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CONTENTS

	Page
Tribute to the memory of Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, President of the Yemen Arab Republic	575
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>continued</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Alladaye (Benin)	577
Speech by Mr. Muganga (Burundi)	581
Speech by Mr. Mogwe (Botswana)	587

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

***Tribute to the memory of Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi,
President of the Yemen Arab Republic***

1. The PRESIDENT: We have learned with great sorrow of the tragic death of the President of the Yemen Arab Republic, His Excellency Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi. On behalf of the General Assembly, I request the representative of Yemen to convey our condolences to the Government and people of Yemen and to the bereaved family. I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silence in tribute to the memory of President Al-Hamdi.

The members of the General Assembly observed a minute of silence.

2. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have asked to be allowed to express their condolences. I call first on the representative of Tunisia, who will speak on behalf of the African States.

3. Mr. MESTIRI (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking as Chairman of the African group of States, I must sadly offer the condolences of the African countries to the Yemen Arab Republic, to its people and its Government and express our deep sympathy on the occasion of the tragic death of President Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi. This bereavement has befallen a country that has always defended the principles and purposes of the Charter and one that has always upheld the cause of Africa and Africa's struggles in this Organization and elsewhere.

4. May I ask our colleagues of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic to convey to their people and to their Government our deep sadness in these tragic circumstances.

5. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Oman, who will speak on behalf of the Asian States.

6. Mr. ABLOUL-NASR (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the delegations of the Asian countries

and of the delegation of Oman, I wish to express to the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic our deepest condolences on the loss that they have suffered in the untimely death of Lieutenant-Colonel Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, the President of the Supreme Command Council, Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Yemen and President of that country.

7. May I ask our colleague, the head of the delegation of the sister Arab Republic of Yemen, to convey, on our behalf, to the bereaved family and the people and Government of Yemen, our heartfelt condolences on the loss of a true leader in Asia.

8. We trust that the people of Yemen who have suffered so much through history, will again prove their ability to overcome difficulties and carry on with their task of achieving progress and prosperity.

9. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, who will speak on behalf of the Eastern European States.

10. Mr. DOLGUCHITS (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): On behalf of the group of East European countries and as Chairman of that group, I must express our deep condolences on the tragic death of the President of Yemen, President Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi. We wish to offer our condolences to the delegation of Yemen to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly and to the Permanent Representative of Yemen, and ask him to transmit our feelings of sorrow to the bereaved family and to the people of Yemen.

11. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic who will speak on behalf of the Arab States.

12. Mr. ALLAF (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the group of Arab States, of which we are the Chairman this month, we should like to express to the delegation of Yemen and the heroic people of the Yemen Arab Republic our deep feelings of condolence and sorrow at the tragic loss that that country has just suffered in the untimely death of President Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi.

13. I have been requested also to express, on behalf of this group of countries, our thanks to the members of the General Assembly and to yourself, Sir, for the tribute that you have been kind enough to pay this morning in observing a minute of silence.

14. I also wish to thank my brothers representing other regional groups who, on behalf of those groups, have tendered their condolences and expressed their sympathy.

15. The Arab nation stands side by side with the people of the sister Republic of Yemen and we are at one with them as we live through these difficult moments. We ask God to preserve their heroic people from all other ills and to fulfil the aspirations of unity expressed by their leaders. Let them continue to represent a solid nucleus of unity among the Arab peoples.

16. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, who will speak on behalf of the Latin American States.

17. Mr. ABDULAH (Trinidad and Tobago): On behalf of the members of the Latin American group of States, I should like to express the great sadness that we all feel today on learning of the untimely death of Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, the President of the Yemen Arab Republic. His death at this time has dealt a cruel blow to the people of that young country, which within very recent times has set its feet on the difficult path of independence.

18. We share with our brothers and friends in Yemen their sense of great loss and we assure them of our continuing solidarity in all their efforts to maintain and strengthen their independence.

19. May I, on behalf of the Latin American group of States, ask the delegation of Yemen to convey to the Government and people of Yemen, as well as to the family of the President, our deepest sympathy on this sad occasion.

20. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of Austria, who will speak on behalf of the Western European and other States.

21. Mr. WOLF (Austria): On behalf of the members and delegations of the group of Western European and other States, may I express our deeply felt sorrow over the sad event that has afflicted the Republic of Yemen and its population, the tragic and untimely death of Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, the President of Yemen.

22. May I, on behalf of our group, extend to the head of the delegation of Yemen our sincere condolences to the Government and the people of the Republic of Yemen, as well as to the family of the bereaved.

23. The PRESIDENT: I call on the representative of the United States, who will speak as the representative of the host country.

24. Mr. WHALEN (United States of America): Speaking on behalf of the host country, the United States, I should like to express to the representatives of the Yemen Arab Republic and to the people of that country our condolences upon the untimely death of the President, Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi.

25. I ask the Permanent Representative of the Yemen Arab Republic to express the sympathy of the Government of the United States to the family of his President and to the people, whom the President so effectively served.

26. Mr. ASHTAL (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): At a time when the Yemeni people were

preparing to receive the President, Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, in Aden to celebrate the fourteenth anniversary of the revolution of 14 October in Democratic Yemen, a monstrous weapon was used to assassinate him and his brother, Abdullah Al-Hamdi.

27. The late President struggled heroically to establish security in Yemen, to ensure its independence and national sovereignty, and to direct it along the road to economic and social development. He spared no effort to strengthen friendly relations between the two parts of Yemen, with a view to the unification of the countries.

28. The Presidential Council and the Cabinet of Democratic Yemen held a joint meeting following this painful incident, and a statement was issued by the Government condemning this wretched plot, hatched by the enemies of the Yemeni people to jeopardize their unity. That statement voices the deep sorrow of the Yemeni people. All public events that had been scheduled to commemorate the revolution of 14 October have been cancelled and an official period of mourning of 40 days was announced.

29. We all extend our condolences to the family of the deceased, in the conviction that the Yemeni people will carry on their campaign for progress and unity, which were the ultimate objectives of President Al-Hamdi.

30. Mr. SALLAM (Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the name of God, the merciful and the compassionate, I should like to express our deep appreciation and thanks to you, Mr. President, and to the General Assembly, in whose name you have offered your condolences on the occasion of the death of President Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, the President of the Supreme Command Council. I should also like to express our appreciation to all the representatives who have expressed their feelings on this sad occasion and who observed a minute of silence to commemorate the memory of our dear friend.

31. We shall convey to the Yemeni Government and to the family of the deceased the condolences which have been expressed here in the General Assembly.

32. The President and his brother Abdullah both died while they were driving at night in the suburbs of San'a, the capital of our country, without any armed escort. Our late President—may his soul rest in peace—was accustomed to make such rounds unescorted because, having exerted such tireless efforts for the well-being of his people and for their security, he was sure of the affection of the Yemeni people for him. Under his leadership Yemen has made giant steps forward in every sphere. Thanks to his wise policies, many major projects of vital importance have been carried out. President Al-Hamdi himself, personally and tirelessly, watched over the progress of those projects.

33. Our Council met in the early hours of this morning and elected a new President, Ahmed Al-Ghashmi, the former Vice-President. The Prime Minister and the Chief of the Airborne Troops of the Armed Forces were likewise appointed to the Council.

34. May the blessings of the Almighty surround the late President.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

35. Mr. ALLADAYE (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Once again I am moved by the feelings of anxiety and doubt, but also of hope, that I have so often had when it has been my lot to address the representatives in this Assembly from this high rostrum.

36. I feel anxiety when I consider not only the number but above all the importance of the questions on our agenda, questions which in many cases concern threats to international peace and security, many of them challenges to the conscience of the world, many of them challenges to the international community which it has so far been incapable of tackling whether through impotence, indifference or, above all, egoism.

37. I feel doubt because, once the tumult of our Assembly has been stilled and our lyrical transports are over, what will become of the fine resolutions that we have so cleverly concocted and adopted by all, sometimes with who knows what ulterior motives? For while it is our business to spirit away these dangers we have to note that it is precisely and above all those who have the means to take up these challenges who refuse to do so through either selfishness or political blindness.

38. I feel hope, too, because, despite these negative feelings and the gravity of the threats which hover over our heads, what prevails with me in the final analysis is a deep-seated feeling of optimism, which is justified by the great book of history, in which the victory of oppressed peoples has never been other than the outcome of struggle—a struggle against ignorance, a struggle against obscurantism, a struggle against egoism, a struggle also for freedom, a struggle for dignity and a struggle for the prosperity of peoples.

39. It is to continue this struggle that representatives are once again met here in this hall, the representatives of all the independent sovereign States of the world, to try to find the solutions of worthy and civilized men to the numerous problems created by those for whom sovereignty, independence, dignity and civilization are meaningless unless they can dominate, oppress and exploit others.

40. The thirty-second session of the General Assembly of our Organization is beginning its work at a time when international imperialism threatens international peace and security on every front. The year 1977 will go down in history as the year in which multiple acts of aggression were perpetrated by international imperialism against the independence and sovereignty of our States and as the year in which the weakest were crushed without appeal by the strongest and the poorest by the wealthiest.

41. For its part the People's Republic of Benin will never forget the ignoble and barbarous imperialist armed aggression of 16 January 1977 against its people and its revolution by a horde of mercenaries trained, equipped and paid to commit the most abject mass crimes. On that day the entire world learned with astonishment that in the middle of the twentieth century there could once again be

acts of gangsterism which, although committed with the most modern and sophisticated means, none the less belonged to an age which had vanished for ever. Nevertheless, on that day, through that barbarous and ignoble act of aggression, Benin, in addition to suffering considerable material damage, was to lose seven of its best sons.

42. Coming after the aggressions against Guinea and Angola, that act of aggression was nothing other than the setting in motion of the same wide-ranging plot hatched by the imperialist Powers against régimes whose only crime was the desire to live in freedom and independence and to be masters of their own natural resources.

