



CONTENTS

	<i>Page</i>
Agenda item 9:	
General debate (<i>concluded</i>)	
Speech by Mr. Seck (Senegal)	631
Speech by Mr. Cissokho (Mali)	636
Speech by Mr. Barre (Somalia)	641
Speech by Mr. Keutcha (United Republic of Cameroon)	645
Speech by Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria)	648

President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. SECK (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is an honour to extend to you on behalf of the delegation of Senegal and on my own behalf, our warmest congratulations and best wishes, as well as those of the Government and people of Senegal, on the occasion of your election as President of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. We well know your great abilities and your vast experience, and we rely upon them for the success of this important session. In electing you the General Assembly has also paid a tribute to your country and its people for the important role they have played in affirming the policy of non-alignment and in promoting peace and security throughout the world. I can assure you that my delegation will give you its complete support in the discharge of your heavy duties.

2. On this occasion may I express my whole-hearted gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe of Sri Lanka, a most talented diplomat and esteemed international personality, for the great services he has rendered our Organization and in particular for the competence and devotion with which he worked on the problems the General Assembly had before it in 1976.

3. It is also a pleasure for me to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts on behalf of the world community to strengthen the chances of peace in the world and to give our Organization its proper place and role. The re-election of the Secretary-General is proof, if any were needed, of the complete confidence the international community places in him. I beg him to accept our most sincere congratulations.

4. The delegation of Senegal is participating in the present session of the General Assembly in the determination to contribute to the solution of the problems on our agenda so that the United Nations may rise to the challenge of the hopes the peoples have legitimately placed in it.

5. It is, indeed, the duty of the United Nations to be an Organization in which the States of the entire world have an opportunity to be heard and to affirm their rights and their interests in complete freedom and security. This is particularly important for small nations, whose aim is to preserve their national independence while contributing to large-scale international co-operation.

6. It is therefore a pleasure for my delegation to congratulate the Republic of Djibouti on its admission to this world Organization. We wish that brother country much success, and we are fully prepared to co-operate with it to our mutual benefit in accordance with the principle of respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of each.

7. Senegal also associates itself with those States which have expressed their pleasure at seeing the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam finally admitted to our Organization. We have always striven to that end, spurred on by our faith in the principle of universality of the United Nations and the need to take action so that the Organization may represent all peoples and all the countries of the world, whatever their economic systems.

8. With your permission, I shall now address myself to the main subjects on the agenda of this session which have been given particular attention by the Government of the Republic of Senegal. These items relate to decolonization, the maintenance of international peace and security, international economic co-operation and respect for human rights.

9. As regards decolonization, Senegal's position has always been consistent. Indeed, long before the attainment of independence by many States in the 1960s, Senegalese leaders were among the first to affirm the right of peoples to self-determination, and our country participated in the drafting of resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960.

10. Senegal regarded the victories won by the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, Sao Tome and Principe, Seychelles and Djibouti as its own. These victories have contributed much to strengthening the cause of the freedom and independence of Africa and have profoundly shaken the last bastions of colonialism and racism still persisting on our continent.

11. True, we cannot conceal how difficult is what has still to be done in that respect on our continent. But we are convinced that the demands of peoples for changed conditions of life and for a way out of oppression and poverty are stronger than any violence which reactionary minorities can use and that, while liberation struggles may be held back temporarily by barbaric force, there can be no

doubt as to their final victory. In these circumstances, in order to prevent useless bloodshed the Organization must exercise all its influence to assist the peoples in their efforts to achieve independence, social justice and human dignity.

12. Thus, as regards the question of Mayotte, Senegal and all the members of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] have denounced and continue to denounce the presence of France there. The United Nations should be able to help bring about a speedy solution of this problem before the situation deteriorates completely, with unforeseeable consequences.

13. As regards the situation in southern Africa, the picture there is a particularly sad one. Not only has our Organization not been able to act promptly to put an end to a situation which threatens international peace and security, but what is more, some of its most powerful Members refuse to assess the elements of the tragedy objectively. Need I recall that the United Nations, which was established above all to safeguard international peace and security, is morally bound to take every appropriate measure to put an end to that dangerous situation? In the meantime, an explosion draws near, the struggle becomes more intense and the risk of useless violence and economic disintegration increases.

14. At any rate, regarding the decolonization of southern Africa, no one can accuse independent Africa of not having warned the international community of the aggravation of the crisis in that part of the world. The President of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, in his opening address on 5 January 1976 at the Dakar International Conference on Namibia and Human Rights,¹ declared, *inter alia*:

“The time has come for the international community to assume its responsibilities. Is it possible that one of its Members can, in its daily conduct, run counter to its purposes and principles without, by so doing, itself bringing into question its ties with the Organization? The provisions of chapter VII of the Charter were drafted for the very purpose of preventing the conduct of any State from disturbing international public order. In the near future clear answers must be given to these questions.”

These questions apply to all the parties still under domination in southern Africa.

15. In Zimbabwe, where Ian Smith claims that his régime serves democracy as defined theoretically by the white man, the actions of the racist minority are in reality the opposite of democracy, because they deny the majority the most elementary human rights, which are the very foundations of democracy.

16. Thus, because of its resolute support for the principle of total decolonization and because of the blindness of the illegal régime of Ian Smith, Senegal firmly supports the freedom fighters who constitute the nucleus of all those who are fighting in Zimbabwe. My country thus proclaims

the legitimacy of the struggle of the Zimbabweans with every means at their disposal to secure the enjoyment of their rights through respect for majority rule. Yet we remain open to any initiative which could lead to a negotiated settlement of the problem. In particular, we welcome the latest decisions taken by the Security Council within the framework of the Anglo-American plan and we hope that the United Nations will take an active part in the matter so as to bring majority-rule in 1978.

17. With regard to Namibia, Senegal has always forcefully denounced the South African Government for its persistent refusal to put an end to its illegal occupation of the Territory in accordance with the repeated requests of the Security Council and the General Assembly. My country condemns in the strongest possible terms the efforts made by the South African régime to consolidate its illegal presence by creating an atmosphere of terror and intimidation in the Territory of Namibia and by using tactics based on the inhuman system of *apartheid* and bantustanization, which is intended to destroy the national unity and territorial integrity of Namibia.

18. We are in favour of any measure taken by any country to find a happy and peaceful solution to this problem and in this context we take note of the initiative made by the five Western countries. But, for the action undertaken by the latter to win our complete support, it must in no way undermine the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO].

19. Senegal unreservedly supports the position of SWAPO, which is the genuine representative of the Namibian people and which is totally opposed to any political settlement that does not meet the following prerequisites which were reaffirmed at the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, held in Libreville in July: the withdrawal of South African military and paramilitary forces from Namibia; the unconditional release of all political prisoners and the return to Namibia of all Namibian exiles; the endorsement of the United Nations Council for Namibia as an interim authority to be appointed for the Territory before its accession to complete independence; and the accession of the Territory to independence within its present boundaries, which include Walvis Bay.

20. May I take this opportunity to welcome the positive results of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, which was held at Maputo, Mozambique, from 16 to 21 May, and the United Nations Council for Namibia. Senegal was present at the Maputo Conference and fully supports the proposal to establish a University of Namibia and the convening by the General Assembly of a special session on Namibia. The Maputo Conference undoubtedly constituted a new stage towards the attainment of independence for those two Territories. It is to be hoped that this Assembly will take up the challenge.

21. With regard to South Africa itself, the massacres at Soweto and its aftermath, which left hundreds of dead and thousands wounded or imprisoned, served to demonstrate that white supremacy does not hesitate to use the most brutal violence, because *apartheid* is, by its very nature, a system which cannot be maintained other than by force. In

¹ For a summary of this address, see *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Supplement No. 24*, vol. II, annex II, paras. 22-25.

the circumstances one might doubt whether there are means other than violence to bring about significant change.

22. Certainly Senegal continues to support all the resolutions of the OAU, of the non-aligned group and of the United Nations on the question of South Africa. In particular, we welcomed during the thirty-first session of the General Assembly the measures decided upon by the international community, which can be described as a genuine anti-apartheid code [see resolution 31/6]. But the problem is not only to adopt resolutions; it is essential to ensure their implementation.

23. I have discussed Africa at length because it is the continent which I know best. But I am not unaware that our region is not the only one where armed conflicts take place. The situation in the Middle East and in Palestine is one of the most serious problems confronting our world. For many years this question has regularly been included in the agenda of our Assembly, which has considered it in an effort to find a solution, or at least to lessen its gravity. As I had an opportunity to emphasize from this rostrum during the previous session of the General Assembly:

"The most important result reached by the United Nations in this connexion may well be the decision taken by the international community to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only authentic representative of the Palestinian people and to grant it observer status... It has become clear to one and all that the solution to the problems of the Middle East does not lie solely in separating the armed forces confronting each other nor in the partial or total withdrawal from the occupied territories, but rather in the settlement of the fundamental problem..."²

24. Along this line of thinking Senegal fully endorsed the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its thirty-first session approving the recommendations of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [resolution 31/20]. My country considered the recommendations of the Committee as a basis for the solution of the question of Palestine.

25. My country has always defended, and will continue so to do, the principle of the recovery of the inalienable rights of the Palestinians to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent Palestinian State. The constancy of our policy regarding the Middle East and the Palestine question was recently emphasized again by the President of the Republic of Senegal, Mr. Léopold Sédar Senghor, when he received Mr. Yasser Arafat at Dakar on 6 June last and said:

"Senegal supports the just cause of the Arabs in general and of the Palestinians in particular. In essence, that is because we are attached to respect for the territorial integrity of States and the dignity of nations we denounce any policy which is based on the oppression of peoples and usurpation of their national rights. That is why Senegal in the United Nations, in the Organization of

African Unity at meetings of the non-aligned countries, and today in the Socialist International, defends the concept of the recovery by the Arabs of their occupied territories, as well as the recognition of the rights of the Palestinians, including in particular the establishment of a Palestinian Arab State on the soil of Palestine. It is obvious that there can be no final peace in the Middle East unless both conditions are met. The ardent desire of Senegal is to have this era of stability come about soon. This justifies all efforts I am making to arrive at this objective in the interest of the parties to the conflict and, in particular, in the interests of our Arab brothers to which we black Africans are linked by so many ties."

26. Today, while there still are a number of clouds, we continue to hope that wisdom will prevail and will lead the Israelis to respect United Nations resolutions.

27. As far as Cyprus is concerned, my delegation reaffirms its support for respect for the territorial integrity and non-alignment of that State, and for a resumption of the intercommunal negotiations leading to an egalitarian and harmonious coexistence within it.

28. The peoples of the third world have chalked up many victories won at great cost against colonialism and imperialism.

29. Nevertheless, we still are confronted not only with the heinous practices of apartheid and racism as in Africa, but also with new threats to our recent independence and territorial integrity, all of which jeopardizes our right to live in freedom and dignity. That means that peace and security are not fully guaranteed to all peoples.

30. At its thirty-first session the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution reaffirming the inalienable sovereign right of every State to determine freely its political, social and economic system and its relations with other States [resolution 31/91]. At the same time, it denounced any form of interference, and condemned all forms of overt, subtle and highly sophisticated techniques of coercion, subversion and defamation aimed at disrupting the political, social or economic order of other States or destabilizing their Governments. But, in fact, peaceful coexistence does not yet extend to all parts of the world.

31. In this connexion, I would say that détente has generally been presented to the world as a constructive step towards promoting international security by a reduction of tensions. That work has already been begun in Europe as a result of the agreements reached at the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held at Helsinki, but Senegal considers that European security is inseparable from that of the rest of the world, and that genuine peace can never prevail as long as détente is limited to Europe. We will, in fact, always wonder whether this is not a case of mutual accommodation among the great Powers to maintain the *status quo* of insecurity and instability elsewhere, since their immediate vicinity would be spared, while the theatre of their activities and conflicts would be displaced to other areas, threatening the security and peaceful development of the nations of those regions. A universal reduction of tensions, based on the active participation of all nations, is the best guarantee of international peace and security.

² *Ibid.*, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings, 25th meeting, para. 134.

32. General and complete disarmament is one of the objectives proclaimed by the United Nations for almost three decades, but despite the many initiatives taken by the Organization in this field, the world has witnessed an unrestrained race for supremacy in destructive power.

33. For its part, Senegal attaches particular importance to measures designed to lessen the danger of nuclear war. This means that the nuclear Powers must put an end to all nuclear weapons testing and continue, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXIX)*], to negotiate effective measures of nuclear disarmament. This also means that all States of the world must seriously assess the risks of a proliferation of nuclear weapons and shoulder the resulting obligations. And, when nuclear equipment and technology is transferred from one country to another, there must be ways of guaranteeing absolutely that all nuclear energy produced in the recipient country will be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

34. Today, more than \$US 300 billion are spent annually for military purposes, while the total for assistance to development given by the rich countries to the poor represents in all only one fifteenth of that sum. These figures clearly indicate the gigantic and tragic waste of material and human resources in the world, a source of injustice within nations. Obviously, all these expenditures bring us no closer to the desired aim of increased collective security, whereas they could constitute a vast reservoir of resources for the attainment of a new international economic order.

35. It is easy to grasp that there is a link between disarmament and world development; consequently the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament must be bolstered.

36. In that connexion, Senegal welcomes the idea of a special session of the General Assembly devoted to disarmament questions. Such a session would allow all States Members to contribute to the strategy for a genuine disarmament, and would mark the beginning of a new and fruitful era for the survival of mankind.

37. Indeed, it is important to note the fact that resort to force in international relations is linked to the fundamental inequalities which characterize the modern world; it reflects a situation in which the weakest nations are subject to domination and interference on the part of other States.

38. Accordingly, any instrument designed to promote the non-recourse to force in international relations cannot be dissociated from the task of establishing justice and order in the relations among States. Hence any treaty must include not only provisions prohibiting the recourse to force, but also measures enabling States to prevent the causes of such recourse, as well as procedures for the settlement of disputes, freely accepted by all States.

39. Of course, such a treaty could in no way affect the right of peoples struggling for their independence to use all means at their disposal, including armed force, pursuant to Article 51 of the Charter and article 6 of the Definition of Aggression [*resolution 3314 (XXIX), annex*].

40. Technical and economic international co-operation is the essential complement to military security in building a world of peace. In this respect, in recent years the United Nations has been the main forum for discussions on international economic and social solidarity. The Organization has, in fact, taken up a historic challenge by clearly defining the principles which must guide our quest for a more just new international economic order. The priority given to the needs of the poor countries among the concerns of the United Nations allows us to view with optimism the future role of the world Organization.

41. Be that as it may, it is essentially because of the discussions held within the United Nations that it is now apparent to all, even to the rich countries, that the economic, social and cultural under-development of two thirds of mankind and its aggravation during the last decade, are no accident of history but largely the result of a system of international relations based on domination and exploitation of the weak. Although the recent accession to political independence of countries formerly subject to foreign tutelage has contributed to the retreat of the most visible forms of colonialism, the fact remains that the economically dependent situation of the third world has to a varying extent persisted; in some cases it has even been accentuated in recent years, in proportion to the growing inequalities in income, and hence in well-being, which is characteristic of the present-day world.

42. An analysis of production and trade conditions among developed and developing countries shows the persistence of the relationship of unequal forces which underlies international relations; it explains the obstinate refusal which for long was the response to the requests of the third world for the organization of the international market in major commodities, the principal resource of the poor countries. This also explains the singular paradox of these raw materials; the recent situation has proved how essential they are to the prosperity of the rich nations, yet they are still undervalued in relation to the capital goods and raw materials which we import from the industrial countries. To take the example of Senegal, even though it is not among the poorest countries; from 1973 to 1975, the average price of our exports rose 57 per cent, while that of our imports rose by 196 per cent. Thus in two years there has been a deterioration of 139 per cent in our terms of trade. Since then, the price of our exports has stagnated or declined, while the average price of imports continues to rise.

43. It is against that backdrop that Senegal, together with the members of the non-aligned group and the entire third world, calls for a larger contribution on the part of the developed countries to the efforts of the developing countries. This appeal is within the framework of co-operation between developed and third-world countries aimed at setting up a genuine association between them, without delay, for the sake of balanced progress.

44. Regrettably, this has not yet materialized. Indeed, only a few weeks ago, after the very mediocre results of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, the so-called North-South dialogue, at Paris, the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development published figures which show that the efforts of the rich countries to help the developing countries continue to decline. Govern-

ment assistance from the former to the latter declined from 0.36 per cent of their gross national product to 0.33 per cent, while the commitment of the industrialized countries, which is renewed from year to year, is 0.7 per cent of the gross national product. The more time goes by, the farther we seem to be from that goal, despite the generous declarations of the rich countries.

45. Among the group of rich countries, the Scandinavian countries are the lone exception, and it is only fair to give due credit to their contribution to the development of the third-world countries.

46. The rich countries must realize that what is called aid—whether bilateral or multilateral—is not, nor can it be, a permanent solution to the economic problems of the world. The realities of our time require genuine co-operation among rich and poor countries, because it is perfectly obvious that as the number of nations that are consolidating their sovereignty over their national resources is always increasing, interdependence in every sphere of international life is becoming a fact which one must take into account. No country, no group of countries—whatever military or economic power it may have—can completely resolve its problems unilaterally and independently of the rest of the international community. It is therefore urgent for the developed countries to take decisive measures to establish a new international economic order in order to lessen the danger of a confrontation which could threaten the very life of mankind.

47. At any rate, the United Nations must continue to make sustained efforts to promote a process of real economic and social progress everywhere, in a spirit of international solidarity, so as to arrive at its final objective, namely, peace, justice and social development for all.

48. The quest for peace and justice also implies, first and foremost, respect for human dignity. Through the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the international community assumed the responsibility of making known and defending human rights and of accepting that as a permanent obligation. In the course of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, as I pointed out:

“Unfortunately, a climate of civil and civic violence flouting elementary human rights and condoned more and more by the conscience of men and peoples has arisen almost everywhere since the end of the Second World War. Our Organization, however, has failed to react to such violations, preferring rather to imitate most of the Governments which remain silent, either because they wish to spare the feelings of friendly countries or for ideological, political or other reasons under the pretext of not interfering in the internal affairs of other States.

“The condemnation of such acts of violence is by no means unjustified interference because the respect of human rights is essential to the establishment of friendly relations and relations of co-operation among States. But our Organization has as one of its tasks, as proclaimed in Article 1 of the Charter, the achievement of international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.”³

49. But today, and perhaps more so than in the past, the attitude that seems always to predominate in a number of countries is scorn for the most elementary rights of the individual. Certainly human rights are a delicate subject, because they are of vital importance, and complex, because of their economic, social and political aspects, but we believe that our Organization should as early as possible discuss that problem publicly and openly in the interest of all people, including the leaders themselves, who too often seem to forget that power makes mad and that, in any case, absolute power leads to absolute madness. The events which have taken place in many countries, including the African countries, have shown that it is above all political systems which, by excluding any real possibility of opposition, limit the right of a portion of the population and create barriers to the free expression of equally free thought.

