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CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (*continued*)

Speech by Mr. Mogwe (Botswana)	587
Speech by Mr. Rodríguez Porth (El Salvador)	590
Speech by Mr. Cubillos (Chile)	595
Speech by Mr. Gédle-Giorgis (Ethiopia)	599
Speech by Mr. Mokodopo (Central African Empire) ...	604
Speech by Mr. Jameel (Maldives)	609

Page

President: Mr. Indalecio LIEVANO (Colombia).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. MOGWE (Botswana): Mr. President, like many others before me, I convey my delegation's congratulations to you and the Vice-Presidents of the General Assembly on your election to the General Committee, which is charged with the responsibility of directing the proceedings of the thirty-third session. You assume office, Mr. President, to carry on the good work of your illustrious predecessors, and we have every confidence that you, together with the rest of the Committee, will continue the search for lasting solutions to our many challenging economic and political problems.

2. Our congratulations also go to the Secretary-General. We congratulate him every year, not as a ritual or convention, but because of our appreciation of his faith in the role of the United Nations and his determination to translate that faith into the fulfilment of the purposes for which the Organization was created.

3. We welcome Solomon Islands to this family of nations. The membership of our Organization continues to grow as more and more countries regain their freedom and independence. New systems of relationships develop as erstwhile colonial peoples sit side by side with their former colonial masters, when kingdoms have given way to republics, democracies, dictatorships and other forms of government.

4. Developing countries continue to express grave impatience at the slowness, or seeming reluctance, of industrial countries to implement decisions aimed at the establishment of a new and just world economic order. Many conferences have been held, the need for change has been acknowledged, targets have been identified, but strategies have been confused in a welter of definitions and procedural arguments. Meanwhile the problem remains, and the terms of trade continue to deteriorate, to the detriment of the economies of developing countries.

5. We in Botswana welcomed the creation of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, which is widely known as the Committee of the Whole and is charged with the responsibility of monitoring the implementation of decisions and agreements, as well as such other duties as are spelled out in paragraph 4 of General Assembly resolution 32/174. It is, for us, a matter of regret that the Committee's work has been hampered by differences in the understanding and interpretation of the manner in which it should execute its mandate. It is our hope that agreement will be reached soon on this issue.

6. At the thirty-second regular session of the General Assembly, my delegation expressed its cautious appreciation of the agreement in principle to establish a common fund that would launch the Integrated Programme for Commodities.¹ Further negotiations had to be undertaken in November last. We are concerned that these have not yet been satisfactorily concluded; for, even acknowledging the complexity of economic issues, the habitual tardiness with which economic matters of vital concern to developing countries are treated is, in effect, tantamount to callous indifference on the part of the developed world to the plight of the developing. We are, however, hopeful that the slowly emerging convergence of views on some issues will ultimately lead to the establishment of the fund.

7. The second decade of the International Development Strategy [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] is drawing to a close. With a few exceptions, developed countries have failed to honour their pledges within the period set; some have even declared the reduced target of 0.7 per cent of gross domestic product too steep, unattainable and therefore unrealistic. Since my country is a beneficiary, and since the contributions are voluntary and humanitarian rather than obligatory, we can only implore, exhort and urge those countries which have not already done so to respect themselves and protect their national honour and dignity by providing increased official development aid to the level of the target set for the Second United Nations Development Decade.

8. We welcome the special session of the General Assembly set for 1980 and the possibility of even a third decade of the International Development Strategy. It is the hope of all of us that the special session will be, not another occasion for the identification of problems and the determination of targets, but a formal session for the implementation of strategies worked out in the intervening years.

¹ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

9. In the short term the hardships of developing countries—in particular, the least developed among them—deserve special mention and therefore recognition. Because of their underdevelopment, coupled with imported inflation, they rely on assistance from developed countries. Loans on hard terms can only kill their credit-worthiness and national pride because of their genuine inability to repay. Consideration should therefore be given to granting manageable amortization terms. In this connexion, my delegation pays a tribute to those countries, such as Canada, Sweden, the United Kingdom and Switzerland, which have converted their loans to the least developed of developing countries into grants, and welcomes the intention by some countries to dispense with the pernicious system of the tying of development assistance to purchases from the donor.

10. The United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation Among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires in August and September, has provided this Organization with a Plan of Action² which my delegation hopes the Assembly will adopt; for, by adopting it, the international community will be enabling the developing countries to exploit the mutual advantages of co-operation and complementarity among themselves on the basis of equality and of respect for their national sovereignty.

11. Looking at the agenda of the current session of the General Assembly, one still sees old and familiar topics which have been before us for the past many years. The international community has adopted many resolutions about them, but the problems remain. In the Middle East, Israel continues to occupy Arab lands and to defy Security Council resolution 242 (1967), which urged it to withdraw from occupied territories. My delegation welcomes all the efforts which are being made in the search for ways of resolving the problem. We shall continue to be guided by the common desire and common resolve to secure for the region a comprehensive settlement that will include the restoration to the Arab and Palestinian people of their land and property.

12. My delegation is not at this stage in a position to express public support for or condemnation of the Camp David peace agreements.³ Success will depend on the renunciation by Israel of any claim to any part of Arab land and its full co-operation in its return—all this counterpoised by guarantees of secure and recognized boundaries for each State in the area, and respect for its independence and sovereignty. We urge our Arab friends to adopt a united and constructive approach to this complex situation. We urge the international community to make it clear to Israel that no durable peace is possible without the direct involvement of the Palestine Liberation Organization in the search for it.

13. My delegation regrets that no progress has been made towards finding a lasting solution regarding the restoration

of the unity of Cyprus. We welcome the Secretary-General's continued interest in the subject. We reaffirm our solidarity with the people of Cyprus and support the call for the urgent implementation of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolution 365 (1974).

14. Events in Africa in the past year aroused the chagrin of the world. Conflict situations developed between brothers in almost every region of the continent. Words assumed new meanings in support of ideologies and hegemonism, and we began too readily to refer to ourselves, or to others, as progressive or reactionary, radical or anti-revolutionary, or as stooges for one super-Power or another. To outstanding problems, such as the question of the Western Sahara and the tragedy in the Horn of Africa, have been added in the past few months the invasion of the Shaba province of Zaire, the invasion of Angola and Zambia by the security forces of racist South Africa, the violation of the territorial integrity of Mozambique, and acts of aggression against Botswana by the security forces of rebel Rhodesia. That, in the view of my delegation, raises the entire question of the security of African States and of intervention in African conflicts by extraterritorial forces.

15. My country fully accepts the responsibility of every State for the security of its nationals. We concede that no State other than the State concerned can accurately assess the danger to itself of external aggression and the capability of its defence system to repel it. For this reason my country has always refrained from precipitate adverse comment on extraterritorial military assistance required by African countries. It is our view that the first call for assistance should be made on African States themselves or on the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and that only when this fails because of tardiness or reluctance on the part of Africa should an African country seek assistance elsewhere.

16. But we are fearful when local conflicts within and among African nations are fanned by external support. The fanning of local conflicts by extracontinental States is a new form of imperialism—not perhaps the classical type, which acquired territories and hoisted flags for the motherland, but that which seeks political control in the name of ideological loyalty. We in Botswana are proud to have won our independence from the territorial control of a colonial Power and we therefore view with suspicion and disfavour the use of military assistance given by any quarter as an instrument of ideological recolonization.

17. A year ago at this very rostrum⁴ my delegation expressed its appreciation of and support for the role played by the contact group of five Western members of the Security Council on the question of the decolonization of Namibia. We did so fully cognizant of the fact that theirs was a voluntary act, neither sponsored nor financed by any of the competent organs of the United Nations system; we did so sensitive to and aware of the existence of bodies such as the United Nations Council for Namibia, which had been officially created to deal specifically with the problem. The contact group discharged its undertaking so laudably that now the Security Council has adopted, by its resolution

² See *Report of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, Buenos Aires, 30 August to 12 September 1978* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.78.II.A.11), chap. I.

³ A Framework for Peace in the Middle East, Agreed at Camp David, and Framework for the Conclusion of a Peace Treaty between Egypt and Israel, signed at Washington on 17 September 1978.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 30th meeting, paras. 149-200.

435 (1978), the report of the Secretary-General⁵ based on the proposals of the contact group and submitted pursuant to paragraph 2 of Security Council resolution 431 (1978). Once again, therefore, my delegation wishes to express its appreciation to the contact group of the five Western members of the Security Council for having deployed efforts to reaffirm the dignity of negotiation, rather than confrontation, as an effective tool in international diplomacy.

18. It should be a matter of grave concern to this Organization if, by its unilateral decision to proceed to elections, South Africa should create the impression that negotiations are a sign of weakness.

19. It must be stressed that, however commendable the efforts of the contact group, there would have been no progress had it not been for the constructive flexibility of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO] during the long negotiations. My delegation therefore wishes to congratulate SWAPO on all this and also on its statesmanship in pledging to the world that, given guarantees of and optimum conditions for free and fair elections leading to genuine independence for Namibia, it would halt all hostilities. My country supports free and fair elections for Namibia, for it is not for us to choose a Government for the people of Namibia, but for the people of Namibia to choose their own Government for themselves. We dismiss the South African assertion that the purpose of the elections now is to establish who has the right to speak for the people of Namibia.

20. We are opposed to allowing any *contretemps* or the use of any stratagems to lead to the holding of elections that would preclude the participation of other political parties in the country, the results of which would therefore be unacceptable to the international community. It would be not only self-defeating but also self-destructive for any party to come to power in such circumstances.

21. The wrecking by South Africa of efforts to achieve a peaceful settlement poses great dangers for countries bordering on Namibia. This can only entail the escalation of the fighting, with all its attendant suffering for the people of Namibia and the States in the region. Botswana therefore still urges the contact group of the five Western members of the Security Council to muster and marshal all its negotiating ability in an endeavour to bring South Africa back to the path of peace and an internationally accepted solution; for, while we concede that sanctions could be made effective, given the collective will and concerted action, our sad experience in Zimbabwe has cast serious doubt on the efficacy of sanctions when these are weighed against mercantile and economic considerations. We condemn South Africa's unilateral decision to proceed with elections in the Territory, but we take note of its declaration that the door to further negotiations is not completely shut.

22. My delegation supports the Secretary-General's report and, for its part, Botswana, as a member of the OAU and the United Nations and as a neighbouring, front-line State,

is willing not only to consider favourably the secondment of experienced personnel from its own public service to serve in the civilian component of the United Nations Transition Assistance Group but to pledge its co-operation in ensuring that no act or acts inimical to the effective implementation of the proposals for a settlement of the Namibian situation will be permitted from its territory. We look forward to the independence of Namibia and the emergence of a friendly neighbour.

23. The question of Zimbabwe is no less with us than that of Namibia. The tragedy of it all is that we are no closer to the solution than when we met for the thirty-second regular session. In some ways we have even lost ground. The Anglo-American proposals⁶ which we brandished then, hoping that they would be acceptable to all parties to the dispute as a basis for negotiations leading to peaceful transition to majority rule and independence, have been trampled underfoot and described variously as unrealistic or dead and buried. In the view of my delegation those proposals have yet to be explored.

24. In the period under review Ian Smith and some nationalist leaders, not for lack of advice, have hoodwinked themselves into believing that with the formation of the so-called transitional government the freedom fighters would desert the Patriotic Front, lay down their arms and stop the war of liberation. Having so convinced themselves, they spurned the agreement by the Patriotic Front to attend a round-table conference. They have now been disillusioned as the value of their presumptions has depreciated, but to date they have lacked the courage to concede their mistake and consider other alternatives. They hoped to win international recognition through what they described as "free and fair" elections: free and fair, in a country where the security situation is deteriorating every day; free and fair, where supporters of the Patriotic Front are harassed and imprisoned and many have fled the country; free and fair, when the question as seen by political observers is no longer how one will be voting but which one will be seen to vote. They hoped to win international recognition and secure the lifting of sanctions and the ultimate capitulation of the Patriotic Front, yet we must advise them that without the involvement of the Patriotic Front no settlement in Zimbabwe will endure.

25. Botswana continues to seek a negotiated solution and to support the call for a round-table conference of all parties as soon as possible. We therefore appeal to the internal settlement group to show courage, to come forward and to meet with the Patriotic Front group in order together to seek a new *modus operandi* that may lead to peace and the participation of all parties in the building of the nation. We appeal to those in America and elsewhere who have given support to the internal settlement group to encourage them to meet the other parties. We appeal to the Patriotic Front group also to take a positive role in constructing the bases for national cohesion. Finally, we appeal to the international community to give unified support to such a meeting.

26. The acceptance of majority rule in Zimbabwe would not have posed problems for the international community

⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1978*, document S/12827.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Year, Supplement for July, August and September 1977*, document S/12393.

had the racist minority régime in that Territory not drawn its inspiration from South Africa itself and benefited from the material assistance, support and tacit encouragement of that country. It is South Africa also that has hindered the decolonization of Namibia. In South Africa, racism and *apartheid* established by history have been entrenched in legislation. Whether by design, strategy or accident, the international community has shown gross reluctance and unpreparedness to address itself vigorously and meaningfully to the problems of *apartheid*, racism and oppression. Resolutions are passed every year, but they have been of nuisance value only. In that country, the African has no stake in the government of his country; in fact, there is no sharing of power. In that country, Africans are relegated to undeveloped, impoverished and fragmented ethnic homelands and have had the citizenship of the bantustans forced on them.

27. Africa has always urged South Africa to engage in a dialogue with the leaders of the people of that country, but South Africa has consistently refused. Only last month, opening the National Party's Transvaal Congress, the Minister of Plural Relations and Development ruled out the possibility of any negotiations with the black leaders outside the framework of the Government policy of *apartheid*.

28. Among the questions the international community should ask itself regarding South Africa are the following. How long must Africa and the world wait to see South Africa's friends taking in that country the steps they have taken in Namibia and Zimbabwe? Why does South Africa accept majority rule for a unitary Zimbabwe and a unitary Namibia but not for South Africa itself? Why the double standards?

29. On this day of observance of the International Anti-*Apartheid* Year I declare once again Botswana's solidarity with the martyrs of South Africa, those who died in the struggle for liberation from *apartheid* and those who are languishing in the prisons of South Africa. We derive encouragement and confidence from the knowledge that the international community, by its observance of this year as International Anti-*Apartheid* Year, is signifying in no uncertain manner its solidarity with the people of South Africa in their quest for freedom and human dignity. We pay a tribute to those who have been honoured today for their work in the cause of freedom in South Africa. We praise the Special Committee against *apartheid* for its work in making the observance of this International Anti-*Apartheid* Year the censor of our consciences—lest we forget.

30. The road ahead will be long, steep and arduous. That, however, will not discourage those who are destined to travel it in search of human dignity. With its limited resources, Botswana will continue to provide asylum to victims of racism and oppression. We are fully aware that in playing that role we expose ourselves to wanton attacks. That will not deter us.

31. We express our gratitude to those States Members of this Organization which have in the past assisted us and strengthened our resolve to discharge this our international responsibility.

32. My country wishes no more and no less for the oppressed people of southern Africa than what the people of Botswana take for granted: freedom and justice for all.

33. Mr. RODRIGUEZ PORTH (El Salvador) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Latin America rejoices. It is its turn to have the presidency of the General Assembly and you, Sir, a Colombian personality of singular merit, were unanimously elected. Jurist, economist, statesman and historian, you have come to preside over this august Assembly after a long and brilliant political and diplomatic career. Among the eminent positions you have held are those of Minister for Foreign Affairs of Colombia and President of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States [OAS], on which posts you set the seal of your wisdom, experience and well-proven diplomatic tact. The Government of El Salvador is also pleased to congratulate sincerely the illustrious Government of Colombia and its people, brothers of our own people, in the certainty that the eminent former Colombian Foreign Minister will bring honour to the high office to which he has been elected.