43. If the question of the aggression mounted against the People's Republic of Benin gave rise to long and passionate debates in the Security Council, the consideration of the question is no less topical now. Although those debates helped to clarify the nature of the new threat to the independence of the peoples of the third world constituted by the use of international mercenaries, no practical action was recommended for its elimination. And while those debates, in the light of the various reports of the commissions of inquiry, had made it possible to unmask those who instigated that barbarism organized on an international scale, nevertheless they did not lead to the adoption of vigorous measures to prevent a recurrence, as required by the consistent and diligent implementation of the United Nations Charter.

44. The phenomenon of international mercenaries should lead the international community to consider with the greatest seriousness the problem of the security of small States and to recommend effective means of really combating this new form of modern invasion and colonial and neo-colonial reconquest.

45. As our great comrade in arms President Mathieu Kérékou has so judiciously stated:

“The recent experience of our country, the People's Republic of Benin, in its resistance to aggression by the imperialist army of mercenaries has enabled us, with documentary support, to draw two fundamental lessons. First, the mercenaries, who are the dregs of a capitalist society already in an advanced state of decay, are in truth special and anonymous detachments of the regular troops of the imperialist armies, since they are recruited, led, trained and armed by regular officers specially assigned to that sordid task. One cannot therefore but denounce and combat the use of international mercenaries without unmasking the forces which organize and arm them, set them in motion and assign them their clear-cut targets.

“In the second place, the use of armed groups of mercenaries is a new weapon of mass destruction which has entered into the global strategy of international imperialism for the colonial reconquest of the States of the third world. Consequently, all States must become fully aware of this menace and must organize themselves in order to carry on a resolute and sustained struggle against the new horde of blood-thirsty conquerors. This ongoing struggle against international mercenaries has become an essential and urgent task for all progressive mankind.”

46. I do not wish to reiterate here the disgust which was felt by the entire people of Benin at the participation of a colonial Power which vaunts itself as a land of freedom, equality and fraternity; neither shall I describe again the repulsion experienced by the entire people of Benin when they learned the infamous news that African Governments, Governments of fraternal countries, had, in a cowardly and perfidious fashion, made available to the mercenaries their training camps, their aircraft, their air fields and their men. That is to say that the cowardly act of aggression committed on Sunday, 16 January, against the people of Benin and its revolution would never have taken place if African puppets had not agreed to serve as middlemen. Once the Security Council had recognized the tragic events of 16 January 1977 as an act of aggression, it should have been logical for resolution 405 (1977) to identify and condemn those responsible for that act of aggression.

47. Be that as it may, the leaders of the imperialist Powers, like the renegade African Governments that have betrayed the cause of Africa, will none the less remain covered with opprobrium until such time as the just anger of their people casts them one by one on the trash heap of history. For its part, the People's Republic of Benin, in its serene determination to continue its forward march, has the calm satisfaction of having helped through its victory over international imperialism to show States of the third world beset by exploitation and foreign domination, the road they should follow, and of having demonstrated to the imperialist Powers the fate reserved to their enterprises of colonial or neo-colonial reconquest. Nevertheless, we remain convinced that the struggle continues, because imperialism will never accept final defeat; but victory, our victory, is no less certain.

48. It is this certainty of the inevitable victory of oppressed peoples which, despite the rising wave of danger and of barbarous crimes committed by international imperialism on our continent, justifies my delegation's optimism. The revolutionary gale that is blowing over our great, beautiful and rich continent of Africa is blowing harder with each day that passes, sweeping away one by one the last bastions of colonialism and neo-colonialism, as well as the citadels of imperialist-racist fascism, which have been shaken to their foundations by the great popular mass movements, of which Soweto is the living symbol.

49. It is fortunate that, after 12 years of guilty inaction and a silence of complicity, the British Government has at last decided to shoulder its responsibilities vis-à-vis Zimbabwe. It has been necessary, in order to shake the Western Powers out of their stubborn indifference to the exactions and the denials of rights visited on the people of Zimbabwe, for the freedom fighters under the leadership of the Patriotic Front to strike a blow at the illegal régime of Ian Smith that endangered its sordid interests in the region. The inevitable victory of the Zimbabwe people thus explains the feverish desperation of the imperialist Powers to find hybrid solutions which will safeguard their selfish interests. The latest plan proposed for the settlement of this problem, though it represents progress over the political blindness which had previously characterized the various positions taken by the imperialist Powers, nevertheless is not a settlement of the fundamental problem, which is that of dissolving the rebel army of Ian Smith, or of the no less

fundamental one of the transfer of power to the lawful representatives of the Zimbabwe people, namely, those who, on the battlefield, are leading the freedom struggle under the enlightened leadership of the Patriotic Front.

50. This is to say that it is first and foremost the Patriotic Front, which is the authentic representative of the Zimbabwe people, which should express its views of the Anglo-American proposals. No one else, no matter how well-intentioned and no matter what sacrifices they have made or may yet make to assist the people of Zimbabwe, can make decisions on its behalf.

51. The same applies to the problem of Namibia. There again, the intensification of the armed struggle under the firm guidance of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] has compelled five Western members of the Security Council to undertake negotiations with the racist Vorster régime for a so-called "peaceful" settlement of the Namibian problem. That settlement will be nothing more than a gross sell-out of the legitimate interests of the Namibian people if it fails to take into account the views of SWAPO. That plan must necessarily include the implementation of resolution 385 (1976) of the Security Council, which stipulates as a pre-condition to the free elections to be conducted under United Nations supervision the withdrawal of the illegal administration of South Africa and, in particular, the withdrawal of its forces of repression from Namibian territory and the unconditional release of all Namibian political prisoners.

52. The certain victory of the people of Azania, inevitable because it is in the direction in which history is moving, cannot, however, leave us indifferent to the rising danger represented by the increasing military and nuclear potential of South Africa. It has today been duly established that base commercial considerations have impelled a certain colonial Power to assist South Africa to acquire not only the capacity to manufacture the most up-to-date weapons, but also atomic weapons.

53. And yet that country, which in so doing was cynically flouting the various resolutions of our Organization, is well aware of the ignominious and barbarically repressive policy that those weapons are destined to buttress. It is true that for that Government, as for many others, there will never be a more hateful crime against the human race than that which they suffered at the hands of the Nazis during the Second World War. It is true that the Nazi crimes were perpetrated against white, civilized Europe. Those of the Smith and Vorster clique are, of course, committed against blacks, whom civilized Europe had long reduced to slavery. And was it not the slavery of the latter which has always served as the foundation for the wealth of the former?

54. But how do the crimes committed every day in Soweto and in the gaols of Vorster differ from those committed in the Nazi concentration camps? How was the murder of the patriotic leader Steven Biko less odious than the summary executions of the French resistance forces by the Nazis? How are they less repugnant? Or how is it they deserve no more than hypocritical protests, rather than a general call to arms and consistent action on the part of the great Powers? Europe and America made common cause against Nazi racism. But today, in southern Africa, yesterday's allies

have become the accomplices of Boer racism. Yet we should remind ourselves that Africa, which today continues to suffer under Boer racism, sacrificed some of the bravest of its sons so that Europe should not today have to live under the Nazi boot. Africa shed its blood so that the Jew who today persists in according to the Palestinian people nothing more than the existence of wanderers should not continue to suffer the horrors of Hitlerite Nazism

55. It is certainly useful to say here that the so-called final solution—the solution of total extermination, so unjustly applied to the American Indians, the very same solution attempted against those who illegally occupy the Arab territories and who are Vorster's main allies—that solution could not be the fate of the peoples of Africa even though today's racists will be equipped with the most modern atomic bomb. It is that same racist policy which underlies the intransigence of Israel in various attempts at settlement of the Middle East problem, despite the many relevant resolutions adopted by both our Organization and by other international bodies.

56. Because it enjoys the unconditional support of the imperialist Powers, Israel persists in blocking every just means of reaching the negotiating table. Because the many crimes it has thus far committed have remained unpunished, Israel persists in remaining deaf to the various peace proposals designed to put an end to the painful and tragic trials which have brought such disruption and sorrow to Lebanon and, above all, to finding just and humane solutions to the Palestinian problem, solutions demanded by the entire international community. And yet the whole world has recognized the justice of the Palestinian cause. Those who have been condemned to be, as it were, eternal wanderers, those who could live only on international charity, have little by little acquired the status of men through their struggle, their fight, their sacrifices. Today they have succeeded in securing recognition by the whole world of their most elementary and legitimate right: their right to a homeland. This recognition should be given practical effect; that is to say, the famous Security Council resolution 242 (1967) should be amended to take due account of the right of the Palestinian people to form a free, independent and sovereign nation. Because they are assured of the support of certain Powers and, above all, of the inability of our Organization firmly to face up to the violation of the principles of our Charter, Israel is carrying its brazen intransigence to the point of setting up Jewish settlements in the occupied Arab territories, thus modifying the geographical structure, the composition of the population, and the legal status of those territories, in deliberate violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949 and the resolutions of our Organization. This new step on the part of Israel is not only likely to aggravate the Middle East crisis, but it represents, above all, a threat to international peace. It is insufficient, therefore, merely to adopt resolutions condemning Israel. Our Organization must take the necessary strong measures to bring to reason that State, which is insolently trampling underfoot the principles of our Organization.

57. Thus, when it adopted that resolution in 1967, the international Organization took one decisive step towards the legitimate recognition of the national rights of the Palestinians. Today, by amending that resolution

242 (1967) to take account of relationships in today's world, the community will be concentrating its tireless efforts on a just solution to the Palestinian problem.

58. Although the struggle being waged by the peoples of the world against international imperialism has not yet come to an end, new conquering and expansionist States, no less barbarous and cynical than those of the past, have arisen, such as Morocco, Mauritania, Indonesia and many others.

59. While in Korea an international imperialism, through delaying tactics, continues to oppose the implementation of the resolution adopted in 1975 [*resolution 3390 (XXX)*] calling for the withdrawal of all military forces so as to enable the Korean people to achieve their unification through peaceful means, in East Timor, in the south Moluccas and in Western Sahara, the sordid interests of the traditional exploiters are combined now with the no less sordid interests of the new invaders.