50. Certainly we are not going to preach anarchy. The construction of a nation, particularly when it emerges from colonial domination, requires some discipline from its citizens and imposes certain duties with respect to the national community. But too often this has been used as a pretext to deprive people of the most elementary freedoms and even to endanger their lives. My country cannot agree with such behaviour and will always refuse to be associated with the silence of complicity which seems to be fashionable today. But in the defence of human rights as well as in other matters, Senegal relies on the wisdom of our Organization.

51. It is this confidence that we place in the United Nations which leads us at this thirty-second session to reaffirm in all sincerity our commitment and devotion to seeking a permanent solution to the burning issues of our time, so that relations among nations may be based on genuine peaceful coexistence. Conciliation and not conflict, co-operation and not confrontation, must become the rule in these relations. It is only in this manner that our ultimate purpose, which is the establishment of a total and permanent peace with prosperity and justice throughout the world will be attained. To that end a reform of the functioning of our Organization is urgently needed.

52. In the unceasing change which is the fundamental law of our world—and this world has never changed as rapidly as it is doing at present—peoples and institutions must adjust to new circumstances and the United Nations is no exception.

53. The revision, or rather the adaptation, of the Charter to the present international situation, is particularly necessary at a time when many Members consider that the right of the veto is too often used against the rights of the weakest, in violation of the principles stated in the Charter. Thus, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which met at Colombo in 1976, considered that the hegemony of the great Powers in the Security Council and their use of the veto have lessened the prestige of the United Nations and the importance of its resolutions. Accordingly, that Conference invited States Members of the Organization to review the Charter, particularly with respect to the right of veto.⁴

³ *Ibid.*, paras. 151 and 152.

⁴ See document A/31/197, annex IV, resolution 14.

54. My delegation renews its support and confidence in the Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, and encourages it actively to continue its work so that it may speedily conclude the task entrusted to it.

55. And yet, because of the role that it has played and still plays, our Organization, such as it is, remains the support and the hope of small nations and of the less developed nations, among which most of the third-world countries are to be found. And because of this, my country supports the United Nations and assures it of its co-operation in the accomplishment of its historic mission.

56. Mr. CISSOKHO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, your outstanding election to the presidency of the thirty-second session is, above all, a well-deserved tribute to you in your personal capacity and to the role which your country has played and continues to play in the international arena in order to bring about a world of justice, peace and progress for all.

57. I should like to recall in this regard that President Tito, the founder of socialist Yugoslavia, is one of the initiators of the easing of the tense political climate in the world and of the affirmation of the role of the third world on the international plane. History will remember him as one of the great men of our time.

58. Yugoslavia which, like Mali, is a founding member of the non-aligned movement, was one of the first European countries to support the cause of the colonial and oppressed peoples, who have all benefited from its political, moral and material support in their struggles for freedom and independence.

59. Permit me, therefore, to convey to you, Mr. President, the warm and friendly congratulations of my delegation. My country, Mali, which enjoys excellent relations with Yugoslavia, cannot but be gratified at the choice of our Assembly. We are thus assured beforehand of the success of our work. Your personal qualities and your great experience of international life are guarantees of that. My delegation wishes, for its part, to assure you of its loyal and active co-operation.

60. I should like to take this opportunity to congratulate, on behalf of the delegation of Mali, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, who displayed such great competence in the conduct of the proceedings of the thirty-first session and in his guidance of the difficult debates of that session. The remarkable way in which he discharged his lofty functions does him much credit. We should like here to convey to him our fraternal gratitude.

61. I would not like to end this part of my statement without conveying our warm congratulations to Mr. Kurt Waldheim upon his well-deserved re-election to the post of Secretary-General of our Organization. In renewing its confidence in him, the thirty-first session expressed to him the great appreciation of the international community for his distinguished services to the cause of peace and understanding among peoples and nations. That eloquent testimony of satisfaction is, without doubt, the best

possible tribute which could be paid to a man of duty like Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who today embodies in the eyes of the world the aspirations and hopes of mankind.

62. By inaugurating its proceedings with the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, the thirty-second session of the General Assembly intended thereby to highlight the event. This solemn public welcome to the international community constitutes an eloquent tribute to two fraternal countries which have won their independence by a noble struggle. The admission of those two new Members has brought the United Nations closer to one of its fundamental objectives, namely universality, while enriching it at the same time.

63. The Government of Mali, through me, wishes particularly to hail this new victory of heroic Viet Nam, a symbol of resistance against foreign domination, which has written in the blood of its glorious martyrs the most glorious pages of the history of the liberation struggle of peoples.

64. My delegation bids welcome to the two sister delegations and assures them of its fraternal and militant co-operation.

65. In reviewing our actions since the last session, we note that no significant progress has been made in the settlement of the serious problems facing the international community for decades now, whether it be the matter of safeguarding peace or the great economic and social challenges threatening the world.

66. Indeed, disarmament, which is the very foundation of that true peace to which humanity aspires, remains a remote objective—indeed, an uncertain one. The meagre results achieved so far relate only to the limitation of strategic arms or the prohibition of outmoded and outdated weapons. New and ever more sophisticated devices of mass destruction continue to appear in the arsenals of the world. That prompted the Secretary-General in his report to note that the agreements concluded so far in the field of nuclear disarmament have more to do with the regulation of competition between the militarily great Powers than with disarmament itself [*see A/32/1, sect. IV*]. He also stresses that the number of nuclear warheads has increased fivefold in the past eight years.

67. We should add to this the fact that, according to the International Institute for Strategic Studies, military expenditure in 1977 amounted to \$375 billion, or 5 per cent of the gross national product of the world. That was an increase of 25 per cent over 1974.

68. As we can see, the arms race continues and even gathers momentum both quantitatively and technologically. It gives employment to 25 per cent of the world's scientists and swallows up 40 per cent of budgets devoted to development research.

69. That unfortunate tendency cannot, however, be justified, because stockpiles of nuclear arms possessed by the various nuclear Powers are enough to destroy, not a country or a continent, but the whole planet several times over. That is a tragedy. Those monstrous arsenals have not

been accumulated and developed for the defence needs of their national territories but, rather, to demonstrate their material superiority. They constitute the sceptres of supremacy—and what sceptres they are!—for the potentates of our world, who none the less remain exposed like everyone else to the holocaust that faces mankind, because it is a fact that in nuclear warfare there are no winners; all the belligerents are losers.

70. The peace we seek is incompatible with the over-armament that we are witnessing. The campaign against what is known as the arms trade in the world, that is to say, against the supply of conventional weapons to developing countries for their security needs, is only a diversion in the face of the proliferation and frenzied perfecting of devices of mass destruction.

71. Indeed, the arms race between the great military Powers, far from waning, is spiralling ever upwards at a dizzying rate. New generations of murderous weapons are being developed. The monopoly of the nuclear secret has been broken.

72. The frenzied arms race of the great military Powers has left no other choice to those who refuse to shelter under their atomic “umbrellas” because they are jealous of their sovereignty and independence. Thus, in spite of the entry into force of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, the proliferation of nuclear weapons has accelerated, both horizontally and vertically, while their dissemination has been actively continuing on all continents, against the will of the peoples. According to the estimates of experts whose authority cannot be questioned, 20 to 30 new States will be joining the nuclear club before the end of the century. That is indeed frightening.

73. It is time therefore that we decided to put behind us this illusion of peace which we seem to have been harbouring since the end of the last world war. Resting essentially on the precarious balance of terror, it carries within itself the seeds of a conflagration that could be fatal for mankind. Let us therefore, before it is too late, strive to free the world from the nightmare of cosmic suicide in which it has been living since the advent of the atomic age. We must renounce, first of all, the use or threat of force in the settlement of disputes which might arise between States, because real disarmament can be contemplated only within a climate of confidence.

74. The abolition of “strategic frontiers”, the dismantling of the death-dealing bases scattered throughout the world and a freeze on the production and development of new types of weapons would be an important step towards that objective.

75. Disarmament is a problem of concern to all countries, great and small, and in our view the United Nations offers the most appropriate framework for dealing with it.

76. In spite of their merits, the negotiations begun outside the United Nations—such as the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks, the Talks on mutual and balanced force reductions and so on—cannot bring us to true disarmament. The most that they can lead to would be arrangements or bilateral or multilateral understandings relating to peripheral aspects of the question.

77. My delegation, for its part, sets great store by the special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations on disarmament, to be held in the spring of 1978, in the course of which all of us will have not only to put forth our respective points of view objectively but also to take responsible decisions on this important question which has been of constant concern to the community of nations since the period between the two wars.

78. Because of the implacable law of the interdependence of our society, there can be no oasis of peace in our world until we have banished from our conduct all recourse to arms. The last Arab-Israeli war of October 1973, which brought humanity to the brink of nuclear confrontation, is a tragic reminder of this.

79. Détente between East and West, which succeeded the cold war, can be viable only if it transcends the framework of Europe alone. It must be extended to all continents if it is to lead to the true peace so much aspired to by humanity.

80. That is why we must be determined to extinguish the existing hotbeds of war and tension which are being aggravated in the Middle East, Cyprus, Asia and in southern Africa.

81. With regard to the first, the Middle East crisis has persisted for 30 years. Successive Israeli Governments in Tel Aviv have striven to thwart all attempts at settlement by our Organization.

82. After having occupied the western part of Palestine by force, in which they had established—with, unfortunately, the sanction of the United Nations—a Jewish national home, the Zionists have put their time to good use by spilling over their territorial frontiers which the arbitrary partition plan of 29 November 1947 [*resolution 181 (II)*] granted to their State, by successively annexing by force, in the name of the threadbare myth of “greater Israel”, western Galilee and the towns of Nazareth, Ramla, Lydda, Jaffa, Be’er Sheva and the Holy City of Jerusalem. By violating the fourth Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War, of 12 August 1949, and the relevant United Nations resolutions, they have hastened to extend Israeli citizenship unilaterally to the inhabitants of these territories. It will not be long before they take military occupation of the whole of the West Bank of Jordan, the territory of Gaza, Sinai and the Golan Heights by taking advantage of their treacherous and criminal aggression of June 1967.

83. Basing themselves this time on the false thesis of the so-called “legal vacuum”, they will evolve and methodically put into effect a programme of integration for these territories, culminating in the adoption of the Sharon plan, named after the Minister for Agriculture of the Begin Government, who was its initiator. It is certainly worth pointing out here that that gentleman is also the Chairman of the Interministerial Commission for the establishment of Jewish settlements in the West Bank of the Jordan. The purpose of that plan is to bring about the immigration of more than 2 million Jews of the Diaspora into this territory in order to change its demographic, economic and social structures and complete the work of its outright annexation

to the Zionist State by infiltration and the forced assimilation of the Palestinians. Already more than 70 of these squatter settlements have been implanted in the West Bank by the Israeli Government.

84. Following the parliamentary elections of May 1977, which put his party, the Likud, into power in Tel Aviv, the Prime Minister, Mr. Begin, hastened to the Kaddum camp, Torah in hand, to proclaim to the inhabitants of this Jewish settlement: "We are here to stay". On 6 July 1977, that is, a few months later, General Sharon, to whom I have already referred, had the Interministerial Commission for the establishment of Jewish settlements in the West Bank of the Jordan, of which he was Chairman, sanction the existence of three squatter settlements of the members of the "Block of Faith"—Maalei-Adumin, Osra and the famous Kaddum camp—through the Interministerial Commission for the establishment of settlements. His response to the general disapproval which this illicit operation aroused in the world was to create five further Jewish settlements on the West Bank. He revealed that to the *Ma'ariv*, the official organ of the supporters of "Greater Israel", of the "historic fatherland", in the following terms: "We are not a Government which is content to talk. Five settlements have been established without any publicity." To the National Broadcasting Company, he stated: "We shall continue colonization. We shall never release Judea and Samaria."

85. We shall not revert here to the question of the permanent persecution of the peoples of the occupied territories by the Israeli authorities, nor shall we go into the repression, the acts of reprisal, the dynamiting of houses, deportations, extortions and humiliations which are their daily lot, because these barbarous acts are well known to all. The reports of United Nations bodies, international agencies and private humanitarian groups have given sufficient account of them to make it unnecessary to dwell on the question.

86. That is the response of the Zionist Government of Tel Aviv to the relevant resolutions adopted by our Organization for the settlement of the grave crisis in the Middle East. It is this language of refusal, this language of scorn towards the international community, which Israel has invariably employed for 30 years in reply to the constructive proposals made for the restoration of peace in this area. While the Palestinian people have been holding out the olive branch, the Zionist Government has been sighting its rifles.

87. The machinery of settlement has been blocked because of Israel's unjustified intransigence. During this time, more than 2 million Palestinians have continued to endure their Calvary in exile or under military occupation.

88. Today the prospects are much worse, with the advent of the Likud Government in Tel Aviv. One could not expect any less from Mr. Begin and his friends, whose party has this motto: "Jordan has two banks; one belongs to us, and so does the other." No slogan could better illustrate the spirit of expansionism and annexation of the new leaders of Israel.

89. The general uproar with which the official circles in Tel Aviv greeted the joint Soviet-American statement of 1 October 1977, which in any case is merely a partial

reproduction of the decisions of our Organization on the serious crisis in the Middle East, is quite revealing in this respect.

90. The persistent hostilities in south Lebanon provoked by the Israelis could degenerate into a general war in that region at any moment, because the Palestinian and Arab peoples who have been deprived of their land and their property have had to wait for 30 years.

91. The grave risks to international peace and security which have been caused by the latest confrontation between Israel and the Arabs make it necessary for our Organization to shoulder its responsibilities by implementing the relevant decisions which it has taken on the question.

92. The restoration of peace in the Middle East necessarily involves the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territory and the restoration to the Palestinian people of its national rights. The General Assembly has reaffirmed that forcibly in several resolutions. With the exception of Israel, the truth of that statement is recognized by the entire international community. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967 should therefore be modified to remove any possible misunderstanding about this.

93. The explosive situation prevailing in the Middle East demands the immediate resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all the parties, including that of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

94. I cannot leave the Mediterranean area without mentioning my delegation's concern over the crisis in Cyprus. Here again, in the past year no progress has been made towards a just and lasting settlement of the conflict.

95. The hopes which were aroused at the beginning of the year by the meeting, under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations, between the heads of the two communities, the late President Makarios and Mr. Denktaş, were swiftly dissipated following the freezing of the intercommunal negotiations in Vienna. As we are reminded by the Secretary-General, the situation remains very serious. Therefore, the parties must refrain from any unilateral action which might lead to confrontation between the two communities.

96. In the light of the mandate entrusted to him by the General Assembly, the Secretary-General should continue his efforts to seek a basis for a just and lasting settlement based on the safeguarding of the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the country. We make an urgent appeal to all of the parties interested in and concerned with the Cypriot conflict to give him their support in carrying out his task.

97. The Korean crisis is one of the most persistent sequels of the last World War. It is an active hotbed of dissension which may erupt at any moment onto the Asian continent, as a result of the involvement of external forces in this wholly internal conflict. Powerful foreign military bases

have been set up in the southern part of the country. That is why the General Assembly, at its thirtieth session, adopted resolution 3390 B (XXX), putting an end to the existence of the so-called United Nations Command in Korea, under cover of which foreign troops had been operating in that country.

98. In spite of this firm decision, the Power involved in the Korean crisis continues to maintain there, against the will of its people, an army of 40,000 men on a war footing as well as military bases equipped with nuclear arms. The climate, therefore, is fraught with danger for the Asian continent. Only the implementation of resolution 3390 B (XXX), which I have mentioned, can dispel this evil and promote the peaceful and independent reunification of Korea, which is, above all, a matter of United Nations responsibility. At the thirty-second session the General Assembly should see to it that this task is tackled.

99. The southern part of Africa constitutes one of the most virulent hotbeds of tension in the world because of the colonialists and white racists who have usurped power there. War is already raging there and insecurity is rife. That racial confrontation is liable to set fire to the whole region. The armed acts of aggression that are constantly committed against Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola by the troops of the white racists of Pretoria and the rebels of Salisbury reveal to us the magnitude of the tragedy.

100. The United Nations cannot remain indifferent in the face of the aggravation of the situation. Our Assembly must contemplate, in accordance with Chapter VII of the Charter, energetic measures to put down the racist and rebel régimes of southern Africa, which have remained indifferent to all the exhortations and condemnations of our Organization.

101. At this stage we cannot, obviously, take into account in our assessment of the situation either the Anglo-American plan for Southern Rhodesia or the initiatives of the five Western Powers for the decolonization of Namibia, because those moves do not involve the responsibility either of the United Nations or of the OAU. The liberation movements will therefore continue their liberation struggles until the capitulation of the segregationists of Pretoria and Salisbury.

102. The Anglo-American plan, although it has some negative and ambiguous aspects could, in our view, serve as a basis for negotiation between the United Kingdom, the administering Power, and the Patriotic Front, the only legitimate representative of the people of Zimbabwe.

103. As to the initiatives of the five Western Powers for the decolonization of Namibia, we are following them with the greatest attention.

104. Vorster's earlier untoward actions and his procrastination in the negotiations under way do not encourage us to be optimistic. We should recall that in order to be valid, any agreement must take account of the conditions laid down by the OAU for the decolonization of Namibia, namely: respect for the territorial integrity of the country; the liberation of all political prisoners and detainees; the return of all Namibians in exile; the withdrawal of the

South African administration and army from the Territory; the recognition of SWAPO as the legitimate representative of the Namibian people; and free general elections under the supervision of the United Nations.

105. It should be made clear that Namibia must accede to independence within the limits of its original, that is to say its colonial, frontiers. The enclave of Walvis Bay, which has been arbitrarily attached to South Africa by the Pretoria Government because of its privileged position on the Atlantic Ocean, is therefore an integral part of Namibian territory.

106. My delegation takes note of the code of conduct for European companies operating in South Africa adopted last month by the members of the European Economic Community [A/32/267, annex]. Although the reasons for this decision are praiseworthy, we do not think that the measures advocated can really contribute to the elimination of *apartheid* or, to use the very words of Mr. Owen, their initiator, undermine "the principle of *apartheid*".

107. International observers, incidentally, consider that it would be difficult for European companies which have been established in South Africa to respect the code because they have to reckon with the laws of the country, which many of them hesitate to violate. Furthermore, experience has proved sufficiently to us that limited measures are ineffective against the racist régime of Pretoria because of the very fact that they are easily circumvented. They can only encourage that country in its obstinacy and braggadocio.