34. On behalf of my Government I should like also to pay a tribute of admiration and appreciation to Mr. Lazar Mojsov of Yugoslavia for the excellent manner in which he guided the work of the General Assembly at its last regular session and at the three special sessions on extremely delicate and important matters held during his term of office.

35. I should also like to express to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the constant gratitude and appreciation of the Government of El Salvador because of his singular dedication to the cause of peace and his great efforts and appropriate initiatives for the solution of the major problems facing the United Nations in these times of confusion and uncertainty.

36. With the admission of Solomon Islands at the beginning of the present session this Organization, which during its early years had barely 51 Member States, now has an impressive membership of 150 countries. That confirms once again the principle of universality on which it is founded.

37. As is true of the general debate every year, this general debate has been lengthy and certainly tiring. But it could hardly be otherwise.

38. Following the tradition established so many years ago, the delegation of El Salvador wishes to state as briefly as possible its Government's position on the major general problems within the competence of this world Organization and on some of the specific questions that are on this year's agenda for the Assembly, on the solution of which depends the well-being of mankind in the years to come.

39. Among the general items are two that are in a way interdependent and, undoubtedly, vital: disarmament and development. They are interdependent because the enormous investments in the production, improvement and acquisition of the means of mass destruction through an inevitable reaction prevent the co-operation that is indispensable for development, so that at present the latter is not being attended to as it should be. They are vital

because, while the effort to acquire arms can lead to death and destruction, on the other hand the integral development of peoples in an atmosphere of peace can only lead to survival and well-being.

40. For the first time the States Members of the United Nations have met at a special session of the General Assembly exclusively to consider the difficult and complicated questions related to the item on disarmament. We then observed the growing concern and disquiet of peoples and Governments at the increasingly alarming arms race, in particular that of the nuclear Powers and others which also have considerable military forces. That observation made evident the need to put an end to this unbridled race, to eliminate nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction and reduce to a minimum the possibilities of new wars through an adequate reduction of conventional weapons.

41. As was stated quite clearly by the delegation of El Salvador at that tenth special session,⁷ the Government of El Salvador considers that, given the present world situation, general and complete disarmament is necessary and urgent and that it should be simultaneous and effectively controlled in the field of nuclear weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, including chemical and bacteriological weapons. We consider that, as regards conventional armaments, disarmament should also be general, simultaneous and duly controlled, but it cannot be thought or admitted that it should be complete, because that is not necessary, desirable or feasible. As regards conventional or other current weapons, disarmament should be carried out progressively and under proper international control to a point that is in each case compatible with the needs of the State, duly taking into account external and internal security—that is, the needs of its own defence as an independent and sovereign entity and its obligation to maintain public order and to protect its institutions and inhabitants.

42. The wave of international terrorism, which goes unchecked throughout the world in our times, makes it absolutely necessary for authorities to have available the means essential to confront and fight that terrible and repugnant scourge of mankind. As a means of struggle or for any other purpose terrorism must always be condemned because it indiscriminately places in jeopardy the lives and property of innocent victims. It must be condemned even in the struggles legitimately undertaken in some parts of the world by peoples subjected to the colonial yoke or to other forms of oppression. My country will support every initiative and every effort of the United Nations made with a view to punishing and in due course eliminating terrorism in its diverse manifestations.

43. While the results of the special session devoted to disarmament were neither substantial nor spectacular—and, naturally, that was not to be expected—it is just to recognize as a positive step forward the approval by consensus of a Declaration and a Programme of Action [resolution S-10/2, sects. II and III], and, above all, the establishment of a Disarmament Commission as a delibera-

tive body reporting to the General Assembly and the revitalization of the negotiating body, the Committee on Disarmament, by the participation of States that had previously remained aloof from it, thus overcoming one of the most notorious shortcomings of the previous system

44. It is the hope of the Government of my country that in the new stage of United Nations efforts towards disarmament positive and concrete results will be achieved, such as the conclusion of one or more agreements on the prohibition of nuclear tests and the elimination of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass destruction.

45. The present international situation requires continued efforts to consolidate détente, which has been affected by new confrontations and the emergence of new hotbeds of tension. That being so, United Nations activity should be increased to seek solutions by way of negotiation and mutual understanding. My Government wishes once again to reaffirm its desire for peace, its respect for the purposes and principles enshrined in the San Francisco Charter, and its full support for United Nations efforts to maintain and strengthen peace.

46. It is a sad fact that we live in a world in which the various forms of aggression have found new means of expression and hegemonistic claims seem not to have been discarded. The maintenance of peace largely depends upon the ability of human beings to learn to live together rather than merely to coexist, respecting the ideas and rights of others and avoiding delicate situations that might create friction and lead to conflict. Détente is creating an atmosphere appropriate for that kind of conduct, and we must never cease in our endeavour to maintain it, because the survival of mankind ultimately depends upon its decision to live in peace.

47. In the meantime, if the larger Powers and even the medium-sized and small countries, convinced of the advantages of not continuing to invest vast amounts of money in arms, would cease doing so, then obviously we could attain the ideal talked of so much at the Assembly's session on disarmament, namely by devoting a considerable part of the resources thus saved to promoting the development of each State and, in particular, to helping effectively in the accelerated and integral development of the countries that most need it.

48. Speaking of development and co-operation for development from the industrialized countries, we are bound to refer to the need to pursue the North-South dialogue without interruption. We regret the suspension of the work of the Committee Established under General Assembly Resolution 32/174, and we trust that, since it is aware of the importance of that body and the need to maintain and strengthen it, the General Assembly will not only confirm its mandate but give clear and definite guidelines for effective action by it.

49. As the Secretary-General rightly affirms in his annual report on the work of the Organization for the past year:

“Most developing countries continue to suffer from the adverse effects of fluctuations in commodity prices, aggravated by uncertainty resulting from continuing

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Tenth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 25th meeting.

exchange rate instability. The failure of developed countries to achieve sustained economic recovery has resulted in reduced demand for many raw materials exports of developing countries while the inadequate level of financial transfers and the continuing inflation in prices of the manufactured exports from developed countries have put intense pressure on the balance-of-payments position of a large number of developing countries. . . .

"... These problems [and others] call for more basic changes of a structural and institutional character. Such changes will need to be considered, negotiated and promoted on the basis of the essential objectives of a new international economic order." [See A/33/1, sect. IX].

50. It is increasingly necessary for harmony and understanding between the developed and developing countries to arrive at co-operation agreements that will lessen the enormous economic disadvantages from which the third-world countries suffer, which contribute to maintaining an atmosphere of discontent and tension not propitious for United Nations efforts and which are in no way in accord with the purposes and principles laid down in its constitutional Charter.

51. Interdependence is an obvious characteristic of international relations in our contemporary world. International, interregional and national co-operation is absolutely essential. Well-being should not and cannot be confined within closed circles, but must be extended to all, everywhere. We know well that without well-being there will be no peace. "Well-being for all" is the motto of the present Government of El Salvador.

52. It is of course imperative to undertake and intensify economic and social development efforts within the resources and possibilities of each nation, but goodwill and effective co-operation on the part of the developed countries are indispensable. Obviously more action is expected from countries which are able to co-operate. The present state of affairs is not only a problem in itself in the economic sphere, but also a barrier to the improvement of international political relations.

53. Clearly, we also need reciprocal co-operation among developing countries. In this context, my Government recalls with pleasure the holding of the United Nations Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Buenos Aires last August and September, the results of which were most positive.

54. Closely linked with development and North-South relations are some aspects of the law of the sea, which is now being codified. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea closed its seventh session a few weeks ago in this Assembly hall without having achieved the purpose of revising the informal composite negotiating text;⁸ far less could it formalize the draft convention, the signature of which is scheduled to take place in Caracas. That work was postponed to later negotiating stages.

55. But that should cause no discouragement. This is an effort of far-reaching consequences, namely, to sign and

implement a treaty of universal scope that will cover the many aspects of the régime of the seas, an instrument that will have very important consequences legally, economically and politically and at all levels: national, regional and international.

56. It is therefore not surprising that the negotiating process regarding the law of the sea is so lengthy, laborious and difficult. It has been going on for more than 10 years if we take into account the work that preceded the New York meeting of 1973, and no doubt one or two more years will be required before it can be completed.

57. Substantial advances have been made on very important points, but there has been a deadlock on some critical issues. In Geneva and New York considerable efforts were made to find formulas on those issues that would be acceptable by consensus.

58. Nevertheless, without having reached a consensus, progress has been made on some issues, among them the settlement of disputes on the exercise of rights and discharge of duties by the coastal State in the exclusive economic zone, in respect of which my country is happy that it was able to suggest the mandatory conciliation formula,⁹ which is the method being used to arrive at a consensus.

59. The positions of some countries on fundamental matters remain rigid and inflexible, in particular regarding the exploration and exploitation of the mineral resources in the international zone of the sea-bed. In this connexion, I must mention the firm opposition of my country to unilateral legislative measures which would regulate exploitation of the sea-bed before the Conference concludes its work, thus disregarding the resolution of this Assembly which established a moratorium on such activities [resolution 2574 D (XXIV)] and declared that the resources contained in that zone constitute the common heritage of mankind [see resolution 2749 (XXV), para. 1]. It is obvious that these unilateral measures run counter to the purposes of the Conference. If it is desired that the Conference be successful such measures should be avoided.

60. We trust that in its next stages the Conference will be able to surmount the obstacles that remain and will arrive at a convention on the law of the sea. The failure of that effort would not only seriously affect the prestige of the United Nations but would also leave a deplorable situation of disarray and disorder in a matter of such substance and importance to the consolidation of a régime of harmony and co-operation in the world.

61. We shall be celebrating shortly the thirtieth anniversary of the proclamation by the United Nations in Paris of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This world Organization and regional organizations claim to strive for the promotion and protection of fundamental freedoms as a principle essential to the dignity of men and women.

62. Recently, in the general debate at the eighth regular session of the General Assembly of the OAS, I expressed

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.

⁹ *Ibid.*, vol. X (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.4), document NG5/16.

some views that I believe it appropriate to repeat at this time. Respect for human rights, which El Salvador reaffirms as a rule and as practical inspiration for our national development, is something to be achieved from day to day, in the struggle against poverty and ignorance, against violence and dogmatism. The achievement of that respect, being arduous and gradual, shapes our destiny as a free nation where all can think, act and feel with no limitation other than that imposed by respect for the rights and well-being of their fellow citizens. Therefore we must all realize the meaning of this struggle for human rights. This realization will develop in us a spirit of solidarity which will remove us from vain paternalistic attitudes and the fruitless desire simply to point an accusing finger. As I pointed out in my speech, a person must be protected both from illegal actions by public authorities and from the equally illegal actions of those groups which for political or simply criminal purposes violate without compassion the very legal principles which, together with the system of protection and human rights, are supposed to be safeguarded. Such are the actions of terrorism, which, according to recent evidence, has international implications. International action by States is thus required to counteract the wave of terrorism. These are two aspects of the same problem, two lines converging upon one objective: the preservation of the dignity of the human person. That is the philosophy that inspires and sustains the firm position of my Government regarding observance of and respect for human rights.

63. El Salvador sympathizes with the efforts of those populations which are arduously struggling to break the chains that still exist, the heritage of former colonial régimes, despite the praiseworthy and constant efforts made by this Organization throughout its existence. We condemn all forms of discrimination and we hope that in the not-far-distant future all men and all peoples will enjoy complete freedom in a world of harmony and mutual respect.

64. In a generous Central-American spirit, supporting any constructive suggestions for promotion of peace throughout the world, I wish particularly to record that the Government of my country with the utmost fellow feeling concurs in the statement made in this world forum by the President of Costa Rica, Mr. Rodrigo Carazo Odio [11th meeting], in which he formulated his proposal for the creation of a university for peace, offering his country as its home. My Government warmly supports that initiative.

65. To proceed now to some of the more specific problems with which the United Nations is dealing, I should like to refer first to some related to Latin America, of which my country forms part.

66. First I should like to refer to the question of the territory of Belize. Whether this is or is not a colonial question as such, the truth is that a long-standing dispute exists regarding that territory between the Republic of Guatemala and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. My delegation listened with genuine interest to the statement on the problem made some days ago by the Foreign Minister of Guatemala [19th meeting], and we have noted with genuine pleasure his categorical statement that the Government of Guatemala is prepared to continue negotiations to find an equitable, honourable,

peaceful and negotiated solution that would not undermine the rights of Guatemala and would take into account the vital interest of the population of Belize.

67. A similar dispute exists between the Republic of Argentina and the United Kingdom regarding the Malvinas Islands, which are also occupied by that European country. We are pleased to note the statement by the Foreign Minister of Argentina [11th meeting] to the effect that his Government and the United Kingdom Government have started negotiations which make it possible to envisage some areas of agreement.

68. Because of the close ties we have with those two countries in our hemisphere and also in particular with the neighbouring sister Republic of Guatemala, we wish to express the most sincere hope that there will be a satisfactory negotiated settlement of both questions.

69. I do not believe it is pertinent to speak of the situation in Nicaragua here, since this matter is being studied by one of the political organs of the OAS—the Meeting of Consultation of Ministers for Foreign Affairs—whose decisions are communicated to the Security Council of the United Nations under a provision of the Charter of this Organization.

70. For like reasons I might have refrained from speaking about differences between my country and the Republic of Honduras, but, since the Foreign Minister of Honduras, Colonel Roberto Palma Gálvez, in his speech on 3 October [19th meeting] referred to the present status of the negotiations for the ending of our differences, I in turn wish to state here that the peaceful process of negotiation has already brought us some important agreements and that the Government of El Salvador, prompted by a genuinely conciliatory and peaceful spirit, hopes and trusts that we shall soon come to an understanding, because of the goodwill of the two parties and the wise counsel of the eminent Peruvian lawyer and statesman, José Luis Bustamante y Rivero, former President of his country and former President of the International Court of Justice, to whom we have entrusted the mission of mediator and who is nobly assisting us with the wealth of his knowledge and experience and who encourages us with the prestige of his illustrious personality.

71. Speaking of recent positive actions in the sphere of inter-American politics, I wish to express the satisfaction of the people and Government of El Salvador at the success achieved regarding the status of the Panama Canal and the resumption of relations between Panama and Guatemala.

72. This is a propitious time for me to congratulate the Governments of Panama and the United States on the signing and ratification of the two new treaties on the Panama Canal. The ceremony held on 6 September 1977 in the Chamber of the Americas of the OAS in Washington, which was attended by, among others, the President of my country, will go down in history as a happy event in which two friendly peoples honourably resolved their differences, thus eliminating a source of ill-feeling and tension in this continent.

73. As is well known, for reasons which it would be inappropriate to mention here, diplomatic relations be-

tween the Governments of two Latin-American countries, traditionally linked by ties of friendship, history, geography and language, were broken off for little more than a year. I am referring to Guatemala and Panama. The Government of El Salvador, equally linked to those two countries on the Central-American isthmus, had hoped that in a short time an understanding between the two Governments would be reached. That is why the President of El Salvador, General Carlos Humberto Romero, decided to invite the representatives of both Governments to a meeting so as to put an end to the existing differences. The invitation was accepted, and the Foreign Ministers of Guatemala and Panama, Mr. Rafael Castillo-Valdés and Mr. Nicolás González Revilla, respectively, met in the Foreign Office building of El Salvador on 28 August last and agreed to resume diplomatic and consular relations between the two countries. This decision was immediately made known to the public by a joint declaration which was designated by both Foreign Ministers as the Declaration of San Salvador.

74. Despite the efforts made over many years, the Middle East situation continues to be the main threat to world peace. We recognize the importance of the negotiations among some of the parties concerned, but we believe that, until all the parties concerned can be brought together at a negotiating table, the desired solutions on the various and complex aspects of the problem will not be reached. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East will have to emerge from a negotiated solution that takes into account the rights and interests of all parties, including those of the Palestinian people and those of Israel as a sovereign State, the general recognition of which should not be postponed any longer.

