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

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

2. Mr. GAIRY (Grenada): "Let your light so shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glorify your Father which is in heaven." Man is the greatest thing that God has created on this earth plane and man is everything that he, himself, has invented. But, as I said before on another occasion, man is afraid to unlock the door to himself.

3. Mr. President, I am impelled to express for my country, my Government and for myself personally heartiest congratulations to you for being unanimously elected to this high office as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Records indicate beyond the shadow of a doubt that you are certainly a person of no mean attainment, as manifestly demonstrated by the unanimity of support which you have received. Your service and incalculable contribution to the United Nations are indelibly impressed upon the minds of the nations comprising this august body. This very high position to which you have been elected is but one more milestone in your distinguished career. Again, accept our heartiest and sincerest congratulations.

4. My delegation is satisfied that past sessions have met with varying degrees of success in easing world tensions in realizing that the disparities in economic condition between the more industrialized and opulent countries and the less industrialized and poorer countries have not undergone any significant change, and in recognizing that enormous sums

are being spent on the development and production of military weapons and other destructive equipment, which greatly aggravates these and other world problems. We therefore feel very strongly that this session must aim essentially at greater and more significant and effective results. So often have we been justly accused of talking too much, and so, too, have we failed to implement important decisions taken and to convert the feeling of the General Assembly into positive action.

5. At this juncture, I feel that it is incumbent upon me to say that the illustrious Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who served as President of the last session of the General Assembly, has brilliantly provided the necessary leadership to this Organization, particularly during the various crises of the past year, and we wish to place on record our admiration and gratitude for his very distinguished services.

6. We, the people and Government of Grenada, wish to express our sincerest appreciation to our distinguished and beloved Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose untiring efforts, complete dedication and extraordinary diplomatic skill have been of immeasurable benefit not only to Members of the United Nations but even to many nations not yet within the ambit of our Organization. His leadership has contributed greatly to the furtherance of the ideals and purposes of this world body in the preservation of peace and in promoting the freedom, welfare and progress of all peoples. I think I am voicing the opinion of all who have come in contact with Mr. Waldheim in stating that there are few people in the world with such a distinguished background and with such eminence who remain so friendly, so affable and so very modest in his dealings with other people.

7. The United Nations Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, adopted in resolution 1514 (XV) of 1960, and the pressures of the United Nations itself and of individual Members of this body seem to be bearing fruit, and the independence of Seychelles is, indeed, another forward step in the history of the United Nations and of those who have fought to establish the principle of and the declaration on decolonization. In this context, it is with a deep feeling of camaraderie that we join in welcoming Seychelles as a fully fledged Member of this Organization. Those of us who have travelled the same path from colonial servitude to freedom and self-determination, and, subsequently, have attained membership in the United Nations, look forward with pleasurable expectations to this new Member making a contribution to the yet continuing struggle to bring freedom and self-determination to the remaining peoples and Territories still in colonial bondage. We reaffirm, without any reservations whatever, our unswerving support for the principle of full membership within the United

Nations for all countries, and so it is with respect and with humility that I appeal to all concerned to uphold that principle when the issues involving the peoples of the United Republic of Viet Nam and that of Korea shall again be presented. In fact, I feel very strongly that the United Nations is under the obligation to initiate the necessary positive action to bring these countries into this family of nations as soon as possible.

8. We wish to express our condolences to the People's Republic of China on the loss of its illustrious leader.

9. In my last address to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session,¹ I referred to the Bermuda triangle as but one example of the phenomena that continue to baffle man, and I appealed to the United Nations to establish a department or an agency devoted to psychic research. It is with humility that I state that this subject evoked considerable interest, but, regrettably, no positive action has yet been taken. However, I am confident that the idea has not died and that some positive action will emanate from this world body, which, I am sure, will get the full support and co-operation of universities and scientific institutions which are in a smaller measure conducting some research and experiments in the area of psychic knowledge. I feel that it is obligatory on this world Organization to give impetus and direction to those already involved in that particular field and to take positive steps in co-ordinating these efforts. We believe that the importance of psychic research lies not only in the purely scientific point of view, for in this area of human knowledge lie some of the answers to problems that have confronted mankind since time immemorial.

10. In the same way as this planet is the accepted inheritance of all humanity, knowledge is also to be shared for the benefit of all mankind, and, in this light, one wonders why the existence of unidentified flying objects, or "flying saucers", as they are sometimes called, continues to remain a secret to those in whose archives repose useful information and other data. While we appreciate that some countries consider this to be in the interest of military expedience, I now urge that a different view be taken because it is my firm conviction that the world is ready, willing and ripe to accept these phenomena relating to man and his existence on the planet earth and to the planet earth and life in outer space.

11. I am submitting, with respect, that it is most urgent and vitally important for the world to take a new look at the concept of human rights. It is my strong feeling that those who propounded the principles of the rights of humanity that culminated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948 must necessarily have had completely different ideas from those that seem to prevail in some quarters when one speaks of human rights today. Let me say here and now that human rights must not—I repeat, not—be interpreted as a one-way street for evil individuals and small subversive groups whose aims and objectives are mainly and simply to disrupt the peace and harmony of society in their attempt to overthrow governments and establishments. In regard to their acts of violence, ter-

rorism, vandalism, kidnapping and arson and other criminal acts and threats to the security of society there is always a conspicuously loud silence among individuals and organizations that spontaneously present themselves as advocates and representatives of all such terrorists, criminals, vandals and kidnappers when they come face to face with the law. These individuals and organizations, perhaps too many to mention, seem always to offer themselves as a counsel of solace, thereby abetting the activities of such offenders and giving them and others of their kind encouragement to commit similar crimes. When a Government or Governments take the necessary action to secure and ensure for the majority of their people the human right to enjoy peace of mind, I often wonder whether the organizations, groups and individuals that keep on shouting for human rights and trying to defame and vilify the character of good Governments ever thought of issuing warnings to those wicked individuals and groups before they actually commit their mischief. Human rights must work both ways. When a child is kidnapped, perhaps more than 99 per cent of the population is deprived of its human right to sleep in peace, not knowing whose child will be next. So it is that, when a building is burned or bombed or a man is shot or an aircraft is hijacked or some other acts of violence or vandalism are committed, automatically the human right to peace of mind is infringed or violated. It is in these cases that the shouters for human rights should shout, and not when the criminals come face to face with the law. Governments are not only justified in taking preventive measures for the safety and security of life, property and the welfare of all the people; they are obliged to do so. These are the thoughts on the concept of human rights I wish to leave with this General Assembly.

12. Now, not totally removed from the subject of human rights is the subject of women's rights. It is obvious that the phrase "human rights" is generally confined to the rights of men and tends to exclude equal consideration for the rights of women. Certainly one cannot be so naive as not to recognize the fact that, in spite of all the fanfare, in spite of all the conferences, in spite of all the forums and seminars and in spite of the declaration of 1975 as International Women's Year, all culminating in a 10-year plan of action—yes, in spite of all these—one cannot be so naive but has to be realistic and face the fact that in actuality nothing has been done by the men controlling the powers that be to give the necessary impetus, the necessary co-operation and assistance. In fact the powers that be cannot lay claim to a single modicum of real action on their part designed or calculated to advance the cause of women or even to place them on the threshold of a good second-class partnership in the global community of humanity. In various parts of the world today women are still without their franchise and women are still debarred from holding certain positions in government, in institutions and in commercial enterprises. Yet, invariably, the few who have been given the opportunity to perform have done so with supreme excellence. It is with a feeling of emotion and deep sincerity that I appeal to those concerned to reduce the talking, the conferences, the seminars and the planning and go into positive action. Today the world calls for "doers" rather than the avalanche of mighty talkers that seem to impregnate the atmosphere with glorious promises—but only promises. Now on behalf of the women of the world I plead: put promises into action.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2378th meeting.

13. Although the United Nations and many public and private organizations the world over have committed themselves to taking important steps towards the most urgently needed protection of the human environment, we all recognize that there is much that remains to be done for the safety and maintenance of our planet as a suitable habitat both for this generation and for posterity. There are, however, far too many elements that are destructive and harmful to our environment and particularly detrimental to human beings in the world. We are quite certain, however, that in many instances the creation of these factors that are damaging to our human environment is not motivated by malice, selfishness or lack of consideration for our neighbours, but could be rightly attributed to a lack of technological knowledge, to defective planning or to mistaken policies. It seems rather urgent and important to redirect our technological skill from the manufacture of destructive weapons and equipment to the elimination of pollution.

14. We are pleased to state that Grenada is absolutely free from any form of pollution. In spite of that, and because we are so aware of the dangers that can be caused by pollution, we have just created a department of environmental development within an already existing ministry. This is in keeping with our policy not to fall within the category of the avalanche of talkers I have referred to but to remain performers and doers—and it is well to remember that, in spite of the size of our country, we have always put into action the thoughts and philosophies we express.

15. Our role in the struggle for the equality of women was manifestly demonstrated when we caused the appointment of the first and only woman Governor in the Commonwealth seven years ago. Upon Grenada's entry into the United Nations we found it fitting to appoint Mrs. Marie-Josephine McIntyre as our Permanent Representative. She also serves as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Washington, D.C., and graces the diplomatic corps of this country as one of the few women ambassadors. In Grenada, women serve at all levels of the service—for example, the Permanent Secretary to my Ministry, who heads the Department of Planning, Development and Training, and the many other beautiful Grenadian women who are holding exalted positions in the service of my country.

16. While there was a lot of talking about the support of youth, we were the first in the Caribbean to establish a Ministry of Youth Development and Sports nine years ago. And so it is with justification and a feeling of pride that I take this opportunity to invite each and every one of you to visit our unspoiled and unpolluted land of beauty—the “Isle of Spice”, the “Gem of the West”—at some time or other at your convenience, but especially during our annual Easter water parade. The official invitations will be sent to your Governments and peoples in due course.

17. The subject of the human environment cannot be complete without making some short observations on the quality of life of some of our brothers and sisters in various parts of the world, and particularly those who have passed under the rule of tyrannical colonial masters, and yet more especially those of us who have had the experience, not of living, but of existing under colonial economic cruelty.

18. Today, as before, the word “war” seems to bear a specific connotation confining it to the conflict between nations fighting for power and territory. But there is a situation seldom spoken about within these walls: a “war” that is wicked, vicious and brutal; a war of economic cruelty. We in Grenada have experienced such a war—for after more than two centuries of colonial rule Grenada emerged to self-determination without any economic assistance from the colonial Power that dictated our policies by buying our necessary commodities and by selling our primary products, thus controlling, in fact, all aspects of our lives.

19. The governors, administrators, chiefs of police and other high-ranking civil servants were imposed on us and paid from our local revenue. Today, even though there are agreements for token assistance, the Powers have embarked upon a new strategy of delaying tactics, creating obstacles in the path of our development programme with exquisite diplomatic skill, excuses and apologies.

20. There is also a milder form of economic aggression practised by some of the more affluent countries making definite commitment to give economic and other forms of co-operation to those countries in dire need. In most cases the commitments for those economic and other forms of co-operation have never been honoured, and in some cases only insignificant tokens have been given. The damage done to the small developing nations of the third world under these circumstances by those aggressive acts of economic cruelty is causing incalculable hardship and obviously tends to foster frustration and bitterness against those affluent nations. It is bad enough not to offer bilateral assistance in special cases and circumstances, but it is far worse to make a commitment and not honour it.

21. Please allow me to crave the Assembly's indulgence by attempting to summarize the salient points to my contribution to the general debate of this thirty-first session. My first humble submission was to repeat the call for establishment of a department or agency devoted to psychic research; my second was to ask the Powers concerned to share with other Governments and peoples of our planet their information and other data on unidentified flying objects; my third was the presentation of my concept of human rights; in my fourth submission, I asked for less talk and more action on women's rights; my fifth was our submission on the preservation of the human environment; and my sixth was Grenada's thought on economic aggression, as waged by imperialist Powers, and the dishonouring of commitments made by some of the more affluent countries to smaller developing ones. And, finally, in my seventh submission, I am proposing that the time is ripe and that the peoples of the world are ready and willing to discuss the concept, the recognition, the acknowledgement and the acceptance of a universal God—the same universal God we call Allah, Yahweh, Jehovah, Jah, Krishna, Shinto or any other name.

