly and effectively, may have disastrous, indeed incalculable, consequences for mankind as a whole.

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 24th meeting, para. 185.

191.. Military budgets, although apparently diminishing in official debates and statistics, have not lost their increasingly alarming proportions. It is true that the United Nations has made remarkable efforts to inform world opinion of the problem and to extend its dynamic action to all the nuclear-weapon States.

192. Today, when we are talking about the neutron bomb, a weapon which is undoubtedly of terrible destructive capacity, it is well to recall that this action, which we firmly support, could not really have truly satisfactory results if it is confined to the simple aim of checking an expansion or proliferation of nuclear weapons.

193. What we also have to contemplate—and urgently in our opinion—is, through a stage-by-stage negotiation process, total and complete disarmament and the destruction of those weapons which, as long as they exist, are a threat to mankind.

194. Thus, we welcome the forthcoming convening of a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament, the importance and the pressing need for which we fully appreciate.

195. We hope, for our part, that the international community will be able, through constructive discussion, to create the basis essential to the signing of a general agreement on the limitation, indeed the destruction, of nuclear weapons.

196. I wished to mention some of the dangers threatening international security, but the situation currently prevailing in Africa also deserves special attention from us. Africa, despite its differences and peculiarities, is above all a geopolitical whole which history has forged into a vigorous and at the same time sensitive body. The only frontiers in Africa are artificial ones, and no African people, regardless of its economic potential, can ensure its happiness, well-being and development by ignoring the problems affecting its neighbours. It is the very interdependence of African States which is at once their weakness and their strength—which means that any problem, any intra-African conflict, however grave, can always be given a peaceful solution based in African wisdom. This tradition is one of the major strengths of our continent and has largely contributed to the establishment of the OAU and has made it an effective instrument in the search for peaceful solutions to problems which sometimes divide African States.

197. The OAU Charter embodies a set of principles the observance of which, by all member States, constitutes the pre-condition and the guarantee for a united Africa, committed to the construction of progress in peace.

198. The major upheavals currently affecting the economic bases of international relations affect all countries and, above all, the developing countries. That is, in any case, why we are all responsible for finding a way out of this situation. But it is not enough to take partial measures to plaster over the existing system. The present system of international economic relations is long out of date, and is detrimental to our interests. It has to be replaced by another system, one that is more just and more equitable. To do this what is needed is not evolution but really revolution.

199. The proliferation of contacts should be continued and closer co-operation between developed countries with different economic and social systems should be extended to the international community as a whole and thus provide a basis for development towards a new form of economic, trade and technological relations based on national complementarity and establishing the conditions for fuller development in accordance with our needs and potential.

200. Indeed, one must look increasingly for solutions taking precisely into account the differences in political and economic systems at the end of the twentieth century. New methods, concepts, rules and institutions must be found, harmonized, agreed to and applied, so that, finally and in practical terms, we can start along a path ensuring satisfaction and the meeting of the legitimate aspirations of all peoples, with no discrimination whatsoever. It is well known that these aspirations are being expressed through claims for independence and equality in international relations and for the establishment of economic conditions which make it possible for everyone to live in peace by restoring to the majority of mankind the rights to which they are entitled:

201. This claim is basically each country's sovereign right to dispose of its natural resources, including the right to nationalize them; the need to introduce into this system of international economic relations instruments which will ensure compensation and make it possible to set up special protective funds against dislocations on the world market; the need to develop a code of conduct for the transfer of scientific and technological discoveries, it being understood that we have to facilitate the access of the developing countries to modern technology, which they must be able to use on advantageous terms; the need to reinvigorate the search for supplementary sources of financing for economic and social progress in the developing countries.

202. These claims are nothing new. They were in particular set forth in the Economic Declaration of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973.<sup>15</sup> We can find them again in a number of United Nations documents and in documents of other international bodies. They were restated in the Manila Declaration<sup>16</sup> by the Ministerial Conference of the Group of 77 and in the Economic Declaration and Action Programme for Economic Co-operation of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,<sup>17</sup> the proceedings of which were held at Colombo from 16 to 20 August 1976. But to date they still meet with the organized opposition of the industrialized countries, particularly the most powerful among them. This was clearly shown once again at the North-South Conference at Paris, where the refusal of those countries to arrive at a general agreement caused those proceedings to fail. The reasons were many. The most important, doubtless, is that the industrialized Powers are seeking to safeguard their position of domination in the world economy. However, it should be added

<sup>15</sup> See document A/9330 and Corr.1.

<sup>16</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

<sup>17</sup> See document A/31/197, annexes II and III.

that the developed countries are also becoming increasingly aware of the fact that such a policy is getting them nowhere. Hence, among the industrialized States the decision has been taken to undertake some initiatives with respect to a dialogue with the developing countries.