75. Fortunately the Camp David meetings between President El-Sadat of Egypt and Prime Minister Begin of Israel, held on the initiative of President Carter of the United States of America and with his active participation, concluded with the signing of agreements that open the way to a prompt and final solution of the over-all problem, if not only Egypt and Israel but also the other parties whose interests are at stake reach agreement.

76. The Middle East crisis has again been aggravated by events in Lebanon, a country which has borne and continues to bear incredible suffering and which legitimately strives to preserve its sovereignty and territorial integrity. This Organization is called upon to contribute to the attainment of that purpose, and accordingly the Security Council established UNIFIL whose mandate has been extended for four months bearing in mind the deadlines set at Camp David.

77. The recent special session devoted to the question of Namibia concluded successfully with the approval of a Programme of Action and a Declaration¹⁰ affirming the direct responsibility of the United Nations for that Territory and setting specific conditions and measures for its independence and for the maintenance of its territorial integrity.

¹⁰ Declaration on Namibia and Programme of Action in Support of Self-Determination and National Independence for Namibia. See General Assembly resolution S-9/2.

78. I wish to emphasize the merits of the proposal of the five Western members of the Security Council—Canada, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States—for the solution of the Namibian problem.¹¹

79. We felt optimistic on noting that agreement had been reached and that this took shape in Security Council resolution 431 (1978), under which the necessary steps were to be taken to implement in practice the proposal of the five Western Powers in accordance with the plan formulated by the Secretary-General and with Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Recently, however, serious obstacles to the implementation of the agreed plan have arisen which might further delay Namibian independence, and this is to be deeply regretted.

80. It is equally unfortunate that, despite the constant and prolonged efforts of this Organization, there has been no solution of the problem of Cyprus. This is an explosive situation which, like the situations in the Horn of Africa and southern Africa, constitutes a serious danger to peace.

81. We often expect of international organizations much more than they can reasonably do, because they are associations of sovereign States whose consent is necessary in most cases if major decisions are to be adopted. And at times, too, we attribute to international bureaucracies defects or errors for which they are not responsible.

82. Thus, the negotiating processes on disarmament and on the law of the sea, to mention only two examples, are agonizingly slow and laborious and seem never-ending. It is no easy task to reconcile interests, opinions and tendencies that are so dissimilar on such grave and complex subjects. This does not mean that we must abandon our efforts. On the contrary, we must redouble them in order to find the solutions that are most suitable and respond best to the aspirations and interests of the international community.

83. As regards the contribution of the Secretariat, my Government wishes to reiterate once again its gratitude and admiration for the consistent and efficient manner in which the Secretary-General and those who work under his skilful guidance perform their functions for the benefit of the Organization and all its Members.

84. I should like to conclude my statement by saying that I happened to be in Rome when His Holiness John Paul I died suddenly. It was my painful task and my privilege, as the representative of a predominantly Catholic people, to be present at the funeral of that beloved pastor of souls whose pontificate, which seemed so promising, was unfortunately so ephemeral.

85. We still hear the words spoken by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy on 27 September [11th meeting], when nobody thought that the newly-elected High Pontiff, the Pope of smiles and meekness, was about to die. The Foreign Minister of Italy mentioned then that His Holiness had defined as a service of the Holy See its participation in the search for better solutions to the major international

¹¹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-third Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1978*, document S/12636.

problems, including détente, disarmament, peace, humanitarian assistance and development. To perform this service, the Foreign Minister added, the Pope appealed for the co-operation of all so as to put an end, within nations, to the blind violence that merely destroys and sows ruin and grief and, in international life to bring about understanding among men and the pooling of efforts aimed at progress, at overcoming hunger and ignorance, and at promoting the advancement of peoples less endowed with wealth.

86. May the most noble purposes of the Holy Father, who already rests in peace, be a constant source of inspiration for the United Nations in its desire to bequeath a better world to future generations.

87. Mr. CUBILLOS (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, I am pleased by the happy coincidence that in my first statement in this debate in my capacity as Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chile the General Assembly should be presided over by one of the most distinguished members of the Latin-American community, Mr. Indalecio Liévano. Your outstanding merits, together with the dynamism and wisdom that marked your service as your country's chief, diplomatist for several years, make you worthy of a glowing and exceptional tribute. Your election further represents a demonstration of appreciation of Colombia, which has contributed so much towards peaceful coexistence and the furtherance of human rights in America.

88. I take this opportunity to welcome to the international community Solomon Islands, with which we feel particularly linked by the Pacific Ocean. We feel certain that Solomon Islands will provide valuable co-operation in the cause of peace and will support the principles which prevail here.

89. In this general debate, in which the chairman of each delegation expresses his views, his concern and his suggestions on the most important international events, I wish to express first the eager desire of all Chileans for peace, co-operation, broad-minded views and understanding.

90. The desire for peace and justice is often discussed within an emotional and selfish environment. What we want is unity, but this requires great generosity, which is often absent from international relations.

91. These feelings prompt me, on behalf of the Government and people of Chile, to pay public homage to the memory of His Holiness Pope John Paul I, who, despite his short pontificate, brought faith, love and hope to the world. At the very time of his death he was pleading for peace. His short but heartfelt plea was addressed to all of us in order that through dialogue we might come to understand each other. In one of his few official messages, addressed to the bishops of Chile and Argentina, he said:

"We wish to encourage all laudable and worthy initiatives designed to protect and spread peace and calling for the co-operation of all good, just, honest and righteous people."

92. I hope that the Pontiff's inspiring words will guide us in our work in this General Assembly as well as in relations between Member States.

93. This Assembly is meeting in a critical atmosphere which affects the actions of international organizations. Despite the enormous task performed by this Organization, we cannot ignore the fact that among our peoples there is frustration and scepticism with regard to the work carried out here. There is a gradual loss of faith in the United Nations. There is no relation between the seriousness of our performance and the receptiveness of public opinion.

94. Year after year the world listens to these extended debates, hoping for an adequate response to the legitimate aspirations of the peoples. But we have not yet found the way to a happy future. Despite the work performed by this Organization, we must honestly admit that it has not always met the vital requirements of mankind. Nothing is achieved by making lengthy speeches containing whatever statements anyone wishes to make. That is a dialogue of the deaf.

95. It is with deep concern that I must point out the danger involved in the progressive loss of faith felt by many people in the effectiveness of this Organization. The serious and positive task performed within the Organization is minimized by some nations' political and selfish use of it, which prevents the adoption of objective resolutions. These negative tendencies usually affect the weaker countries.

96. We are facing a struggle between hegemonic blocs—to which we are opposed—whereby the fundamental principles that gave rise to this Organization are constantly endangered. This compels some less powerful nations to shelter under the protection of the great Powers. This situation endangers the historical and cultural values that give its particular life to each people and give expression to its legitimate identity as a sovereign State.

97. It is therefore necessary to point out certain problems, such as the difficulty in making decisions, the ineffectiveness of some procedures, the politicization and absence of objectivity in examining situations affecting certain countries, the policy of blocs and the tendency to solve common problems outside the framework of the Organization, all of which are gravely eroding the prestige that the United Nations should preserve.

98. It is also essential that this forum cease to be, for some, the trench from which the most brutal attack is launched against an opponent, and that instead it serve as an inspiring source of understanding and respect.

99. We must think about this reality. It is our duty to overcome this through united action. Chile, which was one of the founders of this Organization, continues to put its faith and hope in the United Nations: its faith in the great principles and objectives that inspire the Organization, and its hope in the ability ultimately to build, through international co-operation, a world without fear, a world in which poverty, malnutrition and lack of culture will become things of the past, and solidarity will replace the threat or use of force.

100. Chile believes in political, economic and social co-operation among the peoples, in the interdependence of nations, and in the absolute need for peace, justice and security to prevail within the framework of the dignity and

mutual respect that nations deserve. To this end it is indispensable that in each circumstance and at all times the high principles of law enunciated in the Charter be applied.

101. Therefore we reaffirm that our international policy is based on the obligation to settle disputes peacefully and not to use or threaten the use of force against the integrity or political independence of States or to intervene in any form, regardless of the motives, in their internal affairs. Those principles, together with respect for the self-determination of the peoples and strict compliance, in good faith, with obligations undertaken and with decisions of international organizations or courts of justice, are and will continue to be the basis of international relations.

102. International law is designed to rule relations between States, as internal law rules relations among the citizens of a country. Violation of the law results in the obstruction of peace and gives rise to disruption and chaos. If we really aim at achieving a world in which tranquillity reigns we must apply all our skill and determination to ensure that the law retains all the majesty of its inestimable worth through full and unrestricted respect for it. Only in this way shall we be able to comply with the wise principles of this Organization.

103. Due acknowledgement should be given to the fact that the United Nations has, throughout the 33 years of its existence, attempted to apply these same principles in order to establish peace and security, achieve economic co-operation and decolonization, and promote the progressive development of international law.

104. Even though results have not been spectacular, anyone who examines in good faith the task performed will have to acknowledge its broad scope—especially the fact that it paved the way for progress from which the international conscience will allow no retrogression.

105. I shall refer briefly to but a few of the international problems to be considered by the Assembly at this session.

106. In the search for stable peace in the Middle East, despite the continued efforts of our Secretary-General—to whose efforts I wish to pay a tribute—the United Nations has not achieved the desired success, undoubtedly because of the special characteristics of the problem and because of the contingent interests of some of the great Powers. Fortunately, the desire for peace on the part of the peoples and Governments most affected by this conflict, as well as the mediation efforts of the President of the United States, enable us to envisage optimistically a possible solution. My Government earnestly hopes that the agreements reached will lead to a comprehensive settlement of the profound differences which have prevailed so far.

107. We are also concerned over the tragedy afflicting the people of Lebanon. The United Nations should speed up its efforts to ensure that that country—the cradle of so ancient a civilization which had succeeded in preserving its unity through mutual tolerance—survives as a State, with full territorial sovereignty and political independence.

108. We wish the African continent peace and prosperity. We believe that its problems should be solved by the

African countries themselves, through their regional organization and without any foreign intervention. They have their own identity and are eagerly and tenaciously engaged in building their future. A continent which is expected to play an even more important part within the international spectrum should not be exposed to actions arising from outside the area, motivated by the unacceptable desire to take advantage of its problems. Therefore, we condemn foreign intervention in Africa or in any other part of the world.

109. In the face of each conflict situation in connexion with that continent calling for a decision by this Organization Chile has maintained a consistent position, which I reaffirm here today. This has been especially true of our attitude in the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples and in the United Nations Council for Namibia ever since their establishment.

110. We assign overriding importance to that region of the world because we are convinced that, on the basis of mutual interests, we can forge solid links of understanding with the nations of Africa. We offer them our co-operation, which in certain specific cases is already effective, and at the same time we request their assistance.

111. Nor are the nations of Asia and Oceania exempt from foreign intervention. Their enormous efforts to solve vital problems are being obstructed by the continued interference of forces which in no way help to satisfy the aspirations of those peoples.

112. Indeed, America is no exception to this rule in international activities. We hope that the delicate problems peculiar to the region will be solved on the basis of respect for the law, the only source of peace in our continent.

113. I would be less than candid if I failed to voice Chile's disappointment at the scant progress made towards disarmament. While this matter is a complex one and is closely related to security, achievements have been discouraging for those of us who regard armed peace essentially unstable. The accumulation of nuclear weapons or weapons of mass destruction constitutes a growing threat to peace.

114. Today peace continues to be maintained by what is justly known as the "balance of terror". Should this balance be upset, mankind could be exterminated. Therefore there is no problem more urgent than that of finding the way to disarmament. Only when the arms race has ceased and the arsenals of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction have been reduced will the world feel relief. Until then, the peoples will continue to witness with astonishment the squandering of vast resources which, if applied to goals of humanitarian co-operation, could put an end to the misery and hunger that affect millions of human beings.

115. Some will say that small countries cannot do much when it comes to disarmament except lend their moral support in the efforts exerted—or which should be exerted—by the great Powers. Nevertheless, it must be recognized that the arms race has not been limited to those

Powers; like gangrene, it has spread, and is now seen in countries at a medium or low stage of development.

116. The lack of confidence in the ability of international machinery to prevent conflicts or settle them appropriately and expeditiously has induced many countries to embark upon an arms race which drains their economic resources. Hidden influences, attempting to create a climate of distrust, also prompt them towards an illogical and disproportionate arms build-up, and the merchants of death take advantage of this situation. To deny this would be to shut our eyes to a sad reality.

117. Consequently the need arises for establishing mandatory procedures for the settlement of international disputes. It is the duty of the United Nations to provide them. Possibly these objectives could be achieved most appropriately through the use of regional organizations; the Charter envisages the necessary interdependence of those bodies and the world Organization.

118. Among these regional systems, the oldest and, in its time, the most dynamic was the inter-American system. Thirty years ago, a covenant concerning the peaceful and mandatory settlement of disputes was signed in Bogotá.¹² Chile is a party to that covenant. We believe that its observance by all the countries of the system would provide the security our peoples desire. Pending the achievement of this objective, for which we should persevere, we shall have to sign bilateral agreements.

119. Early in this century Chile and Argentina set an example to the world in this respect. Seventy-six years ago our countries signed a treaty on the limitation of naval armaments,¹³ together with another on mandatory arbitration. The latter was in force for 70 years and made possible the settlement of important differences. Before it was denounced, a treaty on the judicial settlement of disputes¹⁴ was signed; it compels the parties to submit to the International Court of Justice all disputes, regardless of their nature, that might for any reason arise between them, and on which a settlement has not been reached through direct negotiation.

120. I wish to recall here the efforts made by the countries of our continent in connexion with the limitation of weapons on the regional level. Chile, together with other American States, signed the Declaration of Ayacucho.¹⁵ On 22 June, on the occasion of the session of the General Assembly of the OAS held in Washington, D.C., it was agreed to expedite that initiative,¹⁶ and we most enthusiastically endorse that proposal.

121. My country is especially interested in the development of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law

of the Sea, the task of which it is to prepare an international convention on that important matter. In this regard, credit must be given to the progress achieved by that Conference. Among its principal achievements is the acceptance of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone, a new international concept in the elaboration of which Chile participated actively from the start.

122. However, it is essential that existing difficulties in connexion with those negotiations be settled so that the Conference may complete its task in 1979, thus permitting the signing of a universal convention in 1980 in Caracas.

123. In this regard, we cannot conceal our concern at the preparation of unilateral legislation for the exploitation of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, which constitutes the common heritage of mankind. The Government of Chile fully shares and decidedly endorses the recent statement of the Group of 77,¹⁷ which declares such actions null and void under international law and further points out the dangers which they could represent for the successful conclusion of those important negotiations.

124. The Government of Chile is not concerned with political tensions only. The developing countries have continued to insist on the need for the creation of a new system governing international economic relations. The new international economic order, which we advocate, would allow the two-thirds of mankind representing that world to share in the fruitful results of technological advances.

125. In the last 30 years the world has witnessed the most vigorous and extraordinary expansion of international trade. In view of this process the industrialized countries have constantly increased their share of world trade while the share of the developing countries, particularly in Latin America, in that trade has continually diminished.

126. The systems governing the transfer of technology to developing nations and foreign investments require, likewise, a profound readjustment to adapt them to the level of interdependence reached in international economic relations.

127. The Integrated Programme for Commodities, which should represent an example of collective equity in the treatment of an essential tool for development, is today an example of impatience and frustration.

128. All these important aspects of international life will be considered at the fifth session of UNCTAD next year in Manila. At that session the degree of compliance with the main agreements reached in Nairobi in 1976¹⁸ will be reviewed, unless real progress is made in the next few months. While expressing my desire for the success of the United Nations Negotiating Conference on a Common Fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities,

¹² Charter of the Organization of American States, signed at Bogotá on 30 April 1948. For the text, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 119, No. 1609, p. 48.

¹³ Convention between the Argentine Republic and Chile respecting the Limitation of Naval Armaments, signed at Santiago on 28 May 1902.

¹⁴ General Agreement on Judicial Solution of Disputes, done at Buenos Aires on 5 April 1972.