22. I am not unaware, however, of the fact that this subject may offer some degree of controversy. I speak without fear of challenge that there is no subject throughout this planet that is of greater significance or greater importance or greater urgency than this subject, and I call upon the leaders of the world—political, philosophical,

mystical, spiritual, doctrinal, theological and religious—to consider its importance, its significance and its urgency.

23. Leaders are sometimes inclined to set aside subjects that are heavy or controversial for diverse reasons. We have accepted the inheritance of this planet as our natural habitat. I accept the fact that the world is divided into two main factions—those of us who accept and express the philosophy of a supreme being, universal in scope; the other faction being those who express the non-existence of any supreme being. Nevertheless, I say here and now with firm and irrevocable conviction that every rational being, every human being accepts, perhaps in varying degrees, within his inner consciousness the existence of a power greater than man. The differences are in concept and nothing else; and I repeat that there is absolutely no difference within man's consciousness except that of concept.

24. There are many philosophies and doctrines from which have emanated innumerable religions, but even within any particular doctrine and, to go further, within any particular religion, and in many cases to go even further within many homes supporting the same religion, there are differences in the concept of the supreme being. It is not my role here today to suggest that any doctrinal, religious, mystical, spiritual or any other groups for that matter should accept my concept. I am simply and humbly submitting that the time has long been ripe for leaders to consider this subject, unparalleled in importance and incomparable in scope, to get together with open minds and hearts in friendly discussions.

25. While it is not my intention to try to superimpose my concept of God on the General Assembly, I am sure that it will not hurt if I further crave the Assembly's indulgence to state in brief that man has established limitations to the concept of the universal being in all forms and fashions. Some have given Him shapes and sizes; some have given Him nationalities and colours, in the same way that man has established time and its limitations and expansions, in the same manner that man has established an undue importance and, so to speak, superiority of the body of man over man himself, not realizing or perhaps forgetting that man's body is simply the habitat, the cloak, or the vehicle within which man actually dwells. God has no shape; God has no size; God has no colour, no age, no nationality.

26. I am sure that those who have had the experience of full consciousness outside that mundane habitat and those who have had perhaps a split second of ecstatic experience in the world of reality—for our planet is simply a world of illusion—whether by accident, prayers or meditation—would have no hesitation in accepting the fact that God has absolutely no limitations, for He is ever-present, all-seeing, all-knowing, all-wise, all-powerful, all-penetrating and ever-loving in nature. God permeates, pervades and occupies all things and all space in the universe. God himself is that universal order that holds and binds all things together; He is the source of all existence and the centre of all creation; He is the source and centre of all things; He is the source and centre of all light, of all life, of all love, of all energy, of all spirit, of all minds and of all intelligence.

27. Do the astronauts, when they are in outer space or when they traverse the surface of the moon, feel themselves outside the precincts of the God we worship on earth? The God we worship is certainly the God who is present in outer space, on the moon and all other planets, for He is God of the universe—the God of galaxies of worlds, and yet that God is also present in the minutest entity conceivable by the human mind. In other words, God is everywhere: He is within and without, around and above, in us and all around us. God is filling this room with His loving presence.

28. Man has made great advances in science and technology and so man can construct a building or a room that is completely light-proof, completely sound-proof, completely magnetism-proof and, by proper insulation, even completely electricity-proof, but man cannot make anything that is God-proof, for God is everywhere.

29. In conclusion, permit me to repeat that the whole idea behind the final subject which I have raised is simply to evoke some interest among the leaders of the world—political, philosophical, mystical, spiritual, theological, doctrinal and religious leaders—in the recognition, acknowledgement and acceptance of the universality of God, which is the only true assurance we have of effectively solving the problems of world tension and fostering a lasting world peace, and I thank God for providing me with the opportunity to do so.

30. And now I engage the hearts and minds of all those present here in giving thanks to the same Supreme Being in the manner that Christ taught us to pray to that Supreme Being His Father and our Father, saying thus:

Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be Thy name,
Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done in earth, as it is in heaven.

Give us this day our daily bread,

And forgive us our trespasses as we forgive those who trespass against us.

Lead us out of temptation, Lord, and deliver us from all evil,

For Thine is the kingdom, the power and the glory forever and ever,
Amen.

So may it be. Let God be praised.

31. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly, and on my own behalf, I thank the Prime Minister and Minister for External Affairs of Grenada, His Excellency Mr. Eric M. Gairy, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

32. The PRESIDENT: Before I call on the next speaker, I should like once again to remind representatives of the decision which the Assembly adopted at the fourth plenary meeting and to ask that representatives should refrain from going up to a speaker after he has finished his statement in order to convey their congratulations.

33. Mr. CHATTY (Tunisia) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, the Tunisian delegation sincerely rejoices at your election to head this session of the United Nations General Assembly. The tribute thus paid, through you, to your country is richly deserved. Your role as representative of Sri Lanka to the United Nations for many years and your competence and your courtesy, which have been unanimously recognized, in particular in your work as President of the important Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, make you singularly qualified to guide the work of this session of the General Assembly, from which we the third world and non-aligned countries expect much. The responsibilities which Sri Lanka assumed as host of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries and the part your country played in the development of its work also means that this honour is conferred on all the non-aligned countries, whose efforts and positions in regard to the numerous problems with which the international community is faced your Government and your Mission will strive to co-ordinate.

34. We wish at the same time warmly to congratulate Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the exemplary manner in which he guided the work of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. The wisdom and skill he displayed have but confirmed the lofty qualities of a statesman which we have always known him to possess.

35. We are happy once again to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his devoted and sincere efforts in the service of the ideals of our Organization, and we appreciate the effectiveness of his action, which is admired by all peoples represented in this Assembly.

36. A few days ago the General Assembly unanimously accepted the application for admission of a new State, which was already a member of our Organization of African Unity [OAU]. On this occasion I am pleased to address our warmest congratulations to the delegation of Seychelles. The admission of Seychelles is certainly an important event which strengthens the universal character of our Organization.

37. We would have sincerely wished to have seen the application of this principle of universality, a fundamental principle of our Organization, encompass the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola—two countries which for various reasons are close to Tunisia. We express the hope that these two friendly countries will very soon take their legitimate place in the United Nations and join us in seeking a solution to the multiple world problems which our Organization must face.

38. Indeed, the problems which are of concern to all the peoples of the world have not in the past year found a definitive solution, nor has there been any decisive development. Whether it is in connexion with southern Africa or the Middle East, or whether it is a question of disarmament or the establishment of a new international economic order, we note that our progress, if one can truly call it progress, towards decisive solutions is very slow.

39. The tremendous hopes that were aroused immediately after that critical year of 1973 that we should see all the

countries of the world working together towards a common future within the framework of a recognized and accepted interdependence between large and small States, between the Western countries and those of the East, and, above all, between the industrialized and the developing countries—these hopes have been somewhat dampened. During 1973 we saw first of all the October war in the Middle East, followed by the energy crisis, and shortly thereafter—the overthrow of the Portuguese colonial empire occurred as a result of the strength of African determination.

40. Those are three fundamental events whose impact goes far beyond their geographical scope. After that, and after the emergence of a reunited and independent Viet Nam, it was possible to say that we were witnessing the birth of a new world. The strongest myths had been shattered; the hopes of the weakest had been raised.

41. A new truth was revealed: the interdependence of all countries of the globe had become a fact. The great problem was how to organize it. On the political level, this implied immediately satisfying the aspirations of oppressed peoples, in particular by the eradication of the colonial and *apartheid* régime in southern Africa and, in the Middle East, by the total restitution of the Arab territories occupied by force as well as the restoration of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people to their country and their independence.

42. At the economic level, this also implied replacing the old international order, broadly marked by the aftermath of the colonial era, by a new economic order based on equality and interdependence.

43. Now, three years later, what progress have we achieved in this direction? Very little, as we are compelled to recognize. We even wonder whether what was evident yesterday is not being challenged today. Does the developed world still recognize the need for interdependence in equality, or does it hope, thanks to the contradictions and conflicts of the third world, to cause the old order to prevail? It would in any case be a great temptation to take advantage of the internal problems of the third world—which at times can be exacerbated—to crush the aspirations of the peoples struggling for the recognition of political rights, which alone can confer economic rights which in turn alone can guarantee a new international order.

44. In that connexion, perhaps the clearest progress has been seen in southern Africa, where an international consensus is developing more and more in the direction of putting an end to the problems of colonial oppression in Rhodesia and Namibia.

45. There is real hope today that we shall soon see the accession to independence of those two African countries, whose struggle for freedom has been a long one and has entailed much suffering and the loss of hundreds of human lives. These sacrifices could perhaps have been avoided, or at least reduced, if the resolutions adopted year after year by the United Nations in regard to those two Territories had been supported, followed and put into effect by all States, and particularly by those with the greatest responsibilities in the sphere of international peace and security.

But the die has not yet been cast—far from it—and all the vigilance of the African States will be required to ensure that there is no truncated independence and that power is transferred to the true representatives of the peoples concerned, in the form of the liberation movements recognized by OAU. We are confident that the international community, and particularly the United Nations, will be able to strengthen that vigilance.

46. We hope for, we await, this great victory, which in the first place will be a victory of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe, but will also be a victory of Africa and African solidarity and, finally, of the United Nations, whose judgement of the situation in that region of the world has turned out to be the most correct.

47. It is to be hoped that there will be a unanimous view at this session that those two African nations should attain independence as soon as possible and with the loss of the very minimum number of human lives, and that an end should be put to colonial violence. To that end, we must take up the thorny problem of South Africa itself, where *apartheid* continues unabated and where the African majority is removed from all real power. The resistance in the region is becoming ever more militant and the explosion that we had foreseen for several years and had wished to prevent has come. A new generation has appeared which cannot and will not ever accept the humiliations of *apartheid*. The minority Government can do nothing else but make the concessions that are necessary now and thereby preserve some chance of coexistence and peaceful collaboration. Otherwise, if it continues to carry out obstinately in the present policy of segregation in "bantustans", it will run the risk of a terrible confrontation whose outcome can only be disastrous for it. In that connexion we have followed with lively interest the efforts made by Mr. Kissinger in the search for a peaceful solution to this serious problem. We hope that the intervention of the United States, with all its weight, in a matter in which international peace and the most sacred principles of mankind are at stake will be effective and that the efforts undertaken in September last will be continued until justice and right prevail.

48. The obstinacy of a government imbued with the illusion of racial superiority is to be seen also in the Middle East, where the Government of Israel rejects all compromises that might bring peace and where the hopes that were aroused last year by the Sinai agreements have not been fulfilled by any other positive measures. On the contrary, the hostility of the Government of Israel continues to pursue the Palestinians, not only inside occupied Palestine but even in Lebanon, where its disguised intervention and its intrigues are contributing to the worsening of an already complex situation, a situation that is all the more dangerous because it involves grave risks and a direct threat to international peace and security.

49. The Middle East is also more than ever a dangerous volcanic region, and that will remain true so long as Israel continues to occupy the Arab territories by force, to subject their peoples to the most backward and arbitrary type of colonialism and to challenge international morality by denying the Palestinian people the exercise of its legitimate right, recognized by the United Nations, to its

homeland and independence. The events in Lebanon prove, if such proof were still necessary, that so long as Palestine has not regained its independence, there can be no stable peace in the Middle East. It is my duty to urge the Arab countries in the region to overcome their divisions and to reach an agreement that will safeguard the sovereignty and independence of a unified Lebanon, without sacrificing the interests of the Palestinian cause, as represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization. That will be the role of the Arab summit conference to be held soon in Cairo.