108. Is it not because of the clamour which has arisen more or less everywhere in the world in denunciation and condemnation of the segregationist policy of his Government that Vorster has proclaimed the new Constitution of South Africa, which takes no account whatsoever of the existence of the black majority—that is to say, the 18 million indigenous people, who make up three quarters of the population?

109. My delegation considers that to deal a blow at the very foundations of *apartheid*, the Governments of Western Europe which are the principal partners of that country should be resolute in extending their means of pressure to include an economic, commercial, political and military embargo. Indeed, the crimes of the racists of Pretoria must encourage us to deal with them more severely.

110. This is the proper place for my delegation to commemorate one of the latest victims of the henchmen of Vorster and Kruger. I have in mind the martyr Steven Biko, the prestigious, authoritative leader of the Black Consciousness Movement, cut down in the flower of his youth in the course of his detention in a Johannesburg prison. He is the forty-first black political detainee murdered in the racist South African gaols. His sacrifice, far from dampening the enthusiasm of the young generations of black South Africans which have assaulted the bastion of *apartheid*, is making them ever more active.

111. My delegation is entirely in agreement with Mr. Vance, the Secretary of State of the United States, in saying that "the three problems of Southern Rhodesia,

Namibia and *apartheid* must be dealt with simultaneously because they are interconnected". I am quoting from the statement Mr. Vance made on 1 July 1977, at St. Louis, Missouri, before the Convention of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. I would add, however, that those three evils, which constitute a serious challenge to mankind, must be ruthlessly eliminated. That is why my delegation urges all Members of our Organization to engage in a frontal assault on them.

112. The declaration and the programme of action of the International Conference in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, held in Maputo, Mozambique, in May 1977, and the declaration of the World Conference for Action against *Apartheid*, held in Lagos, Nigeria, in August 1977,⁵ have produced an appropriate strategy in this regard.

113. I should not like to end this part of my statement on international peace and security without mentioning the fragmentation of the Comoros which is a matter of concern to Africa. The continued occupation by France of the island of Mayotte, which is an integral part of the Comorian group, is both a grave violation of the principles of the Charter and an act prejudicial to the doctrine of the OAU on the inviolability of frontiers inherited from the colonial régimes. The vast undertaking of decolonization on the part of France will be not be completed in Africa until Mayotte is integrated into its motherland. We venture to hope that France will not remain indifferent to the appeals issued by Africa and the international community and it will restore the province of Mayotte to the Comoros.

114. The international economic situation is no better than the political situation. Inflation, recession and famine have continued to be rife throughout the world, particularly in the developing countries. The resurgence of protectionist policies in certain industrialized countries has disturbed the international economic situation even more.

115. Three years after the special session of the General Assembly, neither the Declaration nor the Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], nor the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], have even begun to be put into effect. The official development assistance furnished by the members of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development has fallen from 0.36 per cent to 0.33 per cent of their gross national product, and total assistance to development, both official and private, has gone down by \$0.4 billion, in absolute terms, while the target established for the Second United Nations Development Decade was 0.7 per cent of the gross national product. The indebtedness of the developing countries has reached the sum of \$208 billion.

⁵ For the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia and Programmes of Action for the Liberation of Zimbabwe and Namibia, see document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V. For the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*, see *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publications, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

116. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris, which had raised so much hope, ended its work after 18 months of arduous negotiation in semi-failure. No real progress was achieved in the restructuring of the international economic system. In a word, none of the challenges facing our world has really been met.

117. While the Paris Conference had the advantage of opening the first dialogue between the developed North and the under-developed South as to the future of international economic relations, we recognize that the industrialized countries did not entirely depart from their class spirit in the course of these latest negotiations.

118. The partial failure of the North-South dialogue in Paris was caused far less by the complexity of the problems dealt with than by the lack of political will in the industrialized countries, which, however, possess sufficient resources to help the world to meet the challenges facing it.

119. Indeed, we note in the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization that:

"For several years annual world military expenditure has been about \$300 billion. By contrast the World Health Organization has spent about \$83 million over 10 years to eradicate smallpox in the world—a sum insufficient to buy one modern supersonic bomber. That organization's programme for eradicating malaria at an estimated cost of \$450 million—half of what is spent daily for military purposes—is dragging for lack of funds." [see A/32/1, sect. IV.]

120. I would add that military expenditures in 1975 amounted to \$210 billion and represented even at that time the total national incomes of the poor countries and 20 times the total assistance granted to developing countries.

121. The sums of money devoted in the world to military research are four times higher than those devoted to medical research.

122. In a word, this trend sacrifices development to armaments.

123. This dangerous development is giving rise to much concern in the world because of the very fact that it is taking us further away from the new international economic order which we have agreed to promote in order to meet the challenges inherent in the present system of economic and trade relations, which have been based upon hegemonistic concepts.

124. The tendency must be reversed if we do not want this change, which is unavoidable, to take place in an atmosphere of confrontation and chaos.

125. The implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order has thus become an imperative.

126. Only dynamic international co-operation on the basis of effective solidarity and complementarity can help us to arrest the ills threatening our society.

127. To do this, the General Assembly must take over from the North-South dialogue in Paris because the United Nations constitutes the best possible framework in which to negotiate the establishment of a new international economic order.

128. To give this rescue operation every chance of success, the industrialized countries must rid themselves of their caution and begin a dialogue with the developing countries on the basis of the relevant decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly.

129. We also stand to gain by intensifying the debate on the relationship between disarmament and development.

130. Indeed, disarmament would release for development purposes vast financial, material and human resources.

131. The tasks of this thirty-second session of the General Assembly are therefore clear. It must above all strive to bring about significant progress both in regard to economic relations and in the fields of disarmament, the decolonization of southern Africa and the settlement of armed conflicts besetting the world. In other words, it must strive to unfreeze the situation and have the international community embark upon a process of renewal, that is to say, the building of a new international economic order, which alone can guarantee both individual and collective security.

132. The PRESIDENT: May I remind representatives that the General Assembly, at its 5th plenary meeting on 23 September, decided that out of consideration for the other speakers and in order to preserve the dignity of the general debate, delegations should refrain from expressing their congratulations in the General Assembly hall after a speech has been delivered. I should therefore appeal to representatives to have a little more patience during the final hours of the general debate and to be kind enough to express their congratulations to the speaker in some convenient location outside the hall.

133. Mr. BARRE (Somalia): At the outset of my statement I should like, on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf, to express deep feelings of sympathy and condolences to the Government and the people of the Yemen Arab Republic on the sad occasion of the sudden and tragic deaths of Mr. Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, the President of the Yemen Arab Republic, and his brother.

134. Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to convey to you the sincerest congratulations of my delegation on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly. My delegation is confident that your well-known qualities of wisdom and good judgment will enable you to preside successfully over our deliberations. In extending its congratulations to you, Sir, my delegation also expresses to you its assurance of full co-operation in the spirit of the policy of non-alignment to which both our Governments are committed. We wish you every success in fulfilling the tasks of your high office.

135. I should also like on this occasion to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, for his valuable efforts in the service of the United Nations

during his presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

136. The untiring efforts of Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim for the promotion of peace and progress have rightly earned him the high esteem of the Member States. I wish to associate myself with the many speakers before me who have paid a tribute to the Secretary-General in appreciation of his work in the interest of humanity.

137. The corner-stone of my Government's foreign policy is its belief that neither regional nor international peace can be secured unless peoples under colonial or alien rule are granted the right to self-determination. It is on the basis of this belief that my Government has consistently supported the legitimate struggle of peoples to attain independence and to take charge of their own destinies. The consistency and determination with which we championed the cause of the people of Djibouti throughout its long struggle to be free from colonial rule is known to all. It is therefore with great satisfaction and joy that we extend a fraternal welcome to the Republic of Djibouti as it takes its rightful place in the community of nations. We are confident that the deep-rooted historical, ethnic and cultural ties which link our peoples will ensure continued goodwill and friendly co-operation between our two States.

138. The struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom from foreign domination and for national unity was an epic one. We express our satisfaction at the accession to United Nations membership of the Republic of Viet Nam after an unnecessarily long delay, and we extend our good wishes for the future of its people.

139. The Middle East is an area where contempt for equal rights and the self-determination of peoples has led to a serious situation which poses an ever-present threat to international peace and security. The usurpation of Arab lands by the Zionists through various means over the years can be seen today in the acceleration of the plan for the *de facto* annexation of yet another area of Arab territory—the West Bank.

140. My Government believes it is of the highest importance that the General Assembly condemn, without reservations and without a dissenting voice, Israel's attempt to change the demographic and political character of Arab territories through the establishment of Jewish settlements in the West Bank, on the Golan Heights, in the Gaza Strip and in Sinai.

141. The Palestinian question is at the heart of the Middle East conflict. My Government wishes to reaffirm its continued support for the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole representative of the Palestinian people. While we welcome the momentum towards the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and the growing acceptance of the principles on which the Conference should be based, we do not believe that this should be an end in itself. There are basic and fundamental principles that must first be recognized if a peaceful, just and lasting settlement is to be achieved. We firmly believe that full participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in a reconvened Geneva Conference is essential for any meaningful progress towards peace.

142. The long preoccupation of the United Nations with the problems of southern Africa reflects the enduring relevance of the Charter's emphasis on the equal rights and the self-determination of peoples. Despite the large body of resolutions on southern Africa, this Organization remains ineffective in implementing its own decisions and in assuming its responsibilities under the Charter.

143. The lack of political will to pursue vigorously the application of internationally sanctioned principles encourages the racist minority régimes to persevere in their defiance and allows the traditional allies of racism to continue their collaboration with impunity.

144. In South Africa, the economic co-operation and friendly relations of its trading partners have not helped in the fight against *apartheid*, nor brought stability. On the contrary, they have strengthened it. The murder of prominent political personalities and of schoolchildren, and the atrocities committed against the people continue unabated.

145. If the situation in South Africa was a potential threat to peace almost 20 years ago—as the Security Council concluded at that time—it is certainly a real threat to peace today.

146. Having supplied South Africa not only with sophisticated weapons and their patents, but also with nuclear power, its trading partners now express surprise and alarm because the monster they created has the capacity to produce and test nuclear weapons.

147. If the United Nations action against South Africa is to have any meaning or effect, the international community, and in particular the powerful friends of the racist régime, should have the moral courage fully to assume their responsibilities under the Charter and to implement the decisions of the Organization.

148. The liberation of Zimbabwe is another source of deep concern to my Government. Unfortunately, the situation there has been allowed to drag on interminably over the years and to deteriorate to the point where it constitutes a distinct threat to peace and security in the region.

149. The reality of the situation is that no matter how much the Smith régime and its supporters twist and manoeuvre, majority rule will inevitably be established.

150. My Government fully supports all efforts aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the problem in conformity with the principles of the Charter. Such efforts must not, however, be allowed to prolong the racist minority domination of Zimbabwe, nor should they compromise the aspirations of its people for genuine independence.

151. In conformity with our policy in the past, my Government will continue to support to the fullest extent possible the liberation forces of the people of Zimbabwe so long as the intransigence of the minority régime and the realities of the situation render armed struggle necessary.

152. With respect to Namibia, the illegal presence of South Africa in a Territory with international status and

the racist domination of its people constitute aggression against Namibia.

153. In recent months we have been informed about initiatives that have been taken by certain States to bring about a settlement of the problem. In the view of my Government, the United Nations would renege on its responsibilities if it failed to obtain, *inter alia*: first, a resumption of United Nations responsibility for Namibia by the establishment of an interim United Nations administration of the Territory; secondly, the termination of South Africa's administration of the Territory before the interim administration is set up; thirdly, the complete withdrawal of South Africa's troops from Namibia before an exercise in self-determination is conducted; fourthly, the territorial integrity of Namibia, including Walvis Bay.

154. My Government hopes that there will not be a repetition of the sterile ultimatums, the successive periods of grace, and the vetoing of meaningful resolutions which have frustrated the will of the majority of Member States. We trust that South Africa's friends on the Security Council will give their powerful support to the only kind of pressure which the Vorster régime understands and which the situation merits: measures under Chapter VII of the Charter.

155. I shall briefly touch upon the international economic situation. The slow pace of efforts to establish a new world economic order constitutes yet another threat to world stability. My Government regrets that the Paris talks, the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, while achieving some progress, fell far short of reaching internationally established goals.

156. Our world today is characterized by ever-growing interaction and interdependence of which the rising expectations of the peoples of the poorer nations for a better life and the tremendous technological capabilities and productive capacities of the developed nations are the essential components. In this respect, while the developing countries themselves should exert maximum efforts for speedy development, it is necessary that the advanced nations agree to utilize their resources and technical know-how for others to develop in turn their own resources without exploitation.

157. Another matter which needs careful study and resolute action is the growing protectionism of the industrial States. This unfortunate development could well invalidate any progress made towards equalizing the conditions of world trade.

158. My delegation hopes that the more widely representative forum of the General Assembly will be able, during its present session, to come to grips with the issues which still present obstacles to the establishment of a just and equitable world economic order.

159. In this connexion, better terms of trade established through commodity prices and easier access to markets, the improved quality and increased flow of aid on concessional terms, easing of indebtedness and monetary facilities, sharing of technology and the accruing benefits, and a host of other equally important related issues constitute the

necessary prerequisites for the attainment of the desired order.

160. There are many situations obtaining in the world today where peace has either been shattered or rendered precarious as a result of the denial of the right to self-determination. I have already mentioned the dangerous situation in southern Africa, where the rights of the people have been cruelly denied by colonial racists. I have also mentioned the case of the Palestinian people, whose homeland has been usurped by Zionist settlers.

161. Both situations have given rise to dangerous tension and to conflict and will continue to do so unless the rights of the people concerned are recognized and their aspirations given practical expression. The twentieth century has witnessed a decisive repudiation of outdated practices and justifications for territorial acquisition and the development of a new moral, political and legal ethic: the self-determination of peoples.

162. The development of international law on the question of self-determination, particularly through the decisions of the Security Council, the General Assembly and the International Court of Justice, as well as the various legal instruments agreed to by the United Nations, makes clear the principal points: first, that self-determination is a fundamental right in contemporary international law, and, secondly, that the right to self-determination is available to all peoples who are subjugated, that is, who are functionally subjected to colonialism.

163. My delegation considers it necessary to draw attention to these fundamental principles because disregard for them is the source of the tension currently obtaining in the Horn of Africa. The threat to peace in the region is the direct result of the denial of the right to self-determination and independence of the people living in the area. The struggles taking place in Ogaden, and in other areas within the Ethiopian empire are manifestations of the determination of the people to free themselves from colonial rule in exercise of their inalienable right to self-determination.

164. The western Somalia question is not of recent origin, as the Ethiopian Government attempts to portray it. Its genesis goes back to the late nineteenth century, at the time of the scramble for Africa. The international community has only recently become more aware of this problem through press reports on the wide-scale fighting taking place there. It is indeed a tragedy that in the past countless appeals for justice were left unheeded and international interest in the plight of the people of western Somalia had to be aroused only after much suffering and destruction. Unfortunately, there still exist some misconceptions on the origins of the problem, the objectives of the liberation struggle and the position of the Somali Government on this matter. I wish therefore to provide the Assembly with factual information on the question in the hope that it will then have a fuller understanding of the situation.

165. It is important to note that until the European Powers came to the Horn of Africa in the 1880s the Somali people enjoyed an independent existence and controlled their own affairs. The Ottoman Empire exercised nominal suzerainty over the coastal areas and over some inland

centres such as Harar, while the rest of the Somali hinterland enjoyed total independence. The end of Ottoman suzerainty in 1884 saw the arrival of the British, the French and the Italians. In the period between 1884 and 1887 the three Powers were busy concluding protectorate treaties with Somali representatives.

166. At the time those agreements between the European and the Somali people were being negotiated, Emperor Menelik of Ethiopia took advantage of the situation and began an ambitious expansionist drive to extend the frontiers of the Empire. In this drive Ethiopia's territorial ambitions were facilitated by the collusion of the three European colonial Powers and by the cupidity of the European arms suppliers.

167. In the ensuing political and military scramble the frontiers of the Ethiopian empire were extended beyond all expectations. Harar, which had been an independent Somali State since time immemorial, fell to Menelik's forces in 1887. Its occupation enabled Menelik to send his hordes into Somali territory. In 1891 Menelik brazenly stated in a circular letter to the European Powers:⁶

“While tracing today the actual boundaries of my Empire, I shall endeavour, if God gives me life and strength, to re-establish the ancient frontiers of Ethiopia up to Khartoum and as far as Lake Nyanza, with all the Gallas.

“Ethiopia has been for fourteen centuries a Christian island in a sea of pagans. If Powers at a distance come forward to partition Africa between them, I do not intend to be an indifferent spectator.

“As the Almighty has protected Ethiopia up to this day, I have confidence he will continue to protect her and increase her borders in the future . . .”.

In the light of the version of this circular letter given on 10 October in this very hall, I emphasize the word “indifferent”.

168. Menelik successfully realized his ambitions for territorial aggrandizement through a series of pacts and agreements with other colonial Powers. These agreements were concluded without the knowledge and against the interests of the population concerned.

169. The Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty of 1897⁷ was a typical example of the betrayal of the trust of the Somali people and the sacrifice of their interests and rights as part of a political bargain with Menelik. That treaty purported to transfer Somali territory to the Ethiopian empire. It was negotiated without consulting the people concerned, and its existence was not brought to their knowledge until 1934, when an Anglo-Ethiopian boundary commission attempted to demarcate the boundary. The Somali people expressed indignation and outrage in widespread disturbances. In fact,

⁶ See *Spanish and Italian Possessions: Independent States*, Peace Handbooks issued by the Historical Section of the Foreign Office (London, HM Stationery Office, 1920), vol. XX, No. 129 (Abysinia), p. 104.

⁷ *Ibid.*, appendix I (viii), pp. 95-96.

until 1935 the Ethiopian presence on Somali territory had been confined to a few areas on the periphery of the Ogaden and sporadic military forays from those areas.

170. My delegation wishes to make it clear that Britain had no authority whatsoever to cede or in any way to traffic in the land of the Somali people. The treaties it concluded with the Somali people between 1884 and 1887 provided the only possible basis for whatever British authority may have existed with regard to those parts of Somali territory under British protection. The protectorate treaties were international agreements. If one seeks to separate the 1897 treaty from the prior protectorate treaties of 1884 to 1889, then the 1897 treaty falls, for lack of all authority.

171. As for the agreement purported to have been concluded between Ethiopia and Italy in 1896 establishing the boundaries of former Italian Somaliland and Ethiopia, it should be noted that there is no official version of the agreement in existence. But that is not important. More significant is the fact that, as in the case of the Anglo-Ethiopian Treaty, the Somali inhabitants were not consulted at any stage of the purported negotiations. In any case, the question of western Somalia is today not one of boundaries between Somalia and Ethiopia; it is a colonial question. That colonial situation is in the process of being terminated by the people concerned, with the Western Somali Liberation Front as their vanguard.