¹⁵ See document A/10044, annex.

¹⁶ See document A/S-10/AC.1/34, annex.

¹⁷ See *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. IX (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.79.V.3), 109th plenary meeting.

¹⁸ See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10 and corrigendum), part one.

which will resume on 14 November next, I offer my country's sincere co-operation in order that the meeting of UNCTAD in Manila may result in a positive contribution to the realization of the aspirations of the developing countries.

129. These problems and many others have not been solved because of the lack of political will of the industrialized nations. The North-South dialogue, sponsored by the President of France, failed precisely because of the absence of that political will. Furthermore, some of those industrialized nations, under the pressure of internal unemployment, have reached the contradictory position of abandoning the free trade, which was the basis of their prosperity, in favour of the protectionism which caused their bankruptcy in the decade of the 1930s.

130. This new and dangerous trend seriously and directly affects the developing countries. Because of their limited domestic markets, their growth expectations are limited to the real possibilities for their raw materials and their manufactured products to have access to the markets of the industrialized countries.

131. Protectionism is a threat to the progress of the developing world and a disturbing element as regards the political stability of the international community. It constitutes a form of unacceptable neo-interventionism. Time will prove that it also contains its own seeds of self-destruction.

132. I now wish to refer to a matter to which my country has always attached the utmost importance. I am referring to human rights.

133. I reaffirm today what we have been contending for years: the undoubted international jurisdiction and competence of the United Nations as regards human rights. That competence stems not only from the provisions of the Charter but also from the concept that the human being is superior to all intellectual creations and all legal structures and therefore the protection of his essential rights should be one of the major concerns of the international community.

134. Nevertheless it is obvious that such international competence must be in harmony with the legitimate exercise of the internal sovereignty of States. That harmony between the two jurisdictions is difficult to achieve. However, I believe that the solution is contained in the Charter of the United Nations itself when it states, wisely and cautiously, that in matters of human rights co-operation between the international organizations and the State involved should be sought.

135. That concept of co-operation also implies that the matter of human rights should not be handled on the basis of political criteria used to make judgements, present or historical, on certain régimes, but for the sole and highly significant purpose of improving the enjoyment of human rights in a particular State and in specific circumstances which cannot be ignored.

136. Co-operation means that between the competent organ of the United Nations and the sovereign State there

must be a dialogue in conditions of equity and with respect for their respective competence, prerogatives and rights.

137. Fully respecting this concept of co-operation, the Government of Chile reached an agreement with the *Ad Hoc* Working Group appointed by the Commission on Human Rights. That agreement did not affect the independence, competence or effectiveness of the Group, but rather ensured respect for the dignity and rights of the sovereign State. On that basis the Group visited my country and thus fully carried out its mandate.

138. I believe that this co-operation by Chile establishes a valuable historical precedent. However, it is indispensable that such a precedent be used most carefully and objectively. Only in this way can other countries be prompted to accept, as Chile has, the visits of competent and credible commissions to their territories.

139. The organs of the United Nations must therefore act with the highest motives and with great moderation and caution; above all, they must be above political motivations and strictly subject to the rules of procedure which the Organization has determined according to the principles of the Charter and those pertaining to natural equity. Only in this way can those organs fulfil their mandate, earn the respect of the public opinion of the country visited, and establish between the Government and the international Organization the confidence which is indispensable if co-operation is to be reciprocal, respected and useful.

140. Countries which do not share this position should be consistent in their attitude and not demand from others what they are not willing to accept themselves. We should recall that there are important Powers which in 1948 did not even subscribe to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, alleging that that Declaration implied the possibility of interference in their internal affairs, an attitude which is still obstinately maintained.

141. The precedent created by my country enables the United Nations to give effect to the concern of its founders with human rights. From now on it cannot be alleged that those principles are a dead letter, that theory is separated from reality, or that the international community is unable to find the means and procedures to ensure universal respect for those rights.

142. The Government of Chile also expresses its concern for problems deriving from the international conduct of the great Powers. They have the greatest responsibility in the search for a lasting peace based on full respect for the principles of international law and the sovereignty of States. None the less, there are super-Powers which do not stop at physical aggression against other nations in order to impose their ideological hegemony; and there are others which respect those principles in general but nevertheless use their economic power to exercise pressure on third countries.

143. In view of those alternatives, it is difficult to be a medium-sized or small nation. Nevertheless, Chile is confident that this situation may be eliminated for good, provided the great Powers in their bilateral relations abide by one of the most fundamental principles of the United

Nations Charter, that of respect for the sovereignty of States.

144. I have outlined the position of Chile in connexion with certain problems confronting the United Nations. We are aware of the Organization's performance in the fields, among others, of co-operation between peoples, the progressive development of international law, decolonization and the quest for peace, all of which we fully support.

145. We reaffirm our firm intention of complying with the principles and rules which inspired the Charter we adopted in San Francisco. We are certain that we can thus contribute to the supreme cause of peace.

146. Only when all States comply with obligations voluntarily undertaken and accept in good faith the resolutions deriving therefrom shall we establish a healthy and effective international relationship.

147. Chile invites all States represented here to contribute to the achievement of that high objective and hopes for friendly relations with all of them, based on mutual respect, and with none of the hegemony often exercised through political pressures or by the fomenting of internal differences. Otherwise, confidence and harmony will not prevail.

148. I would not wish to end without appealing to the members of the international community, whatever may be the ideological and political differences between us, to renew their efforts to make a reality of the ideals which led to the foundation of this international organization "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war".

149. Mr. GEDLE-GIORGIS (Ethiopia): Mr. President, it is with a deep sense of satisfaction that the Ethiopian delegation congratulates you on your assumption of the presidency of the thirty-third session of the United Nations General Assembly. Our satisfaction emanates from the fact that you bring to this office wide and varied experience. The Ethiopian delegation would like to assure you of its full co-operation in the discharge of your heavy responsibilities.

150. I should like also to express the sincere thanks and appreciation of my delegation to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who so ably and tirelessly conducted to a successful conclusion a record number of sessions of the General Assembly during the last 12 months.

151. We are happy to note that Solomon Islands has acceded to independence. While welcoming it to the international community of sovereign nations, I should like to reiterate my Government's hope that its independence will give further impetus to the full and speedy decolonization of the remaining Territories in Africa and around the globe.

152. It is with mixed feelings that I venture to review the current international situation. I say "mixed feelings" because we feel that while on the one hand humanity has succeeded in bringing to fruition the results of its valiant struggle, it has on the other hand witnessed the frustration of some of its cherished hopes. The unfolding process of history teaches us that even though ultimate victory over

the forces of domination, exploitation and expansion is imminent, that glorious victory cannot be won except with immense sacrifices in blood and sweat. The current world situation is the epitome of the struggle between the old and dying forces of domination, exploitation and expansion on the one side and the new and emergent forces of peace, progress, justice and socialism on the other.

153. During the last 12 months the world political scene has been dominated by an intensified struggle against imperialism, colonialism, zionism, racism, *apartheid* and expansionism in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. The attempt by some Powers to dominate the Red Sea and restrict international navigation, the continued aggression and economic blockade against revolutionary Cuba and the forceful occupation of Guantánamo, the campaign of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for a massive arms build-up, international reaction in Asia with its expansionist and hegemonistic designs of "big country" chauvinism propagating the inevitability of war—these are but some of the salient features.

154. International imperialism has over the past year unleashed a campaign of terror and destruction around the globe in order to halt the gradual diminution of its domain and to regain its already lost positions. As we all know, that campaign is most actively pursued in, and most intensely focused on, the African continent. That is not without its reasons. With the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire in Africa, a number of progressive and socialist States, such as Angola and Mozambique, have emerged on the African political scene. Also, genuine and popular revolutions have taken deep roots among the African masses. To say the least, these new developments seriously worry imperialism and its surrogates; and naturally enough, propelled by their desperation and bolstered by the vast economic and financial power at their disposal, they have already launched their offensive. Their strategy varies from direct military intervention to covert subversion, from open interference in the internal affairs of others to subtle psychological warfare.

155. What these decadent forces did not foresee and expect in their adventure was the gallant and determined resistance of the revolutionary forces in Africa and also the equally determined international assistance and solidarity extended to those forces by the socialist community and by peoples that love peace and freedom all over the world. Imperialism, which, as the instigator of counter-revolution and the provider of its arsenal, has for years with impunity been rushing its marines, special units, agents, legionnaires and mercenaries into the different parts of the globe to crush popular uprisings and prop up corrupt and decadent régimes, has started to cry "foreign intervention" in Africa. Except for some of the shameless surrogates of imperialism, Africans have not been impressed; nor can they ever be. In fact, Africa has made its unswerving position amply clear by roundly condemning all these neo-colonial intrigues, in particular, the attempts by imperialism to establish what it has arrogantly called "a pan-African force".

156. Despite grim short-term prospects, in the long term the balance of forces favours those who champion the causes of freedom, peace, equality and progress; so the future is bright. Yet, in the wake of its retreat, imperialism

has already left, and will continue to leave until its final demise, colossal destruction in terms of both human life and material wealth. Ethiopia's experience since the onset of its revolution four years ago clearly illustrates that fact. I wish to refer to some of the sinister machinations and glaring injustices perpetrated against my country by imperialism and the forces of reaction.

Mr. Tsering (Bhutan), Vice-President, took the Chair.

157. Disturbed by the achievements of the Ethiopian revolution, imperialism and the forces of reaction in our region spared no effort to foil the revolutionary process in Ethiopia. The methods used ranged from subtle ways of undermining our social, economic and political life to launching an open war of aggression and occupation. Imperialism and the forces of reaction tried to subvert our national unity and to violate the territorial integrity of our motherland. They organized, financed and armed runaway feudal elements, members of the corrupt aristocracy and disgruntled bureaucrats to invade Ethiopia from the west. They also financed and armed a pseudo-revolutionary anarchist group to sabotage the economy, to assassinate genuine revolutionaries and to create general chaos and instability in the country. In their bid to reverse the popular revolution these tools of imperialism and reaction launched their attacks in a co-ordinated and complementary manner. Yet the invasion from the west was repelled and the subversion from within was crushed. This aspect of our revolutionary struggle has entailed enormous sacrifices.

158. The greatest danger to our revolution and territorial integrity, however, came from the naked aggression committed by Somalia—an aggression planned, financed and instigated by imperialism and reaction.

159. During the general debate at the thirty-second session of the General Assembly¹⁹ the Ethiopian delegation explained in detail the real causes of, and the forces behind, that aggression. It is with a sense of satisfaction that my delegation today informs the General Assembly that the gallant sons and daughters of Ethiopia, rallying behind the national motto "Revolutionary Motherland or Death" have repelled the aggression and have administered an ignominious defeat to the invading forces of Somalia. The invading forces have, however, left their heavy destructive imprint on eastern Ethiopia. Thousands of defenceless and innocent civilians have been indiscriminately slaughtered by Somalia's army. Thousands more have been left destitute. Whole villages and towns have been razed to the ground. Nearly all development projects have been destroyed. Schools, hospitals, bridges, farms, power plants and even United Nations-financed settlement projects for nomads were not spared. Subsequently the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, in his appeal for international assistance, stated:

"In response to the appeal of the Ethiopian Government, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees sent a senior officer to Ethiopia who, together with the Regional Liaison Officer of the UNHCR in Addis Ababa, participated in a mission organized by the Government of Ethiopia to some of the areas affected by

the conflict. . . . The Mission was able to witness extensive destruction and damage to public buildings such as schools, hospitals, power stations, telecommunications, bridges, etc. . . ."

160. Furthermore, UNESCO's Liaison Officer to Ethiopia, the OAU and ECA observed:

"I was very anxious to see Gode. UNESCO and UNICEF have been closely involved in projects for settlers in that area. For us, it was a very depressing experience to see what had happened. Most of the buildings in the area had been destroyed. Equipment and vehicles had been wrecked and schools had been blown up."

For those who may not be familiar with the area, Gode is the district where over 80,000 nomadic families were settled with the assistance of the international community.

161. These dastardly acts illustrate not only the magnitude of the heinous crimes committed against the population of Ethiopia but above all the perfidy of the régime in Somalia and its avowed claim that the population of the region are its kith and kin.

162. And yet the authorities in Somalia, who are never tired of engaging in double-talk and whose notorious credibility gap only increases with each passing day, in February 1978 informed the world that they were sheltering 30,000 so-called refugees from Ethiopia. Then the figure was raised to 270,000, and now we are told that there are half a million. At this rate one should not be surprised if in time the entire population of Somalia is considered to be refugees from Ethiopia. The fact of the matter is that, because of the disastrous consequences of the aggression it committed against Ethiopia, Somalia has been forced to establish a series of relief camps for the benefit of its own retreating soldiers and needy nationals and has with characteristic cynicism declared its own citizens to be refugees from Ethiopia. My delegation categorically rejects this preposterous claim and has informed the United Nations High Commissioner accordingly.

163. Today the broad masses of Ethiopia have come a long way in foiling many of the imperialist conspiracies and breaking up the vicious reactionary encirclement. In this regard, the support rendered to Ethiopia by the socialist countries, particularly the USSR and Cuba, to help it to repel foreign aggression has greatly contributed to the strengthening of the cardinal principle of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Member States enshrined in the charters of the United Nations and the OAU. In the event of an armed aggression the legitimate right of any State to resort to any measure, including the right of individual and collective self-defence in accordance with Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, cannot be questioned. This right has also been reaffirmed by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU meeting in Khartoum and by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries meeting in Belgrade. Indeed, in the course of the current general debate, many representatives, including those of the permanent members of the Security Council, have clearly upheld that inalienable right. Viewed against this background, the

¹⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-second Session, Plenary Meetings*, 27th meeting, paras. 100-153.

hue and cry over alleged Soviet and Cuban intervention in the Horn of Africa is, to say the least, hypocritical.

164. On the other hand, during these past years of struggle, Ethiopia has lost thousands of its brave sons and daughters. Much of its material wealth and infrastructure worth hundreds of millions of dollars has been destroyed, for which it demands prompt and adequate compensation.

165. The root-cause of the instability and insecurity in our region is Somalia's expansionist policy. Obsessed by a lust for other people's land, and victim of the imperialist-conceived plot called "Greater Somalia", the Mogadishu régime has taken the law into its own hands and has embarked upon conquest and expansion at the expense of all its neighbours. So long as Somalia refuses to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its neighbours, so long as it continues its adventurist and expansionist policy, peace and stability in the area will continue to be elusive.

166. The Ethiopian revolution has now been consolidated. The fourth anniversary of our revolution, celebrated last month, is sufficient testimony to its popular character and the mass support it enjoys. The countries of the region, including Somalia, have much to gain through co-operation rather than confrontation. In this context I should like to quote from the recent statement made by Comrade Lt. Col. Mengistu Haile Mariam, Chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council and the Council of Ministers, and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army of Socialist Ethiopia, who said:

"Revolutionary Ethiopia will maintain its relationship with all countries of the world with different social systems and strengthen its solidarity with the socialist, progressive and democratic forces. In this connexion, Ethiopia would like to make clear its strong desire to have close co-operation and live in peace with the neighbouring countries."

167. Ethiopia has embarked on a broad national campaign, not only to reconstruct its war-ravaged economy, but also to raise the quality of life and ensure the social justice won by the Ethiopian masses through their popular revolution. Despite the pressures and acts of foreign aggression that have forced us to divert scarce resources for the purpose of defence, in the last four years of our revolution much has been accomplished in the social, economic, cultural and administrative fields. In the years to come we intend to accomplish more. In this worthy venture we invite and whole-heartedly welcome all international assistance on the basis of equality, non-interference and respect for national sovereignty.

168. On the global level there are still a number of pressing problems for which the international community has yet to find lasting solutions.