203. One thing is certain: these industrialized countries have themselves admitted the need to reform the existing international trade and monetary system. So it is not a matter of an unexpected attack on the interests of the industrialized capitalist Powers, but an inevitable measure taken in the interests of all. The deficit of the developing countries, which derives from the discrimination they suffer in the international economic system, is continuing to worsen in disquieting proportions. Needless to say, this worsening is a supplementary burden for those countries whose indebtedness is known to us all and which was clearly one of the concerns of the Colombo Conference.

204. The major documents adopted at different international conferences bear witness to our will, as non-aligned countries, to enter into a dialogue with the developed countries in order to establish more equitable relations in the world. But over and above this willingness, we are working for the rapid establishment of a new international economic order.

205. The Colombo documents offer in themselves a more dynamic basis for this resumed dialogue. We are also thinking in particular of the Economic Declaration and the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation. That is of course understandable when we realize that the principles of those documents reflect the broadest interests of the peoples and give the policy of peaceful coexistence, mutual assistance, solidarity and active co-operation an economic basis resting on both the Charter of the United Nations and that of the non-aligned movement.

206. In view of the seriousness of the problems we are facing, the developing countries are more than ever aware of the imperative need to devote their energies to the consolidation of their national independence and the strengthening of their front-line struggle for the final eradication of the existing arrangements for economic exploitation. The action of the non-aligned countries at the Conferences of Belgrade, Cairo, Lusaka and Georgetown, the decline of colonialist or neo-colonialist groups, the strengthening of the unity of action of the Group of 77 on the basis of the provisions of the Algiers Charter and the Declaration of Lima and the action taken for regional co-operation or integration, are so many stages on the way from passive claims to the active affirmation of the will of the developing countries to rely first and foremost on their own resources, individually and collectively, to assume responsibility for the defence of their fundamental interests and to organize their development by and for themselves.

207. It should be recalled here that there is a sacred principle, according to which every country has a right to adopt the economic and social system which it regards as the most advantageous to its development, and that States have an inalienable right to exercise their national sovereignty over their natural resources and over all the economic activities of the country. We feel that any infringement of those rights or of the right of each State to

exercise effective control over its natural resources and their exploitation by the means most consonant with its own circumstances—including nationalization and the transfer of ownership to nationals—is contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter and is an obstacle to the development of international co-operation and the maintenance of international peace and security.

208. It would be unrealistic to think that there could be any true equality between donors and recipients, or that our political emancipation could have any reality without economic independence obtained through co-operation in equality and mutual respect.

209. These are the considerations we wished to bring to the attention of our Assembly.

210. May I, in closing, repeat on behalf of my delegation that we are willing to contribute to the search for a just solution to the problems affecting the international community, and we wish to state that we hope to see the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations achieve satisfactory results and thus satisfy our joint will to work for international peace and security.

211. Mr. ABDALLAH (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): May I be allowed first of all to express to the President my congratulations on his election to preside over the present session of our Assembly. My delegation is convinced that, thanks to his experience and competence, the work of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly will be crowned with success. My delegation feels special satisfaction because of the links of friendship and close co-operation which exist between our countries and also because of our solidarity within the general framework of the non-aligned movement.

212. I also take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who showed so much competence in the honourable discharge of his responsibilities during the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

213. Finally, on behalf of my Government, I wish to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the efforts which he exerts continually to assist in the maintenance of peace, security and justice throughout the world. The re-election of that apostle of peace has reassured the oppressed peoples and those who struggle for just causes.

214. My country had the honour and privilege to be a sponsor of the resolutions on the admission of two new Members to this Organization: on the one hand, the Republic of Djibouti, which has the same colonial past as our country and with which we hope to maintain the best possible relations; on the other hand, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam which, after 30 years of heroic struggle, has emerged victorious and unified. I wish to offer them our congratulations and to welcome them to this great family of the United Nations.

215. We are also convinced that the peaceful reunification of Korea and its admission to this Organization will take place shortly.



216.. It is customary, during the general debate in this Assembly, to review the problems which threaten world peace and security and the economic balance. While we discuss the outlines of those problems and the level of their interaction, each country feels itself obliged to express its views and propose solutions.

217. With regard to those problems, the Republic of the Comoros also wishes to make its modest contribution, commensurate with the means at our disposal.

218. Much has been humorously said about "micro-States", including the Comoros, with the concealed intention of showing to the international community that those States are not viable and are incapable of carrying out their national and international duties.

219. But in the Comoros we are deeply convinced that the only criterion which should be applied to assess the stature, efficiency and morality of States is the constant determination of those States to act day after day in conformity with the principles of the Charter.

220. Hence the respect which we feel for certain States and our judgement of them are not dependent on their economic might and still less on their military might; they depend rather on their will to assure peace, security and progress for mankind as expressed in their deeds.