60. Thus, despite the unequivocal position taken by our Organization at the last session, Indonesian troops continue their occupation of East Timor.

61. It is the same policy of expansion and practical annexation, practised by Indonesia, which underlies the desperate acts of the Moluccan nationalists, who had no other way of altering the conscience of our Organization to the situation which has been theirs for the past 27 years.

62. Nevertheless, strongly committed to the self-determination of peoples though we are, our revolutionary Marxist-Leninist convictions constrain us to dissociate ourselves from all acts of pointless violence perpetrated against innocent populations who are not responsible for the acts of barbarism, domination and exploitation of other peoples.

63. Our Organization therefore has a duty to reopen the case of the South Moluccas and, as in the case of East Timor, to take the necessary just measures.

64. In the Western Sahara, two States Members of our Organization are coldly engaging in the genocide of a people under the indifferent eyes of the community of nations. Trampling underfoot the pertinent resolutions of the Organization, the decadent feudal régime of Hassan II, in an unnatural alliance with the rotten régime of Moktar Ould Daddah, forgetting the recent history of its own independence and the formation of its own State and the recent history of the anti-colonialist struggle of the valiant Mauritanian people, has embarked on the bloody enterprise of enslaving the Saharan people. In this mad military venture, these arch-reactionary feudal-bourgeois régimes are enjoying the obvious protection of the capitalist West, whose conscience and moral virtues, here as in southern Africa, are cynically and systematically stifled by the lust for profit, sordid calculation, and the stubborn will to hegemony and domination in the area.

65. It took heavy fighting in certain areas such as Zouerate, where there are foreigners at work, to arouse the hypocritical bourgeois conscience of the capitalist world, which mindlessly organizes international genocide and

remains indifferent to the atrocities daily visited on the Saharan people.

66. Trusting in Africa's wisdom, that wisdom rooted in the highest values of an ancestral humanism and a philosophy that has been forged in centuries of humiliation, the thirty-first session of the General Assembly left it to the Organization of African Unity [OAU] to find a solution to the problem of Western Sahara—the just solution that the Saharan people and the international community rightfully expected. In so doing, it forgot that some of the so-called “wise men of Africa” had sold their conscience to the wealthy Powers.

67. Thus, like many others, the people of Western Sahara owe their Calvary to the fact that certain Powers, acting through their lackeys, wished to lay their hands on the mineral and other strategic natural resources of the area. Thus a vast plot, in which it became ever clearer that Morocco and Mauritania are the wretched and shabby instruments, has been hatched to subjugate the Saharan people, seize their wealth and establish a base for aggression against the independent African countries of the region. That vast and ignoble plot on the part of international imperialism was to succeed again in preventing the holding of a summit meeting of the heads of State of the OAU, who were to discuss the matter in Lusaka.

68. That is why it is reassuring that our Organization should have reserved the right to keep the item on its agenda. The item remains on its agenda because the case of Western Sahara is not only an African matter. It remains on the agenda because the principles that are flouted by Morocco and Mauritania are not those of the OAU alone but also of the United Nations Charter. It remains on our agenda because the situation in the region is sufficiently serious to continue claiming the attention of the international community.

69. In thus cynically trampling underfoot the fundamental principles of the Charters of the OAU and of the United Nations—principles to which they owe their own existence—those two States have lost the honour and respect which they won at the time of their struggle against French colonialism. But one of the accomplices in those misdeeds will have lost not only respect but no more nor less than its sovereignty as well. Indeed, the Mauritanian people are realizing today that, under the pretext of providing for its security, Morocco has seized upon this unexpected opportunity of realizing its ancient mad ambition simply to annex Mauritanian territory.

70. Mauritania, if not grateful, should at least recall the support given it at the time by the international community—an effective support that was not bought or sold—in the defence of its inalienable right to self-determination and the inviolability of the frontiers it inherited from the colonial era.

71. By adopting a firm and unequivocal position on this question, our Organization will vis-à-vis the Saharan people take the just and historic decision which is necessary and also permit the Mauritanian people to recover its sovereignty.

72. That is why, in our opinion, faithful to its noble ideals and the universal principles which constitute the cornerstone of its actions, our Organization must tirelessly pursue efforts with a view to finding an equitable and early solution to the Saharan problem. In this regard my delegation hopes very much that the Secretary-General, under the mandate entrusted to him at the thirtieth session [resolution 3458 (XXX)], will submit a report on the situation prevailing in the Territory.

73. Many international economic conferences are held one after another, and each is more disappointing than the other, since none proves capable of finding just solutions to the problems that today confront our world. No effort has been made internationally to start building the new international economic order that would put an end to the shameful system of exploitation, economic oppression and inequitable relations which continue to be the foundation of international economic life.

74. Since the thirty-first session, the gulf between the wealthy countries and the poor countries of the third world has widened even further. The economic crisis which is now shaking the capitalist world with its inflationary effects has aggravated the balance-of-payments deficit of the poor countries.

75. It is impossible to exaggerate the selfishness of the capitalist Powers, which will stop at nothing in the pursuit of the sordid advantages that they have arrogated to themselves at the expense of the peoples of the third world. It is that selfishness which underlies the adjournment of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation. It is that selfishness which underlies the cynical attempts at economic strangulation directed against certain States whose policies of economic independence are inimical to the interests of neo-colonialist and imperialist circles. It is that selfishness which underlies the systematic sabotage of all international negotiations by the imperialist Powers, which are trying to sow dissension among the States of the third world and which oppose the establishment of a united front that might jeopardize their unjust advantages.

76. Thus, notwithstanding all the literature and all the declarations of good intentions concerning the establishment of a new international economic order, and despite the adoption in this very Assembly of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [resolution 3281 (XXIX)], our Organization still has very much to do in order to secure the triumph of its ideals of peace and social justice on a world scale.

77. Because it is confident that just causes always triumph in the end, my country, the People's Republic of Benin, would like to reiterate its appeal that all the countries of the third world join forces in the just struggle to preserve the fundamental interests of our States and peoples—for fierce and resolute struggle remains the only effective means to secure the triumph of our rights in this world which is threatened by the domination of imperialism and other forms of exploitation of man by man.

78. It is because of that fight that the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam have come to swell our ranks. My delegation welcomes their admission,

not only because of the universality of our Organization, but also because we are sure that those two States will bring to our debates here the wisdom and experience that they have acquired in the course of their long liberation struggle. Indeed the Vietnamese people, through its historical victories over all the imperialist coalitions, have given the wretched of the earth not only new hope but also and above all an example to be followed.

79. I should now like to conclude where I should have begun, that is to say, by extending to you, Mr. President, the sincere and warm congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. Your election unquestionably represents a stirring tribute to your own personal distinction, your diplomatic talent and personal virtues. But your election is also a deserved tribute to your country, the socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which has always played and continues to play a role of great political importance within the non-aligned movement, I should like therefore to express the deep satisfaction of my delegation which remains convinced that, under your wise and far-sighted guidance, the work of the thirty-second session will achieve certain success.

80. You, Sir, have taken over the presidency from Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, another very talented diplomat, who directed the work of the thirty-first session with great skill and who continues to conduct the very difficult negotiations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

81. Neither would I wish to fail to seize this opportunity of expressing from this rostrum the sincere congratulations of my Government for the sustained and effective work of our Secretary-General. My delegation is fully aware of the difficulties that the highest officer of our Organization must overcome in order to secure the triumph of the noble and humanitarian ideals proclaimed in our Charter. I should like here to assure the Secretary-General of the complete confidence and co-operation of my country for the maintenance of world peace and security, for the self-determination of peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism, against racism and *apartheid*.

82. Ready for revolution, the struggle continues.

83. Mr. MUGANGA (Burundi) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the delegation of Burundi wishes to address its warmest congratulations to you on your brilliant election to preside over the thirty-second session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your outstanding qualifications as a statesman and as a diplomat as well as your commitment to defend and ensure the triumph of the ideals and objectives of our Organization are an earnest of the success of the work of the present session.

84. My delegation justly assesses this unanimous choice of yourself as tribute paid your country, Yugoslavia, which, within the non-aligned movement, has always struggled for peace, justice and international co-operation on an equal footing. Burundi enjoys ties of friendship and solidarity with your country and therefore feels particularly proud to work under your leadership

85. May I repeat to you, Mr. President, the commitment of my Government to co-operate closely with you to ensure the total success of the noble task that has been entrusted to you by the Assembly.

86. I also wish to pay a well-earned tribute to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, the outstanding representative of Sri Lanka, for the skilful and noble way in which he directed the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. Guided by the principles of the Charter of the United Nations, Mr. Amerasinghe led with tact and competence all the varied complex negotiations touching on the very delicate questions dealt with at the previous session. He has earned our thanks.

87. On behalf of my Government, I should like also to express our great admiration for the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless dedication to our Organization. Since he assumed his high post, the Secretary-General has imposed upon himself great sacrifices to have the ideals of the Charter prevail in all circumstances, particularly in the fields of decolonization, international security and fruitful co-operation among States. The renewal of his mandate is the highest accolade that the international community could bestow upon him. The Government of the Republic of Burundi, on whose behalf I have the honour to speak, reiterates its confidence in him and supports him in his efforts to make of our Organization "the crucible in which a new community of all humanity will be moulded" [*see A/32/1, sect. XII*] devoted to co-operation and solidarity in the fulfilment of the great tasks and plans for the future.

88. The entry of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to our Organization constitutes new victories for all the justice-loving and freedom-loving peoples of the world. The independence of Djibouti is part of the history of the glorious struggle of national liberation movements against colonialism and foreign domination. It reminds the international community that the era of colonization and servitude has passed. The delegation of Burundi wishes these friendly countries continued successes in the consolidation of their independence.

89. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to our Organization is a tribute paid to its gallant people, whose courage, unity and determination earned them the most outstanding victory against the most daunting of foes. The triumph of the Vietnamese people is an unchallengeable proof that a people that is united and revolutionary can foil all plots against its unity and independence. It is an example of sacrifice that proves to us that the future of peoples belongs to those that are willing to rise arms in hand and that it is necessary from the first to wrest significant victories from the enemy so that the enemy will genuinely embark on the path of negotiation. However, the feelings of joy and admiration created by this admission must not blind us to the obligations of the international community towards the Vietnamese people. Viet Nam, the victim of the most bloody neo-colonialist war of aggression known to history, has to face immense problems of national reconstruction. The people of Burundi, which has always called for a halt to imperialist aggression against the friendly people of Viet Nam, is happy to enjoy ties of

friendship and solidarity with that country. On behalf of my Government, I wish to express our hopes that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will be successful in its great task of reconstruction.

Mr. Ulrichsen (Denmark), Vice-President, took the Chair.

90. The heroic and victorious struggle of the people of Viet Nam falls within the context of the universal revolutionary struggle which the peoples are unleashing in order to shake off foreign aggression and to build a new society based on justice and equality. From that standpoint the delegation of Burundi feels that the social revolution, in the course of the last 12 months, has scored great victories in the world.

91. The date 1 November 1976 marked a decisive turning-point in the history of the people of Burundi, which decided to put an end to the after-effects of colonization and to the contradictions of the old régime. In fact, the Murundi people decided to make a radical change that did not entail the shedding of a single drop of blood. The political, economic and social retrogression of the country had created a climate that cried out for new structures that would meet the aspirations of the Murundi people, determined to consolidate its age-old unity, its cultural identity and its accessibility to the world.

92. The conditions for these profound and popular changes were established: the peasants, the workers, the intellectuals and the military, in a sacred alliance under the leadership of His Excellency Colonel Jean-Baptiste Bagaza, the President of the Second Republic, undertook a process of social, cultural, political and economic liberation.

93. One of the measures that we had inherited from colonization was a minimum personal levy. This head tax, added to the income tax, had proved socially unjust because it fell upon every adult male, without distinction, simply by virtue of his existing. The source of much misery, it forced many heads of family to live in uncertainty of the morrow or in servitude. In its concern to ensure social justice, the new régime suppressed that servitude. The people warmly greeted that decision, which liberated the men of Burundi, and turned their efforts from then on, unhindered, to agricultural and industrial production.

94. Aware of the need to struggle against food shortages, the Government of the Second Republic is adopting a policy of harnessing all the national possibilities. To this end a number of measures have already been taken; as far as land is concerned, an agrarian reform has been carried out. That important decision makes possible the rational exploitation of land with a view to the carrying out of farming and livestock projects and the equitable distribution of land to the peasants. That policy foiled the plans of those who wanted to take the fertile land from the peasants and distribute it to an emerging national bourgeoisie. The recovery of all of this land for the benefit of the whole community and the elimination of all forms of bondage inherent in the feudal system of other days were welcomed enthusiastically by the people of Burundi. In order to exploit fully the land available in a country with one of the most dense populations in Africa, the Government is

engaged in a policy of resettlement of the population. It plans to establish conditions more favourable for housing and the supply of drinking water to rural areas. In this context, the objectives and recommendations laid down by the Habitat Conference at Vancouver¹ and the Water Conference at Mar del Plata² will find a more appropriate framework for their application, on condition, of course, that there is bilateral and international co-operation. The Government hopes also to set up in its village centres health and education services. This effort of national recovery cannot succeed unless there is popular participation in national decisions. That is why the new régime has created conditions favourable to a more intense political participation by the Parti de l'unité pour le progrès national. Today that party, which has recovered national independence and the dignity of the Burundi people, is so formed that each Murundi may participate actively in national life and express his views freely. For a number of months, seminars have been organized throughout the country at which public debates are held on all the important problems with which we are confronted. All are invited to share in this exercise of national debate. The Government, basing itself on the conclusions of these seminars, will be able to plan and carry out the development of the country.

95. The economic liberation in which we are engaged is based on the profound determination to rely on our own ability and the firm will to exercise sovereignty over national resources for the benefit in the first place of the Burundi people. It is from that standpoint that we shall carry out negotiations to develop our mineral resources.

96. This policy of industrialization must go hand in hand with the intensification and diversification of agriculture, which is the major priority for a country where 90 per cent of the population is rural.

97. The main objective of the new régime is to satisfy, as soon as possible, the basic needs of each Murundi in such fields as food, health, education and housing in a healthy society based on equity, justice and liberty. The new society of Burundi that emerged from the movement of 1 November 1976 allows all citizens, without distinction as to race, sex, or religious conviction or philosophy, to enjoy their civil and political, economic, social and cultural rights. Hence, in the new Burundi, freedom of opinion and of expression is guaranteed. Freedom of worship is assured; education is free; and the right to own property and the right of land tenure have just been completely recovered. The right to housing and to health care also is a real objective, although the Government is aware of the immense task that remains to be accomplished in this field. Finally, let it be noted that in this country, whose hospitality is legendary, there has not been a single political prisoner since the profound and peaceful revolution of 1 November 1976.

98. The new Burundi has become the favoured land in the effective application of all the fundamental human rights. I

¹ See *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver 31 May-11 June 1976* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7), chaps. I-III.

² See *Report of the United Nations Water Conference, Mar del Plata, 14-25 March 1977* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.II.A.12), chaps. I and II.

am therefore proud to be the representative of a régime which respects in its actions the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter, and which applies to its nationals and to foreigners alike the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The people of Burundi, who have just won a great victory, on the one hand by throwing the vestiges of colonialism into the dustbin of history, and on the other hand by overcoming internal contradictions, wishes to contribute to a greater extent to the freedom of other peoples still dominated by imperialism, racism and colonialism.

99. The Government of Burundi is deeply concerned by the violation of fundamental human rights in different parts of the world. In many countries torture has become a daily occurrence and fundamental freedoms are trodden under foot. It will be said, no doubt, that the history of mankind is unfortunately made up in part of these inhuman practices. The renewal of the defence of human rights cannot but delight my delegation. Nevertheless, that feeling of satisfaction for my delegation is mixed with a degree of disappointment. Some Governments in fact wish to use the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a new political weapon against certain States whose socio-political régimes appear to them to be a challenge to their own systems of Government. In the end, in this confrontation, the role of the individual is but that of a screen for their plan to interfere in the internal affairs of other sovereign States with a view to overcoming them politically, economically or even militarily.

100. My delegation believes that a State Member that has relations of co-operation with a régime that is condemned by the international community for having committed crimes against mankind and for having constantly violated fundamental human rights and freedoms has no credibility when it claims to defend human rights. Thus all States, all organizations, governmental or not, which have co-operative links of any nature whatsoever with the Vorster régime cannot pose as champions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, for they are strengthening the system of *apartheid*, which is, on the model of nazism and fascism, a crime against mankind and a threat to international peace and security.

101. At least once a year, virtually all the States Members of our Organization and many governmental organizations condemn the system of *apartheid* and those who uphold its régime. World opinion is deeply affronted by the inhuman situation that prevails in South Africa. The international community is convinced that *apartheid* must be eliminated, in the first place because it is a crime against humanity; in the second place, because *apartheid* is a real insult to human dignity and grave threat to international peace and security; in the third place, so that the African continent may regain its dignity, which has been denied to it for centuries and at last play its rightful role in international affairs. Finally, this cancer that gnaws at the southern part of the African continent must disappear to pave the way for true international co-operation. In spite of this almost universal condemnation by the international community, the blacks, who comprise the overwhelming majority of the population, are denied the most elementary rights. Through repressive laws, the Vorster régime conducts arbitrary arrests, murders of innocent people, systematic torture and

assassinations of political detainees. The latest to which the international community has been witness is that of Steven Biko, to whom our Organization has paid a moving tribute.

102. By virtue of the racial segregation laws, millions of people are brutally sent to arid reserves or urban ghettos. Thousands of patriots are tortured, massacred or exiled.

103. The arrogance of the South African régime has encouraged it not only to show contempt for the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council, but also to carry out armed aggression against the People's Republic of Angola and Namibia. To confirm the warlike intentions of the Pretoria régime, South Africa has recently promulgated an alleged Internal Security Amendment Act, under which the Vorster régime extends the South African sphere of defence to the south of the Sahara. The north of the Sahara is the sphere of aggression reserved for Israel.

104. It must be pointed out also that this alliance of aggression has led Pretoria and Tel Aviv to co-operate in the military and nuclear sphere. The two racist and Zionist régimes have now acquired nuclear capacity.

105. The response to this challenge of the international community by South Africa has been given by the South African people themselves whose heroic struggle has aroused sympathy and indignation everywhere in the world. The people of South Africa tried to recover their rights by peaceful means, but that approach cost them very dear. They were forced by the increased brutality and pressure of the criminal régime to choose other means with which to conduct their struggle. The Government of the Republic of Burundi supports unreservedly the struggle which the people of South Africa have been forced to undertake. I appeal to all States to give political and material support to this legitimate struggle being waged by the people of South Africa under the leadership of its liberation movement to wipe this scourge from our planet.

106. My delegation believes that the time has come for all States Members of the Organization, and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council, to apply against South Africa the provisions of Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter. In fact, the régime of *apartheid* in South Africa constitutes not only a crime against humanity but also a grave threat to international peace and security.

107. Furthermore, South Africa has already been condemned for its aggression against an independent State, Angola. It constantly violates the recommendations and resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council, particularly those that have called for binding sanctions against Southern Rhodesia and those that call upon South Africa to withdraw from Namibia the administration and the forces of illegal occupation that it has there. In furtherance of the isolation of the régime of Pretoria, my delegation makes an urgent appeal to all countries to put an end to their diplomatic, consular or other relations with South Africa. In the light of the acts of aggression committed by South Africa against some countries, the delegation of Burundi, convinced that the régime of Vorster is immoral and hypocritical, feels that it is imperative to impose a total embargo on all weapons destined for South

Africa, and while it is still possible, to revoke all military licences granted to the Government of South Africa. At this crucial and decisive stage of the struggle of the people of South Africa, it would be cynical to offer weapons of mass destruction to some, while advising others calmly to bow their heads before Vorster's executioners. The Nazi and Fascist régimes were only eliminated by armed resistance. Immediate commercial interests that operate because of *apartheid* cannot make us forget history or prevent us from looking to the future. The people of South Africa will be victorious, regardless of the sacrifices they will have to make.