169. The conflict in southern Africa had long reached crisis proportions. In their vain attempt to perpetuate the abhorrent systems of colonialism, neo-colonialism racism and *apartheid*, the racist minority régimes and their North Atlantic Treaty Organization allies have now intensified their brutal repression, exploitation and mass extermination of the African population in South Africa, Namibia and

Zimbabwe. They have increased the frequency of their ever more aggressive and provocative attacks against the neighbouring independent African States of Angola, Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana. Those repeated acts of armed intervention are designed to destabilize the Governments in the region and convert the area into a safe haven for exploitation and racial domination.

170. *Apartheid* is a hideous crime against humanity. It is the epitome of a racially organized violence, symbolizing the most flagrant contempt for human rights. It can thus be sustained only by the brutality of the repressive machinery in the hands of the illegal racist régimes and their imperialist allies. Along with the racist minority régimes, international imperialism and reaction are actively pitting one African State against another and sowing the seeds of discord among the peoples of Africa to facilitate the attainment of their sinister designs and thereby to weaken Africa's resolve to remain free, strong, independent and united. Under the guise of "proposals for peaceful settlement", the leading Western Powers are feverishly engaged in manoeuvres to perpetuate their positions of privilege as the perennial overlords of the continent and to legitimize colonial and racist domination in yet a new way.

171. It is therefore incumbent upon free Africa and, indeed, all peoples of the world which love freedom and peace, to intensify their support to, and solidarity with, the freedom fighters of southern Africa in the latter's bid to oust racist South Africa from Namibia and remove the illegal régime of Ian Smith from Zimbabwe. SWAPO and the Patriotic Front, as the sole and authentic representatives of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe respectively, must be given all requisite assistance to achieve those legitimate goals.

172. The so-called Anglo-American proposal for the peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian question has failed; and the fact that the United States Government has permitted Ian Smith to come to its capital is an affront to the international community, shows contempt for Africans and is a clear violation of the United Nations Charter, as well as of decisions of its principal organs. My delegation therefore strongly condemns this wilful disregard of the wishes of the international community. Let me also underscore that Ethiopia categorically rejects all the sinister schemes that are being hatched to perpetuate imperialism in southern Africa.

173. While discussing the colonial situation in Africa, one cannot fail to mention the courageous armed struggle of the people of Western Sahara. In our view, their legitimate aspirations for self-determination in accordance with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) should no longer be thwarted.

174. The situation in the Middle East has continued to deteriorate as a result of the arrogant refusal by the forces of aggression, occupation and expansion to implement the relevant United Nations resolutions. Repeated acts of aggression against the Arab peoples have been paralleled only by newer and ever more insidious manoeuvres to procrastinate and further complicate a solution to the Middle East conflict.

175. Last year most of the leaders of delegations to the thirty-second session of the General Assembly welcomed the joint Soviet-American statement of 1 October 1977. It was genuinely believed that the joint statement afforded realistic opportunities for reconvening the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East in which all parties to the conflict could be involved. However, since then the world has witnessed the most dramatic surrender to the forces of aggression and expansion, as well as capitulation to imperialist domination.

176. Ethiopia supports all meaningful efforts designed to remove the consequences of aggression and ensure the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. The Government of Ethiopia firmly believes that Israel must unconditionally withdraw from all Arab territories occupied since June 1967, in accordance with the relevant resolutions of the United Nations. We are also convinced that no accord can be just and lasting unless it takes into full cognizance the rights of the Palestinian people to establish their own national homeland under the leadership of the Palestine Liberation Organization, the sole spokesman and legitimate representative of the Palestinian people.

177. In our view, the Camp David agreements are nothing but a sophisticated imperialist plot designed to exacerbate further the already difficult and complex situation in the Middle East. Our conviction in this respect is clearly borne out by the latest developments in Lebanon.

178. Another deplorable situation which falls within the Middle Eastern parameter and deserves serious international concern is the question of non-aligned Cyprus. While giving its full support to the demilitarization of the island, as proposed by the President of Cyprus, my delegation calls upon the Security Council to effect a speedy implementation of the pertinent United Nations resolutions on the question of Cyprus.

179. My delegation supports the triumphant revolution of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen and condemns all attempts to obstruct the legitimate aspirations of the people of Yemen for unity, peace and progress.

180. Ethiopia not only supports the popular revolution of Afghanistan but also strongly condemns the mischief of the architects of decay who are attempting to pressure the long-oppressed, exploited, but none the less heroic people of that fraternal country.

181. It is gratifying to note that the courageous peoples of Viet Nam and Laos, who for decades heroically struggled against the crudest form of imperialist intervention and domination, have now embarked on the heavy task of socialist reconstruction. Though peace is a prerequisite for such an endeavour, expansionist and chauvinistic forces, in collaboration with international imperialism, are creating strife and instability in the region by attempting to implement their long-standing hegemonistic ambitions. These are the same reactionary forces which, in alliance with imperialism, have instigated and supported aggressions against progressive Governments in Africa. We express our solidarity with the people of Viet Nam in their struggle to safeguard the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of their country.

182. The Government of the United States, which has made itself the self-appointed policeman of the world and the "custodian" of human rights, is never tired of pontificating over alleged foreign intervention in Africa. Yet it conveniently forgets the presence of its 3,000 military bases and hundreds of thousands of its troops around the globe. The Government of the United States continues deliberately to distort the facts by talking about Cuban presence in Ethiopia. It so happens that Cubans are in Ethiopia at the express request of the Ethiopian Government, whereas the presence of American forces in Cuba is against the expressed wish and desire of the Cuban people. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with Cuba and demand an end to the continued aggression and economic blockade against Cuba, as well as the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of American forces from the base at Guantánamo. The Government of the United States must pay adequate compensation for its aggression against Cuba.

183. My delegation whole-heartedly supports the struggle of the people of Latin America for social justice and freedom from imperialist subjugation and exploitation.

184. It has long been recognized that international peace and security, disarmament and development are inter-related. One of the forces in the contemporary world which have consistently championed the strengthening of international peace and security, steady progress towards meaningful disarmament measures, international détente and the acceleration of development efforts has obviously been the movement of the non-aligned countries. Yet imperialism has been making strenuous efforts to divide the movement. As evidenced at the Belgrade Conference of the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, imperialism has been unsuccessful in its divisive manoeuvres. We are confident that the Sixth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, to be held in Havana next year, will further strengthen the unity and solidarity of its members. The fact that this meeting is to take place in Havana is a recognition of Cuba's outstanding contributions to strengthening the movement and a fitting tribute to the remarkable revolutionary role Cuba continues to play in the awakening and liberation of the oppressed masses.

185. The initiative the non-aligned movement has taken in the field of disarmament has made possible for the first time the most serious consideration of disarmament problems by the General Assembly of the United Nations. The results of the tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, as embodied in the Final Document adopted by it [*resolution S-10/2*], have laid the foundation for a new approach to the hitherto difficult issues of disarmament. The creation of a more democratic framework for deliberations and negotiations on disarmament issues and the greater role and responsibility recognized for the United Nations in future disarmament efforts are, in our view, some of the highly positive results of the special session. Other positive steps taken by the special session which deserve special mention include the establishment of priorities for disarmament negotiations.

186. However, it must be emphasized that the results achieved with regard to other substantive matters leave much to be desired. This was so not only because the special session was convened at a time when the colonialist

and imperialist attack on détente reached a new level of intensity but also because it has taken place precisely when some frantic moves were under way in certain leading Western capitals to revive the cold war, thereby gravely impeding the global struggle for détente and disarmament. Actually, at that time the North Atlantic Treaty Organization was holding a summit meeting, regrettably, not to discuss disarmament but rather to evolve new plans for increasing its military build-up. The 10-point programme adopted by that summit meeting provides for the joint production of 15 new types of sea and land-based missiles and earmarks an additional \$80 billion to be spent in the next 10 years on more than 100 new programmes of armament. A manifestation of the unlimited imperialist hypocrisy is the agreement to increase further the military presence of the Pentagon in Western Europe, while talks were in progress in Vienna on the reduction of armed forces and armaments in Central Europe.

187. The massive military build-up and the intensification of the arms race by the imperialist Powers and reactionary forces are not limited to the confines of Europe, where the alleged Soviet threat provides a convenient smoke-screen, but are being extended to Africa, where attempts are made at frustrating the struggle of the African people against exploitation, domination and human degradation by hysterical and hypocritical cries of Soviet intervention in Africa.

188. Nevertheless, the special session devoted to disarmament has succeeded at least in identifying the forces of peace, freedom and independence, on the one hand, and the proponents of the arms race and brinkmanship, on the other. These two camps represent the forces at work between disarmament and catastrophe, but the overwhelming majority of the international community has clearly chosen the former.

189. I have already mentioned the fact that international security and disarmament are inseparable. To achieve genuine disarmament, we must enhance international security. Fortunately, there are already a number of proposals before this Assembly in that respect. The non-use of force in international relations, the provision of adequate guarantees to non-nuclear-weapon countries and the urgent convening of a world disarmament conference are only a few examples. To these constructive proposals, which have been presented to the General Assembly by the Government of the USSR and the socialist community of States, Ethiopia gives its full support and it hopes that concrete action will be taken on them during the current session.

190. Another important and difficult question before the international community today is that relating to the law of the sea. Although significant progress has been made so far towards the elaboration of an internationally acceptable convention, there are still a number of extremely difficult issues, particularly those relating to the international sea-bed area, that remain to be resolved. The tendency in some industrialized capitalist countries to adopt unilateral legislation on deep sea-bed mining not only is a clear contravention of the decision of the General Assembly but could also frustrate the efforts of the international community to adopt a comprehensive treaty on the law of the sea. We therefore appeal to those States which are in the process of adopting unilateral measures to desist from such a course of action.

191. My delegation regrets to note that the implementation of the United Nations Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] has not made notable progress so far. While the *Ad Hoc* Committee established for the purpose continues to make every effort to discharge its duties, the imperialist Powers have been expanding their military facilities in Diego Garcia and Réunion island and increasing their military presence in the ocean itself. Since these activities are contrary to the declared objectives of the international community, Ethiopia demands the immediate dismantling of their military facilities and an end to their military presence in conformity with the Declaration.

192. The attempt by some reactionary Governments in the area of the Red Sea to convert that international waterway into an exclusive Arab lake is also a matter of serious concern. Ethiopia considers that the preservation of the international character of the Red Sea and respect for the legitimate interests of the littoral States, as well as the guaranteeing of free navigation in accordance with established international law and practice, are of paramount importance to the entire world community.

193. Over the years, this Assembly has come to accept the proposition that co-operation among nations is indispensable if mankind is to survive and progress. Acceptance of this thesis, however, has not been accompanied by the kind of co-operative undertaking necessary for the solution of economic and social problems which beset two-thirds of mankind today. It is rather tragic to observe that in this era of technological miracles the international community has failed to provide for the minimum needs of nearly half of humanity. Despite lofty pronouncements often made by the industrialized nations promising to respond to the plight of the poorer countries, the disquieting gap in living standards between the rich and the poor is still growing wider.

194. The difficulties of some developing countries have been further aggravated by natural calamities which play havoc with the lives of our peoples. The Sahelian region of Africa and my own country have suffered and still continue to suffer from severe food shortages caused by successive years of drought. This problem has been compounded, in the case of my country, by the recent invasion and destruction of crops by swarms of locusts.

195. The humanitarian response that we have received from the international community has been encouraging. I take this opportunity to express from this rostrum my country's deep appreciation and gratitude to those friendly nations and to the intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations that have assisted us. Viewed against the magnitude of the problem, however, the relief aid extended to us from international sources falls far short of the amount needed to cope with the situation. To cope with the problem it is estimated that at least 250,000 tons of food assistance are required. Since Ethiopia's own capacity effectively to combat this natural calamity is limited, we trust that the international community will be more forthcoming in its response.

196. We in Ethiopia are carrying out basic and fundamental structural changes in all fields of social and

economic endeavour. But to the extent that the domestic structure has its external dimensions and until and unless corresponding improvements are made in the international structure, appreciable headway is unlikely to be made in accelerating social and economic transformation within our respective countries.

197. Despite the adoption of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)] and the consensus of the seventh special session [resolution 3362 (S-VII)], very little has been achieved in concrete terms to meet the pressing needs of the developing world and almost nothing to rectify their underlying causes. It is therefore candid to admit that the Second Development Decade has largely been a decade of frustrated hopes, especially for the poorer of the developing countries. That the policies of the majority of the developed countries have registered a regression also appears to us to be a matter of fact.

198. Official development assistance levels have been frozen at less than half the agreed target. The distribution of international financial reserves still remains as inequitable as before, and the trend towards protectionism in the developed countries is becoming more pronounced than ever.

199. As I said earlier, we cannot realistically speak about economic growth and development, even less hope to find just and equitable solutions of the ills of underdevelopment, unless the problem is seen in the context of the need to build a new global structure of economic relationships. Evidently, the present world economic order is incapable of redressing the inequality that exists between the "haves" and the "have-nots". As long as there is no change in the basic structures, all our development efforts will be frustrated. What is really required now is not the patching up of the existing order through temporary measures, but rather the making of structural changes that are based on equality and justice.

200. We believe that the time has come for the international community to adopt a global approach to economic problems. It should draw up a coherent, comprehensive and massive programme for the development of the world economy as a whole and the establishment of the New International Economic Order.

201. We believe that the problem of the least developed countries should be given sufficient attention and due priority in the new development strategy, as well as in the various international negotiations currently under way to establish the New International Economic Order.

202. My delegation is convinced also that an equitable world economic order can be based only on an equitable economic system within each nation. We in the developing world therefore, no less than the developed countries, must reduce, and if possible eliminate, the gap between the privileged few and the masses. Ethiopia, being unswervingly committed to the earliest achievement of social justice at the national level, cannot but lend its strongest support to the attainment of similar world-wide objectives.

203. Mr. MOKODOPO (Central African Empire) (*interpretation from French*): Almost a month ago, with the solemnity and fervour that have become customary, the United Nations General Assembly opened its thirty-third regular session in order to seek solutions to the complex problems afflicting our universe, so diverse in its constituent elements, but so uniform in its aspirations for collective peace and international security.

204. My first words, therefore, will be to convey to this Assembly the wishes for all success in its work addressed to it by His Majesty Bokassa I, Emperor of Central Africa.

205. Having said this, since this is the first time that I have spoken I cannot refrain from bowing to tradition and custom by expressing, on behalf of the Central African delegation, my warmest congratulations to Mr. Indalecio Liévano Aguirre, the Foreign Minister of Colombia, who was unanimously elected to the presidency of this Assembly. This tribute while being offered to Colombia, the melting-pot for over a thousand years of an immortal Latin-American civilization, is also paid to an enlightened diplomat and a true son of the third world which has inspired our Organization and finally man himself with a new faith and tolerance, similar to the tolerance and faith that prevailed at San Francisco after the horrors of the terrible ordeal through which the world had passed. The experience of a man of such calibre is the guarantee of a successful outcome of our session.

206. To Mr. Lazar Mojsov I should like to convey my warmest congratulations and gratitude on the brilliant way with which he so successfully conducted the General Assembly sessions over which he presided.

207. As for the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, I beg him to accept here the renewed expression of the gratitude of the Central African people and Government for the discretion and efficiency with which he has discharged his important and delicate duties, as well as for the ever-increasing vigour that he has always imparted to our Organization. I take this opportunity to assure him of the moral support of His Majesty Bokassa I, Emperor of Central Africa, who is so profoundly committed to peace.

208. The admission to membership in the United Nations of Solomon Islands has enlarged the circle of our family and expanded the frontiers of the United Nations in the direction of universality. I should like, while expressing my gratification at this fact, to express the hope that the tenacity, maturity and dignity with which Solomon Islands has taken its place in the concert of nations may always be characteristic of its participation in the common life of this institution.

209. I have just referred to the deep underlying motive that has guided you, the representatives of the States of the world who make up the General Assembly, in your meetings here in this city, that of re-examining the future of mankind.

210. We should note one thing. In the light of past sessions, this re-examination, after so many others, seems to me to be blighted by dangerous uncertainties in the realm of world political and socio-economic relations.