50. The situation is all the more urgent because Israel continues to be supplied with the most sophisticated and deadly modern weapons, and it is well known today that it is possible that Israel is in a position to use nuclear weapons, directly or indirectly. And yet, as President Bourguiba said here in May 1968, the Middle East "has not been unworthy of mankind, . . . that Middle East where once resounded the threefold message of the one God, calling men to peace and brotherhood".²

51. With regard to nuclear weapons, Tunisia is particularly concerned about the proliferation of such weapons. The dangers are clear. It is high time to halt the chain reaction set off by the accession of an ever-increasing number of Powers to such weapons.

52. In the meantime, we are witnessing a real armaments race among developing countries, a race in armaments which, although they are conventional, are still highly sophisticated and extremely expensive—indeed, so expensive that those countries' efforts towards development could be compromised. In any case, this is an inadmissible waste of money in a world where so many countries need these wasted resources. It is also a trend which is obliging an ever-growing number of countries to arm themselves, at the expense of their most fundamental development needs.

53. In those conditions, can we aspire to a new international order without agreeing that such a waste of resources must be avoided?

54. A year has passed since our Assembly held its seventh special session devoted to development and international economic co-operation. The resolution unanimously adopted at that session [*resolution 3362 (S-VII)*] aroused much hope because, after years of confrontation, developed and developing countries were able to agree on a series of far-reaching measures supported by specific undertakings, particularly on the part of the developed countries.

55. This year was to have marked the beginnings of the concrete carrying out of those undertakings, enabling us to approach the final aim: the establishment of a new international economic order, the principles of which were laid down during the sixth special session of the Assembly and in the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

56. We are, however, compelled to note that the progress made so far has been insufficient. Thus, the results achieved by the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-second Session, Plenary Meetings, 1658th meeting, para. 22.

Trade and Development [UNCTAD]—which had been given the task, among others, of negotiating the methods to put into effect several decisions of the Assembly's seventh special session—were well below what had been hoped for. The Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation—at which it had been hoped that some urgent problems could be solved before the end of this year—has become bogged down in so-called “analytical” discussions and has not achieved the specific results expected of it.

57. In its resolution 2042 (LXI), the Economic and Social Council at its last session unanimously expressed its “deep concern” at the delay in the implementation of the measures provided for in the resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly's sixth and seventh special sessions. The Council also expressed “deep concern that, during the first half of the Second United Nations Development Decade, there have been serious shortfalls . . . in achieving the goals, objectives and policy measures specified in the International Development Strategy”.

58. This confirmation of the concern of the developing countries, coming from so important a body as the Economic and Social Council, should lead the international community as a whole to redouble its efforts to accelerate the process that will lead to the establishment of a new international economic order.

59. We have no right to yield to despair nor to resume the course of sterile confrontation which we unanimously decided to abandon last year, during the seventh special session. It should be possible for the era of dialogue we have embarked upon to continue if we are all prompted by a genuine political will to arrive at solutions which take into account the interests of all countries as well as the needs of the developing countries as a whole without any exception.

60. The General Assembly should be able to contribute effectively in the search for solutions by providing guidelines likely to facilitate future negotiations—not only those to be held under the auspices of UNCTAD but also other international gatherings.

61. In the same context and within the framework of the economic items on this session's agenda we consider that the General Assembly should attach particular importance to the item entitled “Revision of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade” [item 65]. While not excluding the possibility of contributing to the future revision of the document adopted in 1970 [resolution 2626 (XXV)] so as to adapt it more nearly to present conditions, we believe that nothing should prevent the international community from starting as soon as possible its efforts at consideration and negotiation on the adoption of a strategy for the next decade within the framework of resolutions on the establishment of a new international economic order.

62. The States Members which will be dealing with items on economic and technical co-operation among developing countries will realize that since the last session those countries have made new break-throughs in the consolidation of their co-operation, since they are aware that their negotiating power to establish a new international economic order depends largely on their capacity to co-ordinate their means and efforts within the framework of sound and mutually advantageous co-operation.

63. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in Colombo and, recently, the Mexico Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries have enabled those countries to draft specific programmes which they hope to be able to implement by applying the concept of collective self-sufficiency, while relying, too, on the understanding and, in several cases, on the aid of the developed countries. Indeed, the concept of collective self-sufficiency does not preclude that other concept which is a reality today—namely, the interdependence of the interests of all countries within the context of the sovereignty of each. In this respect the developing countries which met in Mexico considered holding a summit meeting of the Group of 77. The Government of Tunisia will not fail to pay all the attention it deserves to the initiative of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in regard to this interesting suggestion [see A/31/208, annex], whose implementation would enhance the value of contacts between our countries and strengthen their effectiveness.

64. Another particularly important question should be considered at this session, and that is the restructuring of the economic and social sectors of the United Nations so as better to adapt them to the needs of the new international economic order. The importance of this question, which has been thoroughly discussed in a special committee,³ should lead us to avoid haste so that our decisions will serve genuinely to improve the effectiveness of the system and in particular that of the main organs of the Organization such as the Economic and Social Council. That body this year enhanced its prestige by agreeing to meet at a high level outside the usual venues, specifically on African soil, in response to the generous invitation of the Government of the Ivory Coast. In order to restructure the system we must, in our opinion, act prudently so as not irreversibly to destroy certain elements the effectiveness of which has been proved.

65. The economic and social sectors of the United Nations are not the only ones which require restructuring.

66. Reconsideration of the role of our Organization and its means of action is also required in other important fields. A study of this kind has been undertaken for disarmament in particular [A/31/36]. We know that a large number of countries, Tunisia among them, would even wish to strengthen the role of the Organization by a series of measures which would not exclude a review of the Charter itself.

67. These are necessary efforts which must be pursued, but we realize that this is a long-term task, and the problems which the international community faces are for the most part so urgent that the Organization must shoulder its responsibilities without waiting too long. Whether we are dealing with the racial war threatening southern Africa or the worsening of the situation in the Middle East, we must in the weeks and months to come act with vigilance so that the resolutions of the General Assembly will be implemented and so that global bargaining will not jeopardize the truly lasting solutions we hope for.

³ *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System.

68. This is not a question for Africans and Arabs alone. Still less is it a matter for the great Powers alone. These are matters of peace and security, and in a shrinking world in which problems are more and more interdependent we cannot proceed to international peace unless there is a consensus of all nations, and we cannot move towards joint security unless we do so jointly.

69. Mr. KABORE (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): First of all I should like to take this opportunity to thank Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, the last President of the General Assembly, for the skill and patience he demonstrated during last year's difficult session of the General Assembly. It is also elementary justice for me to address to you, Mr. President, the tribute you so richly deserve on the unanimous election which has exalted you to the office of President of the thirty-first session of our Assembly. You are a man of experience, and your numerous qualities as a diplomat will be needed for the conduct of an Assembly which is so distinguished but sometimes so difficult and tempestuous in view of the frequently opposed interests of its members. In addition, we have no doubt that the team assisting you will put at your disposal its experience of international affairs and of debates in this temple of negotiation.

70. Lastly, I wish to congratulate Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim on the dedication with which he has carried out the mission entrusted to him by the world community. The undertaking is, of course, difficult, given the constant fluctuations in human affairs, but he has always been aware that we are at the beginning of a world where wisdom is more necessary than ever, a world where we have to surpass ourselves in order to escape from the beaten track of mediocrity and facility, a world where reprehensible greed and mercenary considerations frequently prevail over human logic.

71. Once again we are gathered in this Assembly in order to debate and find adequate solutions to the numerous problems besetting the world—where fear of human folly, and faith in human intelligence are intermingled. In these terms, Upper Volta is prepared to make its contribution.

72. For decades now, the Organization has been waging its struggle for justice and freedom for mankind, and no one can deny that some successes have been achieved and that the Organization has even become the supreme hope of some. But the successes obtained here and there in the world by struggling peoples, directly or indirectly thanks to our Organization, should not be an occasion for awarding certificates of merit, or for patting oneself on the back. We may certainly rejoice, however, because the victory of peoples, wherever they may be, is our victory.

73. Hence we cannot but applaud the great successes of the liberation struggle in Africa and elsewhere. Events of considerable importance have occurred in this field, in which the colonialist forces have been vanquished. In this connexion, we are happy to hail the independence of Seychelles and its admission to the United Nations.

74. Thus also we are happy that peace has been restored in Viet Nam and Cambodia, and that those countries have

recovered their lost unity. At the same time, we may rightly question the non-admission to our Organization of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola. Those two countries are independent and have all the attributes of sovereignty. In our view, the veto of their admission to the United Nations by a permanent member of the Security Council is an inexplicable abuse of that exorbitant right which certain countries have arrogated to themselves and which is increasingly being questioned because of its misuse.

75. That is why it would also be dangerous to forget that what we consider to be gains have frequently been achieved outside this Organization, and sometimes in spite of it, because some among us still cling to unjust and dangerous privileges. The task to be performed remains immense, and it may be time we thought about revising our working methods, as well as our thinking methods. In spite of the great speeches that have been pronounced for years, the problems of war and peace, of hunger, of elementary justice and the right of peoples to self-determination still await appropriate solutions. Let me mention a few examples.

76. Is not the constant challenge that the minority régimes of southern Africa have been flinging at our Organization for more than a quarter of a century striking?

77. Indeed, in that part of the African continent, the barbarous *apartheid* régime, despite the support of Western countries, is beginning to choke within a system that is becoming increasingly unbearable to it. But it would be foolish to believe that it is prepared to make due apology before the international community. Quite the contrary, and as everyone knows, South Africa's racist policy has intensified and consists in aggression against neighbouring African countries abroad and in fierce repression of the opponents of *apartheid* at home. The number of dead in Soweto, Alexandra and Johannesburg, and the relentless attacks against Namibia, Zambia and Mozambique are eloquent testimony to this.

78. While Vorster, Ian Smith and those who support them are ferociously attacking the blacks, we talk here of preserving human rights; we vote with difficulty in favour of resolutions that have been laboriously studied and that remain, all too frequently, unimplemented. Should the situation in that part of Africa remain the living image of the powerlessness of our Organization?

79. Has history not already caught us out on the solution of this problem? In any event, the populations of that region know what they want. Their rebellion, which has only just started, is the natural conclusion of a process set in motion as soon as the policy of *apartheid* was devised. The manoeuvres, the intimidations, the imprisonments, the tortures and the massacres will change nothing therein.

80. The solution of the South African, Namibian and Rhodesian problems is to be found only in majority rule. If we are far-sighted, and if we act now, that solution may still be a peaceful one. But if some still obstinately cling to their selfish interests in the region, that solution will necessarily be achieved by violence. The alternative is therefore clear: as far as we Africans are concerned, it is our duty to support our brethren fighting for their freedom, regardless of the form of their combat.

81. In the Middle East, might continues to prevail over right. The Israeli-Arab conflict is going through a period of deceptive calm which is belied from time to time by the demonstrations of the frustrated Palestinian population deprived of its inalienable rights, whereas Israel has established itself unconcernedly, in spite of unanimous disapproval, in the territories which it occupied by force in 1967.

82. Since the disengagement agreement of last year, no notable progress has been made towards peace.

83. My country's position on this problem is well known: as we said last year,⁴ over and above the evacuation of the occupied Arab territories, the establishment of a lasting peace in that region must include the recognition and, above all, the satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. This means that a just and lasting settlement of the Middle East problem must be based upon an over-all solution which will take into account all aspects of the problem. In this regard, the report of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [A/31/35] ought to be given serious consideration.

84. In the same region, we are preoccupied with the problem of Lebanon. While it is true that this country has always contained within itself the seeds of confrontation, we are bound to recognize that the international community has not made any appropriate efforts to resolve this problem, which has been complicated and envenomed by interested parties, either near or distant from the conflict, in disregard of peace and of human lives. We express the hope that this great people once again may find within itself the strength to rise above its own internal rivalries.