108. In speaking of Namibia, the delegation of Burundi wishes to reiterate its whole-hearted support for the people of Namibia in their struggle, under the leadership of their only movement of national liberation, SWAPO, to achieve self-determination, national independence and freedom in a united Namibia. The illegal and colonialist occupation of Namibia by South Africa constitutes an act of aggression against the people of Namibia and a challenge to the United Nations. This seizure of Namibia is a systematic violation by South Africa of the obligations imposed by the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. On behalf of my Government, I whole-heartedly condemn South Africa for those acts of aggression against the people of Namibia and against the United Nations. I furthermore reaffirm the fact that the sole legal authority entitled to administer the Territory until its independence is the United Nations Council for Namibia.

109. We know that, lately, the five Western Powers of the Security Council have advocated a negotiated settlement of the question of Namibia. My Government supports the programme of action adopted by the Central Committee of SWAPO in the course of its meeting from 28 July to 1 August of 1976 at Lusaka, Zambia. Within the framework of that programme, the delegation of Burundi supports the continuation and intensification of the struggle of the people of Namibia until the total liberation of their Territory is achieved. South Africa must give up its plan to create bantustans, publicly admit the right of the people of Namibia to achieve independence and national sovereignty, and publicly recognize the territorial integrity of Namibia to be absolute and non-negotiable. The dismemberment of Namibia by the annexation of Walvis Bay must be rejected unequivocally by the international community. The United Nations must exercise pressure on South Africa to free all political prisoners without exception. South Africa must allow all exiled patriots to return to their homes without fear of arrests or threats. The Vorster régime must withdraw its army and its police from Namibia; it must cease using Namibia as a base for aggression against the neighbouring independent African States. And, finally, constitutional negotiations on Namibia must take place under the aegis of the United Nations with a view to organizing free elections in Namibia, under the control and the supervision of the United Nations. The nomination by South Africa of an administrator for the period of transition is an illegal act, because the Vorster régime is illegally occupying Namibia.

110. The Burundi delegation therefore calls upon all States to refrain from any act that might hinder the

exercise of the authority' of the United Nations Council for Namibia over Namibia. The exploitation of the natural resources of Namibia by South Africa and transnational corporations is a flagrant violation of Decree No. 1 for the Protection of the Natural Resources of Namibia, adopted by the United Nations Council for Namibia with a view to halting the pillage of wealth of the people of Namibia. Need we stress that certain economic and military assistance given by Western Powers to the South African régime is an obstacle to the implementation of resolution 3295 (XXIX) of the General Assembly? This support of the South African régime jeopardizes international peace and security, which is already precarious in the region. Therefore, my delegation makes an urgent appeal to all countries to implement the mandatory embargo on the supply of weapons and spare parts to South Africa, in accordance with the decisions and recommendations of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo in May 1977.³ In the course of the Conference in Maputo, the international community prepared a programme of action for the liberation of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe; and some progress has already been made along the road to independence for Namibia, thanks to that work.

111. In Zimbabwe the course of events seems to be tending towards decolonization. Thanks to a redoubling of the efforts and an intensification of the armed struggle carried out by the heroic people of Zimbabwe led by the Patriotic Front, the conditions for negotiation on a settlement of the problem seem to have been laid down. In this process of decolonization which has already been begun the Heads of State of the front-line countries, to whom my delegation wishes to pay a sincere tribute, have played a major role. The perseverance of the United Nations has had a profound effect on the United Kingdom, which has at last accepted its responsibility as administering Power: namely, to lead its colony to independence and autonomy.

112. My delegation welcomed the appointment of a representative of the Secretary-General entrusted with the task of carrying on negotiations regarding the transition to majority government in Southern Rhodesia. However, the chances of settlement in Zimbabwe cannot blind us to the criminal acts which are daily being carried out by the illegal régime of Ian Smith. That régime, which is illegal, since it is a racist minority, has in fact adopted brutal measures of repression to the point of committing genocide against the people of Zimbabwe. Thousands of villagers have been forcibly herded into concentration camps; innocent people have been struck down, tortured and killed. To carry out their brutal repression against the people of Zimbabwe, the illegal régime is even recruiting mercenaries. Furthermore, the illegal régime has committed acts of aggression against Botswana, Mozambique and Zambia. In the economic field, the illegal minority régime has pillaged the resources of Zimbabwe.

113. In the light of these acts of aggression and oppression, Member States have no choice but to support the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe. In that context, the United Kingdom should act in order to break up the

³ See document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V.

rebel armed forces of Ian Smith, which have inflicted great loss of life and caused enormous destruction of property both in Zimbabwe and in the neighbouring countries. The special representative of the Secretary-General must also act to redress this situation. It is obvious that it is the armed forces and the police of Ian Smith that must lay down their weapons and not the forces of liberation that will ultimately constitute the regular army of independent Zimbabwe.

114. The Anglo-American plan, which constitutes a sufficient basis for negotiation, can only succeed if it takes into account the positions that were stated by the Patriotic Front in the Security Council recently: namely, the need to disband the forces of repression of Ian Smith, and to exclude him and all his clique from any settlement, as well as the need for guarantees from the administering Power for the transfer of power to the black majority within the limits laid down; that is to say in the course of 1978.

115. In fact, the people of Zimbabwe and the freedom-loving peoples of Africa and the world can no longer allow the Rhodesian racists to carry out their plans and to slow down the victories of the peoples of southern Africa in their efforts to prepare the way for liberation.

116. As long as the régime of Ian Smith stands, the international community must go to the assistance of the Patriotic Front of Zimbabwe to allow it to speed up the achievement of its independence. The international community is also in duty bound to strengthen economic ties against the Salisbury régime by resorting to the terms of Article 41 of the Charter of the United Nations, in accordance with the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia.

117. At the side of the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, the people of Burundi is one with the people of the Sahara, which has for years courageously fought against colonialism and for self-determination, independence and national sovereignty. My delegation feels that General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) must be applied to Western Sahara also. That is the only acceptable way in which the Saharan people can continue to make enormous sacrifices to recover their dignity and their freedom under the direction of the Frente POLISARIO. We urge all the countries of the region to act accordingly and to create conditions of peace and co-operation in the region on that basis.

118. Turning to the Comorian island of Mayotte, my delegation feels that the present status of Mayotte is contrary to respect for the territorial integrity of the Comorian Archipelago. This is clearly a colonial situation which must be ended as soon as possible. The problem, which did not exist when the island was a French colony, arose when France laid down principles for elections the results of which might have allowed the peoples of Mayotte to secede from the rest of the Archipelago. The organization of elections on such a basis appears to my delegation to challenge the very principle of the indivisibility and territorial integrity of the Comorian State.

119. My delegation fervently hopes that France, which has emerged honourably from more complex situations in the

past, will heed the appeals that have been made by the international community so that the island of Mayotte will return to the Comorian State and thus the basis for co-operation between the Comorians and France will be established and international peace and security will be safeguarded in that region.

120. The manifestations of colonialism are, however, not limited to Africa alone. Colonial situations still persist in Asia and Latin America. Burundi believes that freedom knows no frontiers, and that is why we are at one with peoples struggling for their national independence and dignity, such as the peoples of East Timor and Belize. The treaties on the Panama Canal recently arrived at are an important step towards decolonization and the exercise of sovereignty. That is why my delegation addresses warm congratulations to the people of Panama and its leaders for having achieved a major victory.

121. We wish to seize this opportunity also to encourage the people of the United States of America and its new administration to comply fully with the obligations they have assumed, which are a credit to them. We trust the decision will be an important milestone in the elimination of the colonial problems that still plague the world.

122. The situation in the Middle East is worsening because of Israel's illegal occupation of Palestinian and Arab territories.

123. The creation of new settlements in the occupied territories is a further obstacle to efforts at achieving a just and lasting peace in the region.

124. Despite these encroachments on sovereignty and on fundamental human rights, the delegation of Burundi feels that the Palestine question lies at the very heart of the problems of the Middle East. The people of Palestine should therefore have the right of decision. The delegation of Burundi supports the measures advocated at the extraordinary meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned countries on 30 September 1977 to ensure the settlement of the problem of the Middle East [see A/32/235-S/12410, annex]. The Government of the Republic of Burundi is convinced that for a just and lasting peace to be achieved in the area the following principles must be observed: the total withdrawal by Israel of all territories of Arab countries occupied by force since 5 June 1967, including the holy city of Jerusalem; the restoration of all the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine, including their right to return to self-determination and to the creation of an independent State in Palestine; the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization at the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, the people most vitally affected by the problem of the Middle East.

125. The delegation of Burundi urges the General Assembly and the Security Council to call upon Israel to renounce its policy of establishing new settlements and scrupulously to respect the provisions of the Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War of 12 August 1949.

126. The situation in Cyprus also warrants special attention by the international community. The people of

Burundi wishes the two communities, both Greek and Turkish, to live in perfect harmony and hopes that the policy of the non-alignment of Cyprus will be safeguarded. Respect for independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity must be ensured by all parties concerned. The delegation of Burundi encourages the efforts of the Secretary-General to achieve an acceptable settlement between the communities of the island.

127. For a long time the Korean nation has aspired to peaceful and independent reunification, but the presence of foreign troops in South Korea constitutes a major obstacle to the achievement of profound and legitimate aspirations. That is why the delegation of Burundi calls again for the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea.

128. The United Nations must more firmly than in the past endeavour to create conditions more conducive to the reunification for which the Korean people is ready to fight to the bitter end.