221. That is why, in speaking of the liberation movements in Africa, the Middle East and elsewhere, my country unconditionally offers its support to all those peoples in their struggle to regain their dignity, their freedom and the enjoyment of their inalienable rights prescribed in our Charter.

222. The international community must support the action of the five front-line countries, the sacrifices of whose peoples need no further proof. We must support every initiative aimed at a just and acceptable solution of the problem of Zimbabwe.

223. In so far as the Anglo-American plan recognizes the legitimacy of the power of the majority in Zimbabwe and in so far as that plan demonstrates the determination of the United States and the United Kingdom to assume their respective responsibilities, the Republic of the Comoros considers that plan as an acceptable basis for negotiation.

224. But so long as Ian Smith and his repressive forces have not been put out of action, the international community must continue to give its moral and material support to the armed struggle in Zimbabwe.

225. If today, because of the harassment caused by the struggle for liberation and the diplomatic pressures exerted on Ian Smith, the settlement of the Zimbabwe problem can be considered to be very near, the same cannot be said about South Africa, where criminal repression against innocent black children is continuing. The Vorster regime is killing and torturing them. It is killing the Africans at Sharpeville, at Soweto and at other localities of South Africa. It is torturing men and women in dungeons that are quite similar to Hitler's concentration camps. A few weeks ago we learned with indignation that the Vorster Govern-

ment, after having tortured the great and immortal African nationalist Steven Biko, had murdered him in cold blood in one of those dungeons. This is an abominable crime that the whole international community must unreservedly condemn.

226. Must we really recall to those who collaborate with and who, directly or indirectly, help the Vorster regime that they are sharing a heavy responsibility with Vorster in any act that is perpetrated against the black people of that country? Only a total embargo and a systematic boycott will compel Vorster to come to his senses.

227. This same Vorster recipe that we have just described was applied to the letter in Namibia, a Territory which he should have left once and for all by August 1976 and restored to the United Nations to make it possible for the Organization to hold free elections in the Territory.

228. We encourage the consultations of the five Western countries members of the Security Council that were undertaken within the framework of resolution 385 (1976) of the Security Council. However, we feel that no solution that does not reflect the views of the authentic representatives of the peoples involved—and in this case it is SWAPO—can bring about a viable solution in that country. Only the conditions proposed by SWAPO can truly guarantee genuine independence and a durable peace in Namibia.

229. With regard to the Middle East, the situation of "no war, no peace", which now obtains in that region, can only favour the annexionist and expansionist policy of Israel, which continues to defy international opinion by occupying Arab territories in an endeavour to modify to its advantage their demographic and geographic features and to destroy their Islamic culture. We must unreservedly condemn the Jewish settlements that were installed in the occupied Arab lands.

230. In seeking an equitable and just solution of this problem, we must necessarily associate the Palestine Liberation Organization with any discussion on the Middle East, and any discussion must of necessity produce, first, Israel's evacuation of the Arab territories occupied since 1967; secondly, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to a homeland; thirdly, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination; and, fourthly, the recognition of the right of the Palestinians to return to their homes.

231. My delegation considers that the settlement of the problem of Cyprus must be based on respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, and non-alignment of that country and on the recognition of the legitimate rights and aspirations of both communities.

232. On 16 December 1971, the General Assembly adopted resolution 2832 (XXVI), in which it declared the Indian Ocean a zone of peace. It has also asked the great Powers to begin immediate consultations with the coastal States of the Indian Ocean in order to put an end to the process of escalation and expansion of the military presence in that zone and to eliminate from the Indian Ocean all bases, military installations and logistic support services

which could make it possible to introduce nuclear arms and weapons of massive destruction into the area, and also to put an end to any display of the military presence of the great Powers in the Indian Ocean as conceived within the context of the rivalry of the great Powers.

233. My country feels that it is high time to see to it that tangible steps should be taken to ensure that this resolution is scrupulously implemented. The adoption of such measures would really prove the will of the great Powers to achieve complete and general disarmament. Mankind would then be able to emerge from the torpor and the anguish that it now feels, and the developing countries, which would benefit from renewed and expanded international solidarity, would thus be able to contemplate the future of their peoples with tranquillity and optimism.

234. Convinced of the interdependence of the economies of States, my country continues to believe that the great Powers and the economically developed countries must suppress their selfish national interests and consider the future of mankind as a whole because the developing countries cannot accept a situation where the third world must recognize a ceiling for their standard of living beyond which it cannot hope to aspire.

235. Let us now turn to the Comoros. For the second time, the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte is submitted for consideration by the Assembly. I do not want at this stage to open a debate that will take place in due course. I will simply confine myself to describing to the Assembly certain significant facts that will make it possible for us to outline the problem in its present form and also to forecast the future.