85. The Korean peninsula has seen tension rise suddenly in the course of the present year, 1976. While the two parts of this country agree that they have the same objective, namely, the unification of the country, it turns out, however, that the ways and means of reaching that objective are very divergent. There is one thing that is quite certain, namely, that we in Upper Volta have constantly asserted over the years that the Korean problem must be resolved peacefully between the Koreans themselves and without any foreign intervention or rivalry. Our position is based upon the following principles: the non-transferral of conflicts into developing countries; the denial of military bases, wherever they may be; and, finally, the fact that nothing can be solved without the consent of the people concerned.

86. This is why we believe that the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in this region is necessary, indeed, vital, to peace and that the large-scale introduction of modern weapons there is dangerous.

87. Further, all the parties concerned should initiate talks to replace the Armistice Agreement, which has lasted for 23 years, with a peace agreement or any other arrangement capable of safeguarding peace in this region.

88. Similarly, Cyprus has so far not been able to overcome its internal crisis brought about by foreign invasion. In spite

of the resolutions of the non-aligned countries and of the United Nations, it seems that the island has been engaged in a process of partition which may bode ill. We reaffirm that the territorial integrity, independence and non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus must be safeguarded and that the problems which arise between the two communities on the island must be settled in a spirit of understanding and in the best interests of the country as a whole.

89. Lastly, with respect to the Comoros we should reject any attempt that would jeopardize the territorial integrity of this State Member of the United Nations.

90. On the economic plane the situation is no better.

91. Indeed, over and above the problems to which I have just referred and which are a source of fundamental concern, the changes which have recently taken place in international relations have produced a battlefield where the outcome of the struggle will be just as decisive for the peaceful coexistence which we are trying to install and to safeguard among nations.

92. Contemporary economic crises have conferred a preponderant role upon international economic and trade relations, which have become a primary factor in the strengthening of international peace and security.

93. It is beyond challenge that the achievement of a new, more just and more equitable economic order will call for fundamental changes in the traditional patterns of economic and trade relations.

94. The crises of the 1970s have forced us to observe that growth theories of the time which so far have determined the over-all approach to the problems of development have brought about neither a decrease in the poverty of the masses, nor the end of exploitation, nor social equality, nor the guarantee of the right to work.

95. It is in order to contribute effectively to the required structural changes that the third world has tirelessly been taking an active part in the various international conferences that have taken place these past years and which have touched upon all fields—the environment and the habitat; population and employment; industrialization; food problems; the law of the sea and other sectoral problems of trade and development.

96. But while the developing countries are honestly and assiduously looking for negotiated solutions to these problems by means of dialogue and consultation, the developed countries are opposed to them and are imposing on them a dialogue of the deaf.

97. Upper Volta is open to dialogue but will not countenance having a dialogue used as a diversionary weapon or, in the last analysis, as a means for evading concrete action. All dialogue should be based on the real political will of the parties involved to set up just and democratic international economic relations in accordance with the objectives of the new international economic order.

98. Unfortunately, however, certain developed countries are not ready to accept the fundamental structural trans-

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2366th meeting.

formations that are called for by the new international economic order. These countries are attempting by all means to block the just demands and rational proposals put forward by the developing countries to put an end to a system which has produced the prosperity of a minority at the expense of the poverty of the great majority.

99. The developed countries should accept the need for a fundamental transformation at their own levels. Going beyond mere tolerance or acceptance of the proposals of the Group of 77, they should become agents consciously doing everything possible so that we might achieve the objectives which the international community is urgently calling for.

100. Unfortunately, there are numerous important and urgent undertakings which require political will on the part of the developed countries in order to be implemented. As our Secretary-General said at the sixty-first session of the Economic and Social Council at Abidjan:

“Even though, in the dialogues in progress, the inter-related concepts of a better integrated world economy and a dynamic international division of labour have been gaining recognition and support, the concrete actions taken to ease the entry of goods from developing countries into the markets of the industrialized world have not yet been of such a scope and magnitude as to permit the developing countries to find their adequate place in a global setting.”⁵

101. The developing countries have put forward concrete proposals with a view to achieving solutions of their most important and most urgent problems—commodity trade, the transfer of resources, industrialization, the transfer of technology and increased agricultural production, and support of the efforts of the developing countries to strengthen their co-operation.

102. It would not be possible to say that the developing countries have not displayed the necessary political will in trying to find solutions to the highly important economic problems that affect the international community as a whole either at their level or on a wider scale. Thus the developing countries have held conferences in Manila, in Istanbul, in Colombo and last month in Mexico. The developed as well as the developing countries have also had meetings in Nairobi, New York, Abidjan and Geneva with the purpose of achieving more effective co-operation.

103. We are still prepared to make the necessary efforts to bring about a consensus through dialogue, and we hope that there is no more undue temporizing.

104. In spite of all the serious efforts that have been made during the past few years in the work of identifying the fundamental needs of the developing countries in order to enable them to participate in a way that is their due and with equity, justice and mutual respect, in finding a more harmonious mode of life on our planet, the modest goals for growth adopted for the 1970s seem today to be largely jeopardized.

105. Thus we have noted that the relative progress of the first few years of the decade is in a phase of dangerous deceleration. The mean growth rate in the majority of the developing countries is barely 3 per cent, and the *per capita* annual growth in real income is 0.3 per cent, whereas the goal set for the Second United Nations Development Decade is 3.5 per cent. These rates have been reduced by about one third between 1973 and 1975. Worse still, the least developed countries are in a state of net loss, and Upper Volta is all too well aware of this.

106. The exports of developing countries have increased on the average by somewhat less than 4 per cent per year, which is a figure much lower than the goal of 7 per cent set for the Second Development Decade. In the past two years exports of commodities of developed countries have increased by 3 per cent, whereas those of the developing countries have decreased by 6 per cent.

107. The trade deficit of the majority of these countries has gone from \$34 billion in 1974 to \$45 billion in 1975. The burden of debt servicing has constantly increased; the external debt servicing has reached 15 per cent of the value of the exports of developing countries.

108. Foreign aid received by these countries is not sufficient to cover debt servicing. The deficit in the balance of payments, which stood at \$12 billion in 1973, has gone up to \$45 billion in 1975. As far as the Africans are concerned, whereas globally there have been surpluses in their balance of payments of the order of \$600 million in 1973, these surpluses were converted into deficits of the order of \$150 million in 1974, and the deficit for 1975 is to be higher still.

109. To this already disturbing situation we must add the hardening of credit terms; and this causes us to fear grave difficulties for a number of developing countries.

110. The financing needs of the developing countries up to the end of the present decade would amount to \$60 billion, and yet, paradoxically, the world which allocated only some \$15 billion to public aid for development in 1975 is the very same world which every year spends \$300 billion for “defence requirements”.

111. With respect to technical assistance, the United Nations Development Programme [UNDP], of which we expect much, has not the necessary resources to face up effectively to the new tasks that the States have entrusted to it. The lack of resources explains the drastic revision of the plans and programmes for 1975 and 1976 which have affected even such countries as my own, which should have been sheltered from such measures in view of our particular situation. Thus, for countries receiving UNDP assistance, at the end of the first programming cycle the rate of project execution will in terms be lower than what it was at the beginning of the cycle in 1972.

112. We shall continue to draw the special attention of the international community to the specific situation of the less developed countries and the land-locked countries. The special measures provided for their benefit will not have the expected effect unless the developed countries are moved by the necessary political will to mobilize and combine over

⁵ For a summary of this statement, see *Official Records of the Economic and Social Council, Sixty-first Session, 2006th meeting.*

the next four years the necessary technical and financial means for the bringing about of the structural transformations that their economic situations require. Without such a surgical operation, we doubt that the palliatives now being used or contemplated will live up to the expectations of the international community.

113. In this respect, we are pleased with the special efforts made by the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and UNCTAD to help the least developed countries in their search for solutions that are best suited to their particular circumstances in the fields of industrialization and trade.

114. This is also the occasion for us to thank here all the developed or developing countries which, either bilaterally or multilaterally, have spared no effort to help us to solve our structural and current problems. We hope that they will continue their actions so as to make it possible for us to have the assistance that we need to solve our present difficulties and start the subsequent phases of our economic and social development.

115. Therefore we continue to have great need of financial assistance on the most favourable terms possible, since the sectors which receive our investments are not sectors in which the criterion of economic profitability can be rigorously applied. This applies in particular to our investments in the agricultural sector, which are designed to ensure the food equilibrium of our populations.

116. The efforts of the developing countries to reach a higher level of agricultural production have not been crowned with success. The annual growth rate has reached only 2 to 2.5 per cent, which is less than the rate of 3 per cent achieved during the first decade. The goal for the present decade is 4 per cent.

117. The result was that there were net imports of cereals of developing countries which amounted to 39 million tons in 1974-1975, that is, approximately 13 per cent of the domestic production; that, in turn, means a percentage twice as high as that at the beginning of the decade. Today the developing countries are more generally dependent on imports of cereals than at the beginning of the decade. This situation is aggravated by a persistent drought that is frustrating the efforts of the countries concerned.

118. In the light of those considerations, the developed countries should have redoubled their efforts so that the International Fund for Agricultural Development might become operational as soon as possible. Meanwhile, international action should continue, in accordance with the recommendations of the World Food Conference,⁶ in the following way: to aid the countries concerned to face the shortages caused by the drought and by other natural catastrophes; and to meet the requirements of the countries having food deficits.

119. We reiterate our urgent appeal to the developed countries to provide the additional necessary support so

that the International Fund for Agricultural development, which has generated so much hope, can start its primary task without further delay. This is an occasion for us to speak of the United Nations Conference on Desertification, to be held in 1977. We hope most sincerely that the preparatory work and the regional meetings will make it possible for us to have an action-oriented instrument on the basis of which the international community will find it possible to launch a merciless struggle against this phenomenon whose danger to our planet is increasingly more obvious. It is a struggle which could quite appropriately be associated with the one whose purpose is to intensify agricultural production.

120. In connexion with this fourth decade of the existence of the United Nations, optimism as we enter it is not exuberant; indeed, the challenges of peace and development have not been taken up, owing to a certain selfishness which manifests itself in international relations. However, we should not lose courage because we have imagination and the human and material resources necessary for our action. But each one of us must resolutely commit himself to wage this noble and ideal struggle to free two thirds of mankind from poverty, exploitation, ignorance and domination.

121. Mr. ALLON (Israel): Permit me to join the representatives who have spoken before me in the general debate to proffer to you, Sir, the congratulations of the delegation of Israel on your unanimous election to the high and responsible office of President of the General Assembly.

122. I also tender my delegation's good wishes to Mr. Gaston Thorn, who presided over the deliberations of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly with such distinction, and to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his devotion and assiduity in the performance of his onerous duties.

123. What is the aspect of the United Nations as it enters into its fourth decade? Physically, the Organization works well. One must ask, however, if the principles of the United Nations Charter, as they were determined in San Francisco 31 years ago, have proved equally resilient; if intellectually and morally the United Nations has withstood the test of experience—the experience of a generation which, although it has been spared the devastation of a world war, has still seen major armed conflict, massacre, political terrorism, slavery, tyranny, persecution, hunger and poverty in all too many areas on the surface of the globe for every minute the United Nations has been in existence. Regrettably, the answer must be negative.

124. It is indisputable that world public opinion has become increasingly disenchanted with the United Nations; increasingly frustrated by the opportunism and hypocrisy of so much of its debates and decisions; increasingly disgusted by the power of a mechanical majority to bend the Organization to its own purposes, by, for example, transforming an initiative designed to outlaw terrorism into an apologia for terrorism; or by converting the Commission on Human Rights into a forum in which the guilty are the accusers and the innocent condemned. In the twisted terminology which is used here a defeated aggressor is portrayed as a victim, a successful defender as an aggressor;

⁶ See *Report of the World Food Conference, Rome, 5-16 November 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.II.A.3), chap. II.

those who refuse to treat with their neighbours are hailed as lovers of peace, and those who seek peace negotiations branded as warmongers.

125. The list of discrepancies between the current practices of the United Nations and what the Charter says is long, and there is no need to labour the point.