129. Guided by the principles of respect for the territorial integrity of countries and non-interference in the domestic affairs of States, the Government of the Republic of Burundi supports the just claims of the people of China to the Chinese province of Taiwan, which is an integral part of the People's Republic of China.

130. The question of disarmament is of vital importance to the safeguarding and strengthening of international peace and security. A solution of this problem will allow the peoples of our planet to devote themselves to the needs of development and progress. At the present stage of negotiations, however, my delegation notes with regret that little tangible progress has been achieved. On the contrary, new forms of weapons of mass destruction are being perfected and are still appearing as the number of countries capable of achieving nuclear capability constantly grows. Year after year, military budgets increase alarmingly. Each year more than \$300 billion is devoted to military expenditures, and a number of experts devote their time to research on more lethal instruments while they could be concerned with proposing new ways of controlling certain phenomena of nature which remain inexplicable, such as droughts, floods and earthquakes, which already cause so much suffering to mankind. The unrestrained arms race leads the delegation of Burundi to feel it is high time to draw up a programme of action to wipe out the spectre of a new world war of annihilation.

131. In this context my Government feels that the United Nations is the right forum for negotiations. As far as principles are concerned, my delegation feels that the problem of disarmament must be examined in all its aspects and that there must be general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control. The conclusion of a treaty of that kind might well be negotiated within the framework of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, whose mandate could be extended by the General Assembly.

132. As far as specific measures are concerned, the United Nations should encourage the United States and the Soviet Union to continue their strategic arms limitation talks. Pending the conclusion of a treaty on general and complete

disarmament, my delegation feels the following measures could well be taken by all States: first, a solemn commitment not to use nuclear weapons; secondly, the prohibition of the emplacement of new nuclear weapons on the territory of other States; thirdly, the removal of nuclear hardware from the territory of other States; fourthly, the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones of peace and co-operation in different regions of the world; fifthly, the liquidation of military bases located in foreign territories.

133. Obviously, those specific measures cannot be completed until the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. My delegation welcomes the initiative of the Soviet Union concerning the holding of a special session of the General Assembly in 1978.

134. In fact, today more than ever before in history it is important for its salvation that mankind know that peace and welfare can be guaranteed not by the accumulation of nuclear weapons, but only by respecting human rights and the right of peoples to self-determination, independence and economic development.

135. Our Organization's noble objectives—namely international peace and security among others—cannot truly be achieved while the immense majority of mankind wallows in misery and suffers hunger, ignorance, illiteracy and many grave privations. Since every man has a right to welfare and security, economic and social progress seems to be a priority and the way to ensure the exercise of these fundamental rights. Thus, the people of Burundi welcomed with a sense of relief the decisions and recommendations of the General Assembly during its sixth and seventh special sessions. We are gratified at the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States.

136. These important steps towards economic liberation, have not, unfortunately, reduced the growing gap between the developed and developing nations. On the contrary, lately the economic and monetary crises have only increased the unsettling effects on the already fragile economies of the developing countries, particularly the less developed and land-locked countries. No effective solution has been found to the problems of basic commodities, debts, balance of payments, protection of purchasing power in the developing countries, trade, the transfer of technology, the constant increase in the flow of tangible resources and access to capital markets.

137. My delegation feels that the Paris Conference was useful in that it provided the elements that should serve as the basis for future negotiations. We thank France for having been host to the Conference. We also appreciate the true worth of the results obtained during the course of that Conference. However, the Government of Burundi shares the conviction of the non-aligned countries that the main cause of the deterioration in international economic relations lies in the absence of political will on the part of certain Powers, clinging as they do to protectionism. At this critical moment in the economic struggle, Burundi is glad it enjoys co-operation and solidarity with the Group of 77, which has prevailed over the divisive manoeuvres indulged in during the difficult negotiations of the North-South Conference and the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

138. Burundi upholds the declaration of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the States members of the Group of 77 which met on 29 September 1977 at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York [A/32/244]. We are convinced that the establishment of a new international economic order is in the interests of the international community and, therefore, Burundi feels it is imperative to resume negotiations within the framework of the United Nations system, the only appropriate forum fully representative for such purposes. My delegation wishes to draw the attention of the developed countries to the need to provide for the most pressing and particular requirements of the land-locked and most seriously affected countries.

139. It is imperative that concrete and positive results should be arrived at immediately that will lead to justice and equity in our international relations.

140. In this respect, Burundi supports the convening of a special session of the General Assembly during 1980 to assess the progress achieved on the tortuous road to the establishment of a new international economic order. We trust that between now and then we will have been able to make further progress in the strengthening of co-operation.

141. My delegation lays great store by co-operation among Member States regardless of their degree of development.

142. While it is true that development is a matter for each country, solidarity is necessary for harmonious development among States. The new régime in Burundi has laid a solid groundwork for that development. In fact, in the first months of its existence, fruitful contacts were established between Burundi and its neighbouring countries, namely, Rwanda, Tanzania and Zaire, in order to create regional groupings for co-operation. The Burundi Government is happy that the decisions adopted by the eminent Heads of State of the region have met the profound aspirations of their people and ours.

143. We are happy to note that these efforts are being endorsed by the United Nations system and by the European Economic Community. The Burundi delegation encourages such initiatives between developing countries. Thus, the Programme of Action adopted by the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77,⁴ the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries,⁵ the report of the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries⁶ and also the decisions of the Trade and Development Board of UNCTAD [A/32/15], will clearly guide us all in our future deliberations. In a more specific field, that of the law of the sea, Burundi has followed with interest the negotiations that have taken place in the preparation of an international convention. My delegation believes that it would be regrettable to delay the conclusion of such a convention as thereby the United Nations would forfeit much of its credit and respect. At this stage of negotiations we believe

particular attention should be given to the position of the land-locked countries which are equally interested in developing the resources of the high seas, the common heritage of mankind.

144. Thus, the oceans and seas will no longer be an arena for armed confrontation but will become vast fields for co-operation and peace. Within that context, my delegation wishes to state that we support the just demands of the coastal States of the Indian Ocean, who adjure the international community to make of it a zone of peace and co-operation.

145. In the course of this statement, at no time I trust have I ceased to stress the outstanding role that the United Nations must and should play in international relations. This is due to a large extent to the faith that the people of Burundi have placed in this great world Organization. This confidence is due also to the scope of the problems that should be solved by peaceful means. The United Nations doubtless is the most appropriate forum for the settlement of those questions that touch on the future of the peoples of the world. Peoples struggling for their independence and dignity turn their eyes to our Organization. The people of Palestine inquire of this Organization regarding their future. The search for a world of justice and equity hinges on our Organization. Over the years our Organization has achieved enormous scope.

146. The question arises, however, of whether the sharp problems that face our Organization can be solved despite the contradictions inherent in its component parts. In the past, it has been surprising to see that two important bodies of our Organization, namely, the General Assembly and the Security Council, have been unable to take the same stand on situations that threaten international peace and security, including such questions as decolonization, *apartheid*, the Middle East and Viet Nam.

147. The international community has witnessed the improper use of the right of veto by one or another of the members of the Security Council. Today, because of the exaggerated prerogatives enjoyed by the permanent members, the decisions of the General Assembly are blocked. Convinced that this situation will not find any solution based upon the present provisions of the Charter, the Government of Burundi feels that the moment has come for a democratization of international relations by a revision of the Charter and bearing in mind the need to abolish the right of veto.

148. In so doing, we shall have laid a solid basis for equity and justice in international relations. We will have safeguarded also the very foundations of our Organization. We will have rekindled for succeeding generations the torch of San Francisco, the torch of equality, friendship and solidarity among peoples.

149. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): Late in the day, Mr. President, allow me to add the voice of the Republic of Botswana to those of many others who have already congratulated you on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. May I also express my congratulations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations for his work in the past year. Of him I am

⁴ 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, part two.

⁵ Document A/31/197, annex III.

⁶ See document A/C.2/31/7 and Add.1.

qualified to cite living examples of distinguished and objective performance, not only by his person but also by those who work with him. Time and modesty prevail over passion and sentiment, and suffice it therefore for me to congratulate you both, together with your officers, and to the same degree the officers who distinguished themselves in looking after our affairs in the past year.

150. Botswana's adherence to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter remains firm and unequivocal. The United Nations, despite its limitations, continues to play a vital role in the quest for international peace and security. We note with satisfaction the significant and growing contribution of the non-aligned countries and others to the evolution of the United Nations as an instrument for bringing about a new international economic and social order.

151. We are conscious of the fact that the United Nations has not always moved with the desired speed and effectiveness to settle crises which threaten world peace. This situation arises because it is often too difficult to strike the correct and workable balance between the sovereign rights and interests of Member States and the principles and purposes of the Charter. It is clear, therefore, that the effectiveness of the world body and the enhancement of its role will depend not only upon the restructuring of the Organization, important though this is, but ultimately upon the respect it enjoys in the eyes of the individual States Members, and their readiness to comply with its resolutions and implement its decisions.

152. Equally important is the fact that if the United Nations is truly to serve man everywhere then it must aspire to universal membership. This goal has sometimes been made more difficult to attain because of the abuse of the veto. The Republics of Angola and Viet Nam were for some time denied their rightful place in this body in that manner. We therefore implore those who wield the veto to refrain from using it to serve narrow political interests and to use it only if it is in the interest of the world community as a whole.

153. We are happy to welcome to this family of nations the Republics of Djibouti and Viet Nam. We are confident that the new Members will make a significant contribution to the ideals and objectives of the Charter of our Organization.

154. During the thirty-first session the General Assembly adopted resolution 31/178, which reaffirmed the commitment of the international community to the establishment of a new and more just world economic order. Furthermore, the General Assembly also decided that it would undertake during the course of this session a review of progress made to date towards building a new international economic order.