236. In order to do so, I must report to the Assembly on the recent developments, particularly with regard to the situation as it obtains in Mayotte itself. The situation that prevails in that island is most alarming. Everywhere, in the private as well as in the public sector, the Comorian citizen of Mayotte has no longer any responsibility. Public offices are reserved for staff brought in from the island of Réunion and for staff from France. In the private sector, there is an influx of businessmen who are mainly former colonial settlers with a nostalgic feeling for France's colonial empire. And as if to create an irreversible colonial situation, there are also posts of "military surveillance" that have been set up in the four corners of the island and which are all occupied by members of the Foreign Legion. The latter, the renegades of society, specialists in low tasks and depraved conduct, are today the real masters of the Comorian island of Mayotte.

237. This tendency to accelerate the military compartmentalization of the Comorian island of Mayotte carries with it the most nefarious consequences for the island. Even if 130 years of French colonization could not really impair true Comorian values, one must fear today that very soon those legionnaires, exerting pressure on a defenceless population and given free reign, will bring about a situation where the Comorian of Mayotte will lose his personality and become a pleasure-seeker of the lowest type, someone who has lost even his sense of dignity, his integrity and his freedom.

238. Special measures are taken to encourage the installation of the capitalist sector and the colonial circles in Mayotte through the free distribution of land belonging to the State, the purchase at ridiculous prices of lands belonging to the peasants and the expropriation of the commercial and tourist sector by these newcomers. In short, Mayotte has become the last refuge of colonialists who are seeking wealth with little effort and interesting and exciting adventures.

239. Finally, to conclude this chapter on the internal situation in the island of Mayotte, we must point to two facts which took place recently and which signify a further escalation in the process of the occupation of Mayotte. While the international community does not recognize France's competence in Mayotte and while the French presence in Mayotte has been censured most vehemently by the resolution that was adopted last year by this General Assembly [resolution 31/4], France none the less 15 days ago appointed Mr. Marcel Henri—the leader of the separatist movement on Mayotte—as a Senator of the French Republic in the French Senate.

240. From now on, in the case of the Comorian island of Mayotte, we must really impute the facts to those who bear full responsibility for them.

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

241. We must have the courage to denounce what we consider a most serious violation of international morality and of the legitimate rights which history, culture, the economy and law have always recognized as belonging to the Comorians. In this case France has violated its own Constitution, its own laws, its own regulations.

242. The French Constitution in its preamble states that France will respect the rules of international law. Among those rules, of course, there is also the Charter of the United Nations which has been signed both by France and the Comoros. Thus the first duty of States is to respect the principles which they have committed themselves to defend.

243. On the other hand, all pertinent French laws and regulations, from 1889 to 23 November 1974, which was the date when the French Parliament passed the law organizing a referendum regarding the accession of the Comoros to independence, have each time recognized the political unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros.

244. Because of Senegal's discreet mediation through the intermediary of its prestigious chief, President Léopold Sédar Senghor, two French missions went to the Comoros, one in December 1976, and the other in January 1977. Those two meetings held with the chief of the Comorian State, our brother Ali Soilih, led us to the painful realization that the position of France in this matter had not changed, despite all the appeals which were launched by the non-aligned countries in Colombo and also the appeals of the General Assembly of 21 October 1976.

245. The last action which shows the ill will of France in the matter is the suspension on 18 June last of the two flights of Air-Comores, the national airline, over Mayotte.

By this action, France has now severed the last direct economic link which had been preserved since our relations were broken off in December 1975, and France has widened the gap which separates the community of Comorian Mayotte from the rest of the archipelago

246. To this political situation, which is of much concern to the international community, we must also add the social and economic problems which are inherent in our situation, that of a developing country that has gained independence in exceptionally difficult circumstances, while a part of its territory is being occupied by a foreign Power.

247. The missions of the United Nations which went to the Comoros successively in December 1975 and in April and the beginning of September of this year have realized the poverty and the misery into which France has allowed the people of Comoros to sink.

248. In this year of 1977 there were two new catastrophes in the Comoros: one was due to the repatriation of 16,000 Comorians from Madagascar because of the distressing events in Majunga; the other to the eruption of a volcano which has completely destroyed an entire village and which has left over 5,000 people homeless.

249. Because of the help and solidarity offered by many countries and international organizations, the Comorian people somehow avoided complete catastrophe. But it is nonetheless a fact that we need the political support of Members of the United Nations to settle the problem of the Comorian island of Mayotte. We also need their financial assistance in order to begin our economic development.

250. In concluding—and this is in keeping with the action taken by the President of the Gabonese Republic, El Hadj Omar Bongo, who is the current President of the OAU—I want to say that our Government is always prepared to begin a dialogue with France. We have always stated that, and it is in this spirit that we shall approach the question of the Comorian island of Mayotte when it is discussed here.

251. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have requested to speak in reply to statements made in the general debate. Members will recall that the General Assembly at its 5th plenary meeting decided that statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

252. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic): The delegations to this august body were stunned yesterday to hear what General Moshe Dayan, Israel's Foreign Minister, had to say to them. They listened in disbelief to the head of the Israeli delegation affirming to them that any reference to the 1967 cease-fire lines is pure nostalgia, that any settlement which includes Israel's withdrawal from the occupied Arab territories is nothing but a simplistic solution, that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) does not require Israel to withdraw from the territories it occupied in 1967, that the call of the overwhelming majority of nations for the establishment of a Palestinian State in the West Bank and Gaza is "a futile exercise in wishful thinking" [27th meeting, para. 184], that the Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories are legal, that the fourth Geneva Convention is not applicable to the occupied Arab terri-

tories, that the Jews should have the right to live in any part of their "ancestral land", that there is no such problem as that of the Arab refugees but all that has happened is that "an exchange of population has taken place between Israel and the Arab countries" [*ibid.*, para. 207] and that all that is needed to solve the problem is to force the Arabs "to recognize the right of Israel to national sovereignty in the ancient, historical land of the Jewish people" [*ibid.*, para. 211]. General Moshe Dayan was kind enough to conclude his statement by expressing the readiness of his régime, subject of course to Arab submission to the aforementioned Israeli conditions, to negotiate a final peace agreement.

253. I do not think I need to answer or to comment on each and every one of these incredible Zionist arguments. They speak for themselves. They are in my opinion a hundred times more expressive and more eloquent than any Arab speech or statement about the true nature of Israel and its expansionist-militaristic policies.

254. It is most significant that that ultra-extremist statement, which defines the official policy of Israel by the chief of Zionist diplomacy, comes at the very moment when so many countries are exerting painful efforts in order to achieve a peaceful, negotiated settlement and to establish a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. I should like, however, to set the record straight in relation to just a few points in this statement of the Israeli Foreign Minister.

255. I do not think I have to answer the repeated and vicious Zionist campaign about Syrian citizens of the Jewish faith who have lived for centuries and still live in full equality and harmony with their Moslem and Christian brothers. The Zionist lies about the Jewish Syrian community have been exposed and refuted in fact by many representatives of the foreign press and television, neutral reporters, visitors and guests, including American Jewish senators and other members of the American Congress. What a Zionist representative can never understand—and I do not blame him because the Zionist ideology is based on the very opposite concept—is that the Arabs do not discriminate against their own people or against any other people on the basis of religious affiliation even though all the tragedies and the sufferings they are subjected to emanate from an entity which is based on the ideology of religious superiority and Jewish exclusiveness.

256. In his outrageous attempt to vilify the Arabs and attack them, General Dayan even contradicted himself about Syrian Jews and Arab Jews in general when, forgetting he had described Syrian Jews a moment before in his statement as hostages in the hands of Syria, which prevented them from leaving the country, he continued later, inadvertently, to affirm that "Jews who had lived for thousands of years in Arab lands were forced to leave" [*ibid.*, para. 205]. General Dayan should make up his mind. Were Arab Jews forced to leave, or are they forced to remain as hostages?

257. Another distortion by the Israeli Foreign Minister is his interpretation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967). According to the Zionist General, Israel is not required in that resolution to withdraw from the occupied Arab territories. I shall not refer to the very principle on

which resolution 242 (1967) was built, the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force; I shall not even refer to the clear language of the first condition in that resolution, which is withdrawal of Israel from the territories it has occupied since 1967. But I should like to refute General Dayan by using his own statement and his interpretation of resolution 242 (1967).

258. Before the Israeli Knesset on 19 June 1968, General Dayan, who at that time was against Israel's agreement to resolution 242 (1967), said the following:

“The Security Council explicitly resolved that Israel should withdraw to the lines of 4 June 1967. It is no good playing with words and trying to interpret the Security Council resolution in any other way. Israel must be frankly reserved as regards the Security Council resolution, which clearly calls for Israeli withdrawal to the 4 June lines.”

That was published in the Israeli newspaper *Davar* on 20 June 1968.

259. Again, General Dayan distorted the meaning of the term “secure and recognized boundaries”. The Israeli argument is misleading, and in his opinion resolution 242 (1967) does not call for secure and recognized boundaries for the Arabs, but only for Israel. He forgets that the resolution calls for secure and recognized borders for “every State in the area”.

260. Israel, with its unprecedented record of aggression and expansion, should be ashamed to talk about the security of borders or the recognition of borders when it has constantly violated every national and international boundary and armistice line in the region throughout the 29 or 30 years of its existence.