126. To a great extent the General Assembly has become an arena for empty rhetoric and arbitrary recommendations which have little to do with right, justice and international reality. Indeed, there appears to be no limit to the absurdity which the General Assembly, as it operates today, can reach—it even achieved a record in futility by adopting, at the same session, two conflicting resolutions on the same subject.

127. Two further examples from the record of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly demonstrate that clearly. One is the ludicrous and evil attempt to stigmatize the national liberation movement of the Jewish people as racism and racial discrimination; the other is the bizarre episode of the Committee of 20 members, from the resolution which the General Assembly was not competent to adopt; through the biased and non-representative composition of the Committee itself, to the report of the Committee which is not only a flagrant intervention in the domestic jurisdiction of a Member State but also a prescription for its dismemberment by stages.

128. History will consign these resolutions to oblivion, and those countries which supported their adoption will bear the shame.

Mr. Moreno Martínez (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

129. But the United Nations system is an essential feature of the international scene of our times and it is hardly possible to conceive of a world without it. It must be cured, however, of the grave maladies which afflict it: there must be a return to the Charter; there must be an end to the rancorous confrontation which is the dominant feature of our deliberations; consultation and agreement must be restored to their primary place; the United Nations, and particularly the specialized agencies, must abandon the dangerous path of politicization along which they are being dragged by Arab obsessions about Israel, so that they may devote themselves to the social, humanitarian, scientific and technical tasks which they were set up to perform and which they perform very well when they are allowed to do so; and, lastly, there must be full participation of all Members in all United Nations activities on an equitable basis, by strict alphabetical rotation, instead of the discriminatory bloc system.

130. The effort to bring into being a new order in international economic and trade relations has become a major focus of interest and debate throughout the world and in the United Nations system.

131. Israel belongs to a small group of countries in the developing world which, though meagrely endowed by nature, have by hard work and the application of science and technology reached a promising level of development.

These countries have a special role to play because they show what can be done even in the most difficult of circumstances.

132. It is thus important, I believe, that developing countries consider not only what the fortunate countries of the industrialized world can do for them but what they can do for themselves and what they can do for one another. As our sage Hillel taught some 2000 years ago: "If I am not for myself, who will be for me; but if I am only for myself, what am I; and if not now, when?"

133. For our part we have tried, at the seventh special session and at the fourth session of UNCTAD, to present some ideas which some delegations found useful and constructive.

134. What we can best do is to put our experience in overcoming some of the major problems which beset a large part of the developing world at the disposal of all who wish to avail themselves of it. For many years now it has been the policy of the Government of Israel to conduct programmes of technical co-operation with other emerging and developing countries and, indeed, it is a source of pride to us that, with all the limitations which nature has imposed on us, and saddled as we are with tremendous burdens caused by the absence of a peace settlement in the Middle East, we are at this very moment co-operating in one technical field or another with over 50 countries represented in this hall.

135. One such important field is water development in semi-arid climates. In view of the forthcoming United Nations water and desertification conferences scheduled to take place next year, the practical experience of Israel in water exploration and management as well as in the development of highly efficient methods of irrigation, which has already aroused much interest in a number of countries with similar problems to our own, might well prove to be susceptible of wider application.

136. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has just concluded its fifth session here in New York, and it is a matter of some disquiet that it has not achieved any significant progress in the direction of an acceptable international agreement.

137. The trend towards unilateral decisions by individual States concerning the increase in the width of their territorial sea or the proclamation of economic zones is asserting itself without a parallel international reaffirmation of proper rules to guarantee the essential freedom of navigation and overflight on the seas and through and over straits. This is a regrettable situation which cannot but result in an increase in international tensions.

138. Another problem which is still without solution is that presented by the lofty idea that the sea-bed beyond the economic zones constitutes the common heritage of mankind. A realistic compromise between this concept and its practical application for the benefit of all nations is still apparently far away.

139. A goodly number of representatives who have spoken before me have raised their voices in condemnation of

international terrorism, which these last few years has spread over the face of the earth like a malignant cancer.

140. There is no excuse for terrorism. No cause can justify or condone it. It is a criminal activity, totally indiscriminate in its effects, which by design strikes at the very elements of the population that every society tries to protect—the innocent, the weak, the defenceless, children and women.

141. The record of the United Nations in combating terrorism is dismal. In 1972, after the massacre of the Israeli athletes at the Olympic Games by a gang of Arab terrorists, the Secretary-General proposed an item for the agenda of the General Assembly on measures to prevent terrorism and other forms of violence which endanger or take innocent human lives or jeopardize fundamental freedoms.⁷ We all know what happened to that praiseworthy venture: it was deliberately sabotaged by a group of States whose interest was not to prevent terrorism but to encourage, aid and abet it on the evident assumption that, because it seemed to serve their own interests, they would be immune from harm.

142. They were grievously mistaken. Nobody is immune; and some of the States whose representatives were the most eloquent in thwarting any effective United Nations action have themselves been victims of terrorism in the past few weeks—Yugoslavia, India, Egypt and even Syria. The item, now distorted so as to appear like an apology for and justification of terrorism instead of a call for action to suppress it, is still on the agenda of the General Assembly, but it is conceded by all that nothing will ever come of it.

143. The issue is a fundamental one for the international community, for the attitude this Organization takes on the question of terrorism is a very clear reflection of its moral strength and international responsibility.

144. The terrorism of today is especially deadly for three principal reasons: the availability to terrorists of sophisticated modern weapons capable of causing mass loss of life and destruction; the complicity of certain States which supply these weapons, frequently delivered in their diplomatic bags, and which provide the terrorists with shelter and comfort; and the abhorrent practice of taking innocent hostages as a means of blackmail.

145. The rescue by Israel in July of the hostages hijacked to Entebbe in the Air France airbus has shown that given the will it is possible for even a small State to combat terrorism effectively. However, operations such as that would not be necessary if potential hijackers and terrorists knew that nowhere in the world would they get refuge and support.

146. Israel thus welcomes the proposal made on 28 September by the Vice-Chancellor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany that the United Nations should draft a convention banning the taking of hostages internationally and providing for the prosecution or extradition of the perpetrators [7th meeting, para. 113]. This is an important step in the right direction and the

General Assembly would lose all credibility as an effective international instrumentality if it failed to take it.

147. But in view of the extreme gravity of the problem and the sorry performance of the United Nations in dealing with it, we would be deluding ourselves if we imagined that that would be enough. Only by close multilateral co-operation and concerted organized action between States which really intend to fight terrorism will this atrocious crime be suppressed.

148. The enemies of Israel in this Organization strive mightily to convince the world of similarities between Zionism and *apartheid*, and make much of the relations between Israel and South Africa to bolster a fraudulent case. Racism and racial discrimination, in any guise, including *apartheid*, are abhorrent to my country and my people. The basic tenets of Judaism are irreconcilable with any form of racial discrimination. The Jews are the classic victims of racial discrimination and over the centuries our martyrs have run into the tens of millions.

149. It is equally specious to single out Israel for links with South Africa when most of the world maintains links with that country. According to the latest available statistics, the foreign trade of South Africa totalled over \$12 billion in 1974. Of this huge sum Israel's share was less than two fifths of 1 per cent—infinately smaller than the share of many Arab and some African countries. The armed forces of the Republic are large and equipped with modern weapons—tanks, artillery, aircraft, destroyers and submarines. It is not Israel that supplied them.

150. In my address to the General Assembly last year⁸ I stated that as far as Israel was concerned we had two criteria for judgement on the policy of détente which was given formal expression in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Those criteria are that détente must apply to the Middle East no less than to Europe and to other areas of the world, and that the humanitarian provisions of the Helsinki agreement must be scrupulously applied. On both counts détente has been a grievous disappointment to us.

151. I declare that détente has not been felt in the Middle East. Moreover, I regret to record that there has been no improvement in the situation of the Jews in the Soviet Union during the past year. Exit from the Soviet Union—a right guaranteed in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and in the Helsinki agreement—is still severely restricted, while those Jews who do insist on their rights are subject to continued harassment by the authorities, to dismissal from their places of employment, and in some cases to arrest and imprisonment. I once again call on the Government of the Soviet Union to permit those Jews who wish to leave in order to join their families in Israel to do so.

152. The situation of the Jews of Syria remains tragic: a small community continues to be held as a hostage. Jews are victims of persecution and oppression, are circumscribed in their movements inside Syria, while travel abroad is permitted only under severe restrictions. Surely these

⁷ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Annexes*, agenda item 92, document A/8791 and Add.1.

⁸ *Ibid.*, *Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2368th meeting.

5,000 men, women and children cannot make all that difference to the Government of Syria. Why is it holding them?

153. When I spoke in the General Assembly last year the war in Lebanon was but six months old. At that time some 5,000 people had already been killed and nearly 18,000 wounded. Twelve months have passed since then; the carnage goes on. By now over 40,000 men, women and children have lost their lives and over 100,000 have been wounded—and this out of a total population of less than 2.5 million. A rough equivalent would be a toll of killed and wounded totalling some 13 million in the United States, 15 million in the Soviet Union and 3 million in France. The ruin and devastation are almost beyond description; most of the flourishing towns and villages of Lebanon have become a bloody and merciless wasteland.

154. For a year and a half a Member State of the United Nations has been bleeding to death before the eyes of the whole world. At the beginning it was claimed that this was a civil war, and thus outside the purview of the Security Council. No one produces this specious argument now, when massive armed intervention by regular and irregular foreign Arab troops is known and admitted—Syrians, Iraqis and Libyans, to mention only the larger contingents. But not a word from the Security Council, not a whisper.

155. The silence of the world Organization in the face of this tragedy is an awful warning to all small States. It is clear that a country which relies on the United Nations for its security, a country which cannot defend itself by its own means, is lost.

156. There is yet another conclusion to be drawn. For years now the world has been bombarded by a propaganda campaign peddling the notion of the replacement of Israel by a so-called secular democratic State where Moslems, Christians and Jews would live in blissful amity. But where is this beautiful mirage now? Destroyed in the fires of Lebanon, by the same gangs of terrorists who are the prime instigators of the blood-letting there in Lebanon.

157. Israel is an immediate neighbour of Lebanon, and what goes on there concerns us closely. Our overriding desire is that peace and tranquillity should be restored to Lebanon, for that is the essential condition for the reaffirmation of the national independence and the territorial integrity of that unhappy land. Moreover, we expect that the future constitutional structure of Lebanon will be determined by the citizens of Lebanon in their respective communities, and by them alone; that foreign troops, both regular and irregular, will leave the country; and, above all, that Lebanon will not again become a base for attacks on Israel and its people.

158. But the Lebanese conflict, although the most grave, is not the only current conflict in which countries of the Arab world are engaged. There are many others. A random listing makes, indeed, extraordinary reading.

159. There is the bitter quarrel between Iraq and Syria. Then comes Iraq's designs on the territorial integrity of Kuwait; Democratic Yemen's quarrel with Oman, with Yemen and with Saudi Arabia; Somalia's designs on Ethiopia; Egypt's conflict with Syria; Libya's clashes with

Egypt, with Sudan, with Tunisia, with Syria, with Chad and with practically every other independent State in the Arab world and in North Africa; and, finally, the feud between Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania in the Sahara desert.

160. There is only one island of stability in this stormy sea, and that is the State of Israel.

161. There is clearly a moral to be drawn here. The neighbours of Israel know that their border with Israel is the safest border they have. They know that if they preserve the peace on the borders with Israel then their own borders are secure. Moreover, their people know full well that when they are in distress they can turn to Israel for humanitarian assistance, as the villagers of South Lebanon are doing this day at the fence of goodwill.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) resumed the Chair.