172. Ethiopia endeavours to mislead international opinion by repeatedly claiming that until 1975 there had been no liberation movement in western Somalia. This manoeuvre is not surprising, since throughout its occupation of the territory Ethiopia has resorted to every device to hide the facts. Until recently it was relatively successful in this regard because of the apathy and disinterest of the international community. Its ostrich-like attitude of denying the existence of the Western Somali Liberation Front is characteristic of all colonialists.

173. The liberation struggle that is being waged in western Somalia is by no means a new phenomenon. It began at the turn of this century when Sayed Mohamed Abdulla Hassan, a great Somali nationalist, rallied Somali forces in a war of liberation against Ethiopian, French, British and Italian colonialism. His struggle continued for 21 years, from 1899 to 1920. He was born in the Ogaden, and he died there. The liberation struggle he began has continued with varying degrees of intensity until this day.

174. The Western Somali Liberation Front, which was established in 1943, has on behalf of the entire people taken upon itself the sacred trust of carrying on the struggle until total freedom is achieved. If Ethiopia pretends ignorance of the existence of the Western Somali Liberation Front, it is because Ethiopia is afraid to recognize and accept the realities.

175. Following the Italo-Ethiopian conflict in 1935, Italy occupied western Somalia and remained there until 1941, when it was driven out by British forces. When Emperor Haile Selassie was restored to power in 1942, Britain retained the administration of the Ogaden, recognizing that the area was a distinct entity separate from Ethiopia.

176. There was hope that the wrong which had been inflicted on the people would have been redressed and that they would be given their right to self-determination. In fact a proposal along these lines was made at the time. Regrettably, because of power politics and the prevailing insensibility to human aspirations, the wishes of the people of western Somalia were again ignored. They were betrayed, and in 1948 were once more compulsorily transferred to Ethiopian rule. This transfer was not without protest. Violent demonstrations took place throughout the region and there was active opposition to the imposition of Ethiopian rule. Repressive measures by the Ethiopian authorities included the public hanging in Jijiga of 15 prominent elders of the community as an act of intimidation.

177. The final act in the alienation of Somali territory came as late as 1954, when another portion of the Ogaden, officially known as the Reserved Areas, was handed over by Britain to the Ethiopians. This was again protested widely, though in vain, both by public demonstrations and by petitions to the United Nations and the British Government.

178. In the years that followed, Ethiopia was able to maintain a military presence in the region. Through massive supplies of modern armaments it pursued a ruthless colonial policy. Through torture, arbitrary arrest, intimidation, the confiscation of properties and other inhuman methods, it endeavoured to force the people into submission. Whenever the people rose in protest, their homes and villages were subjected to aerial bombardment, their water wells were poisoned and their livestock destroyed.

179. Over the past three years, ever since the present régime came to power, various humanitarian organizations have amassed a substantial body of evidence on human right violations in Ethiopia proper. The details of these violations have caused widespread horror and revulsion in the international community. Yet in terms of scale and intensity, those violations cannot be compared to the atrocities that have been committed by the Ethiopian régime against the Somali population of the occupied territories. In whatever place the Ethiopians have set foot in Western Somalia they have left a trail of hate, and have unwittingly strengthened the resolve of the population to secure their freedom at any price.

180. Ethiopia continues to use every opportunity to exploit for its own purposes the principles of territorial integrity and the inviolability of frontiers. It would like the international community to ignore the fact that its political evolution is not that of a nation-State but that of an empire acquired through nefarious means.

181. In order to maintain and to keep that empire intact Ethiopia is trying to claim protection under principles which are inimical to the decolonization process. In other words, it is trying to run with the hares and hunt with the hounds. Our Charter and the resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly enjoin respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples. The Charter sets out in paragraph 3 of its Article 1 as one of its objectives "... encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all ...".

182. Ethiopia's position will continue to be in direct conflict with the provisions of the Charter if it refuses to allow the peoples under its colonial rule their right to self-determination. The United Nations must not allow itself to be misled simply because Ethiopia happens to be a black colonial empire and not a white European one.

183. Imagine what would have happened if the European colonial Powers had used the same arguments Ethiopia is advancing today and had succeeded! Very few countries would have been able to achieve their independence.

184. By political manipulation, Ethiopia continues to solicit legitimacy for the illegally acquired territories on the grounds that the boundaries of Ethiopia have the same legitimacy as others.

185. Ethiopia is trying to convince the international community that, having ridden itself of an Emperor, the empire has automatically been transformed into a unitary State with all the rights and privileges of a State. It hopes by these means to incorporate the colonial territories and thereby pre-empt any demand for self-determination or any action which the international community may wish to make in this regard.

186. My delegation wishes to make clear that it will not be deceived by these manoeuvres and that it will actively support the people in western Somalia.

187. I hope that my intervention has provided the General Assembly with the necessary information enabling a clear understanding of the present situation in the Horn of Africa and of the historical developments that have led to that situation. The position of the Somali Democratic Republic is to seek a just and peaceful solution to the problem. In the past, we undertook several initiatives both at the bilateral level and through the OAU to achieve that end. Unfortunately, Ethiopia continues to be totally obsessed with its desire to hold on to its empire, and consequently has rejected any constructive proposal for a peaceful settlement.

188. In the wake of major victories that have been scored by the Western Somali Liberation Front, Ethiopia has been engaged in a plan to make Somalia a scapegoat for the failure of Ethiopia's colonial policies, and to this end has done everything to precipitate direct military conflict. A series of acts of aggression has been launched against my country by Ethiopia, with considerable loss of life and destruction of property. In spite of constant provocations, my Government continues to exercise maximum restraint. In the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Libreville in July of this year, and in other forums, we demonstrated that Somalia was not involved militarily in the present conflict. If aggression had been committed, it is Ethiopia which has transgressed against the people of western Somalia and continues to violate their rights.

189. These hostile acts on the part of Ethiopia, the severance of diplomatic relations and their refusal to acknowledge the existence of the Western Somali Liberation Front are a clear indication of Ethiopia's unwillingness to enter into meaningful negotiations and to come to grips with the political realities existing within its empire.

190. It is our belief that durable and lasting peace in the area can best be assured through a political solution that recognizes the right of the people of Western Somalia to self-determination. This can only be achieved if the parties to the conflict, namely, the Ethiopian authorities and the leaders of the Western Somali Liberation Front, are prepared to enter into direct negotiation. Somalia, for its part, is prepared to offer its good offices to facilitate the holding of such negotiations.

191. There is one final point I wish to make: the conflict that is taking place in western Somalia is a war of liberation. Any interference by foreign Powers will exacerbate that situation and widen the area of conflict.

192. Mr. KEUTCHA (United Republic of Cameroon) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, it is with the greatest pleasure that, on behalf of His Excellency Ahmadou Ahidjo, President of the United Republic of Cameroon, as well as on behalf of my delegation and in my own name, I join the preceding speakers at this rostrum in congratulating you most warmly upon your election as President of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly.

193. Your accession to this high post bears witness, not only to your outstanding qualities as a person and a diplomat, and to your knowledge and vast experience of our Organization, but also to the high esteem and respect in which the international community holds your country, Yugoslavia, which is linked to my own by friendship and fruitful co-operation reinforced by the common aspiration to work together in our vast family of non-aligned countries for the safeguarding of peace, freedom and the independence of peoples. We are convinced that under your authority and with your wisdom, our work will reach a successful conclusion. I wish to assure you at once of the full co-operation of my delegation.

194. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate and to express my sincere gratitude to your predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, for the devotion, intelligence and tact with which he effectively performed the triple role of Chairman of the non-aligned group in the United Nations, Chairman of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea and President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

195. Finally, we are particularly pleased to reiterate here the support and appreciation of the Government of Cameroon for our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his efforts to advance the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. We wish him every success in the discharge of his second term of office.

196. We are happy that the United Nations has been enriched during this session by the addition of two new States, whose admission Cameroon had the joy and honour of sponsoring: the Republic of Djibouti, a sister-country with origins in both Arab and African cultures, whose independence marks an important step in the process of the elimination of colonialism in Africa, and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose struggle for admission to our Organization Cameroon supported during our presidency of the Security Council. Its presence among us constitutes an historic and significant proof of the invincibility of peoples

struggling for their freedom and dignity. We welcome them most cordially and assure them of our desire to strive for the development of our co-operation in every field. By admitting those new Members, the United Nations is coming closer to the ideal of universality.

197. The general debate in which we have the honour to participate at each session of our Assembly should be for all States gathered here an ideal opportunity periodically to assess how far we have come in implementing the principles enshrined in our Charter and the progress achieved in the attainment of the principal objectives, maintaining international peace and security, promoting international co-operation and settling international economic, social, intellectual and humanitarian problems.

198. It is in order to take account of the constant struggle of peoples for their well-being, for the safeguarding of human freedom and dignity, that we are led to believe that the dialogue we pursue in this Assembly should enable the Organization to be an effective centre for the harmonization of mankind's common efforts in its long march towards full fruition and happiness.

199. It is with this concern in mind that we examine the past year.

200. International life seems to us indeed to be marked by all sorts of growing tensions and conflicts. Among these are the varied struggles for hegemony in which the great Powers are engaged in a constant effort to strengthen their security to ever-higher levels, thus triggering a renewed arms race, despite their declarations in favour of peace. A similar source of tension is the persistence of the scourges of colonialism and racism, the most repugnant and criminal form of which is still *apartheid*. Yet another source of tension is the resistance to change on the part of those who advocate the present economic order, which enables 30 per cent of the world's population to possess 70 per cent of the wealth of our planet.

201. For all those reasons, the period under review was one of disappointed hopes, and we agree with the observation of the Secretary-General in his report on the work of the United Nations [A/32/1] that the past year does not lead us to be sanguine, because none of the proposals made by our Organization for a just and equitable settlement of the difficult problems facing our world has even begun to be solved. On the contrary, new problems have been added to those which already existed, and are now in the forefront, thus rendering the international situation even more complex and explosive.

202. Moreover, economic disarray has never been so pronounced: the old economic order in which we live, which some are still trying to shore up by hopelessly inadequate remedies, is sinking everywhere. That unjust system whereby a few countries control 80 per cent of world trade, nearly 95 per cent of private investments, an enormous part of world industry and almost all its technology has left two thirds of mankind in a state of poverty and squalor. A generator of inflation, of monetary disorders, of recession and unemployment, that system has constantly weakened the position of the developing countries by bringing about a deterioration in their terms of

trade and by lessening their purchasing power, thus rendering null and void the vast efforts and sacrifices made by these countries at the national level.

203. These turbulences had to reach an extreme pitch, where they jeopardized the most solidly established existing economies before the international community finally became aware of its interdependence and the unity of its destiny.

204. That was why our Assembly adopted resolutions on the establishment of a new international economic order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], and on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], as well as certain resolutions relating to economic development and international co-operation.

205. It is understandable that the hopes which had been aroused by the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which was intended to alter in depth the structures of the old order and lay the groundwork for a new and more equitable economic order, should have been all the more frustrated because the concrete proposals made by the developing countries, which could have represented substantial progress along that path, were blocked from the outset by purely internal and limited considerations on the part of the industrialized countries, which preferred to hold fast to their acquired advantages, their selfish interests and their established life-styles, rather than tolerate a change calculated to bring about a world economic development on the basis of solidarity.

206. Indeed, the developing countries had expected real changes in Paris and that solutions would be found without delay for the pressing problems which they were facing in the areas of raw materials and trade, development, and financial and monetary co-operation.

207. The limited results of the Paris Conference are far from satisfying the developing world as a whole.

208. But rather than enmeshing ourselves in the coils of controversy about how to evaluate the results, it seems to us that we must now channel our efforts towards the future in three directions. First, we must strive to ensure that the developed countries comply with all the commitments they have so far freely entered into in international forums. Secondly, we must resume and complete, within the United Nations system, negotiations in fields where an agreement is possible. Thirdly, we must resume negotiations on questions which have been stumbling-blocks and find adequate solutions which, as President Ahidjo recently said, "will make it possible to take into account the legitimate aspirations of the third world to equality and concerted progress".

209. There is no need to be a prophet to predict that, if nothing is done within a reasonable time to improve the situation of the developing countries, their growing bitterness will surely give rise to increasingly dangerous tensions in the world.

210. The sums swallowed up by the production of military arsenals come close to \$350 billion, whereas aid for development barely reaches \$15 billion. Let us recall that

mankind has also devoted to the arms race since the Second World War more than \$6,000 billion, which nearly equals the gross national product of the entire world for the year 1977.

211. This comparison is obviously not arbitrary. On the contrary, the stagnation, and even contraction, of public aid to development is the direct consequence of the arms race. In fact, while arms production contributes to the promotion of the economic activities of certain States, it undoubtedly leads to pauperization of the developing countries, which have become the tools of ideological confrontations and struggles for hegemony, thus misdirecting their burning desire to devote their resources to

212. We hope that the next special session of the General Assembly, which will be devoted to disarmament, will adopt measures calculated to promote real progress towards limiting nuclear weapons and that once confidence has been re-established the amounts allocated thus far to the balance of terror will be transferred to and used for the pressing needs of economic and social development and the improvement of the well-being of mankind.

213. The sixth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea recently completed its work at New York, where it prepared an unofficial single composite negotiating text.⁸ That text will be submitted at the next session of the Conference, to be held at Geneva starting on 27 March 1978.

214. On some points the text submitted seems to be based on innovating trends which emerged in international relations in recent years and to have taken into account the legitimate aspirations of all the members of the international community. However, consensus is far off on several articles, on precisely those which require the boldest imagination in determining the modalities for the exploitation of the sea-bed for the benefit of all countries, particularly the land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries.

215. Cameroon, like the other members of the Group of 77, hopes that solutions can be found. It cannot be otherwise as the Conference thus far has had the merit of being influenced by the strong determination of all the participants to arrive at realistic solutions which would be acceptable to the international community as a whole.

216. At the political level we are bound to note that the situation also has not improved.

217. Thus, in the Middle East the State of Israel has persisted in occupying Arab territories by force since 1967 and in refusing to recognize the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. We are still convinced that there can be no just and lasting peace in that region except within the framework of a global settlement on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), and the recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people. Consequently, we have welcomed with hope the recent

declarations of certain parties directly or indirectly involved in the conflict which seemed to augur well for an early meeting of the Geneva Peace Conference with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

218. Indeed, as the Palestinian problem is the crux of the conflict, it is neither just nor reasonable, still less realistic, to envisage a lasting settlement without the effective participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the genuine representative of the Palestinian people.

219. We therefore appeal to all States which can take action designed to help to change the intransigence of the Tel Aviv Government to induce that Government finally to conform sincerely to the ideals and objectives of our Charter.

220. Our membership in the great movement of the non-aligned countries naturally leads us to be concerned over the situation in Cyprus, a founding member of that movement which, because of international tensions exacerbated by external interference, is threatened in its very essence as a united State, master of its own destiny. We fear that the untimely death of its unquestioned and honoured leader may further rekindle the embers of dissension.

221. The efforts made to promote constructive talks between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots in a spirit of moderation and mutual understanding must be pursued in order to assist them to arrive at a settlement acceptable to both sides that will safeguard the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of that country in conformity with the spirit and letter of the pertinent resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council.

222. The problems that I have just mentioned cause us deep concern; but our anxiety is all the greater when we turn our gaze towards Africa, where the situation is particularly alarming in view of the many upheavals and the winds of division that are agitating our continent. Need I say again that it is the experience and conviction of Cameroon that opposition among African countries cannot but weaken them, encourage foreign interference and divert our energies from the true problems that persist in our continent: speedy development and complete liberation from racial domination.

223. It goes without saying that, in our determination to continue to affirm the original identity of Africa in the world and to play an active role in the elaboration of new international relations based on peace, justice and concerted progress, our continent must reject interference, because interference is to be condemned; we must preserve and further consolidate our unity within the OAU, which was established for that noble purpose. That means that Africa must strive to be more fully the master of its destiny and avoid becoming the private battlefield of rivalries among various Powers; likewise, the true friends of Africa should assist us instead of encouraging fratricidal struggles and the self-destruction that ideological conflict fosters. Peace is universal. Africa, I repeat, needs peace for its development and complete liberation.

224. As we have said, the inevitable process of decolonization has just entered a new phase with the independence of

⁸ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. VIII (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.V.4), documents A/CONF.62/WP.10 and Add.1.

Djibouti on 27 June of this year. Our rejoicing at this happy outcome is great; equally great is our desire for assurances that the United Nations resolution concerning respect for the territorial integrity of the Republic of the Comoros [*resolution 31/4*], of which Mayotte is an integral part, will be implemented.

225. Because Africa can never feel wholly free until it is completely rid of every vestige of colonialism and of the scourges of *apartheid* and racism, it is aware of the crucial nature of the present phase in the struggle for liberation in southern Africa. Similarly, since freedom is indivisible, the international community itself cannot feel secure so long as a tyrannical régime which has elevated the systematic denial of the most elementary human rights to the status of a political philosophy and system of government flourishes in southern Africa. It is therefore a sacred duty for us to employ every means to make the white minority racists heed the voice of reason instead of ferociously pursuing the extermination of an entire people after having taken from it 80 per cent of its territory and reduced it to slavery.

226. Last year, at this same time, those who are the allies and accomplices of the ignoble régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury or who are deluded by them urged us to have patience and dangled before our eyes the prospect of a negotiated and orderly transfer of power to the majority. We expressed our scepticism at that time about what seemed to us to be nothing but manoeuvres inspired by the necessities of domestic politics. Today we wish that events had not proved us right. Indeed, in Zimbabwe, Ian Smith, the usurper, far from having yielded power to the majority, has turned his back on any settlement negotiated with those who are fighting, is organizing a mockery of "elections" and periodically massacres the peaceful civilian populations of Zambia, Botswana and Mozambique.

227. We are very pleased with Security Council resolution 411 (1977), adopted on 30 June last, which recognizes the ineffectiveness of sanctions and encourages States to seek more effective means to bring down the illegal Salisbury régime, whose existence and activities represent a grave threat to international peace and security.

228. While we are attentively following the Anglo-American initiative, we nevertheless remain very sceptical about the co-operation that can be expected from the rebel Ian Smith, who has so far accustomed us to his bad faith and his cynicism.

229. The problem of the international Territory of Namibia, which has regularly appeared on the agenda of the General Assembly since 1946, is already an indelible blot on the history of the United Nations, which so far has been powerless to take up the challenge flung in the face of the world in the middle of the twentieth century by a handful of white racists entrenched in South Africa. Despite the many resolutions adopted by both the General Assembly and the Security Council of our Organization, the racist régime is strengthening its illegal domination over Namibia, whose vast resources are the object of shameless pillage, while the hateful system of *apartheid* extends its oppression over the land. That state of affairs could not have continued or have been consolidated with impunity were it

not for the complicity of many who were prompted by sordid interests.