211. The political democratization of relations, the basis of which is a legitimate redistribution of responsibilities for the benefit of all nations, unfortunately continues to come up against the privileges of the past.

212. The prospect of an era of mankind when decisions concerning questions of planetary interest common to all will cease to be reserved to a limited circle of privileged States recedes further every day.

213. Instead of responding more effectively to the needs of the day, the United Nations is unfortunately continuing to reflect, if not to protect, the static interests of a former time.

214. The new international economic order so ardently desired by all the impoverished peoples in the south of the planet is still the subject of unjustified delays by the North, which is affluent and selfish.

215. Separating them from their socio-economic environment, those with nothing but lessons to give to others continue to engage in blackmail and absurd bargaining on the values that man holds most sacred: his right to liberty and to physical, moral and intellectual integrity.

216. When will people finally become aware that a harmonious equilibrium between States remains a primary condition of true peace in our world?

217. When will it finally be understood that nothing lasting can be achieved in this forum, the supreme forum for our deliberations, without a total commitment to the defence—not selective, but global—of the most fundamental rights and values of all men, whose quest for an ever brighter tomorrow should constantly be identified with the demands for equality, liberty, justice, security and peace?

218. May I now engage in a retrospective examination of the most recent developments in international events, which reveal the uncertainties and dangers that I have just mentioned.

219. In so doing I should like to associate myself whole-heartedly with those analyses made with such perspicacity and generosity by so many speakers before me, and with their desperate demands that the night of time, the shadows of history, may finally be replaced here and outside this building not by the illusory harmony of expediency, but by the collective and constant awareness of the destiny of man throughout our meetings.

220. Africa, that vast and troubled continent of renewal, has recently become the theatre of the aggressive resurgence of the cold war.

221. With its very survival threatened, with its fragile equilibrium threatened, mainly because of the tormented dawn of its early years of independence, Africa is the subject of all kinds of rivalries in many places. Attempts at destabilization, sometimes armed and violent, sometimes subtle and insidious, marked by hotbeds of tension here and there, have been increasing, cleverly maintained by Powers outside Africa short of new spheres of influence.

222. I should like at this rostrum to speak against those actions because, as His Majesty Emperor Bokassa I of the Central African Empire once said: "Africa does not need weapons or ideologies that change its character and damage it, that divide its sons and hinder its development."

223. These actions, even during the present period of calm, are essentially harmful to the effective exercise of the will, liberty, peace and non-alignment of the African continent. Furthermore, they severely curb the determination of the peoples still under colonial domination in the struggle for liberation in keeping with their deepest aspirations.

224. In southern Africa the obstinate champions of the forces of barbarous oppression should today, by examining their own consciences, take the measure of their own degree of responsibility for the dangerous survival of the vestiges of colonialism and racism that so gravely infringe the right of the peoples to emancipation, peace and security.

225. The last turning-point in the history of decolonization, which we are experiencing with such intensity, compels us more than ever before to accept the imperative duty to be credible in this forum. We cannot simply continue to make declarations and to produce peace plans. We cannot continue to finance, arm and support blindly those who perpetuate all those factors that are detrimental to peace. We cannot set ourselves the ultimate goal of the liberation of peoples while delimiting in advance the contours of such liberation.

226. It is for these reasons that, as regards Zimbabwe, the Central African Government wishes to express through me its deep concern at the obstinacy and manoeuvring of Ian Smith, who, since 1965, strengthened by the complicity of his allies, has been defying international opinion and sowing confusion and discord within the national liberation movements.

227. I denounce the discredited rebel régime of Ian Smith, not simply because of his defiance of the international community but also because he constitutes one of the evils and one of the causes of shame with which history so regularly confronts the human conscience. I denounce that régime, which, knowing itself to be condemned without hope of reprieve, has succumbed to a murderous folly that is causing it to commit repeated acts of aggression against neighbouring States.

228. That is why my Government remains convinced that at this crucial time, when the people of Zimbabwe finds itself at the crossroads of its destiny, the only path for it to follow is that leading to the total transfer of power to it. To achieve this, public opinion and the United Nations should maintain their pressure until a majority Government comes to power and there is true independence in Zimbabwe, under the banner of the Patriotic Front.

229. Namibia is without doubt the Territory in which in recent times the realities of decolonization have become particularly clear, for the initiatives being sponsored now by the United Nations and its Secretary-General clearly show the logical end of the illegal occupation of Namibia

by South Africa and the rejection of its attempts to dismember the Territory by annexing Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of it.

230. It is for this reason that, in accordance with the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the ninth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to Namibia, as set out in resolution S-9/2, my Government will spare no effort to support the initiatives which are being taken within the United Nations, in particular under Security Council resolution 435 (1978), to enable the Namibian people to realize its legitimate aspirations to self-determination and independence, with national unity and territorial integrity.

231. We cannot fail to note that the example of Southern Rhodesia teaches us that neither recourse to rigged general elections nor the possible preparation of an "internal settlement" excluding SWAPO can constitute viable solutions.

232. I can attest whole-heartedly to our support for and solidarity with the five front-line African States which, despite their national development requirements, have accepted the heavy financial, material and human burden of the liberation struggle in Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa so that the torch of liberty can be held ever higher in the skies of southern Africa, and so that institutionalized racial discrimination can be forever eliminated from that part of the African continent.

233. On the question of Mayotte, let us hope that the renewed friendship between the peoples of the Comoros and France will provide an appropriate framework for a solution in keeping with the age-old humanist traditions of France and the wishes of all the peoples of the Comorian archipelago.

234. As to the so-called question of Western Sahara, may I be allowed to express my joy and optimism over the emergence of signs of an easing of the situation between the parties to that conflict. I would venture to hope that nothing will be done to extinguish that feeble flicker of hope or do anything to entrench the sides in their positions.

235. The Central African Empire affirms the primary responsibility of the OAU in the settlement of that tragic issue. We therefore wish to stress forcefully the inappropriateness of any debates which may be held at this session, since the conciliation mission entrusted to the *ad hoc* committee of five African Heads of State²⁰ has not yet reported its conclusions.

236. The elimination of all these situations of conflict—whereby wisdom and political maturity will ultimately triumph in both the northern and eastern parts of Africa—as well as the completion of decolonization in the southern part of that continent and the protection of the continent, its seas and adjacent oceans from futile ideological and military confrontations, remain, for my country, the essential pre-conditions for peace and security in that part of the world.

237. Another source of concern to the Government of the Central African Empire remains the Middle East, the destiny of which proves each day to be so closely bound up with that of Africa.

238. Indeed, after 30 years of absurd warfare, intransigence and legitimate frustrations which have not yet produced in people's minds and hearts the necessary changes towards a return to calm and the restoration of genuine, just and lasting peace, we can only hope that the highly constructive initiatives of Camp David will make irreversible the process now under way towards equitable peace for all the parties in conflict, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973).

239. There is no need for us to proclaim once again that the restoration of the national rights of the Arab people of Palestine remains the key to a settlement of that conflict, by which Israel, reassured by recognized guarantees of its independent existence, would have to return to the pillaged Arab States all of their land which was conquered in 1967.

240. Finally, Lebanon, that erstwhile prosperous land and oasis of peace, but today a white-hot source of warfare, can recover security within its frontiers only to the extent that the road to peace which has been finally found in the Middle East will create conditions favourable to reconciliation among all Lebanese national communities.

241. In the Eastern Mediterranean, the prospects for peace do not seem particularly promising at the moment. On the contrary, everything seems to be frozen in a dangerous state of putrefaction. Cyprus continues, because of its strategic geo-political situation, to be a pawn being vied for by foreign Powers.

242. That is why, in the view of my delegation, more intensive and sustained efforts should be undertaken by the United Nations so that, on the basis of General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) of 1974 and 3395 (XXX) of 1975 negotiations may resume between representatives of the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities, on an equal footing and without outside interference, with a view to reaching an agreement acceptable to all parties, thus preserving the independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus.

243. In the Far East, procedures for the settlement of the Korean problem remain among the major preoccupations of my country, which maintains with the Governments of both sides relations of friendship and co-operation.

244. That is why my country urges them to work tirelessly towards restoration of an atmosphere of confidence, which alone can lead to a resumption of dialogue and, in turn, to the independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, free from foreign interference, in accordance with the principles laid down in the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972,²¹ in the interests of and by the freely stated will of the people of Korea.

245. Turning now to the distressing problem of the arms race, I wish to voice my country's satisfaction with the

²⁰ See document A/33/235 and Corr.1, annex II, AHG/Res.92 (XV).

²¹ Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.

Programme of Action adopted at the tenth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution S-10/2, sect. III*], devoted to general and complete disarmament, which was convened at the initiative of the non-aligned countries.

246. Even if that Programme of Action proves limited in scope and ultimately falls short of the desired results, it none the less remains an expanded framework for dialogue among the Powers—large, small and medium-sized—because the ever-more sophisticated and deadly atomic weapons possessed by a few States expose not only those States but the whole universe as well to possible annihilation.

247. That is why the process which that session helped make available for the reduction if not the actual elimination of the arms race in the interests of development should be explored forthwith.

248. At a time when stupendous sums of money are being spent on the conquest of space and on the arms race, it is inconceivable and intolerable that three-quarters of mankind should still be suffering from poverty, disease, starvation and illiteracy.

249. How can we continue to put up with a situation in which 70 per cent of mankind lives in squalor, while a minority which possesses 70 per cent of the world's income lives in opulence and extravagance?

250. Despite the numerous United Nations resolutions on the establishment of a new international economic order based upon equity, equality, interdependence and co-operation among all States, the international economic situation remains unchanged and constitutes a permanent source of concern for the developing countries.

251. We continue to witness a constant deterioration in the terms of trade, marked by a growing decline in the export prices of raw materials in the face of soaring prices for manufactured goods.

252. To the deficit in the balance of payments of third-world countries, which is something which is only getting worse, we should add the burden of their external debt.

253. Furthermore, we note with bitterness and pain that the undertaking by the rich countries to devote 1 per cent of their gross national product to the transfer of resources by way of official assistance for the development of the third world is far from being realized.

254. We should add to this picture, which is already gloomy enough, the food problem, which has become critical in so many developing countries.

255. It requires no further demonstration that the primary responsibility for that situation lies with the developed countries, which persist in doing everything in their power to maintain the *status quo* in order to preserve the enormous advantages they have succeeded in gaining for themselves, to the detriment of the poor countries.

256. These few aspects of the world economic situation today make it absolutely clear how important and urgent it

is for the international community to carry out the tasks incumbent on it in order to establish a new international economic order which can ensure more reasonable and more just conditions of prosperity and dignity for the whole of mankind.

257. It is from this standpoint that the developing countries, in various international meetings, have constantly proposed concrete measures and precise programmes of action in order to define and put into effect the type of international economic relations that would make it possible to eliminate injustice, domination, exploitation and poverty.

258. I should like to take this opportunity, therefore, to reaffirm solemnly in this Assembly the total commitment of my country, the Central African Empire, to all measures or decisions genuinely designed to promote the economic development and social well-being of the peoples of the third world in general, and in particular those countries that have been categorized as less advanced, land-locked or island countries.

259. Thus, the Central African Government firmly supports the declarations and programmes of action adopted at Manila²² and Colombo²³ and all the relevant resolutions of the United Nations to which I have just referred.

260. As a land-locked country, listed by the United Nations among the 29 poorest countries in the world, the Central African Empire feels most keenly the effects of economic disorder. That is why the Central African delegation, through me, would like once again to appeal urgently to the industrialized countries and international organizations concerned to put all these decisions into effect without delay so as to arrive at rapid and appropriate solutions to the problems which are of so much concern to developing countries.

261. The access of products of developing countries to the markets of industrialized countries is being impeded by the real obstacles constituted by the protectionist and discriminatory policies pursued under the present commercial system.

262. Like the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the non-aligned countries, according to their statements in the course of their recent Belgrade meeting, my delegation attaches exceptional importance to the success of the multilateral trade negotiations going on within the framework of GATT, the purpose of which is to ensure a greater measure of liberalization and restructuring of international trade.

263. Firmly convinced that international trade is inseparable from the need for local manufacturing processes in the countries which produce primary commodities, the Central African delegation believes that it is indispensable that a particular effort be made not only to provide easier access for manufactured and semi-manufactured goods from the developing countries to the markets of the

²² *Ibid.*, *Thirty-second Session, Supplement No. 19*, part one, para. 1.

²³ See document A/31/197.

developed countries, but also, and above all, to increase the industrialization capacity of those countries.

264. To achieve this, the countries which possess technology must accelerate the process of the transfer of technology to developing countries in accordance with the Lima programme.²⁴ It is understood, of course, that such technology should be adapted to the actual needs of the requesting countries.

265. In this regard, permit me to stress that the Central African Empire attaches the greatest possible importance to the convening of the United Nations Conference on Science and Technology for Development, which is scheduled to be held in 1979 in Vienna.

266. Within the framework of preparations for that Conference a national committee has been created by the Government under the aegis of the minister in charge of higher education and scientific research, and that committee has prepared a document of which copies have already been transmitted to the United Nations.²⁵

267. With regard to the common fund, my delegation can only express its disappointment at the reluctance of certain developed countries to establish and put into effect the operation of this fund. I hope that at the forthcoming negotiations under the aegis of the United Nations the developed countries which are now reluctant will modify their position so as to permit this fund to become operational as soon as possible.

268. With regard to the exceedingly distressing question of external debt, we are pleased by the consensus which emerged from the ministerial meeting of the Trade and Development Board convened last March in Geneva [see A/33/15, part II]. Nevertheless, my delegation believes it is urgent for the rich countries to convert these debts into gifts, as has been done by certain countries such as Sweden, Canada, the Netherlands, Switzerland and Finland.

269. The restructuring of the present international economic system would be incomplete without the establishment of a new rational monetary system which would be equitable and universal and in the functioning of which the developing countries would participate on an equal footing with the rich countries.

270. International co-operation, be it vertical or horizontal, should in my opinion be viewed from the standpoint of the interdependence of nations.

271. Thus it would appear indispensable for the developing countries to increase their solidarity and promote concrete co-operation among themselves in all fields.

272. Therefore the Central African delegation wishes to express its pleasure at the encouraging results of the Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held in Mexico City in 1976, and also at the results of the recent United Nations Conference on Tech-

nical Co-operation among Developing Countries, which ended on 12 September last in Buenos Aires, inasmuch as those results constitute a major step forward in the search for concrete co-operation among the nations of the world.

273. Similarly, my delegation would like to take this opportunity to express its satisfaction at the appreciable technical and financial assistance which the European Economic Community has been giving to associate countries.

274. Unfortunately, we have to note that certain rich countries refuse to recognize this reality, with the tacit purpose of preserving solely for their own benefit the advantages they already enjoy.

275. A major problem which is of concern to the Central African Empire is that of the law of the sea. I am sure that it is easy to understand the reasons for this concern when it is realized that my country is land-locked.

276. In this context, the position of my country, which is motivated by principles of equity, remain unchanged, namely: that all countries have the right to freedom of transit and access to the sea; that, the high seas being open to all States whether they be coastal or land-locked, the resources of the sea-bed and the ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the exclusive economic zones constitute the heritage of mankind; and that the development of these vast resources should be undertaken not solely for the benefit of those countries which possess advanced technology but for the well-being of the whole of mankind.

277. Such progress as has been achieved in the course of the work of the seventh session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is a source of satisfaction for my country, which very much hopes that the negotiations which are scheduled to take place in Geneva next year will be even more successful so as to permit the adoption of an international convention on this subject in the near future.

278. As I have just stressed, my country, because of its geographical situation, has been encountering tremendous difficulties in the exporting and importing of products.

279. Thus, because of the difficulty of gauging rainfall and the silting up of the Ubangi River, which provides the easiest access to the sea, we failed to earn 12 billion or more CFA francs in the second half of 1977, which is an enormous loss for a developing country.