261. What boundaries does Israel or General Dayan want to be secure or recognized? The boundaries allotted to Israel by the United Nations partition plan of 1947, the boundaries of the armistice lines of 1949, the boundaries of the tripartite Suez invasion of 1956, the boundaries of the June 1967 war of aggression, or, as General Dayan now shamelessly admits, the boundaries of Mandatory Palestine resulting from the total annexation of the West Bank and Gaza?

262. General Dayan should know that boundaries cannot be secure unless they are recognized and they cannot be recognized unless they are just; they must not be imposed under the weight of aggression.

263. According to General Dayan's statement, Israel also objects to the establishment of a Palestinian State on the premise that the Arab countries voted against General Assembly resolution 181 (II), which partitioned Palestine into two States—an Arab State and a Jewish State. No wonder. How does General Dayan expect the Arab countries to accept the dismemberment of their own territory and the gift of 56 per cent of that territory as a present to alien invaders?

264. The international legal basis for the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State in Palestine has long been

established. Israel cannot deny or reject that international basis because, if it does, it would be denying and rejecting the very legal basis on which the Jewish State, according to the United Nations, was founded.

265. The United Nations resolution to which I have referred—resolution 181 (II) of 29 November 1947—partitioned Palestine into an Arab State, a Jewish State and an internationalized City of Jerusalem. The resolution describes in detail the boundaries of each State and the international City of Jerusalem, and an official map of the partition plan was annexed to the said resolution, which can still be found in the archives of this Organization.

266. If today the Israelis insist on denying the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to their State they would, in the same breath, be denying the legitimacy of their own State and forfeiting its only legal basis according to the United Nations.

267. One last word about terror and terrorism. General Dayan insulted all the Arab countries and accused them of encouraging international terror. The irony is that that vicious lie and affront comes from the representative of the régime whose whole history is nothing but a series of acts of terror and terrorism. I shall not refer to the personal black record of the chauvinistic General himself, whose hands are forever dyed with Palestinian Arab blood and whose name is synonymous with Zionist brutality and Israeli aggression. I shall not refer to the Government of which he is the Foreign Minister and which is headed by a man whose record in terror and terrorism is unprecedented in history. Nor shall I enumerate the crimes of the leaders of his Government, from the massacre of Deir Yasin and Qibya to the destruction of the King David Hotel with the loss of innocent men, women and children, the assassination of the United Nations Mediator, Count Folke Bernadotte, and so on.

268. I want to ask only the following question, Who is the real terrorist, the alien who occupies one's territory, disperses a people and causes them to become desperate refugees twice in a lifetime, or the indigenous inhabitant who carries arms in spite of his limited resources and possibilities in defence of his land and his human rights?

269. Israel, which was established solely through terror and aggression, should be the last to speak about terror or terrorism.

270. The bitter fact is that Israel is not interested in peace and does not want even the convening of the Peace Conference. Of course Israel claims the opposite and expresses its readiness to attend the Geneva Peace Conference; but, at the same time, it imposes several impossible conditions that it knows or hopes the Arabs will not and cannot accept.

271. The road to peace is clear and well defined. It is evident that the only obstacle to peace is Israel's refusal to evacuate the Arab territories and its persistent violation of the national rights of the Palestinian people, in particular their right to political independence, repatriation, self-determination and a State of their own in their own territory. A just and honourable solution to the Middle East



conflict is not lacking; what is lacking is, rather, the sincere and honest will on the part of Israel to implement such a solution in a spirit of goodwill and peace.

272. The PRESIDENT: The representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement made by one of the speakers in the general debate. I intend to call on him to speak on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3237 (XXIX) of 22 November 1974, and particularly on the basis of the statement made by the President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly at the 9th plenary meeting on 29 September 1976. That statement of the President of the thirty-first session, which exactly corresponds to the present situation, reads as follows:

"It is my duty to inform the Assembly that the question has been raised whether observers could participate in the general debate. I have held consultations with those concerned and, as a result of those consultations, the understanding has been reached that, in order to avoid creating a precedent that could give rise to certain problems and could prolong the general debate beyond the period allotted to it, the matter will not be pursued.

"I am greatly obliged to those who have helped me to arrive at this understanding for their co-operation.

"I must make it quite clear, however, that if any speaker in the course of the general debate should make any remarks which call for a reply from an observer, I shall call on that observer in the plenary Assembly so that he may reply."<sup>18</sup>

273. The last sentence of this statement, which substantially was a ruling by the President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, was not challenged by the Assembly and as such stands as a decision by the General Assembly. On the basis of that, I am intending to call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

274. The representative of the United States would like to speak on a point of order.

275. Mr. LOWENSTEIN (United States of America): As we have just heard, the Palestine Liberation Organization has asked to be allowed to reply to the statement of the Foreign Minister of Israel.