155. The biggest achievement over the past several years of multiple, lengthy and often contentious meetings has been the virtually universal acceptance of three reciprocal principles, namely, first, that existing world arrangements for production, trade and finance have not brought and are not likely to bring about a world in which men and nations can make themselves self-supporting; secondly, that, al-

though it is unlikely that the distribution of resources will be equalized and the gap closed between those who have more and those who have less, there will be no justice and little peace until all men and nations have the opportunity to make themselves self-supporting; and thirdly, that therefore the old order must change and a new one be created and tried.

156. The fact that there will be shifts in what is produced, how it is produced, where it is produced and who produces it is accepted, and all nations now agree, albeit some reluctantly, to sit down to discuss not whether but how to change the old order and build the new. That consensus is no mean accomplishment and is one for which the developing countries may rightly take most of the credit. It has been their initiative, articulateness and persistence, often in the teeth of very strong opposition, that has brought this recognition among the developed nations that the present arrangements will not do and that reform must replace modification.

157. Of course, we in the developing world are impatient to translate principles into practice now, immediately, to evolve new organizations and arrangements and get on with what perhaps euphemistically is called structural transformation. Our constituents have waited too long and they are hungry, and we know that, as the song goes, "a hungry man is an angry man". Yet the developed countries seem wary about giving up the old arrangements, however inequitable, for ones not yet defined. They may fear unemployment, shortages and higher prices for their constituents, while these prevail in the fragile economies of the developing world. Our impatience, and their impatience with our impatience, will no doubt continue until men and nations can become self-supporting.

158. The establishment of principles as agreed on at the seventh special session, or of targets as set out in the Lima Declaration and Plan of Action,⁷ should create no hiatus. For Botswana it is a matter of serious concern and disappointment that the spirit of consensus which characterized the seventh special session is being dissipated as some nations appear not only to delay but to backslide. Targets we have, but the process of constructing strategies which move us towards those goals should be hastened. Our impatience should not be mistaken for lack of realism, however. We are pragmatic enough to appreciate that transformation does not connote some sudden total turn-about and that turning vision into reality is a building process. Let me concede that, although there has been no dramatic transformation, we are beginning to see the emergence of multiple interests which go beyond the simple counterpoise of the developed as against the developing. Multiple roles will have to be identified even among international institutions, developed market economies, centrally-planned economies and developing countries. Bringing this about will require from us all creation, compromise, co-operation and confrontation. We shall miss our objective if we stand off. If we succeed, the benefits will enhance the existence of us all.

159. I must temper my inspiration with a return to our traditional impatience as I look briefly over some of the

⁷ See document A/10112, chap. IV.

recent past and forthcoming efforts to chart the new course.

160. The news about the outcome of the North-South dialogue in Paris is too recent to require any elaboration on my part. We have noted with regret that little agreement on substantive matters was reached. My delegation is heartened however by the agreement in principle on the establishment of a common fund the purposes and objectives of which are to be the subject of negotiation at the session of UNCTAD in November. The acceptance by the developed countries of the idea of a common fund is a welcome gesture. However, such sporadic gestures are not in themselves enough to redress the perilous position of the developing countries or appease our determination to secure basic changes.

161. We welcome the intention to resume next month the negotiations on the Integrated Programme for Commodities and the common fund. We urge all the parties concerned to work towards sufficient agreement on the principles so that more detailed work to elaborate the programme may commence without delay. In this connexion my delegation hopes that the active interest in the scheme being shown by other groupings of States such as the Commonwealth augurs well for the success of the meeting.

162. Botswana regrets the fact that once again there has been very little movement in the multilateral trade negotiations in Geneva towards an expansion of trade which should bring significant benefits to countries of the third world. We hope that this Assembly will urge the participating countries to work towards a very early conclusion of those negotiations.

163. Allow me to make a few comments concerning the work of UNIDO. We note with satisfaction the significant progress that has been achieved by this organization on its projected programme of work for 1977 and, in particular, the successful conclusion of the work on the conversion of UNIDO into a specialized agency of the United Nations. I believe we shall have the pleasant task during this session of adopting that constitution so that UNIDO can be formally launched as a specialized agency.

164. The drawing up of the Constitution of UNIDO should not be regarded as an end in itself. The objective of the exercise of converting UNIDO into a specialized agency was to produce an organization which would be effective and more responsive to the needs for generating industry in the developing countries and sharing more effectively industrial know-how among all nations. The conversion is now accomplished and what remains to be done is to put the new UNIDO to work. My delegation calls upon the Assembly to give UNIDO all the material assistance that it needs to accomplish its enormous task.

165. I note that UNIDO has made progress in other fields as well. First, my Government has followed with interest the discussions which have been going on in Geneva in the area of transfer of technology. In this connexion the establishment of an industrial and technological information bank, even though on a pilot basis, is a welcome development. We have also noted with interest the launching in Lagos in May this year of the Association of African Industrial Technology Organizations. The launching of this regional organization in such a vital area is indeed a development in the right direction.

166. I would like, in passing, to sound a word both of support and caution in connexion with the system of consultations and co-operation between non-governmental organizations and various United Nations bodies including UNIDO. The non-governmental organizations have a genuine contribution to offer, but care should be taken to ensure that the meetings should not make an inordinate call on the limited resources at the disposal of the United Nations. I have noted from the document that was produced at the end of the meeting of 24 and 25 May that the non-governmental organizations expect UNIDO to organize meetings on a regular basis. My delegation would like to suggest that the non-governmental organizations should, if possible, shoulder the responsibility of organizing the meetings so that the resources of UNIDO can be devoted to tasks set before it by this Assembly.

167. The political situation has not improved much over the past several months. Local wars erupt at a frequency that poses a danger to regional and international stability. It is important that these skirmishes should not be fanned into major wars by big Power rivalries.

168. Much remains to be done in Cyprus, the Middle East, southern Africa, the field of disarmament and in the dialogue between the developed and developing countries regarding the new international economic order. Indeed, in some of these areas such as the Middle East and South Africa, the situation has further deteriorated. In his lucid and objective report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General stresses the urgency of the problems in these words:

“...the dangers of delay and the risk of a rapid deterioration which might destroy the possibility of peaceful solutions have become more apparent than ever.” [*See A/32/1, sect. I.*]

This, in our view, is an accurate appraisal of the international situation and we derive no comfort from it.

169. The primary concern of the United Nations is to maintain international peace and security, a goal illusive and difficult of attainment because of mistrust and dishonesty in our political relationships and political dealings. The paradox is that everyone talks about the brotherhood of man, the desirability of international peace and security, coexistence among nations, and international co-operation, while at the same time States are engaged in the political subversion of other States, there are military invasions and territorial annexations, the arms race proceeds apace and deadly weapons are being manufactured and stockpiled. Nor can we hope to achieve and maintain international peace and security in a world where the majority of humanity lacks the barest necessities of life and where racial and other forms of domination have not been completely eradicated.

170. It is a sad indictment of our times that while mankind yearns for the improvement of the quality of life, billions are being spent on armaments. The Stockholm International Peace Research Institute reveals that in 1976 the world spent about \$334 billion on armaments. Two major alliances, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the States parties to the Warsaw Treaty, spent about 70 per

cent of this staggering sum between them. By comparison, the WHO budget for 1977 is a paltry \$147 million! This is a shocking manifestation of deranged and distorted priorities, especially at a time when the international community is striving for a new international economic order. In addition to the disconcerting stockpiling of nuclear arsenals there is even the reality of their proliferation.

171. This Assembly might wonder why a small under-developed country such as Botswana trespasses on the preserve of the mighty, instead of concerning itself with agriculture and the raising of beef cattle. The reason is that we in southern Africa are brought into the orbit of a nuclear threat from South Africa. I shall have the opportunity later in this statement to comment further on how this new development affects my country. For now, Botswana wishes solemnly to draw the attention of those who have made it possible for South Africa to acquire nuclear capability by providing it with nuclear material and technology to the perils that this new development poses for Africa and to hold them criminally responsible for whatever disastrous consequences might flow from their action.

172. We feel that the time is long overdue for the implementation of a complete nuclear test ban, including atmospheric and underground tests.

173. Disarmament is the concern of all nations regardless of their size, wealth or technological advancement, and our Organization should play its full role in the search for solutions. For this reason Botswana joined the other non-aligned countries in calling for a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament. We regard the special session as a necessary prelude to, and not necessarily a substitute for, a world disarmament conference.

174. The two super-Powers have special responsibility for the future of the world. They should take the lead in disarmament, especially nuclear disarmament, if we are to ensure the continuity of organic and other forms of life on our planet.

175. Peace continues to elude the people of Cyprus. The territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus continue to be violated despite the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council. About 45 per cent of Cyprus is under the occupation of foreign troops without the consent of the Cypriot Government. There is growing danger that, unless a solution to the problem is found soon, the occupation will become permanent and result in the partitioning of Cyprus on ethnic lines, contrary to General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974). This body has called for an end to unilateral actions that could adversely affect the success of the bicomunal negotiations. We once again call for a just solution to the question of Cyprus, a solution which will ensure the territorial integrity of that country and relieve both communities of the anxieties caused by mutual suspicion and mistrust. We request the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus to continue to explore all avenues which might lead to a just and lasting solution, and thus reduce tension in that area.

176. The Middle East continues to be an area of conflict and a threat to international peace and security. Contrary

to the principle of non-acquisition of land by force, Israel continues illegally to set up settlements on, and even extend its laws to, the Arab territories it has occupied since 1967. This action is in defiance of the Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) and other United Nations resolutions calling for withdrawal to the 1967 borders. We recognize the complexities of the problem. The state of affairs fills one with apprehension that the parties to the conflict may harden their positions and leave no room for flexibility and the creation of an atmosphere conducive to peace negotiations without which hostilities cannot end. We believe that the question of the Palestine Liberation Organization is central to any peaceful settlement in the region. The United Nations has recognized the Palestine Liberation Organization as the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and it is therefore imperative that the Palestine Liberation Organization, together with Israel and the neighbouring Arab States, should participate in the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East if an enduring and just solution to the problem is to be found. We call for the creation of a Palestinian homeland without delay just as we recognize the right of the State of Israel to exist.