230. We have followed with interest the efforts made by the five Powers, even though any dialogue with men who are racists to the core now seems to us to be a vain hope. In this regard, right now when the need to respect human rights is being given special attention by the international community, more resolute action must from now on take the place of condemnations or mere declarations of sympathy.

231. It is high time for the international community as a whole and each of its members in particular to give positive support to the struggle being waged by SWAPO, the only authentic representative of the Namibian people, so as to put an end unconditionally and without delay to the illegal occupation of Namibia.

232. The oppressive system which rules Azania has often been described here and in the international press by thoroughly impartial witnesses as the most diabolical a human brain has ever conceived. The United Nations has recognized that *apartheid* is a crime against humanity. While life is dear to every man, the people of Azania has become aware that death itself is preferable to the particularly barbaric slavery of which it is a victim. It is no longer daunted by the bullets of its assassins. But we now know since the Soweto massacres that the seeds of violence, fertilized by the blood of many innocent children, will produce an abundant harvest of freedom—in despite of Mr. Vorster, who has set up the scarecrow of atomic weaponry in vain.

233. I should not like to end this statement without leaving with the members of this Assembly the words of His Excellency Ahmadou Ahidjo, the President of the United Republic of Cameroon, who, on 8 August 1977, stated in respect of southern Africa that:

"Human rights are indivisible and must be respected everywhere and by all nations. It is an illusion to believe that they can be protected in one part of the world while they are violated with impunity in other parts. The determination and arrogance of the supporters of racial domination must be met with equal determination and unflinching steadfastness in our support of the liberation movements and the dignity of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania."

234. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Throughout the regular meetings, our continued concerns and the exigencies of a future which we wish to build despite unforeseeable contingencies, we have had regular opportunities to measure the road yet to be travelled. From year to year, looking ahead on the path to be followed, we witness the closer concern and more attentive responsibility shown by our Organization for the aspirations of our nations, which have long been kept outside the decision-making centres of the world.

235. This sense of dynamism which has been instilled into international life increases our determination to tackle the problems which stand in the way of the necessary changes. We are in the midst of a transitional period when

contradictory developments which affect inter-State relations should be regarded as signs of this difficult but long-awaited transition.

236. In particular, the persistence of hotbeds of tension, the arms race, interference in the domestic affairs of States, the economic system based on inequitable trade and exploitation, and the denial to peoples of their most elementary rights are deep-seated roots of an evil which distorts the image created by the ideals of the Charter. Nevertheless, our capacity to break away from anachronistic systems can only be strengthened by the détente entered into between the great Powers, the recourse to democratic dialogue in dealing with key issues, the affirmation of the ties of economic interdependence and the ever-deeper conviction of the world-wide nature of peace, security and prosperity.

237. The nations of the third world, who are the victims of the present order and are facing the problem of their survival, were the first to advocate dialogue with a view to setting up structures to ensure the benefits of harmonious development to all alike on the bases of respect for mutual interests and of sovereignty.

238. In this process, the non-aligned countries have played an active role and have put forward proposals for the establishment of a new international order, the necessity and urgency for which are constantly evident to all of us. It is therefore significant that the debates at this session have been organized in terms of that necessity and urgency, and that they should be presided over by the representative of Yugoslavia, a founding member of the non-aligned movement. Your great country, Mr. President, made a decisive contribution to the awakening of conscience, which, with the advent of decolonization, helped to crystallize the aspirations of the third world. In history the role of harbinger of the emergence and spread of the non-aligned movement, played with such far-sightedness and commitment by President Josip Broz Tito, will be noted.

239. Last year, the General Assembly elected as its President a convinced partisan of non-alignment, our friend Amerasinghe, to whom I take pleasure in reaffirming here our gratitude for the effectiveness and the dedication which he displayed in the course of the thirty-first session.

240. Knowing your experience, Mr. President, your tenacity and your faith in the ideals of the Organization, I am sure that your election, while confirming the universal nature of our movement in this Organization, will give the proceedings of this session a dimension commensurate with the expectations of our peoples and a significance equal to the demands of the time.

241. I cannot of course pay a tribute to the President of the Assembly without emphasizing the outstanding qualities and talents of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose perseverance, self-sacrifice and high-mindedness are a continuous encouragement to the activities of the United Nations.

242. This year the Organization has been enriched by the admission of two new Members, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti. In welcoming these

fraternal countries to our ranks, Algeria pays a tribute to two nations which have won their independence through hard struggle and which are today embarked on the even more arduous task of national reconstruction.

243. The Vietnamese people, whose struggle has brought them into a brotherhood of arms with my own people, have written, through their sacrifice and their long martyrdom, an incomparable chapter in the history of resistance to colonialism and imperialism. That nation has the right to expect of the international community today testimony of the tangible solidarity commensurate with the price it had to pay for its liberation and reunification.

244. On that continent of Asia which bears the dreadful seal of the division of nations and the partition of their national territories, may peace be restored to the Indo-China peninsula and may the reunification of Viet Nam which has now been achieved favour the peaceful settlement, free of foreign interference, of the problems of divided countries, and particularly of Korea, which is so close to our hearts and so much a part of our concerns.

245. The people of Djibouti, for its part, steeped in an Afro-Arab civilization which has always rejected alienation, today is rising up in the nobility and dignity it has never lost. It too has afforded the proof, if any proof were necessary, that the greatness of peoples which by definition are dedicated to freedom is measured neither by the size of their territory nor by the numbers of their population.

246. In these last few years international life has undergone qualitative changes in the establishment of new relationships both in terms of the development of political and economic relations and in the codification of standards of law that reflect the changes that have taken place. The resumption of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the super-Powers, their joint statement on the Middle East of 1 October and the climate which has marked the resumption in Belgrade of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe appear to be giving fresh impetus to the trend in favour of détente, although the limits of that movement continue to be seen precisely at the confines of the third world.

247. The ever more frequent use of a policy of fait accompli, the use of force and the destabilization of the three continents of the Southern Hemisphere reflects a retrograde situation which is all the more dangerous to peace and security because, in the final analysis, it will prevent the third world from exercising its natural function in the international balance of power and consequently from making détente as universal as it must of needs be.

248. Before the progress of the African liberation movement, imperialism has attempted, first of all, to call a halt to decolonization, but that policy is brought to bear wherever its interests are most threatened.

249. While the revolutionary conscience of the peoples of Angola and Mozambique has thwarted these imperialist whims and has foiled the threats and the manoeuvres mounted against their independence, the reality of the system of oppression remains in all its force in the rest of southern Africa. That is the focal-point of the stability of the entire continent.

250. Peace in this area is necessarily contingent upon the elimination of the minority and racist régimes. We must not seek to attenuate the fundamental aspirations of the peoples of the region by drawing up arrangements which reflect rather the concern to safeguard established interests than to satisfy the will to independence of those peoples. In this context, any initiative with a view to negotiating the transfer of power to the people of Zimbabwe can have no real meaning unless it culminates in effective independence. The satisfaction of its national rights, embodied in the Patriotic Front, supported by the whole of Africa and principally by the front-line countries, constitutes the central element in any just and lasting settlement.

251. The developments in Namibia are an additional source of concern to the world community. Pretoria, which persists in rejecting the decisions of international bodies, has left the people of Namibia no alternative to intensifying their armed struggle under the leadership of SWAPO in order to win their independence and to preserve their national unity and territorial integrity.

252. In Rhodesia, as in Namibia, the major obstacle to the liberation of southern Africa resides in the behaviour of South Africa. There is no need in a rearguard action to multiply manoeuvres in order to make people forget that not only Rhodesia and Namibia must accede to independence, but that the *apartheid* system itself must be eliminated once and for all. A group of Western States, it is true, is now endeavouring to negotiate the transfer of power to the African peoples. It is not our intention to discuss the merits of these initiatives which, in the final analysis, will be judged by their results. But irrespective of the value of these initiatives and the role that our Organization will be called upon to play in its decisive phase, we are concerned about the duplicity of denouncing *apartheid* while at the same time giving it the economic, material and military means for consolidating the policy of the enslavement of African peoples. We are dismayed by the transfer to the *apartheid* régime of the most sophisticated military technologies. That is why we are giving close attention to all the twists and turns of that policy, which consists of introducing and exacerbating the factors of dispersal of forces by trying to get artificial credit for the notion of ideological cleavage, for the sole purpose of securing authorized sanction for unavowed plans and retribution for manifestly anti-African enterprises. The independence of the African continent having become an international reality of weight and of quality, nothing is spared to separate Africa from its policy of non-alignment.

253. To undermine its unity and keep it in a neo-colonial status, imperialism today is attacking the substance and the *raison d'être* of the OAU by sowing discord among the African countries, by having recourse to destabilization, and by seeking to pit Africans against Africans, in order to distract them from their fundamental concerns. The principles which constitute the corner-stone of the structure of Africa and which have made it possible to neutralize the stratagems employed by the colonialists, and particularly the principles of self-determination, national unity and the inviolability of frontiers, have become, thanks to complicity in certain quarters, the prime target of the forces of domination and exploitation.

254. In this critical stage through which our continent is passing, the Horn of Africa is another subject of grave concern. Two brotherly peoples and neighbours are engaged in heavy fighting. The Charter of the OAU offers a series of methods for putting an end to the dispute. Algeria, together with other African countries, has not failed to appeal for a peaceful settlement of the problem conducive to the restoration of mutual trust, good neighbourliness and harmony in the region, free from all outside interference.

255. This, however, did not prevent the mutilation of the Comoro archipelago and the violation of the principle of self-determination, the unity of the people and the inviolability of the frontiers inherited from the colonial period. In this ordeal which affects the sovereignty of a people and the dignity of a continent, the Comoros have always been assured of the unanimous and unfailing support of all Africa and of the international community.

256. Who could have imagined that in Western Sahara countries which have themselves undergone colonial rule should have sought to emulate the Powers which in the last century divided up our continent? This is a precedent so grave that any complacency on the part of the international community would lead inevitably to the rule of might over right.

257. If the United Nations wishes to carry out its true mission and to safeguard the immense capital which it has accumulated in defending the ideals of peoples, it cannot do nothing when the very principles on which it is based are in jeopardy. Its responsibility for decolonization is written into the Charter: that is why it has in all relevant resolutions reaffirmed the inalienable right of the Saharan people to self-determination.

258. Recolonized in the age of decolonization, that people is facing the threat of extermination and is struggling to restore universality to the process of decolonization initially laid down by the international community, which is now gravely threatened by two Member States, aided and abetted by the delaying tactics of the administering Power. A veritable war of liberation is going on in Western Sahara, and all the elements of that kind of war are present. The negation of the right of the Saharan people freely to choose its destiny has unfortunately culminated in an enterprise of genocide, in the exodus of thousands of Saharans and in the situation now prevailing in our region.

259. Everyone here is familiar with the colonialist dialectic consisting in denying the existence of peoples, in distorting the meaning of their struggle and in concealing the excesses of the colonialists by ascribing responsibility for them to others.

260. Faced with this tragedy, Algeria has consistently appealed for a restoration of the process of decolonization and for a peaceful solution to the problem based on respect for the principle of self-determination. The United Nations itself has indicated the ways and means of putting an end to a situation which is dangerous for all the peoples of the Maghreb and prejudicial to their highest interests. It is therefore incumbent upon our Organization to continue its consideration of the question in the context of respect for the principles of the Charter.

261. For its part, Africa, which through the OAU has forged an instrument of unity, solidarity and action to complete decolonization, has not failed to stress the gravity of this problem when it decided to devote an extraordinary summit meeting to it [see A/32/310, annex II, AHG/Dec. 110 (XIV)].

262. That must unquestionably be seen as a sign which augurs well in the search for a peaceful solution and will help the Secretary-General of the United Nations to undertake, with the assistance of the other parties concerned and interested, in particular the Saharan people, all necessary initiatives for restoring the rule of law and promoting co-operation among all the peoples of the region.

263. In any event, Algeria declares its readiness to do its share and will spare no effort to bring about a healthy narrowing of differences and a restoration of trust, concord and fraternity.

264. Without any doubt, it is in such a perspective that the various Arab and African mediation attempts have been made, all of which testify to the solidarity of our peoples as they look to a common destiny. We wish to give credit where credit is due and pay a tribute to all concerned, since, despite the manoeuvres of our neighbours and their lack of political will, they have none the less pursued what they regard as a duty and what we perceive as a noble mission.

265. While Africa, like the United Nations itself, cannot abdicate its responsibilities to the Saharan people in their search for justice, the fact remains that the peoples of the Maghreb have a particular responsibility and bear a particular burden in this regard.

266. In the name of history, of the spiritual and blood ties that bind us, of culture and language, and of solidarity which was forged in the same struggle against colonialism, the peoples of Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia, Libya, Mauritania and Western Sahara have a common destiny, and any action aimed at preventing their progress towards that destiny is a challenge to their unity.

267. That is why the tragedy of the Saharan people is a matter of justifiable concern to all the peoples of the Maghreb, towards all of whom we are committed to practising a policy of brotherhood, co-operation and good-neighbourliness. We must therefore transcend certain narrow chauvinistic concepts in order to envisage our action in terms of a future which is necessarily a communal one and in the building of a Maghreb whole within which the Saharan people can find its rightful place and, together with the other peoples of the region, offer the benefit of its contribution, its national genius and its own individuality.

268. The principle of self-determination of peoples is a key principle of the Charter. To abide by it is not dogmatic; it does not stem from a desire to provoke others or to strike a blow at brotherhood. International law has its own requirements, and one cannot denounce those who violate it when they are our enemies and absolve others in the name of good-neighbourliness and specific bonds. It is thus in being true to itself, to its past and to its recent history

that Algeria proclaims for today and for tomorrow its solidarity with the Saharan people on the same footing as with the peoples of Timor, Palestine and southern Africa. That is to say that, in this generous expression of feeling, it is in no way prompted by any animosity towards any country, least of all towards fraternal and neighbouring countries. That also means that the defence of a principle in no way justifies empty accusations. And I should like most solemnly to reaffirm here that, in this matter of Western Sahara, my country has no territorial designs and does not covet anything. To seek to make this problem a bilateral dispute is deliberately to choose the policy of the ostrich and thus to close one's eyes to a reality which we all know to be painful and distressing.

269. For Algeria the problem of Western Sahara is an international problem, and we all view it as such. At most, our perception is all the more acute because it affects the whole region and weighs heavily on inter-Maghreb relations. To try to reduce a political problem to a humanitarian question or to try to reduce the case of the Saharan people to a mere problem of refugees would indicate a clear wish to distort the facts and to avoid the inescapable logic of our responsibilities to our peoples.

270. The problem of Western Sahara posed in its real terms and the responsibility of various quarters being clearly depicted, our action would remain incomplete if we failed to explore all the elements of a solution capable of satisfying the aspirations of all the peoples of the region, including, of course, the Saharan people. I should like here to reaffirm that we are entirely available to co-operate with the Secretary-General, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. He can in any case testify to that willingness since, on his behalf, Mr. Rydbeck of Sweden, to whom I should like once again to pay a tribute, has already experienced it.

271. On another level, the administering Power has proposed a regional formula for dialogue which, if carried out under the auspices of the Secretary-General of the United Nations and the Administrative Secretary-General of the OAU, with the participation of all the parties concerned, and, of course, the Frente POLISARIO, the genuine representative of the Saharan people, could constitute an adequate framework for dialogue and, what is more, for the preparation of a just and lasting solution.

272. Our faithfulness to the principle of self-determination is only equalled by our devotion to the policy of fraternity, good-neighbourliness and co-operation. In the age of large groupings, and in the hope that this step could make a substantial contribution to the achievement of African and Arab unity, we are prepared to explore all ways of institutionalizing relations among the countries of the Maghreb within a framework which would preserve the identity and interests of all and which would take account of the unique nature of all the partners, but would not mercilessly or fatally exclude the Saharan people. I say that, despite all misunderstandings, all missed opportunities, we are immediately prepared to undertake a joint search for appropriate formulas, and to reorganize our relations within a general framework that will be in accord with the spirit of our peoples and the characters of our countries.

273. The conflict in the Western Sahara is becoming daily more murderous, and at the same time the burden which it imposes upon the region as a whole is increasingly heavy. It is precisely to prevent disturbances and dispel the clouds that we must consider here, in the OAU and within the Maghreb framework, with the participation of all the interested partners, and principally with the Saharan people, without whom no solution is either viable or conceivable, all possible alternatives to a policy which both the head and the heart refuse. From now on it is clear that a heavy responsibility will lie with any partner who is lacking in vision at a moment when it is becoming vital to rise above the present situation in order to make history.

274. Africa and the Arab world, because they are complementary in all fields and each is an extension of the other, today share a common destiny and face similar trials. The Arab peoples, like the African peoples, are waging a united struggle to eliminate the colonial and neo-colonial systems and foreign occupation. Throughout history they have woven strong and powerful bonds between them and, despite the skill of imperial strategies, they are henceforth aware that the struggles which they are waging have the same meaning, the same objectives, the same allies and the same enemies.

275. That is why Algeria itself feels deeply concerned with the strengthening of co-operation to which Africa and the Arab world have committed themselves. Just as the Arab world has made clear its adherence to that community of common destiny with our continent, so the African countries have understood that the persistence of the conflict in the Middle East is only another example of the constant concern of imperialism to maintain its positions and to protect the strategic and economic interest which it has arrogated to itself around the world through a policy based on the maintenance of tension, despoiling of territories, subjugation of peoples and the seizure of their wealth. As does South Africa elsewhere, Israel constitutes the main instrument of that policy.

276. The latest measures taken by Tel Aviv for the installation of new Zionist settlements in cis-Jordan, and its constant provocations against Lebanon, are aimed at consolidating its aggression against the Palestinian people and its homeland and the fait accompli it has carried out in the other occupied Arab territories. My country is convinced that such a policy cannot be condoned indefinitely by a passive or deliberately dispassionate attitude. Nevertheless, we note with interest the broad international consensus which has emerged for the Palestinian cause and for its justice and the legitimacy of the rights of the Palestinian people, incontestably represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization.

277. As in the case of the Evian talks between the French and the Algerians, then represented by the National Liberation Front, only direct negotiations with the Palestine Liberation Organization can open the way for a just and lasting solution to the primary cause to which the Middle East problem must constantly be brought back: in other words, the restoration to the Palestinian people of their fundamental rights and the recovery of their historic homeland.

278. That being so, Algeria will nevertheless continue to act in solidarity with the other Arab countries in order to achieve by all possible means the restoration of the national rights of the Palestinian people and the recovery of the other territories occupied by Israel.