276. I wish simply to recall the consistent position of the United States that only representatives of Member States are qualified to participate in the general debate. We believe this is a sound practice which contributes to a more effective and expeditious general debate.

277. The PRESIDENT: According to rule 71, the President of the General Assembly must immediately decide on a point of order raised by a representative. In what he has said the representative of the United States has not made an appeal against this decision, and accordingly I shall adhere to my intention to call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

278. The representative of Israel wishes to speak. However, if he repeats the same arguments I shall declare him out of order. He may speak in order to appeal against this intention of the Chair to call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization on the basis of previous decisions of the General Assembly.

279. Mr. ELIAV (Israel): Israel wishes simply to place on record its objection to calling on the Palestine Liberation Organization in this general debate and to allowing it to make what is in effect a reply. Israel's objection is based on a cardinal point of principle which we believe should enjoy universal support—namely, that the Charter of this Organization and its rules of procedure be respected and upheld. Articles 3 and 4 of the Charter lay down that only States—I repeat "States"—can be Members of the Organization. Rule 73 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly makes the right of reply in the plenary Assembly available to members—I repeat to members—and to no one else.

280. The PRESIDENT: We have the same situation. There is no appeal against the intention to call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization, but only a reservation.

281. I now call on the representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

282. Mr. KADDOUMI (Palestine Liberation Organization): Mr. President, at the outset I would like to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the General Assembly and to express to you our appreciation of your country's friendly and continued support of our cause.

283. I hesitated for a long time before I finally decided to speak in order to dwell briefly on General Dayan's statement which he delivered yesterday [27th meeting] before this Assembly. I hesitated because I thought, like many others, that his own words inherently carried the dictums of the international community on Israel's desire for peace.

284. However, since we are now again at the cross-roads to either war or peace, it is imperative that each side should make its position clear in no uncertain terms. In all his television, press and United Nations utterances the ex-general adhered to his *cliché* that the Palestine Liberation Organization is a bunch of terrorists. May I remind him that he is a member of the Cabinet of the infamous Menachem Begin, the terrorist *par excellence* who boasted in his book, *The Revolt*,<sup>19</sup> which is his pride and joy, of the atrocities he had perpetrated. Since he is a retired General it should not escape Mr. Dayan's memory that terror breeds terror and intransigence breeds intransigence.

285. It is now amply clear to all concerned, that the Palestine problem is the central issue in the Middle East conflict. This Assembly has already recognized, reaffirmed, and even devised the means for the attainment of, our inalienable rights to self-determination, repatriation, and independence. The recent joint Soviet-American statement has called for the ensuring of the legitimate rights of the

<sup>18</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 9th meeting, paras. 152-154.

<sup>19</sup> Menachem Begin, *The Revolt* (New York, Schuman, 1951).

Palestinian people. The overwhelming majority of the States Members of the United Nations, including the United States, are now unanimous in their belief that ours is a political problem and not only a humanitarian one.

286. But the ex-General takes exception to all this. He does not see eye to eye with the international community. He has both the audacity and tenacity to refer to international law and say that in Mandatory Palestine, where Arab Palestinians lived uninterruptedly for 1,300 years, nobody has claims of sovereignty better than Israel.

287. He wonders about, and almost questions, Mr. Cyrus Vance's right to sign the joint Soviet-American statement because it made reference to our legitimate rights.

288. He is diametrically opposed to President Carter, the President of his country's most indispensable ally. President Carter declared recently that the Israeli settlements in the occupied Arab territories are an obstacle to peace. But Mr. Dayan was categorical and unequivocal when he informed this United Nations body yesterday that the settlements are legal.

289. Despite the usurpation of our country and the injustices that have been inflicted on our people, our Palestine National Council, which is the highest legislative body within the Palestinian body politic, has already opted for an independent and sovereign Palestinian State to be established under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization on liberated Palestinian soil, in congruence with the resolution of this Assembly, adopted in 1974 [resolution 3236 (XXIX)]. Mr. Dayan, however, believes that Palestine is his ancestral land—thus defying your will and flouting your resolutions.

290. Nevertheless, despite the hallucinations and fabrications contained in his statement, Mr. Dayan had one moment of truth towards the end of the statement when he declared:

“The heart of the problem is the Arab refusal to recognize the right of Israel to national sovereignty in the ancient, historical land of the Jewish people.” [27th meeting, para. 211.]

This is a fitting epitaph to the efforts of those who naïvely believe that Israel will budge an inch from occupied Arab territories of its own free will. Was it not the self-same General who declared immediately after the 1967 war: “If you look at the Bible, you find the land of the Bible and on no account will we give up our rights to the land of the Bible.” The land of the Bible comprises most of the Arab world.