177. The question of Belize continues to concern my delegation. The people of Belize are entitled to self-determination. We call upon the Government of the United Kingdom, as the administering Power, to act in close consultation with the Governments of Guatemala and Belize to resolve this problem speedily so that the people of Belize may exercise their right to self-determination and independence.

178. Botswana feels strongly about world problems other than the ones I have just discussed. France continues to violate the unity and territorial integrity of the Comoros by its occupation of Mayotte. Botswana's position on this issue is unequivocal. We call upon France to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Comoros.

179. The continued presence of foreign troops in Korea delays negotiations leading to the unification of that country, and hence the reduction of tension. Botswana calls for the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Korea if unification of the country is to be hastened. It should be the Koreans—and they alone—who should determine their political direction.

180. The problem of Namibia persists despite the far-reaching concessions made by SWAPO in its quest for a peaceful settlement and independence. The armed struggle continues and is likely to increase in intensity unless South Africa abandons its hard-line attitude concerning the withdrawal of its troops and their replacement by a peace-keeping force under the supervision of the United Nations, and desists from creating new problems such as the question of Walvis Bay.

181. Africa has often criticized South Africa's trading partners and military allies for their failure to exert the maximum influence possible to bring about change in southern Africa. It has been a matter of great concern and deep disappointment to us that the denial of human rights to millions of Africans in the minority-ruled States of southern Africa could evoke only mild resentment in the

West. The efforts now being deployed by the five Western members of the Security Council in exploring ways for achieving a peaceful negotiated settlement in Namibia encourage my country to believe that a change of attitude may have come. We welcome this initiative and we also acknowledge with appreciation the readiness of the Nordic countries to offer their services within the framework of United Nations resolutions, in particular Security Council resolution 385 (1976), to facilitate a peaceful transition. Nothing less than genuine independence for the people of Namibia will be acceptable to the international community.

182. The way to a peaceful transition, as we see it, lies in the release of detainees, the guaranteed safe return of refugees and exiles, free political activity by all Namibians in a country rid of the fear of South African occupying security forces, and adequate provision for the maintenance of law and order by a United Nations peace-keeping force. These are modest conditions which should be acceptable to all parties concerned to ensure that the people of Namibia, without intimidation from any quarter, exercise their unimpeded rights to self-determination. South Africa should reconsider its past opposition to these conditions and allow the people of Namibia to progress to independence without further delay and loss of life.

183. Twelve years have elapsed since Southern Rhodesia was illegally declared independent. The problem is still with us despite many attempts in the past to resolve it. It deteriorates progressively and the repression of the majority by the minority has increased, as has racial discrimination. The régime has now resorted to the tactic of promoting internal differences in the liberation movement, discrediting some and commending others as reasonable and amenable to an internal settlement.

184. But the victims of repression and discrimination long ago reached the limits of their endurance and have increasingly resisted oppression. There are those who persistently admonish the people of Zimbabwe against the use of violent means to achieve their independence. The people of Zimbabwe have for many years sought, without success, to resolve the problem peacefully. They resorted to violence because all avenues of peaceful resistance had been closed to them. We in Africa support them. The restoration of their dignity enhances our own.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.

185. Reactions to the Anglo-American proposals on Rhodesia are pouring in from both inside Rhodesia itself and the outside world. There is no need for me to emphasize that such reactions are varied and sum up very eloquently the dilemmas, inconsistencies and contradictions which beset the Zimbabwe scene. Suffice it to say that Botswana cherishes no desire to interfere in the internal affairs of Zimbabwe. Our involvement in the liberation struggle is thrust upon us by the fact of geography, the reality of history and our abhorrence of oppression and racism. With the rest of Africa we support the armed struggle as prosecuted by the Patriotic Front in Zimbabwe and shall continue to do so for as long as the minority racist régime in Salisbury makes it difficult to reach an agreed settlement.

186. The Anglo-American proposals would not have been brought forward but for the persistence and growing success of the liberation movement. In the view of my country, it would be premature to acclaim or condemn the proposals as they stand. They will be counted successful only if all the parties concerned can use them as a basis for negotiating the transition to independence, free elections based on universal adult suffrage and a society in which all the people participate. They will have served no useful purpose if they fail.

187. Yes, Botswana regards the proposals as a basis for negotiations by all concerned. We consider negotiations as an opportunity to examine the proposals carefully, constructively to amend, adjust or even restructure them as appropriate in the search for an acceptable solution. We therefore exhort all the people of Zimbabwe to use the proposals to negotiate and establish the vital foundation of enduring nationhood whose destiny transcends the mortal life and personal subjective interests of contemporary men and women.

188. We welcome Britain's effort to reassume its role as the colonial Power to bring Rhodesia to an orderly transition, majority rule and independence.

189. When the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia have been resolved there will still remain the problem of South Africa—*apartheid* and racism and what they connote. This old problem is progressively compounded by the many inhumane laws enacted to support the system. It is complicated by the increasing resistance to it by the oppressed people of that country.

190. Pliny, a first-century Roman natural historian, is reported to have remarked "*Ex Africa semper aliquid novi*" ("There is always something new from Africa"). Had he lived in our day he would no doubt have said "... out of southern Africa".

191. When we met at the thirty-first session of the General Assembly the tragedy that is Soweto was one of our major preoccupations. Schoolchildren had taken to the streets and defied in broad daylight the armoury assembled for their subjugation. We know the record of casualties: hundreds lost their lives. That did not deter the thousands who continue to challenge the legal instruments of their oppression. When that happened, the world shuddered—civilized standards, the brotherhood of man, the sanctity of human life—loud protestations and condemnations rose but then died down; trade, treaty and other relations continued.

192. The Transkei bantustan was about to be granted bogus independence last year—a summation of racism and *apartheid*. The OAU and the United Nations reacted strongly to that strange form of nation-building—Balkanization rather than unification, encouraged and legalized secession in the place of integration and cohesion—a new concept *ex Africa*.

193. The fears of Africa that the creation of bantustan states would cause problems for the people of southern Africa have been confirmed. The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act has deprived the people of the Transkei and

everybody else anywhere who are ethnically classified as Xhosa of their rights as nationals of South Africa; they have become aliens in the country of their birth. The Kingdom of Lesotho has already had occasion to complain to the Security Council about the problems arising from the creation of a Bantustan state on its borders with South Africa.

194. As we meet at this thirty-second session of the General Assembly the tragedy of Soweto continues, and many who had the courage to associate themselves with protests are either refugees or prisoners—if the guns of the *apartheid* State and the inexplicable accidents in mysterious circumstances have not claimed their lives. We think in particular of Steven Biko. He has joined Chief Luthuli, Joseph M. Mdluli and many other freedom fighters.

195. Now Bophuthatswana, another affront to the dignity of sovereignty, is hoisting flags and bunting, building dais and stadium to become yet another client state—the brain-child of implacable racism and a symbol of the enduring myth of white superiority. The problems which the creation of that state will cause Botswana are, as in the case of Lesotho and the Transkei, many and serious. We view the establishment of such states on our borders as a deliberate act designed to shift the focus of strife from South Africa itself to border conflicts and tensions which are sure to arise.

196. Rumours of the demarcation of a nuclear testing area in the Kalahari region of Namibia are rife. Botswana does not possess the technical capability to verify, confirm or deny such reports. However, Owen Horwood, the South African Minister of Finance, was recently reported as having said that South Africa reserves the right to use its nuclear potential for other than peaceful purposes to suit its own needs. South Africa is not a signatory of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

197. Of one thing we are certain, that is, Botswana shares the Kalahari semi-desert with Namibia and South Africa. We therefore view with apprehension and concern any nuclear tests there as a danger to the health and security of the people of Botswana. We are informed by those who know that fall-out material and effluxions from nuclear explosions can be lethal. If indeed the Kalahari is to become a nuclear testing area, I wish to state categorically that Botswana has not been consulted and that we take this opportunity to protest in the strongest terms against any such development. Those who encourage nuclear proliferation should provide testing facilities for South Africa in their own countries. If it is indeed true that the Kalahari is to become a nuclear testing area, I here and now give notice

that Botswana will bring a formal protest to this Organization.

198. Botswana is further concerned at what appears to be some psychological preparation of world opinion for an invasion of Botswana's territory. Rebel Smith has consistently conjured up imaginary nationalist bases in Botswana as a pretext for launching attacks against us. The South African Minister of Justice, Police and Prisons has now also begun to hear noises and to see images resembling nationalist guerrillas in some training bases in Botswana and accuses them of committing acts of terror in the urban areas of South Africa. Often, apparitions may be dismissed as symptoms of a congested brain, or manifestations of a guilty mind, or even haunting fears of some impending calamity. In bygone days men wore fetishes and talismans, or amulets, or defensive charms and carried mascots to exorcize or propitiate such apparitions, but those seen in this day and age in a country with a massive army and a wide intelligence network, a country with no respect for African life and dignity, a country which claims that its defensible territory extends throughout Africa south of the equator, can bring nothing but serious concern to people in whose country they are alleged to have been seen. Botswana denies here, as it has denied many times before, the existence of any such training bases and issues an open invitation to those who wish to verify their facts to visit Botswana for the purpose.

199. The foregoing awesome account of the turn of events in South Africa causes concern and fills one with trepidation. The threat to international peace and security has become a reality. The Western Powers, the protection of whose culture and civilization South Africa uses as a pretext, should exert all pressure to bring that country to the realization that the spirit of man struggling for freedom is indestructible and, by that means, return it to the path of peaceful inevitable change.

200. The international community has for too long engaged in sterile shadow-boxing with the champions of racism and oppression. The efforts of the non-aligned countries and all those who cherish freedom to bring about meaningful change and majority rule and thus restore to the peoples of southern Africa their basic rights have, year after year, been frustrated and obstructed. Botswana prides itself on upholding its fundamental constitutional principles—non-racism, equality, human rights, free and fair elections, majority rule and the rule of law. What we desire and strive for in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa is nothing less.

The meeting rose at 1.45 p.m.