279. While the world community firmly supports recognition of the national rights of the Palestinian people, it is certainly revealing that the United States of America has finally understood that it cannot install itself in an exclusive position in the Middle East, and that other Powers, if only because of their very nature, also have obvious responsibilities to bear in the maintenance of peace and international security. We are far from sanctioning any idea of trusteeship exercised by any Power, but if the efforts of the United States of America can be influential in the process of restoring peace to the Middle East, then it is quite clear that, if they are joined with those of the Soviet Union, in the spirit of the recent joint statement, they could become decisive. At all events, the Arab peoples, having learned to test their friendships, are now more than ever convinced that their salvation, their freedom and their dignity are essentially based upon the policy of self-reliance. Once these temporary problems are overcome, I am convinced that the Arab world, with its formidable potential and privileged position at the cross-roads of continents and civilizations, with its historic vocation, will once again resume its historic role in bringing peoples together and fostering co-operation among them.

280. In this same Mediterranean basin, where the situation is still explosive, the problem of Cyprus remains unchanged. The negotiations between the two Cypriot communities, conducted under the aegis of our Secretary-General, have unfortunately not yet achieved the hoped-for results. We continue to consider that in this regard the resolution adopted at the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly [3212 (XXIX)] constitutes a continuing valid basis for the satisfactory solution of the question. Such a solution should guarantee to each community its rights, its identity and its security, while maintaining the political unity, territorial integrity, independence and the non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus.

281. Nearly four years ago, when the industrialized countries were feeling the boomerang effect of their own policies, for so long based upon negligent waste of natural resources, the countries of the third world addressed a clear and urgent appeal to them, from this same rostrum, to bring about a peaceful revolution in international relations, in order to foster true co-operation between States based on equity, sovereign equality and mutual interest.

282. Analysing the underlying causes of the crisis at the sixth special session and the twenty-ninth regular session, the General Assembly of the United Nations stressed the contradictions which are inherent in the present system of economic relations, and warned against the confrontations which this system inevitably engenders, because it is based upon relations which do not correspond to international political reality or the requirements of a balanced development of the world economy.

283. Thus, invited to choose between dialogue and confrontation, the international community could in fact only

choose the one way that would offer fresh prospects of bringing about development of the world economy in the light of the needs of each nation and each individual and their rights and legitimate interests.

284. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States in this respect offer specific elements for an alternative that would make it possible to establish more equitable relations and—why not?—relations of greater solidarity inspired precisely by the ideals and principles which constitute the philosophical foundation and political *raison d'être* of the United Nations.

285. Determined advocates of dialogue as the possible means of bringing about a concerted change in international relations, the countries of the third world have despite the urgency and gravity of their problems done their utmost to ensure success for the seventh special session. They were convinced that the spirit of openness and commitment which prevailed on that occasion would progressively win the day over reservations and hesitations.

286. In accepting, when considering and tackling problems, a certain hierarchical system which took into account the economic situation resulting from the crisis of the industrialized economies and a reasonable arrangement for a smooth transition in the implementation of temporary solutions to bring about the new order, they clearly demonstrated their will to engage in dialogue.

287. Conversely, it appears that with the passage of time the feeling of resignation which accompanied the industrialized countries' adherence to the consensus which emerged around the new order already presaged their concern to gain control over this concept in order to strip it of its true significance. The goal sought by those countries was doubtless to save time in order to patch up the breach that had been opened up by the petroleum exporting countries and in order to attempt to isolate those countries from other developing nations by ascribing the responsibility for the crisis to them. This attempt to bring about division was aimed at snuffing out the demands of the third world and neutralizing the formidable potential means of action conferred upon it by its natural resources and new political weight.

288. Thus from the very beginning it was feared that the motivations of the parties in the negotiations only concealed divergent strategies despite the professions of faith of the industrialized countries, which had apparently become converted to the idea of a new order.

289. In fact, this ambiguity has not ceased to characterize all the stages of negotiation in recent years. In particular, that explains the results of the Paris Conference on International and Economic Co-operation.

290. In fact, everything leads one to believe that for our partners the objective remains the preservation of the essential foundations of the present order. Doubtless they accept that the world economy must be adjusted to the new circumstances, but such adjustments, if limited to empirical and fragmentary measures, would be contemplated only to the extent that they contributed to the strengthening of the established order.

291. The profound crisis which has been shaking the economies of the capitalist countries, since the end of the 1960s, continues, contrary to all the facts, to be attributed to external and temporary factors, while the difficulties of the developing countries are attributed mainly to the increase in the price of oil and the nature of the internal policies of those countries. This analysis attempts to shirk the historical responsibility of the system in creating under-development and preventing all structural change. Thus the measures aimed at correcting, through the appropriate machinery, unequal trade patterns are rejected as contrary to the rules of a market which they try to picture as an objective regulating force and the instrument for ensuring the equitable distribution of resources.

292. If the rules of the market are thus often invoked to reject constructive and innovative proposals from developing countries, the same rules are ignored as soon as it is a question of easing dominant positions and privileges.

293. That is why, even if the industrialized countries agree that a structural shortage of energy is emerging over the short-term, they still refuse to come to the right conclusions as regards price, the instrument which is nevertheless the appropriate one for rational management and distribution whenever there is a shortage. Liberal economic theory itself teaches that only a regular increase in price can prepare the way for an economic solution based on substitutes, since it promotes the development of alternative resources.

294. Similarly, if they refer to the principle of comparative advantage to justify maintenance of the present international division of labour, the industrialized countries ignore those same principles in the name of transient or geopolitical considerations when it is a matter of justifying protectionist barriers and their abusive use of safeguard clauses presented as so many exceptions to the rule.

295. In this respect, the failure of the negotiations on the renewal of the Multi-fibre Arrangement illustrate the resumption of protectionist policies and shows how precarious was the progress achieved in the past.

296. If it was necessary to judge the North-South dialogue from the point of view of its contribution to the restructuring of the world economy, one would be tempted to say that its obvious merit was essentially that it enabled us better to identify the problems and to clarify positions.

297. The specific agreements to which that dialogue led are, with a few exceptions, anything but a confirmation of results already achieved in other international bodies, particularly the Second General Conference of UNIDO in Lima in 1975, the World Food Conference in Rome in 1974 and the fourth session of UNCTAD in Nairobi in 1976.

298. On the other hand, these points of agreement or this convergence of positions sometimes concerning important questions such as assistance for development, agriculture, world food security and the common fund, would be improved if they were strengthened and completed in coming negotiations.

299. As regards energy, the most significant progress was the abandonment of the rearguard action of recent years in favour of a growing awareness of the true problems posed by the conservation of energy and the preparation of a less threatening future.

300. While international co-operation in the field of energy is desirable it is obviously not possible except on the basis of strict respect for the sovereignty of every State and the principle of mutual advantage. In particular it implies that the industrialized countries will undertake to open their markets to manufactured goods, to provide additional amounts of development financing, and to guarantee non-discriminatory access to their technology, including their nuclear technology.

301. Lastly, is there any need to list the important fields in which there is still much to be done? Here, there are several themes which I think should constitute the main issues for future negotiations in the appropriate bodies of the United Nations system.

302. Real reform of the international monetary system; consideration of the legitimate interests of the developing countries in multilateral trade negotiations; the creation of a joint commodity fund; the adoption of a code of conduct on the transfer of technology; the solution of the problems of indebtedness of the developing countries; the promotion of the industrialization of the third world—this list is not exhaustive—are so many objectives which the international community must set for itself within a reasonable period of time.

303. The establishment of the new international economic order is undoubtedly a fundamentally political objective.

304. Therefore, the technical framework, albeit excellent in all respects in Paris thanks particularly to the marked efforts and the constant attention of the French Government and to the remarkable competence and devotion of the two Co-Chairmen, Mr. Manuel Pérez Guerrero and Mr. Allan MacEachen, cannot take the place of the political will of States, which itself can only be fully expressed in this body which brings together the international community as a whole.

305. This year a feature of international life has been the proliferation of more or less dramatic proposals having varying chances of success. They have been put forward apparently to exorcise the deep unease underlying relations between States. Time-tables have been announced, international meetings have been planned, and projects have been advanced in a sudden, pressing desire to solve the most long-standing problems. This is the case in southern Africa; it is the case in the Middle East; and it is the case with the transformation of international economic relations.

306. Clearly, it has become customary to say without emotion, in speaking of international problems, that they will be complex, not to say insoluble, so long as States exist, in an environment where opportunity and risk go hand in hand, where might jostles right, and where mistrust and fear are still natural reflexes in the face of intimidation and violence. In the delicate stage which we are now passing through, changes are obviously necessary. We must accept

this and facilitate their occurrence because they themselves are a promise of the settlement of the problems linked with emergence in the national arena of a third world that was for too long exploited and exiled from the mainstream of history.

307. Our Organization has been able in a difficult context to assume a role which no other body can assume in its place; that of setting objectives at the level of general interest and offering the alternative of dialogue and negotiation to the dangerous temptation of solutions by force. It is called upon to evolve and to adapt in accordance with its determination to accomplish its vocation. It can only survive and be consolidated through the necessary combining of our efforts.

308. The PRESIDENT: Several representatives have requested to be allowed to exercise their right of reply. May I once again remind the representatives that, according to the decision of the General Assembly, statements in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes. In view of the lateness of the hour and of the large number of speakers, I am sure that representatives will understand my request that they co-operate in adhering to that limitation and that they speak as briefly as possible.

309. Mr. KABEYA WA MUKÉBA (Zaire) (*interpretation from French*): In conformity with rule 73 of the rules of procedure of the General Assembly, my delegation would like to reply to certain allegations, about which the least one could say is that they were untruthful and inaccurate, made yesterday by Mr. Paulo T. Jorge, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Angola.

310. The remarks to which I shall reply are well known to all countries that have a Permanent Mission to the United Nations in New York, since, as I would remind them, they have received a documentary reply to the lying accusations of Angola in a letter sent from the Permanent Mission under the symbol MPZ/01/363/22. In other words, Zaire regrets greatly having to return to these same matters, which certain persons, who have no ears to hear, love to have repeated.

311. In his address to the General Assembly yesterday [*31st meeting*], the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Angola accused the regular troops of Zaire of crossing the frontier in the north of his country and he claimed that the Republic of Zaire, my country, was a State that was preparing for a missile attack on Angolan territory. Fortunately, absurd accusations cannot kill anyone.

312. Before going further, I would like to remind this Assembly of what it already knows of the actions undertaken by Zaire to assist Angola to free itself and to induce the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [*MPLA*] to maintain harmonious and good-neighbourly relations with Zaire.

313. First of all, I would like to recall that the first shot fired to liberate Angola from the grip of Portuguese colonialism was fired from the territory of Zaire. At that time Zaire was sheltering an Angolan population numbering about one and a half million persons, and the Zairian people paid with their lives—the lives of the villagers living

near the frontier between Angola and Zaire—for the consequences of their freely-offered support to that liberation struggle. Those in independent Angola who are trying to grow the bitter grass of ingratitude on the paths of their liberation often have short memories.

314. Secondly, as soon as MPLA had set itself up in Angola at a time and in a way known to all, Zaire, true to its African loyalties and its policy of good-neighbourliness and non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States, and true to its policy of authenticity and to its continuous concern for the unity of Africa, as reaffirmed in its Constitution and as repeated by the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation in his speech of 6 October from this same rostrum [23rd meeting], agreed to meet the Angolan authorities in February 1976 at Brazzaville. At that meeting and several times subsequently, President Mobutu Sese Seko of Zaire gave assurances to President Neto that the territory of Zaire would never be used as an operational base against Angola. As of that moment, Zaire dismantled all of the bases where Angolan forces had been trained before that country's independence for incursions into the territory then controlled by the Portuguese. Furthermore, Zaire, in the person of its leader, declared its readiness to welcome on its territory any commission of enquiry, under the auspices of either the United Nations or the OAU, to verify the truth of its commitments to the young State of Angola and of its arrangements made in good faith with it.

315. Thirdly, as a token of its wish to live as good neighbours with its brothers in Angola, President Mobutu went even further: he gave *de jure* recognition to the MPLA régime in Luanda and invited that régime to establish diplomatic relations with Zaire at the ambassadorial level. That proposal by Zaire has remained a dead letter. One can easily see that the presence in Kinshasa of an Angolan ambassador would have helped to dispel misunderstandings and clear up illusions. It would have put an end to a policy of lies aimed at concealing the difficulties of the régime established at Luanda. These political difficulties are all too familiar to the MPLA leaders and their mentors, and it is not Zaire which has any miraculous remedy for their solution. On the contrary, it is for our Angolan friends to question their conscience—their genuinely African conscience—and the reply will occur spontaneously. Their mentors are deceiving them and wasting their time.

316. Fourthly, this is the moment to reply to the first mendacious accusation against Zaire. My country maintains no camp whatsoever for the training of guerrillas hostile to the Luanda régime, nor does it make use of its regular army for the commission of aggression against its many neighbours. On the contrary, by making such a claim, Minister Jorge was unwittingly revealing the culpability of the Government he serves in the recent unhappy events in the south-western part of Shaba province, which is unfortunately to the north of Angolan territory—events in the course of which former Katanga *gendarmes*, in the pay of foreign Powers, led and trained by foreigners, occupied, as you know, the localities of Dilolo, Sandoa, Kapanga and the manganese-mining centre at Kisenge. Happily, thanks above all to African solidarity, the invaders were driven back across our frontiers. It is understandable that the foreign paymasters of those invaders, undoubtedly

thwarted in their plan to establish in Zaire a foreign-oriented régime, should be thoroughly riled. For us, African solidarity is a weapon which will always get the better of any machinations mounted from outside Africa against the States of that continent.

317. Fifthly, I shall reply to the second accusation with a smile on my lips. Its conscience burdened with the crimes committed by the irresponsible bands that it has armed, the Luanda régime was expecting a riposte on the part of Zaire against its territory. It will go on waiting for a very long time indeed unless there is a repetition of that sinister game, which would be serious indeed for both our countries. Fearful of such an eventuality, the leaders in Luanda are trying to confuse everyone and to speak of matters of which they know nothing. The programme of the Orbital Transport and Raketen Company, which was mentioned by Mr. Jorge at the dictate of his mentors, is essentially and above all a civilian programme and represents the free and sovereign exercise of our country's will to promote technical and scientific co-operation with all State Members of our Organization that love peace and justice, of which Angola is one.

318. Zaire, which has embarked upon the task of economic and social rehabilitation, cannot but regret that pronouncements like those we heard yesterday from the lips of a so-called African minister should be made in a serious debate intended to enlighten the United Nations General Assembly as to the real problems of the world—problems to which the international community expects genuine and lasting solutions.

319. Mr. HERZOG (Israel): If I were to make full use of my right of reply, I estimate that I would need 400 minutes—that is to say, 10 minutes for every one of approximately 40 extreme anti-Israeli speeches delivered here in the general debate. However, out of deference to you, Mr. President, and trusting that others will follow my lead, I shall not even use all 10 minutes you have put at my disposal.

320. The Arab representatives in this general debate have excelled themselves—and that certainly takes some doing—in the degree of invective and hatred that characterized their approach to Israel. One cannot escape the impression that we are witness here to an inter-Arab competition as each vies for the privilege of sinking to lower depths in an exhibition of bad language, bad manners and bad taste.

321. Let me make it quite clear: I could refute every argument put forward by the Arab representatives. I could prove that they are guilty of every accusation which they throw at others. But I do not intend to do so, because, as a matter of principle, we will not demean ourselves. It is beneath our dignity as a civilized State to sink to this level and to engage in such barren polemics.

322. Furthermore, let me make it quite clear that we will not try to emulate the childish behaviour of the Arab representatives and of the representatives of those satellites who have no minds of their own and who left this hall when our Foreign Minister rose to speak.

323. We were present and listened to every Arab speech. We will be present and will listen to every Arab speech,

because we understand that a dialogue is essential, and we want to listen to the other side.

324. We will not leave the hall, as we have never left it in the past, because we are not afraid to listen to what they have to say, as those representatives obviously are who departed with such unseemly haste, fearful as they were of listening to what the other side has to say.

325. At a time when important high-level consultations may at last be moving the Middle East towards serious negotiations, we had hoped that the proceedings of this Assembly would reflect the constructive atmosphere prevailing in the present bilateral talks. Instead, we have been treated to an endless flood of invective, distortions, belligerent statements and personal attacks on our Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, which not only constitute a serious obstacle to the present search for peace but raise serious questions as to the true intentions of the Arab Governments.

326. What are we to believe? The soothing statements of the Egyptian Foreign Minister to the American media? Or his vilification of zionism, his threats of war and his presumptuous call, before this Assembly, for an end to Jewish immigration to Israel?

327. My delegation rejects outright the malicious accusations and vile calumnies which have been hurled at us in this Assembly in the general debate.

328. I repeat that we shall not demean ourselves in order to continue this barren, useless and degrading debate.

329. I can only reiterate what I have said on previous occasions—namely, that the level of the debate and the tone that has been set by these statements of Arab delegations must prejudice any prospects for this body to be taken seriously.

330. Two days ago by unanimous decision the Israel Cabinet agreed to the joint working paper agreed upon with the Government of the United States with the purpose of reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. This was in accordance with Israel's views that peace can come only via the negotiating table. One would have expected a different tone from the Arab delegations in the light of current developments, but it was not to be. One must reluctantly deduce that the true approach of the Arab States to our problem is in the volumes of hatred and intransigence to which this Assembly has been subjected in speech after speech.

331. As I stand here in reply to the Arab statements, after my Government has made such a meaningful step forward, let me recall the words of a former Secretary-General of this Organization, Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld: "You can condemn a State or you can negotiate with it, but you cannot do both". I suggest to my Arab colleagues that they make their minds up and decide which path of these two offered by Mr. Hammarskjöld they wish to take. They cannot take both.

332. Mr. ANWAR SANI (Indonesia): At the outset I wish to apologize to the members of the General Assembly for

asking to be allowed to address them at this late hour—a decision taken by my delegation only after considerable hesitation. Some speakers have referred to East Timor in their statements during the general debate and, while doing so, have made certain false and misleading allegations, reflecting their lack of knowledge of the matter. My delegation therefore considers it necessary to set the record straight by reiterating the essential elements of Indonesia's position.

333. Indonesia's attitude with regard to the decolonization process in East Timor has been guided by the following considerations. First, Indonesia has no territorial claims on East Timor or any other territory. Secondly, Indonesia fully respects the right to self-determination of the people of East Timor. Thirdly, the process of decolonization should be implemented in a democratic and orderly manner. Fourthly, if it is the decision of the people of East Timor to be integrated with Indonesia as the result of the exercise of their right to self-determination, Indonesia will accept that decision.