280. My country wishes from this rostrum to issue an urgent appeal to the international community and the specialized agencies of the United Nations to come to the aid of the Central African Empire and help it to overcome the difficulties it encounters every day in its economic and social development efforts.

281. To supplement its national effort, my country places tremendous hopes in the building of the Bangui-Ocean railway and the trans-African Lagos-Mombassa road.

282. While the principal objective of the United Nations is the maintenance of international peace and security, the

²⁴ Lima Declaration and Plan of Action on Industrial Development and Co-operation. See document A/10112, chap IV.

²⁵ See document A/CONF.81/NP.3(SUM).

fact remains that it must also aim at and achieve the economic, cultural and social development of the human being—in a word, the happiness of mankind.

283. There is no need of any lengthy demonstration for us to understand that human rights are of extreme importance for peace and good relations among peoples.

284. The establishment of a new international economic order and the formulation of a new global development strategy surely consist essentially in a raising of the standard of living of the poorest, most underprivileged sectors of our societies for the advent of a better world.

285. The recognition of the dignity of man, of his inalienable rights, constitutes the very foundation of freedom and justice.

286. Failure to understand and take account of those rights is in itself repugnant to the human conscience.

287. It is therefore essential to encourage the development and strengthening of friendly relations among countries in order to ensure universal and effective respect for the fundamental rights and freedoms of men and women.

288. The Constitution of the Empire, adopted on 4 December 1976, solemnly proclaims the fundamental rights and freedoms inherent in democracy. It stresses that the human person is sacred and that all agents of public authority have the absolute obligation to respect and protect all individuals. Everyone has the right to free development, provided he does not violate the rights of others or infringe constitutional order. Everyone has the right to life and to physical integrity. The freedom of the individual is inviolable and his rights cannot be infringed except pursuant to law.

289. It is the aim of the long, devoted struggle which the Central African people, united behind His Majesty Bokassa I, Emperor of Central Africa, has carried on for the last 12 years.

290. Furthermore, our great Party, the Movement for the Social Development of Black Africa, which has been given fresh impetus, reaffirms the adherence of the Central African Empire to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the fundamental principles of democracy.

291. All the international conferences held in recent years on problems of general interest, such as those of population, education, health and culture, have largely contributed to the search for better understanding among peoples. Never since the creation of our Organization has attention so unanimous been paid to the condition of man and the means of improving it.

292. This analysis of the current political, economic and social international situation, marked for the most part by so many complex problems, all of which constitute challenges to mankind, should encourage the United Nations to bring about changes in order to respond to the needs of our time. The dominant features of that time may be summarized as scientific and technical progress undreamt of but also beyond all control; a desire for peace

constantly confronted by aggressiveness and violence; a will for unity conflicting everywhere with the existence of spheres of influence, and with political, military and economic rivalry, as well as racism and racial discrimination.

293. It is for changes corresponding to the needs of such times that the Central African Empire since its inception has worked and intends to work, along with all the States of the world which love peace and justice, in order to maintain relations based on the strict principles of non-alignment, self-determination, non-intervention, reciprocal equality and the peaceful settlement of disputes, thus contributing to the establishment of a new international economic order.

294. Those principles in essence correspond to the noble ideals which led to the foundation of the United Nations. Let us hope that this session will bring us even closer to the spirit of San Francisco. The interests of peace and the survival and happiness of man demand that of us. My country has faith, confidence and optimism.

295. Mr. JAMEEL (Maldives): It is a great pleasure for me to offer to Mr. Liévano, the warm congratulations of the Republic of Maldives on his election to the high office of President of the United Nations General Assembly. His election is a unanimous endorsement by the international community of his outstanding qualifications and qualities and the constructive and positive role played by his country, Colombia, in the work of the United Nations. My delegation is confident that his mature knowledge of the work of the United Nations in this contemporary age will bring clear insight and guidance to the proceedings of this regular session of the General Assembly.

296. I should like to convey warm and sincere congratulations to Mr. Lazar Mojsov, who presided over the thirty-second session and three important special sessions of the General Assembly with efficiency, dedication and wisdom. He won the admiration of the world community through his outstanding contribution to the success of those sessions.

297. I take this opportunity also to thank the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the comprehensive report this year in which he has evaluated the work of his Organization [A/33/1] and for his effective and untiring efforts deployed in the service of international peace and co-operation and the achievement of the objectives and ideals of this Organization.

298. The delegation of Maldives welcomes and congratulates the people of Solomon Islands, a sovereign and independent State, on that country's admission to the United Nations family as its one hundred and fiftieth Member. The accession to independence of that island group is a tribute to the important role played by the United Nations in the field of decolonization. Its admission to our family is a significant step forward in the eradication of colonialism and it brings our Organization closer to the attainment of its goal of universality.

299. My delegation deems it important to recall the three special sessions of the General Assembly held earlier this

year. They highlighted the urgency and gravity of and global concern over the problems dealt with during those sessions.

300. The situation in the Middle East has been changing rapidly. It remains in an uncertain state of frustration. Recent developments, also, left behind some of the fundamental aspirations of the peoples concerned and the international community. The United Nations resolutions, especially Security Council resolution 242 (1967), remain ineffective. The demographic and physical changes in the sacred land of Jerusalem and in the occupied Arab land still continue. The inalienable legitimate rights of the Palestinian people must be recognized. A just and lasting peace can be achieved only through the participation of their authentic representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in all deliberations. The people of Palestine have been subjected to extreme hardship and insecurity for far too long and their right to settle in their legitimate and true homeland should be recognized.

301. Today, in this modern world, while the peoples of some nations enjoy a life of convenience, we cannot sit and ignore a whole community of people that is being deprived of a homeland as a result of imperialism and foreign occupation of their land by force. It is imperative that a comprehensive solution be sought and that will be possible only after Israel has withdrawn unconditionally from every inch of the occupied Arab land. We have lived far too long with this sad and complex problem, and no progress towards a comprehensive solution has been made. It is surely the duty of the international community to leave no stone unturned and no leaf unswept in clearing the way for a just and lasting settlement. We must end the sufferings of the people of Palestine. They want to live in peace and security in a homeland of their own. In thinking about this, the world community and the parties immediately concerned must show greater wisdom so as to bring about a solution which will not result in further dissection of the Middle East and in particular of the Arab world. All actions must be guided by the need for justice and permanent peace.

302. While we celebrate the thirtieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights let us make a pledge that the coming years will free the world from the evils of inhuman practices. Today, racism, *apartheid* and colonial domination have become household words. Those words have often been linked with the situation prevailing in the African continent. The remaining tentacles of colonialism still cling fast to African soil. There is universal recognition of the need for firmer action to blow away the dark cloud that hangs not only over that continent but over the entire globe. The time has come to replace colonial ideology by realism. Human beings cannot be deprived of their right to self-determination and their fundamental freedoms on the basis of colour or creed. In South Africa the indigenous majority of its people is suppressed by an alien minority racist régime. Attempts to put an end to that unacceptable situation in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa have been frustrated by further inhuman and calculated repressive policies of the minority régimes.

303. The South African régime, which withdrew its acceptance of the plan for bringing independence to

Namibia under the auspices of the United Nations as a challenge to the Charter of this international body, has brought more shame to this Organization. It is therefore now evident that no permanent settlement can be found for the unfortunate state of affairs prevailing in that great continent unless the principles of justice, equality and self-determination are applied jointly.

304. Maldives has always taken a firm stand on world peace and the question of disarmament. The tenth special session of the General Assembly, devoted to disarmament, was especially inspiring to my country, a member of the non-aligned movement, for it set forth the essentials of the new strategy for disarmament, prescribing goals and priorities upon which future negotiations will be based. Although the achievements of the session cannot be interpreted in tangible terms, we hold the opinion that our deliberations took us a step closer to a comprehensive solution that would make the world more peaceful. We reaffirm our commitment to the United Nations and call upon Member countries to strengthen its capacity to carry out its sacred role through effective implementation of the principles enshrined in its Charter.

305. Another item on this session's agenda is the question of the implementation of the New International Economic Order. It is a universally recognized fact that no one single nation, whatever its economic capacity or technological advancement, can build its economy in isolation from the rest of the world. We have good reason to believe that as the nations of the world are becoming more and more interdependent the United Nations and its co-ordinating bodies can solve the existing global economic problems only through efforts of collective action. However, this goal seems to be drifting further away as the years go by since this Organization adopted resolute measures to combat the economic disparities among nations. The United Nations is now fully aware of all the dimensions of the problem, and we should certainly be wrong if we considered that it was in the interest of the developed countries to rectify the faults in the current economic situation and not change to a different order based on more fair, just and equitable international relations.

306. We know too well that the rich get richer and the poor get poorer as time goes by, and no progress has been made to narrow the gap between the developed and the developing countries. It is the opinion of my delegation that the global economic relations must improve to establish an international relationship that could lead to a stable and prosperous world which would be beneficial to all.

307. It has been our sincere hope and desire to make the Indian Ocean, which washes the shores of our nation, a zone of peace. Maldives will continue its efforts both inside and outside the United Nations to achieve that objective and keep that zone free from conflict and great-power rivalry.

308. Maldives, being an island country which largely depends on the resources of the sea, attaches great importance to the outcome of the recent session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. We view the achievements of that session with great hope and optimism.

309. The Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, which was recently held in Buenos Aires, highlighted some very important aspects of co-operation among developing countries. The efforts being made to bring the countries of the world to an equal level of economic participation and co-operation are viewed by my country with interest. Maldives has always believed that emphasis should be placed on involving all developing countries in order to share the benefits of technological progress. The gap between the developed and the developing countries has become far too wide. Therefore the grassroots of disparity which are the smaller gaps that exist between developing countries themselves will first have to be bridged.

310. In conclusion, I wish to add here that it was not the intention of my delegation to elaborate on the state of the internal political structure of our country and the continued efforts being made by the people of Maldives to improve the socio-economic level of their life. It is mainly because our problems, difficulties and achievements have been recognized and fully exposed to our close neighbours and sympathetic friends all over the world who are a great source of inspiration to us. However, it is somewhat disheartening to note that in a number of recent articles the international media failed to see our problems and our achievements in their true perspective. The fact is that Maldives was relatively little known to the world until its political independence in 1965, and it has never at any time had the intention of propagating publicity about itself, realizing that its energies and resources are limited and more needed for upgrading the quality of life of its people. Those who have visited our country will bear witness to those facts. Maldives hopes that the international media will understand its internal structure and external relations in a more realistic manner.

311. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on those representatives who have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

312. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Thank you, Mr. President, for being kind enough to grant the Gabonese delegation the opportunity to speak today in exercise of its right of reply following the statement made yesterday by a delegation which spoke at the 29th plenary meeting of this session of the General Assembly.

313. Although Gabon did not at any time recognize its own image in the account given of certain facts in that statement, we did not want to allow any misunderstanding to arise because of any resemblance between those facts and certain events which occurred recently in our country. That was liable to give rise to hasty comparisons which, to say the least, would be tendentious vis-à-vis my own country. We could not remain passive therefore, for certain persons would have hastened to interpret our silence as a tacit acknowledgement of the allegations that had been made.

314. At the fifteenth ordinary session of the OAU Assembly in Khartoum last July, when the whole of Africa was keenly listening to its leaders, who had met in an attempt to find solutions to the serious problems facing our continent, the President of a certain pseudo-revolutionary

country, by the outrageous character of the insults addressed to Gabon and its President, El Hadj Omar Bongo, violated the sacrosanct laws of international conferences, particularly of the OAU. He attacked Gabon by name, its President and its people, thus giving rise among the Gabonese to a wave of popular indignation which made us fear the worst.

315. Consequently, the highest authorities of the Gabonese Democratic Party and Government decided, for obvious reasons of internal peace and security, to return to their countries of origin nationals of that country whose Head of State had for months constantly uttered the gravest possible threats and the coarsest kind of insults against Gabon and its President.

316. Indeed, those foreigners who were living and freely pursuing their activities in our country, were liable over the long term to constitute a genuine danger to the peace of our country now that they had been called upon by the pseudo-revolutionaries to be ready "for the revolution". Hence, they were not repatriated simply because they were foreigners but also because, since they did not dissociate themselves from the threats uttered against their host country, which was granting them its generous hospitality, they were deliberately placing themselves in a position of obedience to a foreign Government which had openly and publicly proclaimed its hostility towards Gabon, its Government and its Head of State, President El Hadj Omar Bongo.

317. Furthermore, had these aliens ever regarded Gabon, where they had been living for so long, as their new country of adoption? Could one be sure that they would conduct themselves in all circumstances as Gabonese by adoption, respecting the laws and rules of that country? It is difficult to reply to those questions when one realizes that they never dissociated themselves from the repeated appeals to revolution issued by their President. Although living and earning a livelihood in a country which at no time they regarded as their own, they never concealed their arrogance, their scorn and the fact that they were settlers solely occupied in enriching themselves, with the idea, after having made their fortunes, of going back to their homelands. Very few of them reinvested in our country the profits they had earned in Gabon. All the profits were totally transferred to their countries of origin.

318. Furthermore, it is not without interest to stress that the arrogant and unfriendly conduct of the nationals of that African country often led other African Governments to take similar measures against them. What is more, the same measures were taken at one time or another with regard to citizens of other countries whose presence and activities jeopardized national security and were prejudicial to the sovereignty of the States in question. Have those countries been placed in the dock?

319. Contrary to what might be suggested, Gabon has not fallen prey to xenophobia. In view of its population, it is certainly today the African country that has the highest percentage of non-nationals as inhabitants. The African countries that do not have nationals in our country can be counted on the fingers of one hand. These foreigners, when they have been living in our country for a certain time, have the right to vote even if they have not adopted Gabonese

nationality. How many countries are there in the world that give this right to foreigners living on their territory?

320. Gabon has not adopted a policy of retrenchment. Its age-old tradition of generous hospitality makes that absolutely clear, and the thousands of foreigners who continue to live peacefully in our country can testify to that, if further evidence is needed.

321. In making this brief statement, the delegation of Gabon did not wish to become involved in sterile polemics dangerous to the interests of Africa.

322. Calmly and with objectivity we simply wanted to place into their proper context the events that led to the repatriation of nationals of a country which publicly proclaims its hostility towards Gabon for the tacit purpose of covering up its own difficulties and diverting the attention of the people from the clear failure of its own so-called revolutionary experiment.

323. In so doing we hope we have succeeded in bringing about a better understanding of the deep-rooted causes of these events and we hope we have established clearly on what side the primary responsibility lies.

324. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation apologizes for having to speak again in this Assembly in order to make some clarifications, but this has become absolutely necessary after the confused and confusing allegations we heard a few moments ago from the representative of the Government of Gabon.

325. In the course of our statement from this rostrum yesterday [29th meeting] we avoided pronouncing the name of the Head of State, a traitor to the sacred cause of the African peoples, of that puppet Government which, upon the orders of one well-known imperialist European country, works against the peace and security of the hard-working people of the People's Republic of Benin. If we have avoided mentioning the name of that country, it is not because we are afraid to do so. That is not the case. We have done so out of deference to the people of Gabon and out of respect for the other Heads of State of African countries. However, since the representative of Gabon has himself just now revealed that this is indeed the portrait of his President, El Hadj Omar Bongo, we can simply take note of this fact and thank him for his constructive contribution, which has thus in a harmonious manner supplemented the statement we made yesterday.

326. We will not refer again to the baleful role played by President El Hadj Omar Bongo against peace and security in Africa. Nor will we once again mention the active and decisive part he personally took in the imperialist aggression perpetrated against our country on Sunday, 16 January 1977. Indeed the entire international community knows, through the report of the Security Council's Special Mission to the People's Republic of Benin,²⁶ which was dispatched to our country following that aggression, that Mr. Bongo was one of the major organizers and persons financing that diabolical and criminal act against a peaceful and defence-

less people. Nor will we once again mention Bongo's responsibility in the inhuman and diabolical acts perpetrated in violation of the most elementary rights of the human person, namely, the mass expulsion, of more than 10,000 people, in conditions that revolt the human conscience, because of a dispute that arose between him and our country.