162. In my speech last year I drew attention to a problem of particular gravity for the prospects of peace as well as for the economic and social well-being of the countries of the Middle East. I refer to the seemingly limitless flow of weapons of war into the region, resulting in a frantic arms race. In the past three years the value of arms supplies delivered by both East and West to the Arab countries in the vicinity of Israel is estimated at \$7.5 billion; a further approximately \$22 billion-worth is contracted for delivery from the end of 1976 onwards, making a total of nearly \$30 billion invested in weaponry. This is an utterly staggering sum which is difficult for the human mind to take in. If, instead of being spent on means of destruction, most of this sum was invested in the economic and social development of the area, the Middle East would be transformed and restored to its ancient glory.

163. However, as long as the Arab States continue to arm themselves with highly sophisticated modern weaponry on this vast scale, Israel is compelled to keep up, and will keep up. But we repeat emphatically that we are prepared now, even before peace is made, to negotiate with our neighbours for a balanced limitation of the inflow of arms into the area in such a manner that the burden will be lightened for all without adversely affecting the security and the defence capacity of any.

164. It causes us no joy that the Middle East is ablaze with conflict, because the peace that we seek is its principal victim. Therefore, in order to keep up the momentum following on the successful conclusion of the 1974 separation of forces agreements with Egypt and Syria and the 1975 agreement with Egypt, we have tried to take additional steps in the direction of a just and lasting peace in the area.

165. We have proposed that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East be reconvened with its original membership. The proposal was torpedoed by the USSR, Syria and Egypt. When it was intimated to us that there was no chance at this time for an over-all peace treaty and the normalization of relations, we responded favourably to a United States suggestion to negotiate agreements on the termination of the state of war. This proposal has remained without response or acknowledgement from the Arab side to this day. As far as we are concerned, this possibility still exists.

166. Israel wants peace, seeks peace and is ready for peace at any time—a peace which will emerge from the region itself, which will break down the wall of hostility dividing the States of the region and which will be shaped by free negotiations between them. We believe that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) form the only agreed basis both for the nature of the peace and for the method of achieving it. For that reason we are ready to take part in a reconvened Geneva Peace Conference, with its original composition, at any time acceptable to all. At such a conference, or by any other means which the parties find satisfactory, we would hope to negotiate with each of our neighbours a final peace settlement based on a fair compromise which, on the one hand, will provide Israel with defensible borders, and, on the other, will satisfy genuine Arab interests, including, within the context of the settlement with our neighbour to the east, a just and constructive solution to the problem of Palestinian Arab identity. Only a peace which serves the interests of Israel and its neighbours will endure.

167. Peace is the foremost objective of Israel, and its Government will not be deflected from the constant effort required to attain it.

168. Mr. KASSIM (Somalia): In the name of the President, people and Government of the Somali Democratic Republic and on behalf of the Somali delegation to the thirty-first session of the General Assembly, I wish to express our deep sorrow over the sudden departure of that great leader, Chairman Mao Tsetung, and our sincere condolences to the great people of China over this immense loss. Words fail me to pay a tribute to the late Chairman Mao, one of the greatest thinkers and statesmen of all times. He was not only a great leader and revolutionary who led the most populous nation in the world through an epoch-making revolution, the historical significance of which transcends the borders of his nation but he was equally the source of inspiration to all freedom-loving peoples in the human quest for liberty, equality and the betterment of mankind.

169. Sir, I wish to begin my statement in the general debate of this Assembly by expressing to you, on behalf of my Government and delegation, our warmest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. I am particularly happy to see in the Chair a great son of Sri Lanka, a country with which Somalia has maintained relations of brotherhood from time immemorial. You are indeed uniquely qualified for this high office through your wide experience in international affairs, so ably demonstrated in your competent direction of the complex deliberations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, as well as in the Co-ordinating Bureau of Non-Aligned Countries, which made possible the successful conclusion of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in your beautiful capital in August this year. Your knowledge, personal qualities, experience and diplomatic skills constitute a guarantee of the successful conclusion of the work of this Assembly.

170. May I also avail myself of this opportunity to congratulate most sincerely Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy

of Luxembourg, on the skilful manner in which he presided over the work of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

171. I also wish to express well-deserved appreciation of the tireless efforts of our Secretary-General Mr. Kurt Waldheim in the effective discharge of the heavy responsibilities entrusted to him. I hope that he will agree to continue his mission for the benefit of our Organization and of all mankind.

172. The welcome which Somalia extends to Seychelles on its accession to membership in the United Nations is particularly heartfelt since we are also saluting the indomitable courage and determination of the people of Seychelles, whose victory constitutes another landmark in the oppressed peoples' struggle against colonialism and imperialism.

173. The welcome to the young Republic of Seychelles calls to mind the denial of the application for admission to the world body of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. In this connexion, we express our disappointment and concern that the arbitrary use of the veto power by a permanent member of the Security Council has once again been brought to bear on international affairs—in this case, on the admission of Angola and Viet Nam to the United Nations. My Government reaffirms its total support for the admission of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and expresses its respect and admiration for the heroic peoples of Angola and Viet Nam, which, under the most trying conditions, have scored the greatest of victories: that of winning independence. The majority of the Member States have already extended their full recognition to those two States, and the same majority, we are confident, will continue their work until such time as Angola and Viet Nam take their rightful places in our Organization.

174. In the 30 years of this Organization's existence, international stability and peace and security among peoples of the world have continued to be threatened by acts of aggression, oppression, injustices and glaring inequalities between rich and poor. As long as the subjugation and exploitation of man by man is allowed to exist, the peace and tranquillity of the world will remain in danger, and a situation of permanent conflict and confrontation will reign.

175. The primary objective of the United Nations, in conformity with its Charter, is to promote all efforts likely to advance the well-being of man and to serve the cause of international peace and security. This Organization would, no doubt, have achieved more successes in this regard than it has so far if all nations, and particularly the more powerful ones, had given practical application to the lofty principles which they so vociferously espouse in international forums.

176. It follows that such conduct will continue to contribute to the oppression, the inequalities and injustices of the past unless the Members of this Organization face up to their responsibilities under the Charter by agreeing on a workable and satisfactory solution to the ills of this world, which threaten mankind with untold suffering in all spheres.

177. At this juncture, I wish to address myself to some of the most salient international problems which call for firm and resolute action by the General Assembly at this session. I am confident that they will receive the utmost attention and will not be relegated to future sessions, thus keeping the bomb ticking, to go off at any moment.

178. First and foremost among such pressing issues are the dangers posed today by *apartheid* and zionism. In spite of the expressed concern of the United Nations and its condemnation of the unholy alliance between *apartheid* and zionism, whose links are historically and ideologically deep-rooted, the two Governments have now established in formal agreements complete collaboration in all fields and, most significant to us, in the political and military spheres, as clearly shown in the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22]. Their main political objective is to create division among the African countries and between them and the Arab countries, to further their misleading propaganda, on the one hand, and to bind together the South African minority racist régime and Israel as common strategic concerns of the imperialist Powers, on the other. Buttressed by those Powers, South Africa and Israel militarily provided one another with additional sources of arms supplies and technological know-how, as well as with access to classified information on strategies and tactics. Thus, unabatedly, the régimes of these two abhorrent identical ideologies based on racism are brutalizing the peoples under their rule with utter disregard of basic human rights and are treating world public opinion and the Charter of the United Nations with the utmost contempt. *Apartheid* and zionism, like their forerunners—nazism and fascism—carry with them the seeds of destruction.

179. I am confident that no one who is familiar with the unfolding of the southern African situation will deny the fact that the peoples of Africa have given a fair chance to the minority racist régimes in those territories to hand over power to the majority by peaceful means. Unfortunately, however, there are no signs that the South African Government is prepared to make the necessary changes. On the contrary, Mr. Vorster and his cohorts have publicly reaffirmed their stand that *apartheid* is fundamental and immutable. Thus, the commitment before the Security Council in October 1974 that the Pretoria régime would move away from racial discrimination⁹—to use the words of the Special Committee's report—soon proved to be a fraud. The wanton daily killings of innocent and defenceless populations and the arrest of African leaders are glaring evidence of the poverty of ideas and the desperation of the régime and its determination to continue its inhuman policy which will in the final analysis lead to more bloodshed and catastrophic results of the greatest magnitude.

180. Today we witness the unfolding of the systematic suppression and violation of the most fundamental rights of man in a troubled political situation characterized by an orgy of bloodshed and wanton destruction of human life by the Pretoria régime; and, as the inevitable harvest is being reaped, the massacres at Soweto and elsewhere in South

Africa have been added to Sharpeville as another tragedy in the abominable history of *apartheid* which challenges the conscience of all civilized and peace-loving nations.

181. In the face of the recrudescence of Pretoria and in the light of the present crisis, those countries which found it convenient to acquiesce in and to accept South African excuses for *apartheid* can no longer do so and maintain their credibility or self-respect.

182. As the brutal suppression of legitimate protests against unbearable conditions goes on, and as the indiscriminate slaughter of children and young people continues, the world community is brought face to face once again with its responsibility towards the oppressed people of South Africa—a responsibility long assumed by the United Nations because of the exceptional inhumanity of *apartheid*, but more positively expressed at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly in resolution 3411 C (XXX) and Security Council resolution 392 (1976).

183. With regard to Namibia, recent developments and the revelations in the Security Council debate on the question sufficiently indicate that a truly dangerous situation prevails in that Territory. The continued illegal occupation of that Territory by the South African racist régime, the introduction of inhuman and debasing practices of *apartheid*, “bantustanization,” the militarization of the Territory and its use as a springboard for aggression against neighbouring independent African countries continue to create a veritably explosive situation which calls for immediate and effective United Nations action.

184. The pseudo-constitutional conference conducted at the instigation and under the close supervision of the racist régime is an exercise in deception and constitutes a manifestation of the height of cynicism and political immorality. A valid constitutional conference in Namibia could take place only under the auspices of the United Nations and with the participation of the South West Africa People's Organization, the only authentic representative of the people of Namibia, as recognized by all world organizations. The convening of such a conference naturally presupposes the withdrawal of all racist occupation forces from the Territory.

185. The responsibility of the United Nations is clear and defined in this respect. Since the General Assembly and the Security Council have already rejected the South African Government's mockery, there is no alternative for the Security Council but to apply the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter to end the racist occupation of Namibia and the aggression against its people.

186. In Zimbabwe, as in South Africa and in Namibia, the intransigence of a racist minority has caused the failure of peaceful negotiations and has led to the violence and bloodshed of armed struggle. The inhuman tyranny, the suppression and oppression perpetrated by the Smith régime against the people of Zimbabwe has now been coupled with that régime's aggression against the People's Republic of Mozambique and, indeed, leaves the world community in no doubt about the scope of this conflict and about its dangerous dimensions and extension to all neighbouring countries. The People's Republic of Mozam-

⁹ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1800th meeting.*

bique deserves the highest commendation of this world body, as well as the unqualified support of the entire world community, for its noble commitment to the cause of liberation in most effectively applying sanctions against a régime that can best be described as a monument of inhumanity bereft of any moral or ethical restraint. The front-line States, long torn by the liberation wars and already burdened with the task of national reconstruction, are making tremendous sacrifices to support the peoples still under the yoke of colonial domination in the southern part of Africa. Their laudable determination to act in accordance with United Nations resolutions, albeit at great national sacrifice, is in sharp contrast with the materialistic and unprincipled attitude of many developed countries.

187. The chances of success of the current diplomatic activities of Britain and the United States, which we consider to be a belated attempt, will, in the last analysis, depend on their measure of acceptability to the people of the Territory. The legitimate call for majority rule in Zimbabwe is the central issue of the problem. We would emphasize that, unless and until such time as the current diplomatic moves are proved to be a genuine search for the attainment of such an objective, and not mere manoeuvres for political and other ends, the fighting forces of Zimbabwe will continue their armed struggle and will remain vigilant.

188. I believe that if these proposals are motivated by sincerity, good will and the faithful application of United Nations principles, there should be no moratorium on the independence of the people of Zimbabwe. Majority rule, with the concomitant democratic representation allowing for transfer of power to the true representatives of the people, should be granted now.