291. We are not alarmed, but we are not optimistic. We will continue to have faith in this Organization and in the good offices of all those who realize the dimensions of the eruption of a new war in our part of the world. Our armed struggle will continue because we are witnessing a voracious Israeli territorial appetite.

292. General Dayan may stick to his *pax Israelica*, inspired by his Zionist creed; and we will stick to our armed struggle, inspired by our love of justice, peace, freedom, repatriation and sovereignty in Palestine.

293. Being the catalyst and the detonating factor, the people of Palestine, supported by the Arab peoples, are capable of disrupting any peace that may be concluded at their expense.

294. Let it be crystal-clear: no peace without the Palestinians and no Palestinians without the Palestine Liberation Organization.

295. Mr. LEPRETTE (France) (*interpretation from French*): At this podium, words are often expressed which justly sustain and exalt our convictions. Other words have a stranger result and entrap those who utter them, although they do not become aware of it until later. The liberation movement to free us from the snare of such words has not yet arisen, but if it ever comes into being, France will certainly fight in its ranks.

296. I have asked for the floor to give a short clarification concerning the statement made this afternoon by the Minister of State for External Affairs of the Comoros. As regards procedure, I would first point out that it was decided, despite the opposition of my delegation, to include the question of Mayotte on the agenda of the Assembly. As to the substance, my delegation will explain our position frankly and in detail, but dispassionately, when this item is considered.

297. However, my delegation wishes to point out at this stage that it is not logical to speak of a serious breach of international morality when France has merely accepted the freely expressed will of the population concerned. Nor can France be accused of violating its own Constitution when it is merely applying the provisions of that Constitution. I should also like to observe that in France Senators are not appointed; they are elected.

298. I do not wish to dwell this afternoon on the unfounded allegations which have been put forward here concerning the behaviour of the French authorities at Mayotte; it goes without saying that there will be a point-by-point reply to these in due course.

299. In closing, I can only regret the words spoken here by the Minister for External Affairs of the Comoros, which are in contrast with the willingness for dialogue to which he himself referred. As the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the French Republic said on 28 September, France is absolutely ready to express its solidarity with the Comoros. The French Foreign Minister further said:

“Misunderstandings are still evident in the interpretation of certain decisions regarding the island of Mayotte. The inhabitants of that island have opted by vote in favour of a future different from that of their neighbours. The status of the island does, however, leave them the possibility of stating their position about their future on another occasion. France will not stand in the way of any course of action, provided it is followed with mutual regard for the rights of the parties.” [10th meeting, para. 188.]

300. There can, therefore, be no ambiguity concerning our attitude. I regret, in this connexion that the Minister of State for External Affairs of the Comoros has remained

silent about the major decision taken by my country's Parliament since our last session.

301. Mr. ABDALLAH (Comoros) (*interpretation from French*): It is not my intention to start a debate on the Comorian island of Mayotte. I simply wish to state that what today constitutes the essential claim of the Comorian people is not the fact of a law but the fact of the history, culture, civilization and even of the relations which have always existed among the various communities making up the people of the Comoro archipelago

302. Ever since 1841, France has recognized this fact, and the French legislature has, since that time, endeavoured to respect this will and the historic fact of the make up and composition of the Comorian people.

303. As to the law adopted by the French Parliament, it was only a last-minute situation and does not at all reflect the French Government's constant position from the very beginning, or its position at a later date, when the Comoros and France agreed to implement the process of the Comoros' accession to independence.

304. Thus, for the sake of clarity, I should like to read out the statement made by the President of the French Republic on 24 October 1974 to the press at a time when the French Parliament was considering a law relating to the organization of a referendum to ascertain the desires of the Comorian people on their accession to independence. The following is the question posed by a French journalist to the President of the Republic: "Will the island of Mayotte

have the option of remaining French if it so desires?" The reply was as follows:

"As for the island of Mayotte, the law has been voted by the National Assembly. [*The Comoros*] are an archipelago which constitutes a single entity, situated, as you know, between independent Madagascar and independent Mozambique—or which will, in any case, gain independence in June. The population is homogeneous with practically no people of French origin, or only very few. . . .

"... was it reasonable to imagine that a part of the archipelago should become independent and that one island, whatever sympathy one might have for its inhabitants, should retain different status?

"I believe that one must accept contemporary realities. The Comoros are a single unit, they have always been a single unit, and it is natural that their fate should be a common fate, even if some of them—and, of course, this affects us, although we may not be able to draw any inferences from it—may have wanted a different solution.

"On the occasion of the attainment of independence by a Territory, it is not for us to propose to shatter the unity of what has always been the single Comoro archipelago."

305. That was the statement by the President of the French Republic, who was the guarantor of the independence and sovereignty of that nation. Therefore, the only question I wish to pose here is, Whom shall we believe?

*The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.*