327. The representative of Gabon has just now recognized this fact. We simply wish to say one word about the very dangerous role of lackey and puppet of the imperialists played by Bongo in Africa at present.

328. Our country, the People's Republic of Benin, does not have a common border with Gabon. Benin does not have any political dispute with Gabon. Relations between the Government of Gabon and the Government of Benin could in fact be considered good, since our President, Mathieu Kérékou, paid an official visit to Gabon and was well received by the population of that country, and the former Foreign Minister of Gabon, Mr. Paul Okumba D'Odwatsegue, paid an official visit to Benin, where he was very well received by the people. We were preparing to receive President Bongo in our country just before the imperialist aggression took place on 16 January 1977. Had it not been for documents abandoned by the mercenaries at the Cotonou airport, it would have been impossible for the people of Benin to believe that the President of Gabon was one of the persons financing that aggression.

329. No one in Benin would have thought that the President of Gabon was one of the organizers of this outrageous act intended to deal a blow to the revolution in our country and bring our people to their knees.

330. Why is it that the President of Gabon thinks that he can be the centre of a plot against the lives of our people and their leaders? What does he want with our country, and why is it that he attacks the peace and security of the people of Benin? It is simply because he received orders to do so from his imperialist masters, and they, of course, have very good reasons to oppose the people of Benin and their revolution. Furthermore, who does not know who are the real masters in power in Libreville? I shall not put the question to the representative of Gabon and ask him to give us a statement on this issue, but no one is ignorant of the fact that, in order to leave Moroni for an "unknown destination", as we are told, Bob Denard, alias Mustafa Mahjoub of the Comoros, alias Colonel Maurin of Cotonou, took a plane from Gabon that was specifically dispatched to transport him. All these events need no further comment.

331. The representative who has just spoken on behalf of the Government of Gabon has not contributed anything new, nor could he have done so. He took refuge behind gross insults and pitiful lies, to which we shall not reply. We do not blame him personally. He is merely doing his work as a representative of Gabon in the United Nations. We know him well. He does not believe a single word of what he read out. From the bottom of his heart he is opposed to the policies of humiliation and governmental irresponsibility practised by the present authorities in Gabon.

332. In any event, our belief, like his own, in fact, is that the people of Gabon will sooner or later render their just deserts to these vile agents of international imperialism.

²⁶ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, Special Supplement No. 3*.

333. Mr. MARROQUIN-NAJERA (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Government of Guatemala is increasingly discouraged at the attempts of various delegations in this Assembly to inject an emotional note of discord into the legal dispute which exists, with regard to the territory of Belize, between Guatemala and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland—two parties that are trying to find a peaceful and just solution of this dispute with the participation of the authorities and people of Belize. Such attempts to interfere with political aims render difficult the settlement of the problem we are trying to resolve.

334. My Government wants to restate its traditional and energetic anti-colonialist policy of which there exists much proof in the United Nations.

335. My delegation would like to make it clear to the representative of Trinidad and Tobago that the problem of Belize is a legal one. General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, clearly establishes as an exception that any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

336. That saving clause was originally inserted to protect the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the States Members of the United Nations. Without in any way altering the vital principle of preserving the territorial integrity of States that have already been established, the General Assembly began to apply this principle also as a means of protecting against the claims of the administering Powers with regard to annexing the territory of the colonies that they had received in trusteeship and appropriating the richest part of their natural resources when granting them independence. This application of the principle of exception was to be found in Africa, in Asia and in the islands in the Pacific Ocean.

337. But this principle cannot apply to territories that are part and parcel of Member States and with regard to which there exists a dispute where one Member State claims sovereignty over a part of its territory occupied by colonial Powers in their well-known affinity for expansion, having obtained it through the exercise of their great power in the world.

338. That is why the Government of Guatemala, on joining the United Nations in 1945, reserved its rights over Belize without any objection being raised in any way, and in voting in favour of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) it was one of the 40 sponsors of paragraph 6 of that resolution which was basically designed to preserve the territorial integrity of the territory of Belize, as can be seen in the records of the memorable session in which the resolution was adopted.

339. Guatemala has always considered the territory of Belize as an integral part of our nation because of its geographical contiguity, because of Guatemala's legal and historical titles to it and because part of the population living in the territory is truly Guatemalan.

340. It is understandable, but unjustifiable, that the representative of Trinidad and Tobago should speak out in favour of the self-determination of Belize referring to a territory that legally belongs to Guatemala but whose *de facto* sovereignty is the subject of a dispute with the United Kingdom.

341. We believe that many States which make the same claim would not take such a bold view if the independence of Belize were achieved at the expense of the territorial integrity of Trinidad and Tobago, of Barbados, of Jamaica or of the countries of any of those who here put forward such a thesis in keeping, undoubtedly, with the personal political interests of their Governments. This is contrary to the letter and spirit of the United Nations Charter, and my country will resist such violations, in pursuance of the principle of the Charter and of international law.

342. Therefore, it is not true that guaranteeing the security and independence of Belize requires in return the yielding of a part of its territory, as it is clear that Belize is a part of the territory of Guatemala that was originally occupied by a Power from outside the continent that had sufficient strength and was pursuing its ambition for colonial expansion.

343. The Minister for External Affairs of Trinidad and Tobago, at the 29th meeting, called upon the parties to the dispute to continue negotiations on Belize in accordance with the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in this connexion. That is unacceptable to Guatemala. Such resolutions establish *a priori* the result of any negotiation and call upon the General Assembly to interfere in a legal dispute, giving the United Nations jurisdiction to solve the matter at a political level, in contravention of the fundamental principles of the Charter.

344. We wish to repeat in this Assembly that Guatemala and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, without abiding by those resolutions, are at present conducting negotiations about Belize, with the participation of the authorities and people of Belize, in an attempt to find a just, honourable and peaceful manner of ending this age-old dispute, bearing in mind the legitimate rights of Guatemala and the vital interests of the population of Belize.

345. My delegation wishes to say to the Permanent Representative of Haiti that Belize is not a colony *stricto sensu*. Rather it is a territory that was separated from Guatemala at a time of expansionism and colonialism in Central America and the Caribbean. My country has ceaselessly called for the restoration of that territory.

346. Belize does not have its own territory, nor does it have a homogeneous population, since a large part of the population is of Mayan origin, speaks Spanish and has maintained very close links with the population of Guatemala. For the populations of Guatemala and Belize living in the region separated by the demarcation line, that line is a fiction; there is no such thing; they have family ties and trade between them is extremely cordial and very productive.

347. My country is fully convinced that, if we were to eliminate that source of disturbance through frank and

reasonable negotiations between the parties and by fostering fraternal relations between the populations of Guatemala and Belize, it would be possible to find formulas to bring about the broad co-operation and peaceful coexistence, which will be beneficial in promoting the economic, political and social integration of this important part of Central America and the Caribbean.

348. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the representative of Gabon who wishes once again to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

349. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): It is with the utmost reluctance that I address the Assembly once again. I realize how heavy are our tasks and obligations, and I had not intended to prolong the meeting any further. But it was not possible for me to overlook the gross insults that we have just heard, to stand by in silence after those insults were uttered by the representative of Benin about the Head of State and of an African State at that.

350. I call the Assembly to witness the fact that at no time did the Gabonese representative mention the name of Benin or the name of its President. The representative of Benin, who has just spoken about Gabon and its President, let loose a flood of insults such as we have rarely heard here. It was a very distressing spectacle and I am ashamed for that country. A country that calls itself revolutionary, a country that claims to be leading its people towards I do not know what kind of happiness, a country separated from Gabon by several thousand kilometres, a country with which Gabon has no common frontier, claims here in public that Gabon fomented and took part in an attempted coup d'état to overthrow its Government. Of what Government was the representative speaking? What I call a Government is an authority stemming from the people, an authority properly elected. Gabon is not responsible, has never been responsible, for the coming to power of Colonel Kérékou. Colonel Kérékou came to power after a coup d'état. It was not the first. I do not know whether the members of this Assembly can recall the number of coups d'état that, since the independence of Benin—then Dahomey—in 1960, have marked the history of that country.

351. Was Gabon behind those coups d'état? I am surprised that the representative of Dahomey should claim here that Gabon is anxious to destabilize his régime. Of Gabon and Benin, which of the two has any advantage in the other country? To my knowledge, no Gabonese national is living in Benin. On the other hand, thousands of citizens of Benin have been living in Gabon up to now. They were welcomed there with open arms, as is the custom in Africa. They were authorized to carry out their activities in total freedom. Their affairs prospered and Gabon never imposed any restrictions whatever on their activities.

352. The representative of Benin tells us that Gabon took part in the attempted overthrow of his country's régime at a time when President Kérékou had just paid a visit to Gabon, in the course of which he was well received. I do not know whether the members of the delegation of Benin had then the same functions as they have now—things change so rapidly in that country—but I should like to ask

them whether they recall the words President Kérékou, while an official guest of the Gabonese Government, ventured to utter in Gabon. Quite simply, demonstrating pseudo-revolutionary militancy, Mr. Kérékou called upon the people of Gabon to rise up in revolution. I do not know if that was normal, or if, in any case, the delegation of Benin finds it normal, for President Kérékou, then our official guest, to have ventured to incite the population to rise up in order to overthrow the existing régime in Gabon.

353. Benin claims that Gabon took part in an endeavour to destabilize its régime following a bizarre attempted invasion which supposedly occurred on 16 January 1977: an aircraft with mercenaries aboard—that is what was said and written by many press agencies—allegedly took off from Gabon—from a Gabonese airport called Bengué. In this regard, I wish to mention some details which will enable this Assembly to have a better understanding of the Problem.

354. Bengué is located in southern Gabon, about 500 or 600 kilometres from Libreville. According to the allegations of the representative of Benin, an aircraft with mercenaries aboard supposedly left Libreville to land in Bengué at night. I wish to point out to you that that airfield has no equipment to permit night landings; no radar or control tower detected the presence of that aircraft. Now—and this is a very important detail—the safety of flights over Gabon is assured not by Gabonese control towers or radar but by the Brazzaville control tower, in the People's Republic of the Congo, which assumes responsibility for all aircraft taking off from or landing at any Gabonese airfield. Consequently, it is extremely surprising that mention should be made of a flight which supposedly followed such a course without its having been detected by radar or being guided by the control tower responsible for air traffic safety in that area.

355. It was supposedly a commando raid: I do not know how many regiments or divisions were supposed to have landed in Cotonou, but there was apparently one aircraft. That aircraft is supposed to have landed at Cotonou; the mercenaries are supposed to have left the aircraft and spread into the town, firing at everything they met; they then supposedly reboarded the aircraft and took off towards an unknown destination. Supposedly also, one prisoner was taken. What was the nationality of that prisoner? All I can say is that that prisoner was not of Gabonese nationality.

356. In addition to the lying, nay the shameless, allegations by Benin about a fraternal country which was extending hospitality to thousands of its nationals, thereby contributing to the stability of its balance of payments, Benin has not hesitated to hurl the coarsest possible insults at Gabon and its Head of State. In all the long years that I have been attending international conferences—indeed, ever since my country's accession to independence—never have I heard a responsible representative who was familiar with etiquette and respectful of his own country indulge publicly in language so vulgar and base. I can only voice the great shame I feel for that delegation.

357. As I said a moment ago, when in Khartoum President Mathieu Kérékou continued publicly his shameful and

odious insults about Gabon and its President, the people of Gabon would not accept it. It was following those insults—following all the previous attacks—that the people asked that the citizens of Benin should return to their country. The political bureau of the Democratic Party of Gabon and the Government of Gabon met and took the decision to repatriate all Beninese nationals in our country. The Beninese were placed in our technical schools pending their repatriation. Gabon asked for the presence of a Beninese diplomat to supervise personally the embarkation operations; President Kérékou replied that the Government of Benin would assume all responsibilities. The Government of Benin assumed its responsibilities so well, in fact, that it was not even in a position either to send its diplomats or to make available to its nationals the necessary means to enable them to leave. It was the Gabonese Government which had to bear all the expenses and work out all the logistics of that operation. The Government of Benin took, I believe, more than a week to allow the first shipload of repatriates to land in Cotonou.

358. I wanted to bring these facts to the attention of the Assembly, and I apologize personally for having been obliged to mention the name of a fraternal country, as well as to identify a Head of State whom, as an African, I must respect. I did so, however, because I could not remain silent in view of the insults that the representative of Benin permitted himself to utter in this Assembly.

359. I repudiate most solemnly all the false allegations which have been made from this rostrum by the spokesman of the delegation of Benin.

360. The Government of Gabon and its President have not at any time taken part in any attempt whatsoever to overthrow the régime of Benin. The Gabonese Government has no interest whatsoever in Benin, which is thousands of kilometres away and which has no common frontier with our country. The Government of Gabon has no material or financial interests in Benin; quite the contrary. Perhaps the reason why Benin feels so strongly about this is because now it is deprived of an important source of income. Their nationals who were living in Gabon used to send home all that they earned from their activities in our country. Over the last three years, since a statistical check has been made, the Beninese have sent home, either by bank transfers or by post, the equivalent of 600 million CFA francs, or \$2.5 million per year. In the same period the movement of capital from Benin to Gabon did not reach even 10 million CFA francs. That explains the strength of feeling, the anger...

361. The PRESIDENT: I am sorry to interrupt the speaker but I should like to remind him that in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly at its 4th plenary meeting, statements in exercise of right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

362. The delegation of Benin wishes to exercise its right of reply again. I call on the representative of Benin.

363. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, you asked me to be good enough not to speak because of

the lateness of the hour. I wanted to heed your appeal, but unfortunately I must ask you to permit me to say just a few words.

364. The problem which pits our country against Gabon is a political problem. The representative of Gabon who has just spoken is not at all well-informed and we wish to ask him to be kind enough to read the 4,000 pages of documentation published by the Security Council in connexion with this matter. If today he comes here to deny the fact that Gabon took part in the aggression perpetrated against my country on 16 January 1977, I think that he is not at all well-informed and it will be necessary for him to reread not only the documents issued by the Security Council but also the documents published by the Council of Ministers of the OAU which went to Cotonou and carried out investigations. I will have to ask him to do that. He will have to read the documents and be better informed. It is no good his getting upset for Gabon is fully responsible for what happened on 16 January 1977 at Cotonou. He wants to deny the existence of Bourgeaud. But today everyone knows who Bourgeaud is. Everyone knows that he was in Cotonou. Everyone knows who Bob Denard is and everyone knows that he was in Moroni and committed that heinous crime at Moroni. Everyone knows what aircraft went to Moroni for Bob Denard. It was a Gabonese aircraft. At least read the newspapers.

365. The PRESIDENT: May I remind representatives that the President of the General Assembly appealed to representatives to limit the number of their statements in exercise of right of reply. He urged all delegations to agree voluntarily to make use of the right of reply only once, or twice at the most, in the course of the debate. Having said that, I shall call for the last time on the representative of Gabon.

366. Mr. DAVIN (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): I should like to point out that no international body has established as a fact or recognized that Gabon officially participated in any act of aggression against Benin. Once again, we do not see what interest Gabon could have in committing aggression against Benin. If we want to commit aggression, there are countries much closer to Gabon in which Gabon does have interests and against which it could commit aggression, but certainly not Benin which is so far from us.

367. That is why, once again, I repeat my statement that the Gabonese delegation repudiates most categorically and with the utmost force the false allegations that the delegation of Benin is constantly making.

368. The PRESIDENT: The delegation of Benin has already exercised its right of reply twice. In keeping with the appeal made by the President, I now call on the representative of Benin for the last time.

369. Mr. BOYA (Benin) (*interpretation from French*): I shall be extremely brief. You have heard the statement made by the representative of Gabon. All that remains to be said is that a serious threat hangs over neighbouring countries.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.