189. I shall conclude by observing that not one of the dangerous developments in southern Africa has crept unseen and unheralded upon the international community. The key to all the southern African problems has always been the *apartheid* policies of the South African régime, and indeed it cannot be denied that on all counts South Africa poses a threat to peace and security. The United Nations has the right and the duty to take action under Chapter VII of the Charter because of the uniquely inhuman nature of *apartheid*; because of the illegal occupation of Namibia; because of the economic and military support given to the Smith régime in spite of mandatory sanctions; and because South Africa's racist policies increasingly involve aggression against neighbouring States. In this regard, the deliberate arming of Pretoria, including the supply of nuclear capacity by France, is indeed reprehensible and should be stopped forthwith. My Government strongly believes that the total isolation of that régime should be made mandatory.

190. The Middle East situation, like that of South Africa, illustrates the historical truth that large-scale injustices, left without redress for long periods of time, lead inevitably to violent conflict. The Palestinian people were uprooted and displaced by Zionist aggression 29 years ago and since that time have been denied the right to return to their homes and property. This festering injustice has been the cause of four wars and chronic unrest in the Middle East. The tragedy of the current strife in Lebanon is yet another

effect of the expulsion of the Palestinian people into neighbouring territories and the expropriation of their lands and possessions.

191. No one denies today—and this includes even Israel's closest friends and supporters—that peace and stability can be established in the Middle East only when the rights of the Palestinians have been restored and when the Arab territory, occupied by Israel in contravention of international law, has been duly returned. In dealing with the Middle East question the United Nations has never lost sight of these central facts. My Government strongly supports the continuing efforts of the world Organization to promote the return of peace to that troubled area. In particular, we support the most recent efforts on behalf of the Palestinian people.

192. Although the full implications of the Palestinian problem were not dealt with until recent times, the United Nations has never ceased to call for the return of the Palestinians to their homes and for compensation for their property. Indeed, as will be recalled, this was the condition of Israel's acceptance as a Member State of the United Nations. Israel's intransigence on this question over the years has brought into prominence the unjust denial to the Palestinian people not only of their homes but also of their inalienable right to national independence. The constant effect of the Zionist presence in the Middle East has been aggression and expansion aimed at eliminating the indigenous Palestinians and substituting the Jewish people.

193. The establishment of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People by the General Assembly at its thirtieth session was a logical development in view of the resolve of the United Nations that justice be done to the Palestinian people and that the Middle East problem not be allowed to stagnate. The Committee emphasized certain principles which the world community can ignore only if it has abandoned the search for peace in the Middle East. In the view of my Government, the most important of these principles are the following: that the inalienable right to self-determination can be implemented only if Israel evacuates Palestinian territory occupied by force and in contravention of the United Nations Charter; that the establishment of an independent Palestinian State is a prerequisite to peace in the Middle East; that the Palestine Liberation Organization, the recognized guardian of the rights of the Palestinians, is entitled to participate as a principal party in all efforts to resolve the Middle East problem; and that the Palestinian rights must be achieved in the context of a comprehensive settlement which would include Israel's withdrawal from all the Arab lands occupied in June 1967.

194. Particular attention must be given to the question of Jerusalem, a city which is as sacred to Islam and to Christianity as it is to Judaism. Israel cannot be allowed to continue with impunity its unilateral and illegal annexation of the old city and more particularly the obliteration of its character.

195. The same is true of the creeping annexation of occupied Arab territory through the deliberate and large-scale establishment of Jewish settlements, which constitute a flagrant violation of international conventions to which

Israel is a party. These principles, already approved by the United Nations, need to be given practical application. My Government welcomes, as a useful basis for action, the programme of implementation prepared by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People. In this regard, we believe that the Security Council has the inescapable duty to take action, and we urge it to do so, using all the powers conferred upon it by the United Nations Charter, especially under Chapter VII. We believe also that the Security Council will be obliged to reconsider the validity of Israel's membership in the United Nations if the Zionists persist, as they have done for nearly 30 years, in refusing to implement United Nations resolutions.

196. The situation in French Somaliland has continued to command the attention and interest of the international community ever since the French Government's declaration of 31 December 1975 expressing the intention of granting independence to the people of that Territory. While the declaration of intent by the French Government to decolonize that Territory is a welcome development, the long-drawn-out and intricate processes leading to independence unfortunately indicate the lack of concrete progress being made by the colonial Power in the decolonization of the Territory.

197. The desire of the people of the Territory for independence and freedom has been established beyond any doubt by an OAU fact-finding mission which recently visited the Territory and which has ascertained this to be a fact. Questioning the desire of the people of the Territory for independence at this stage can only, therefore, be construed as an effort to mislead public opinion and thereby retard the fulfilment of the just aspirations of the people of French Somaliland.

198. The granting of speedy and unconditional independence to the Territory as called for by the United Nations, OAU and the non-aligned countries is a responsibility that must be discharged. In resolution 3480 (XXX) the General Assembly at the thirtieth session called on France to grant immediate and unconditional independence and create the necessary conditions favouring the acceleration of the independence process.

199. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, at its thirteenth session, made a similar call, while deploring the manoeuvres hindering the independence of the Territory and urged France "to proceed as soon as possible to settle the problems of nationality and the reform of electoral lists with a view to organizing the referendum before the end of 1976" [*see A/31/196, annex, resolution 480 (XXVII)*].

200. At this juncture, I wish to spell out in no uncertain terms that it has always been the policy of the Somali Government to assist the people of that Territory to achieve their unconditional independence. Somalia has repeatedly made clear, and reiterates once again, that we respect the wishes of the people and their independence and sovereignty as masters of their destiny, and we call upon all others to desist from any act or behaviour that might directly or indirectly interfere with, jeopardize, condition, compromise or impose limitations of any nature whatsoever on such hard-won independence. Somalia has

always stood for such ideals and supported the just aspirations of that people and stands opposed to any move, on whatever grounds, that might adversely affect the sovereignty of the people of French Somaliland.

201. In view of the legitimate preoccupations of the people of the Territory and the doubt of the international community at large about the true intentions of the colonial Power, it is most opportune for the General Assembly at the current session to address itself to the ways and means of obtaining a firm commitment from the French Government on the exact date of independence for the Territory and the assurance that such independence will be attained under fully democratic conditions.

202. Another unfortunate example of French colonialism is the illegal occupation of the Comorian island of Mayotte by France. That action constitutes not only a flagrant aggression against the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of the Comoros but also threatens the independence and security of other African and Asian States in the region. My Government is confident that the General Assembly will call on France to withdraw immediately from Mayotte, which is an integral part of the Republic of the Comoros, and to respect the sovereignty of that State.

203. Many other regional problems are potential threats to international peace because of the involvement of outside forces and interests. This is particularly true of the Korean situation, which continues to be one of the major threats to international peace and security. The basic requirement for defusing that dangerous situation is the achievement of national reunification by the Korean people. That noble goal cannot be reached so long as the powerful infusion of arms to the South continues. My Government will continue to give strong support to those efforts within the United Nations that are aimed at promoting the conditions necessary for peace and stability in Korea. We are convinced that there can be no end to tension and to the threat of regional and wider conflicts without the withdrawal of the foreign forces stationed in the South under the false pretence that they constitute a United Nations presence.

204. On the question of Cyprus, my Government expresses its appreciation for the peace efforts of the Secretary-General. We believe in the preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of that Republic, where all Cypriots should live in peace and with the full enjoyment of equality and freedom.

205. Finally, as the decolonization process comes within measurable distance of completion, it is disturbing to note that there are still Territories which still suffer colonial and imperialist domination. In pursuance of the noble principles of the Charter and the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, the United Nations must endeavour to bring about the end of colonial domination.

206. The lack of progress towards general and complete disarmament, and in particular nuclear disarmament, continues to overshadow the constructive efforts of peoples everywhere to create a better world. My Government once again expresses its disappointment that a total test-ban

treaty has not been concluded; that the balance of terror maintained by nuclear missile systems continues with ever wider potential for world destruction; and that conventions for the prohibition of chemical, bacteriological and other weapons of mass destruction, as well as conventional weapons, have not yet been adopted.

207. A new danger to world peace and security lies in the desire of a number of countries to acquire plants for the reprocessing of nuclear fuel for the production of atomic bombs. An even greater danger is posed by the eagerness of certain States—notably France—to supply such plants. This development threatens to undermine the efforts of the United Nations to contain the spread of nuclear weapons through the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*]. New guidelines and enforceable regulations governing the supply of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes are obviously imperative. This is a matter which calls urgently for the attention of the world community. The constantly accelerating arms race in weapons of all kinds frustrates both the aims of the Disarmament Decade and the efforts to achieve a new international economic order. The diversion to development purposes of a fraction of the billions now being spent on arms would be an investment in peace and progress, rather than in destruction and bloodshed.

208. In view of the aforementioned, my Government is concerned over the deterioration of the disarmament situation. In this connexion, we reiterate our strong support for the proposal of the non-aligned States.

209. Faced with the grim reality of militarism and power struggles, the non-aligned and peace-loving States must attempt to devise arrangements for their own peace and security. The establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Latin America and proposals for similar zones in Africa, the Middle East, the Asian subcontinent and East Asia constitute a progressive trend in keeping with the aspirations of peoples for peace and security.

210. The implementation of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] would be another significant contribution to disarmament goals and to international stability. Somalia, a non-aligned State in the Indian Ocean, reaffirms its strong support for the principles and objectives of the Declaration and calls for the elimination from the area of all foreign military bases.

211. The principles of the Declaration on the Indian Ocean have been endangered by the expansion of the imperialist naval bases on the island of Diego García and elsewhere. This question is of particular concern to my country, which joins others in the widely expressed condemnation of such provocative and dangerous action.

212. The efforts of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean to implement the Declaration on that area are being hampered by the unco-operative attitude of maritime big Powers. We hope that those States will enter into consultations with the Committee, since the success of its work depends to a great extent on their co-operation. My Government will continue its support for the speedy convening of a conference of littoral and hinterland States to adopt measures for the implementation of the resolutions of the United Nations on the Indian Ocean.

213. The slow pace of negotiations to conclude a treaty on the law of the sea is a matter of general concern and it is regrettable that certain major issues have not been resolved. However, significant progress has been made in resolving problems arising from the political and economic rights of States. My Government particularly welcomes the wide acceptance of the principle of a 200-mile exclusive economic zone, a concept which has been given practical effect by over 70 States, including my own.

214. The question of free scientific research within these zones is one which, we believe, needs further study, since it is well within the bounds of possibility that such research could be used as a pretext for activities detrimental to the security and sovereignty of States. In our view, such research by third parties within national economic zones should only be carried out with the consent and under the laws of the States whose waters are being used.

215. The over-all progress at the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been overshadowed by the current stalemate on the question of the supervision over deep-sea-bed mining by an international authority. My Government deplores the attempt of industrialized countries to use their technological expertise to sabotage or to use the Conference as an instrument affording them an advantageous position vis-à-vis the developing countries.

216. Technological superiority has been used throughout the colonial era to further the exclusive interests of those who possessed it and constituted the basis for the miserable domination of the colonized peoples, whose natural resources have been mercilessly exploited. The efforts of the developing countries to place all deep sea-bed exploration and mining in international waters under an international authority is aimed at preventing the recurrence of the past unjust situations. An acceptance of such an international authority by the technologically advanced countries would have afforded them the possibility to show, for once, their goodwill and readiness to share with the other countries the benefits of their technological advancement and thus effectively contribute to the bridging of the present dangerous gap between the two camps. We trust that, in the great international venture being embarked upon by the Conference on the Law of the Sea, the discredited doctrine that "might is right" will not prevail and that the current impasse will be resolved in the light of the principle accepted without dissent by the United Nations membership that the riches of the ocean floor are the common heritage of mankind.

217. The world community has focused its attention in the past on the solution of political problems which endanger peace and security. I believe that it will have to deal increasingly in the future with tensions caused by the glaring disparities in the global standard of living; in other words, by the ever widening economic gap between the rich and the poor countries.