334. In the meantime, since last year, the following developments have taken place in East Timor.

335. The process of decolonization has been carried out in East Timor in full conformity with the provisions of the Charter and those of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) and—let us not forget this—resolution 1541 (XV), thus terminating the colonial status of the former Portuguese Territory. The right to self-determination was exercised in a free and democratic manner by the people of East Timor themselves, consistent with their traditional practices.

336. On 31 May 1976 the people of East Timor, through the duly elected members of the People's Representative Assembly, decided to become independent through integration with the Republic of Indonesia and communicated a request to that effect to the Indonesian Government. In accordance with the appropriate legislative procedures, East Timor was formally integrated into the Republic of Indonesia on 17 July 1976. Thus, the process of decolonization was terminated in accordance with the wishes of the people of East Timor. As East Timor has become independent as an integral part of the Republic of Indonesia, Indonesia opposes any discussion of East Timor in whatever forum, since that constitutes interference in its internal affairs.

337. It has been said that the United Nations was not involved in the decolonization process in East Timor and that therefore the validity of the act of self-determination by the people of East Timor should be contested. If the United Nations was not involved, that certainly cannot be blamed on the people of East Timor. Representatives of the people of East Timor have tried to involve the United Nations in every stage of the developments in the Territory. In fact, after the administering Power abandoned East Timor, as early as 17 September 1975—I repeat, 17 September 1975—three political parties in the Territory sent cablegrams to the United Nations, the President of Portugal, the President of Indonesia and the Australian Government, informing them of the murders and systematic terror employed by the Frente Revolucionária de

Timor Leste Independente [*FRETILIN*] to eliminate their opponents. However, no action was forthcoming either from the appropriate organs of the United Nations or from the administering Power.

338. On 12 February 1976 the head of the Provisional Government of East Timor, in a cablegram addressed to the Secretary-General, stated his Government's readiness to receive a second visit of the Special Representative of the Secretary-General. Again no action followed.

339. In his statement before the Security Council on 12 April 1976, a representative of the Provisional Government of East Timor again invited the Secretary-General, the Security Council and the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples to send a mission to the Territory.⁹ But once again no initiative was taken by the relevant organs of the United Nations in response to that invitation.

340. In this connexion I should like to call attention to a statement made by the representative of Indonesia before the Security Council on 14 April 1976, in which he referred to that invitation and said:

"To accept that invitation, either by requesting the Secretary-General to have his Special Representative visit East Timor again or by sending a United Nations mission—whichever the Council may prefer—would be the easiest way to find out whether the claims and accusations made by *FRETILIN* are based upon facts or whether they are all lies fabricated by a handful of self-styled leaders who left East Timor after they had unleashed the tragic fighting in the Territory and who have since lost contact with the people and developments in East Timor. A visit by the Special Representative of the Secretary-General or by a United Nations mission would provide the opportunity to obtain first-hand knowledge of the real situation in the Territory and of the wishes of its people."¹⁰

341. I think it cannot be expressed in clearer language that Indonesia at that time strongly supported the sending of a United Nations mission to East Timor and involvement of the United Nations in the process of decolonization in that Territory.

342. On 24 May 1976 the Provisional Government of East Timor once again invited the Special Committee to dispatch a mission to East Timor to attend the 1st meeting of the People's Representative Assembly. For one reason or another the invitation was not accepted.

343. On 10 June 1976 Indonesia invited the Special Committee, the Security Council and the Secretary-General to visit East Timor, concurrently with the visit of a fact-finding mission sent by the Indonesian Government and the Indonesian Parliament. Again the response was negative.

344. Those efforts made by the Provisional Government of East Timor to involve the United Nations in the decolonization process are all substantiated by the relevant documents. The people of East Timor have demonstrated their goodwill and good faith and, if there are still countries that claim that no United Nations organ has been involved and that therefore the process of decolonization is not valid, clearly the blame cannot be put on the people of East Timor or on Indonesia.

345. The problem of East Timor has ceased to exist as a problem of decolonization. The people of the province are now engaged in the long and difficult task of reconstruction and development. It should further be noted that those efforts have been undertaken under a leadership comprised of native East Timorese and that under that indigenous leadership substantial progress has been made in healing the wounds and eradicating the scars caused by the recent turmoil. It is my delegation's sincere expectation that the people of East Timor will be left alone and be allowed to develop themselves and their institutions as part of the Indonesian nation.

346. Another example of a blatant lack of knowledge was manifested by the representative of Benin, who in his statement [*30th meeting*] involved Indonesia when referring to a movement of a group of South Moluccans outside Indonesia. Of course the islands of South Molucca have throughout history been part of Indonesia, as the South Moluccans, the people of those islands, have always been an integral part of the Indonesian people. The movement is of no direct concern to Indonesia, in the sense that no such movement exists in Indonesia. Indonesia has in fact nothing to do with activities thousands of miles away from it. But the representative of Benin in his statement presented the matter in such a way that my delegation cannot let it pass without clarification from our side. Any connexion of that movement with Indonesia is due to its name—south Moluccas—and because of the fact that a small number of south Moluccans who have been dreaming of an imaginary State were at one time part of a group of mercenaries in the pay of the colonial-army which fought against the freedom fighters during the Indonesian people's revolutionary war for independence.

347. At the end of that bloody war, part of those mercenaries, after their failure to create trouble, chose to leave Indonesia and were shipped to the metropolitan country. The remaining part was integrated into the Indonesian national army. That all happened more than 25 years ago, whereas we now enjoy the best of relations with that metropolitan country. Those who left Indonesia practically lost contact with the Moluccans in Indonesia. A part of that group either integrated themselves into the local population or regained their Indonesian nationality and became good citizens of their country of residence. However, while brooding in the metropolitan country, some of them have continued to drug themselves with the dream of an imaginary State and in the process have involved their children, who have never seen the Moluccas. If they have created problems, we are convinced that the country in which they live will be able to solve those problems.

348. However, the fact that Benin has tried to involve itself in the activity of a small group of secessionists of

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year*, 1908th meeting.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 1909th meeting.

south Moluccan origin, former mercenaries of a colonial army who are agitating outside Indonesia, is highly deplorable.

349. We ourselves—Indonesians—have exercised our right to self-determination and waged a four-year-long bloody revolutionary war to defend our independence and sovereignty after we proclaimed it on 17 August 1945. We are not Johnny-come-latelies, either in our support for the right to self-determination—we actively participated in the formulation of resolutions 1514 (XV) and 1541 (XV)—or in the fight against colonialism and imperialism throughout the world. Therefore Indonesia needs no lessons from anybody—no matter how revolutionary they may be, or claim to be—with regard to respect for the right to self-determination or to commitment to the fight against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations.

350. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): It is with considerable reluctance and constraint that I have asked to be allowed to speak at this late hour in exercise of my delegation's right of reply to the gross misrepresentations which the delegation of Somalia has made on two separate occasions. In exercise of its right of reply to the statement made by the Ethiopian Foreign Minister at the 27th meeting of the General Assembly and again this afternoon, the delegation of Somalia has endeavoured to side-step the central issue of Somalia's aggression. All the same, let me clarify for the record some of the calculated half-truths of the Somali delegation.

351. False allegations by the Mogadishu Government branding Ethiopia as a colonial Power have quite clearly become an obsession with the present régime in Mogadishu. That Ethiopia itself was a victim of repeated imperialist and colonialist aggression through the centuries is a fact of history. Somalia's ambition for expansion and territorial aggrandizement cannot change that historical fact. But, then, history is appreciated only by those who have a sense of history. The malicious and reprehensible allegations of Ethiopian colonialism must therefore be dismissed with the contempt that they so richly deserve.

352. Ethiopia's understanding of the scope and purpose of the principle of self-determination has already been succinctly stated by my Foreign Minister in the course of his participation in the general debate of the current session. The enlarged family of the United Nations is itself a living testimony of the victories gained by the rigorous application of the principle of self-determination. But that laudable principle has never been applied for the explicit purpose of dismembering any independent State Member of the United Nations.

353. Moreover, Somalia's policy cannot be made any more acceptable under the guise of the principle of self-determination of peoples. That principle has never been and cannot now be applied to people who have historically lived in an independent, sovereign State and who, by participating in peacetime in the political life of their nation and defending it against aggression with the supreme sacrifice of life, have already exercised that choice. To misconstrue and to attempt to use the principle of self-determination outside the colonial context will help the colonial forces which want to blunt the sharp edges of that principle.

354. It would also be instructive to ponder the parallel between Somalia's and South Africa's concept of self-determination. Is not the bantustan plan of South Africa or its homelands policy for Namibia based on the proposition that Africans are incapable of creating and living within polyethnic States and should therefore be herded into separate ethnic ghettos? Whatever peculiar predispositions the Mogadishu régime might have in this regard, we in Ethiopia are opposed to any form of bantustanization in the Horn of Africa as strongly as we are opposed to its application in southern Africa.

355. In their pathological obsession for expansion and territorial aggrandizement, the authorities in Mogadishu have of late been straining their imagination to come forth with newly coined and, for their purpose, convenient terminologies such as "western Somalia" and "Western Somalia Liberation Front". The ominous portent and implications of Somalia's new terminologies should be taken quite seriously by the international community. Should they be emboldened by their current forgeries, the Mogadishu authorities are certain to publicize "southern Somalia" and "northern Somalia", complete with their respective liberation movements, as the next step in their insatiable pursuit of expansionism. As far as Ethiopia is concerned, we of course totally reject Somalia's latest forgeries.

356. That the Government of Somalia should unabashedly insist, even in the face of massive evidence and its own boastfulness to the contrary, that the present war of aggression against Ethiopia is actually being waged by the so-called Western Somalia Liberation Front is certainly revealing. No known liberation movement to date has at its disposal combat aircraft, an array of the most sophisticated missiles, heavy tanks and armoured personnel carriers, radar systems and all other kinds of logistic support. That the delegation of Somalia should expect the General Assembly to believe Somalia's non-involvement in the present war of aggression is surely an insult to the intelligence of the Assembly.

357. Everybody knows that the entire Somali army and military machine has been converted into a so-called liberation front overnight. Somalia should at least muster the courage to admit its aggression and bear the full consequences of its dastardly action. Unfortunately, Somalia does not seem to have that kind of courage.

358. Paradoxically, this afternoon from this rostrum Somalia offered its good offices, for which I suppose we are expected to be grateful. Apart from the fact that we have serious reservations about their being honest brokers, we do not remember any instance in which a party which stands accused of a serious crime has been elevated to the bench of an impartial judge.

359. Faithful to his mentors, the Foreign Minister of Somalia this afternoon found it useful to shed some crocodile tears about the state of human rights in Ethiopia, as if his Government's concern for the well-being of Ethiopians were not adequately manifested by its naked aggression since July 1977 and the wanton killings, arson and acts of sabotage constantly being perpetrated by

Somali infiltrators and the Somali armed forces against the same Ethiopian people.

360. Whatever the enemies of the Ethiopian people and our revolution may disseminate about the state of human rights in Ethiopia, I should like to affirm that one of the principal objectives of our revolution was to ensure the enjoyment of human rights by all Ethiopians. In any case, I think it is presumptuous for Somalia to consider itself qualified to preach a sermon to Ethiopia on human rights. Ethiopia is a country which has evolved its own system of values and morality, which for centuries have guided and governed its internal social relationships.

361. In his attempt to refute my Foreign Minister's reference to the 1964 OAU resolution on the respective existing frontiers, the representative of Somalia on 10 October 1977 [27th meeting] indulged in his Government's usual tactic of twisting facts, decisions and rulings to suit its purpose. Since Somalia considers that OAU resolution AHG/Res.16 (I) is invalid and that the OAU is incompetent to play any role whatsoever, Somalia cannot be expected to give a reasonable interpretation of that resolution, or to report accurately statements made by delegations during the discussion and adoption of that particular resolution.

362. Unlike the Somali representative, who misquoted the author of the resolution, let me quote from an official OAU document, the verbatim and summary records of the meetings of the first ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held in Cairo from 17 to 21 July 1964 and not from a piece of paper as the representative of Somalia did. Responding to an objection raised by the representative of the Government of Somalia during that Conference, the President of the then United Republic of Tanganyika and Zanzibar replied:

"I think it is obvious that we have already boundary disputes, otherwise this problem would not have arisen at all. It would not have come here. We already have boundary disputes and we all hope, as I have expressed on different occasions, that amicable solutions will be found to these existing boundary disputes. But, Mr. Chairman, this should not prevent us from affirming a principle which is already part of our Charter."

After some exchange of views in the Conference, the Chairman of the Conference summed up the consensus in the following manner:

"The Conference is incited to solemnly reaffirm the principles already set out in the Charter, and these principles are not merely concerned with the actually existing conflicts, but with all Member States of the OAU. We therefore ask the Conference to pronounce itself on the proposed resolutions of Tanganyika and Zanzibar."

Then the resolution was adopted, and applause followed. Having listened again to what the Somali representative had to say after the resolution was adopted, the Chairman declared, and I quote: "This resolution is adopted. We cannot do otherwise. Now let us consider the next item." Then what happened? There was loud applause.

363. In the light of that, the General Assembly can have no doubt as to the validity of the 1964 resolution, and no amount of misrepresentation of facts or pleas by Somalia can change this African position. In the face of its rejection of the OAU resolution, Somalia's assertion that it upholds OAU and United Nations principles is not only hollow, it is also a dishonest attempt to remain within the mainstream of African thinking. By its rejection of the OAU decisions and its unprovoked aggression against Ethiopia, Somalia has forfeited any legitimate association with anything genuinely African. . . .

364. The PRESIDENT: May I ask the representative kindly to make his concluding remarks; I was prepared to tolerate an extension of the time-limit of two minutes.

365. Mr. DINKA (Ethiopia): I will finish in one minute, Mr. President, if you will allow me to do so.

366. Instead of answering directly the simple question of Somalia's aggression against Ethiopia, the members of the Assembly were treated again this afternoon to the usual rigmarole to which the delegation of Somalia reverts when it is in a tight spot. Well-rehearsed yet transparent allegations, such as Ethiopian colonialism, the distortion of the correct meaning of the principles of self-determination, and so forth, were, of course, diversionary tactics. The central issue is only that of Somalia's aggression against a State Member of the United Nations. No amount of effort on the part of that delegation to confuse this Assembly can conceal the stark fact of the unprovoked aggression which the Government is now prosecuting within the internationally recognized boundaries of Ethiopia.

367. Ethiopia is fully convinced that this brazen aggression is not condoned, but is openly condemned by the international community. Somalia will therefore have to face the full consequences of its present folly. Moreover, peace and stability will be restored in the region only when Somalia abandons its expansionist ambitions at the expense of its neighbours.

368. Mr. OULD MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): There is a Mauritanian proverb which says: "If you are being stoned, blame the thrower, not the stones." Therefore, I shall not take the trouble to reply to my colleague from Benin.

369. On the other hand, I should like to reply to the points raised by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria, who has just spoken and who spoke in moving and eloquent terms of the unity necessary for Africa, the Maghreb and the Arab world.

370. How can such language be used by those who have the primary responsibility for the divisions and disputes which today convulse the Maghreb? I might begin with a quotation, and I ask members to guess the name of the author. The quotation is as follows:

"We note with great satisfaction the understanding reached by our two brother-countries, Mauritania and Morocco, with respect to this region."

After hearing the statement just made by the Algerian Minister, nobody could imagine that this quotation could

have come from a high official of the present Algerian régime. Yet it was in fact my brother, the present Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria. He himself signed that communiqué from which I took this quotation. It was he who signed that communiqué with His Majesty Hassan II, King of Morocco, on 5 July 1975. This communiqué was published in *Le Monde* on 7 July 1975 and in the *Agence France Presse* bulletin No. 8717 on 5 July in the same year.

371. I would also like to make a second quotation and I shall ask you to guess who is the author of this one:

“I was present at a meeting with His Majesty the King of Morocco and the President of Mauritania, a meeting at which they found a means to resolve the problem of the Sahara which envisages a Moroccan and a Mauritanian zone. I was present; I gave my full endorsement without ulterior motives.”

Can you guess who was the author of that quotation? Well, it was the President of Algeria himself who, at the Conference of Arab Heads of State or Government at Rabat in October 1974, made that statement. This statement is to be found in the records of that Conference, and we have a recording of it for any delegation which is interested.

372. In fact, the contradictions of the Algerian Government are not limited to solemn declarations and undertakings that are forgotten as soon as they are made, but embrace the whole complex of relations among States in the region, and more particularly the question of the Sahara.

373. I could quote a long list of these contradictions which are the main characteristic of the attitude of the Algerian Government with regard to the problem that we are concerned with, the Sahara. In the first place, the principle of self-determination, of which our Algerian brothers wish to be the champions, presupposes a free and genuine choice, as is stated in the opinion of the International Court of Justice.¹¹ It can thus take the form of any one of a number of solutions, as resolution 1514 (XV), which is the charter in matters of decolonization, provides.

374. Yet the Algerian leaders, disregarding both the letter and the spirit of that principle, have not hesitated to proclaim on their own territory a pseudo-Saharan republic, which they immediately recognized. Surely this is not merely an insult to commonsense but also a contradiction of the spirit in which that principle should be applied.

375. The Algerian leaders persist in their contradictions by continuing to invoke the same principle, which they are making a mockery of.

376. The respect they have for the United Nations can be judged by the statement made by the President of Algeria to the members of the mission sent by the Special Committee in 1975 to the area. The President of Algeria stated that:

“... his country had no territorial claim on the Sahara. If it did have such a claim, it would recover what

belonged to it without waiting for the arrival of a United Nations mission . . .”¹²

Is this the respect shown by the Algerian leaders to the United Nations? On the contrary, it is an example of their contempt for an Organization of which the Algerian leaders claim to be fervent adherents. The Saharan question will at least have served a useful purpose: it will have made the Algerian leaders more attached—in words—to our Organization and more respectful of its principles.

377. There is another contradiction in the policy followed by the Algerian leaders in this matter which should be raised. The Algerian leaders appeal to the international conscience to lighten what they call the plight of the Tindouf refugees. They do not hesitate to invoke the rights of refugees and all the principles relating thereto. Yet those poor refugees of Tindouf, as they say, are overflowing with sophisticated weapons provided by Algerian leaders for the purpose of spreading death and desolation. The cost of those weapons could have relieved their sufferings—if they are suffering—and supplied them with food and health facilities. But by speaking of the suffering of these refugees, the Algerian leaders can only deceive a blind man or a fool.

378. The kidnapping and sequestration of six French mine workers, their seizure as hostages and their detention in Algeria is a good example of the way our Algerian brothers defend human rights, as they so eloquently claim to do.

379. There is another example which one might raise in this Assembly. Throughout the presence of the colonial Power in the Sahara and particularly since the independence of Algeria, no shot has been fired on the former colonial Power from Algerian territory. It was enough that Morocco and Mauritania had turned to international law to recover their respective rights for the Algerian leaders to discover their vocation to liberate the Sahara. The weapons which earlier were locked up in arsenals in order not to upset the colonial Power are now being used against the peaceful citizens of Mauritania and Morocco.

380. We know why the Algerian leaders did not wish to fire on the former colonial Power. The reason is simple. In 1966 and 1967, the two countries signed joint communiqués for the exploitation of the mineral deposits of Grout Jbielat. It was established and it remains clear those mining complexes will only be profitable if the minerals mined can be exported from a Saharan port on the Atlantic. So the Algerian leaders dealt tactfully with Spain in order to remain faithful to the spirit of the communiqués (see *Le Monde diplomatique* of December 1966 and *Le Monde*, No. 6851 of January 1967).

381. That tactful attitude toward the former colonial Power lasted until October 1975. At that time a meeting of representatives of Algeria, of the former colonial Power and of Algerian mercenaries took place in Geneva, during which a process of decolonization having nothing in common with the principles upheld by the Algerian leaders was laid down. In the agreement reached at that meeting, the former

¹² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Supplement No. 23*, vol. III, chap. XIII, annex, appendix II, para. 59.

¹¹ *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.

colonial Power was to withdraw from its positions on the borders with Mauritania and Morocco and facilitate their occupation by Algerian mercenaries. Once they had consolidated their position, the organization of Algerian mercenaries were unilaterally to proclaim independence and Algeria would immediately grant them recognition and protection. Algeria, for its part, was to guarantee the economic and cultural interests of the former colonial Power in the Sahara while appealing for technical assistance from it. Algeria's support for the so-called liberation movement of the Canary Islands was also to be withdrawn. This was another example of the way in which Algerian leaders view the implementation of the principle of self-determination.

382. I would like to conclude. What is the objective of this Machiavellian policy of sometimes joining forces with the former colonial Power, sometimes favouring understanding between Mauritania and Morocco, and sometimes invoking the principle of self-determination? The objective is to preserve what the Algerian leaders call the geopolitical equilibrium of the area. That is the language of a mini-super-Power. What does this mean? This means that North Africa will be dominated politically and economically by the Algerian leaders; and in such an arrangement all the Sahelian countries would have to be satellites of Algeria's client group.

Mr. Conteh (Sierra Leone), Vice-President, took the Chair.

383. The Algerian theory of a Maghreb of peoples versus the theory of a Maghreb of States and the systematic opposition of the Algerian leaders sporadic attempts at union in the region are a good illustration of how the Algerians see their role as gendarmes of the area. Geopolitical equilibrium could only be established if the States concerned consented to it willingly. Perhaps despite the declarations which have just been made by my brother from Algeria, this policy consists of seeking an opening on the Atlantic for the exporting of minerals from the mining complex to which I referred a moment ago. Mauritania and Morocco could undoubtedly have provided all the necessary facilities for the Algerian leaders if they had resorted to other methods more in accordance with the solidarity which should naturally prevail among the peoples in the area.

384. The aim of this policy is the destabilization of the Maghreb and Sahelian sub-region as a whole in order to establish régimes devoted to the Algerian leaders who cherish dreams of domination. Whatever the objective of this policy, Mauritania will never accept any solution imposed by force. We will never accept the questioning of our national unity and our territorial integrity. My country would like solemnly to warn this Assembly of the danger represented by the policy of the Algerian leaders, which if it is continued, could threaten peace and security in the whole subregion.

385. Furthermore, this policy of attempted destabilization and of interference in the internal affairs of States is likely to give undue importance to secondary problems at the expense of the main problems faced by southern Africa and the Arab people of Palestine.

386. In conclusion, in the name of our common past and our common destiny, in the name of all the interests linking our peoples of the Maghreb, I should like to call on the Algerian leaders to remove the military and political obstacles they have systematically placed in the path of the essential unity of our people. It will indeed be impossible to overcome our economic difficulties and to ensure the future of our countries without this solidarity and without this unity.

387. I once again call upon the Algerian leaders to cease opposing by force the unification of our Moroccan and Mauritanian peoples and the efforts being made to bring about the harmonious development of our countries.

388. Once those conditions have been met, new and healthy prospects will open up for Arab Maghreb and for the natural solidarity which must exist between our various peoples and our various States. My country, which is deeply attached to African unity and to Arab solidarity, is ready to make a loyal and objective contribution to achieving a united Africa in a world which is both united and in solidarity. It is in that spirit exactly that my country has welcomed all initiatives for African and Arab mediation that have been made, and I should like here to pay a heartfelt tribute to those who have sponsored them. Unfortunately, the intransigence of our Algerian brothers has up to now been the main obstacle to the success of those initiatives.

389. However, since the Algerian Minister for Foreign Affairs indicated a moment ago that his country is open to any formula for a solution, my country, too, remains faithful to the same desire, on the condition that it is based on loyalty and sincerity and that it is aimed at a reduction of the tension which has been artificially created in the region.

390. Mr. MAHJOURI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): I have today, and particularly this afternoon, heard some statements of very great importance, very high-minded statements, which, happily, have helped us to forget a certain statement made yesterday, to which I shall not reply.

391. The moral and intellectual education which we receive in Morocco does not equip us to resort to base invective or to the language of insult.

392. This morning, yesterday and the day before yesterday a number of delegations spoke on the problem concerning us in our subregion, that of the Sahara. On behalf of my Government, I can say to them that we understand their position and, because we understand it, we do not hold it against them. That position is motivated by the principles which direct their policy, but they are sometimes unaware of developments in the sub-region.

393. This evening we heard a brilliant statement by Mr. Bouteflika which, for those who are accustomed to his intelligence and his acrobatic mind, demonstrated that words can conceal a multitude of facts.

394. The Minister of Mauritania, my brother, Mr. Ould Mouknass, has already said a great deal, and I should like to

add to it certain elements in which I was more or less involved.

395. The decolonization that took place in the Sahara does not date from today, but it goes back to the meeting of Nouadhibou in 1970, at which were present the Head of State, Mr. Houari Boumediene and his two brothers, Mr. Ould Daddah and His Majesty King Hassan II. All three agreed that the decolonization of the Sahara should take the path which it has actually been following and that in no circumstances should there be recourse to force, least of all against the administering Power.

396. Why? The reasons—which Mr. Ould Mouknass explained—were economic reasons for Algeria, but they were strategic reasons as well. There has always been a political and ideological irredentism on the part of Algeria in the region, but, for the sake of the Maghreb, we have sometimes tried to cover up Algerian intentions. We did not wish to unmask its intentions because we always believed that a problem like that of our subregion should be solved among ourselves, and we have tried to do so.

397. Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika made an eloquent appeal for a solution to be sought within the Maghrebian, Arab and African framework. I can remind him that our first attempt was to bring up the problem among the countries of the Maghreb. It was only the intransigence of Algeria which stood in the way of a solution. We brought the matter before the League of Arab States and in 1974, as the Foreign Minister of Mauritania has recalled, Mr. Houari Boumediene endorsed the solution which was found, and the sound tracks we have and to which anyone may listen prove it.

398. However, in Colombo there was a reversal on the part of Algeria as it refused to have the problem dealt with within the framework of the Arab League. Since then, it has been brought before the OAU and attempts are now under way to remove the matter from its consideration.

399. We as a member of the Maghreb, of the Arab League, of the non-aligned movement and of the United Nations subscribe to all of these bodies, so long as solutions can be found to the problem and alternatives are put forward. We believe in the justice of our cause and, because we defend our just cause, we do not seek to avoid any forum.

400. Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika spoke earlier of genocide which he alleged is going on in the region against the Saharans. Which Saharans is he referring to? The true Saharans have already twice expressed their views in free elections in which communal and national deputies were elected by the 19,000 families which took part in those elections. Those same Saharans recently elected seven deputies to parliament. Why do those Saharans participate in the democratic and economic building of the country? Do they need Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika to come here and defend their rights? Are they not themselves perfectly capable of defending them before Moroccan public opinion—which, according to the Minister for Foreign Affairs, is oppressing them?

401. The Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke of genocide. What genocide? Who is training and arming these people?

Who is indoctrinating them in the camps of Tindouf, exposed to the elements, deprived of food and medicine? I know some of the people of the Frente POLISARIO who have returned to us in Morocco and I can give the Minister of Foreign Affairs the name of one of them who was under the command of Major Osman Slimane of the Tindouf area and was sent in at the head of a 100-strong commando unit of the Frente POLISARIO. Had I known that the debate would turn out like this, I would have brought him before the Assembly and he himself would have described what was going on in the Tindouf camps.

402. Who is committing this genocide? This is psychological genocide, since the people were kidnapped. There is also economic genocide, since they are deprived of any food. Finally they are equipped with weapons which sometimes they do not know how to handle. Bombs sometimes go off in their midst. Who is responsible for the genocide of these peoples?

403. We made an appeal last year to humanitarian agencies for the voluntary repatriation of these people to their respective countries. Algeria opposed that appeal. Through the Secretary-General we asked that Algeria should at least take a census of the population, but Algeria has so far refused. Why? Simply because these people have returned to their respective territories and there remain only small groups here and there who are found in northern Mali, northern Niger or northern Mauritania or in southern Morocco and dragooned into carrying out assaults on brother countries like Morocco and Mauritania.

404. Mr. Bouteflika has just made a ringing appeal for wisdom, and we hope that that appeal was sincere. But I can tell him now that Morocco's hand is outstretched; we are ready for any reconciliation, and our hand is held out to any solution, provided that solution is such as to preserve the future of the subregion and to preserve our respective independence and territorial integrity. We are there to co-operate and we are ready to do this because we are of the same blood, the same religion, the same ethnic background. We must do so because geography compels us to.

405. Mr. WARSAMA (Somalia): My delegation's position has already been stated at this meeting by the head of the delegation, our Foreign Minister, Mr. Barre, and I need not add to it.

406. All I want to do is to offer, for the benefit of the Ethiopian delegation, a Somali proverb embodying authentic pastoral wisdom, the heritage of the people of western Somalia. The proverb roughly translates as follows: "You cannot shake off an arrow that has pierced your body", in other words, the fact of being a colonialist and an oppressor cannot be shaken off, no matter what amount of sophistry is used by the Ethiopian empire.

407. Is there a hope that the Government of Addis Ababa will come back to reason and recognize the irreversibility of the process of self-determination and independence of the people of western Somalia?

408. Mr. HOUNGAVOU (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation perfectly well understands that the

representative of the Mauritanian régime, the representative of the Moroccan régime and the representative of the new conquering régime in Djakarta cannot make any statements before this Assembly other than the statements to which you have just listened in the exercise of their right of reply on the burning questions of Western Sahara, East Timor and the south Moluccas, which were referred to yesterday [30th meeting] in his statement by our Foreign Minister.

409. The statements by those three representatives, which were mere simplistic reiterations, can convince no one, and least of all the delegation of the People's Republic of Benin. In any event, Benin public opinion, true to the principles of the United Nations Charter and moved by its revolutionary convictions, is resolved to defend justice and truth wherever necessary. We speak the truth to brothers, to friends and to everyone, no matter how hard a truth it may be. My country maintains its position in full on all the matters referred to by our Comrade Michel Alladaye yesterday. History will decide.

Mr. Mojsov (Yugoslavia) resumed the Chair.

410. Mr. BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): I am particularly embarrassed to have to take the floor again so soon in the General Assembly, but I am convinced that your personal indulgence, Sir, and that of my colleagues here, will allow me to say a few words concerning some of the remarks that we have heard on the question of Western Sahara.

411. Some of my friends may have noticed that I have a big book here. I shall not make use of it. However, it contains the statements made year after year by the representatives of Morocco and Mauritania on the question of Western Sahara. While I am happy that the Moroccan representative, Mr. Mahjoubi, who represents his country in Mauritania, is not actually quoted in this book, on the other hand the Foreign Minister of Mauritania who has been representing his country for many years is quoted at length from year to year, down to and including the tripartite agreement.¹³ He has incessantly reiterated forcefully before this Assembly his country's devotion to the principle of self-determination. I am happy to note that we have at least one area of agreement.

412. He has said in particular that his country will never accept any solution imposed by force. I should like the Assembly to note that this is one more common denominator between his country and mine, because my country, too, will never agree to any solution imposed by force, whether it originates from his country or from any other. He has also spoken of an agreement between Morocco and Mauritania. But who more than Algeria would rejoice at an understanding between Morocco and Mauritania, between Tunisia and Libya, between Libya and Egypt, or between Niger and Mali, if problems should arise? It is perfectly clear that the fact of welcoming agreements among brotherly or neighbouring countries in no way means entering into complicity with any of those countries to pursue a

policy of annexation or still less a policy of aggression or the occupation of territory by force, or, as I have said and repeat, of genocide.

413. Mention has been made of the Saharans of Tindouf. We must ask Mr. Rydbeck what he thinks because he went to see them on behalf of the United Nations. Similarly, Mr. Aké, now Foreign Minister but then the representative of the Ivory Coast, also went to see them in Western Sahara. They were assisted in their mission by the representatives of Iran and Cuba. They submitted a report which is in the archives of the United Nations. The International Court of Justice also has expressed a view on this problem. However, the OAU, the International Court of Justice and the United Nations have always dealt with this question of Western Sahara as a question of a Non-Self-Governing Territory for which they moreover advocated a process of decolonization. If from time to time appetites have been awakened in one country or another, the fault is not Algeria's.

414. I should like especially to avoid the unpleasant kind of remarks that have been made here, because I think a certain level of responsibility is necessary, particularly when one is in charge of directing one's country's diplomacy. One must have a sense of what is due to that high position and as far as possible never to descend from it. I shall not descend from it, and I should like to say that here, as elsewhere, today as well as tomorrow, Algeria will adhere in regard to this problem and to other similar problems to the principle of self-determination.

415. Mr. OULD MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): I beg the Assembly's pardon for prolonging the debate yet a few minutes more.

416. I am sincerely delighted at the courteous but firm tone of my brother, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria. I say "my brother" because one does not choose one's brothers; one chooses one's friends. I wish very briefly to speak of the principle of self-determination and of the statements I have made here over the nine years during which I have had the great privilege of representing my country.

417. The quotations I made were in no way intended as an attack on the responsible position of the Heads of State and brothers who are our leaders. When I quote statements of eminent Heads of State or Ministers for Foreign Affairs I in no way wish to diminish their prestige. I am particularly devoted to those principles.

418. We have been hearing of the principle of self-determination. Self-determination must not be a one-way street. Since 1957—and the United Nations documents prove this, just as do those submitted by my brother the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Algeria—when my country still only possessed internal autonomy, we have stated that our national unity and our territorial integrity would be maintained both for the part of Mauritania that was then under French domination and the part that was under Spanish domination. The United Nations archives can prove this.

419. The principle of self-determination does not lead solely and simply to independence. I appeal to the good

¹³ Concluded at Madrid on 14 November 1975. For the text, see *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975*, document S/11880, annex III.

will and to the political and intellectual honesty of my brother from Algeria. How did the bulk of the countries of former French West Africa and of former French Equatorial Africa accede to independence? By a consultation of the peoples through their local assemblies. The majority of my brothers from West Africa and Equatorial Africa here present acceded to independence after consultations with the local assemblies.

420. What did Morocco and Mauritania do under international law under the tripartite agreement of which this Assembly took note [*resolution 3458 B (XXX)*]? They consulted the local assembly in the presence of the former colonial Power. It might be said that we did not apply the rules correctly, but it cannot be said that we physically replaced the local representatives in that assembly. That should not have led to our brothers from Algeria bringing in people—10 per cent of whom I admit are from former Spanish Sahara—and planting them in the national territory of Algeria. If at least they were in the territory of the former Spanish Sahara then we might understand, and our Algerian brothers could say that they were going to continue to give those people weapons if they wanted to fight. But they are on the national territory of our Algerian brothers, and it is from that territory that we are being attacked. I should like an explanation from my Algerian brother.

421. He made an appeal to the brotherhood and the unity of the Maghreb. No one desires that more than Mauritania, because it is a small country which can only cling to its principles and defend its dignity when attempts are made to destroy its national unity. Who are the spokesmen of this pseudo-movement for liberation? I appeal to the intellectual and political loyalty of my Algerian brother. Who is the spokesman for this pseudo-movement? Is it not Baba Biskeh, who was the Mauritanian representative in 1963 and 1965? Who is the spokesman of this pseudo-Republic and its pseudo-Minister for Foreign Affairs? Is it not Brahim Moulidervich Dihakim, who had the privilege of being the Chargé d'affaires of Mauritania in Algeria in 1972 and 1973? Those are the ones who claim to be the spokesmen of this poor people of the Sahara. The peoples of the Sahara are in the Sahara.

422. I invite any and all representatives to come in complete freedom and visit the region. They will see those people. They will speak with their deputies. They will speak with the representative of their Party. They will speak to their governors who are from that region.

423. As for his appeal about the Maghreb: I extend the hand of brotherhood to my brothers from Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco so that we may build that great Maghreb and invite them to attack the fundamental problems: the decolonization of southern Africa and what is for our great Arab nation the fundamental problem, that of Palestine.

424. The PRESIDENT: We have just concluded the general debate of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. We can note with satisfaction that, in terms of the number of participants, this year's debate has exceeded all the past debates in the history of the United Nations: 140 speakers spoke during the debate. We have heard important statements made by 11 Heads of State or Government, 115 Ministers of Foreign Affairs and several other Cabinet Ministers.

425. Such an impressive participation in the debate and the presence of such a large number of eminent statesmen undoubtedly illustrates the ever-growing and evident interest of the international community in the work and in the expanded role of the United Nations as an irreplaceable international instrument for safeguarding peace and strengthening international security and co-operation. An encouraging sign is the fact that almost all the speakers, almost without exception I would say, accentuated the need for further enhancing the role of the United Nations in the solution of global problems. In particular, they have emphasized the need to reinforce the role of the United Nations in finding solutions for the most pressing issues concerning international political and economic relations which, in one way or another, constitute the preoccupations of all the Member States.

426. In looking back over the general debate, we can also conclude that there is now a greater confidence in our Organization and a growing awareness that the United Nations should play a more prominent and effective role in searching for solutions to the problems burdening the international community today. This cannot but give new impetus to further efforts to promote a greater role for the United Nations and an increase of its effectiveness.

427. The general debate reflected all aspects of diverse viewpoints and approaches to existing problems, thus presenting a realistic picture of current international trends.

428. I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express my sincere appreciation to all the representatives who congratulated me on my election as President of the thirty-second session. I accept those felicitations and warm words addressed to me, first and foremost, as a tribute to and recognition of my country's activity in the international field in general and in the United Nations in particular.

429. I should also like to express my gratitude for the co-operative and constructive contribution made by all delegations in conducting the general debate in such a dignified manner, in keeping with the best traditions of our world Organization.

The meeting rose at 8.45 p.m.