218. The demand of developing countries that this disparity be ended has of course been expressed in recent years in the Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*].

219. This demand does not stem from a narrow and envious view of the relationship between rich and poor countries. It stems from an awareness that the political character of the globe has been transformed and that this transformation makes economic change inevitable.

220. Just as man's best hope for political peace and security lies in replacing the old power-politics with a democratized international political system, so his best hope for economic peace and security lies in an economic order which is not built on the interests of the powerful and wealthy alone but which takes into account the needs of all nations. I believe that the two processes, political and economic, are closely related and must increasingly go hand in hand.

221. The fourth session of UNCTAD offered the most recent test. We share the generally positive assessment of the progress and the shortfalls of the Conference made by the Conference's Secretary-General in his report to the General Assembly [A/31/15]. The principal achievement of the fourth session of UNCTAD was the establishment of an integrated programme for commodities, which was the main proposal of the developing countries. Significant progress was also attained with regard to the elaboration of a code of conduct for the transfer of technology.

222. On the other hand, little was achieved with regard to the urgent debt problems of developing countries and the longer-term question of monetary reform and flows of development assistance.

223. We should maintain the momentum of the fourth session of UNCTAD and adopt a constructive attitude. We should not be unduly dismayed by the shortfalls of the Conference but instead strive to build on its positive achievements and persevere in our efforts to examine further possibilities of agreement in the unresolved areas of indebtedness and monetary reform. Much effort lies ahead of us and unnecessary delays in implementing the new economic order would only undermine the peace and stability which the United Nations has been striving to promote and preserve for so long.

224. The Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States accepted by the United Nations was a clear exposition of the economic philosophy of the non-aligned movement and indeed of the whole world community. Its acceptance meant also the rejection of the systems of exploitation that have persisted until now.

225. The non-aligned Heads of State or Government clearly expressed at their last Conference their conviction that the principles to safeguard and protect the weaker nations of the developing world in an age of interdependent relationship are enshrined in the Charter. The non-aligned movement, with its cohesive economic and political perceptions and progressive orientations, has continued to shape and mould the economic thinking of the developing countries and to present its position to the other camp in all common forums.

226. My Government fully endorses the principles and processes outlined in the Economic Declaration of the Colombo Conference of the non-aligned countries [A/31/197, annex II].

227. The Dakar Conference on raw materials¹⁰ is fraught with the most important consequences for the economic development of the developing countries. The Lima Conference in 1975¹¹ set up a new set of guidelines in its programme for mutual assistance and solidarity. The Manila Declaration¹² was a comprehensive statement of ground rules for international economic negotiation and further progress in the establishment of the new international economic order.

228. In this context my Government views the Paris Conference for International Economic Co-operation as an initiative of the greatest importance, since it will provide the machinery for a continuing dialogue and for detailed negotiations between developed and developing States. Price stabilization is essential for all of us in a world situation still governed by unequal trade arrangements, rampant inflation and a defective monetary system which we did not create and do not control.

229. My Government will continue its support for the following measures, which, we believe, are vital to the success of development planning. We support the establishment of an integrated programme on commodities, including a common fund to finance buffer stocks in basic commodities and the indexing of prices as a means of redressing the imbalance in the exchange of raw materials for manufactured goods. We expect to see a greater understanding by the developing countries of the causes and crippling effects of the debt burdens of developing countries and a willingness on their part to agree to proposals for overcoming this problem. We also hope to see the flow of financial resources from developed to developing countries reach the target set for the Second United Nations Development Decade, and in this context we note with disappointment the difference between the \$20 billion spent on development in 1975 and the \$300 billion spent for arms in the same year.

230. In the establishment of a new world economic order, economic co-operation between the developing countries on the basis of national self-reliance will be of the greatest significance if they are to break out of the inhibiting vertical structure of current economic relations. In that context my Government strongly supports the efforts being made to increase trade between developing countries and to establish machinery for co-operation in a wide variety of fields.

231. The establishment of producers' associations has been, and we believe will continue to be, one of the most significant developments aimed at a breaking away from old patterns of economic domination. Of equal importance is the decision of the developing countries to work towards a countervailing currency which would be backed by the economic potential of non-aligned and other developing States.

¹⁰ Conference of Developing Countries on Raw Materials, Held at Dakar from 4 to 8 February 1975.

¹¹ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

¹² See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

232. If a new world economic order is to be brought about peacefully and with goodwill between nations, the world community will have to be prepared to reverse the patterns of trade, production and monetary matters which formerly seemed immutable. It will have to be prepared for bold and imaginative change, both in fundamental concepts and in practical processes.

233. Somalia believes that these changes can be brought about in a spirit of co-operation rather than confrontation and in the best interests of all mankind.

234. In conclusion, this session of the General Assembly will deal with a number of vital questions in the wide areas of peace and security, human rights, colonialism and the world economic order, whose urgent solution constitutes a condition *sine qua non* for the healthy world society which we all cherish and aspire to build.

235. In the first instance, the United Nations must provide specific remedies for healing the danger spots of our troubled world. Secondly, it is imperative that the world community take note of, and react to, the ever-growing trend of certain imperialist and neo-colonialist policies which, characterized as they are by a new sense of aggressiveness, are creating tension and instability in new areas, since they are relentlessly bent on sowing the seeds of war.

236. In addition to its efforts to deal with specific problems, the world Organization has developed a number of prescriptions for bringing about a healthy climate in which the peoples of the world can work for development and progress.

237. In the view of my Government the most urgently needed of these prescriptions is the one which calls for the ending of the arms race and the reduction of armaments as a first step towards general and complete disarmament. We believe also that the establishment of an effective system of universal collective security is a fundamental approach to the removal of those tensions which can lead to large-scale conflicts.

238. We believe that the democratization of international affairs has become urgently necessary in a world where the sovereign nation-State, rather than the colonial empire, is the basic political unit. This political evolution requires that all States have the right to participate on a basis of equality in the settlement of international problems.

239. Elementary human rights continue to be callously trampled underfoot by the racist régimes of *apartheid* and zionism; that constitutes a constant threat to world peace and security and, at the same time, it diverts much-needed attention and energy from other areas for the progress of the world community.

240. The prescription for the self-determination and independence of peoples has been one of the most widely and successfully implemented prescriptions of the United Nations for bringing about a just political order. This accomplishment is often threatened by political or economic neo-colonialism, a development which calls for emphasis on the principle of non-intervention and on the

principle of the sovereign right of States over their territory and natural resources. Where the independence process continues to be opposed by colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism, the legitimacy of the struggles must be supported until such time as we have liquidated all forms of colonialism.

241. Along with the denial of human rights and freedom, poverty and hunger constitute a bastion of human degradation in a world where affluence and increasing misery are strange bed-fellows. Given the present economic interdependence relationship, the ever-widening gap between the "haves" and the "have-nots" poses no less a threat to peace and security than other situations.

242. The prescriptions for all these problems have their foundation in the Charter and the subsequent decisions of the United Nations and constitute the necessary prerequisite for ushering in a well-ordered and truly harmonious global society. Somalia believes that the world community can find a solution to these problems and that the United Nations can and will play its unique role in the attainment of these noble aspirations of all men.

243. Mr. DE MEDEIROS FERREIRA (Portugal):¹³ I should like to begin by congratulating the new President of the United Nations General Assembly, Ambassador Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, representative of Sri Lanka, a country with which Portugal has historic and cultural ties of special significance. He is a statesman of international prestige, to whom I pay my sincere respects.

244. I should like also to express my appreciation for the work of the outgoing President, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, a country with which we have come to share responsibilities arising from our recent integration within the Council of Europe and which has always attempted to show fairness in regard to the interests of the numerous Portuguese workers residing there. I have the honour of knowing Mr. Thorn personally and I am familiar with his lucid intelligence and deep understanding of the political phenomena that interest the community of nations.

245. I greet also the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose actions have contributed so much to an increase in justice and stability in international relations, thereby strengthening the prestige of the United Nations.

246. Finally, I should like to offer congratulations to the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations. In admitting its one hundred and forty-fifth Member, the Organization has once again demonstrated its universal mission.

247. It is with emotion that, as the representative of a Government freely elected by the Portuguese people, I speak today at this thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. I am proud to represent here a fraternal and enterprising people that has made and will continue to make a decisive contribution towards the unification of

¹³ Mr. de Medeiros Ferreira spoke in Portuguese. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

mankind, based on the interpenetration of cultures and respect for all of them.

Mr. Harry (Australia), Vice-President, took the Chair.

248. The liberating revolution of 25 April 1974 in Portugal had as its stated tasks decolonization, democratization and development. Two years later we have concluded our decolonization process, in which we honoured our commitments to the United Nations and redeemed relations with peoples we wish to consider as brothers, relations that were unfortunately distorted by the oppressive policies of the previous régime. Two years later it is the representative of a Government chosen by the people in accordance with a Constitution drafted by a freely elected Assembly of Deputies who speaks before you in this tribune. Democracy is thus a fact in Portugal.

249. It is true that two years after the revolution of 25 April our economic situation feels the repercussions of the profound transformations that have occurred in Portugal, due in great part to our compliance with the United Nations resolutions affecting the territories under colonial administration. We are, however, convinced that by our own forces, and with international solidarity, we shall succeed in overcoming these economic difficulties. Development is within our reach.

250. In this manner we have proved that it is possible for a people to overthrow an oppressive régime, put an end to colonial domination and effect profound political, social and economic transformations, strengthening the bases of a civilization whose values are the corner-stones of all our actions. We shall thus remain faithful to the values of liberty and respect for the human person.

251. It is to tell of the aspirations of the Portuguese people that I am speaking in this Assembly. On the internal as well as on the international plane the Portuguese people aspire to a more just society, a more worthy future. We have struggled a long time for these objectives and feel therefore that our words should be heard in a world that seeks the means of overcoming contradictions and difficulties and shares with us the same hopes.

252. It is the first time that the representative of Portugal has addressed this Assembly since the approval of the democratic Constitution in my country. This Constitution states the major principles that orient the foreign policy of the Portuguese Republic. Article 7 states that:

"1. In its international relations, Portugal shall be governed by the principles of national independence, the right of peoples to self-determination and independence, equality among States, the peaceful settlement of international disputes, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States and co-operation with all other peoples for the emancipation and progress of mankind.

"2. Portugal shall advocate the abolition of all forms of imperialism, colonialism and aggression, simultaneous and controlled general disarmament, the dissolution of politico-military blocs and the establishment of a system of collective security, with a view to creating an international order capable of safeguarding peace and justice in relations between peoples.

"3. Portugal recognizes the right of peoples to revolt against all forms of oppression, in particular colonialism and imperialism, and shall maintain special bonds of friendship and co-operation with the Portuguese-speaking countries."

253. Portugal today is thus actively engaged in the search for ways that would enable the international community to abolish the scourges that afflict it and the dangers that threaten it so that it may reach a state in which violence, hatred, racism, terror, oppression, war and hunger will not be common happenings but, rather, rare and controllable exceptions.

254. Therefore my country dedicates special attention to all efforts that can be made in the search for a new and more just international order.

255. Situated in an area particularly sensitive to international tensions, Portugal necessarily favours the relaxing of tensions between the great Powers as long as this is synonymous with security for the smaller nations. Respect for the dignity and essence of the diverse sovereignties is for us fundamental. The imperial arrogance of certain States today surely constitutes a factor of conflict and is no less lamentable for being almost always counter-productive.

256. Small country that we are, we are ready to defend the right to establish regional agreements capable of overcoming the persistent misapprehension that only the intervention of the great Powers can solve the most serious international conflicts.

257. Recently Portugal became a member of the Council of Europe and signed the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. We are, as well, intensifying our contacts with the nations of the European Economic Community with a view to full membership in that organization.

258. We firmly believe in the possibility of constructing a democratic, strong and united Europe which would play a fundamental role in the resolution of world problems and would be a natural ally of the developing countries.

259. Success in the construction of a united Europe, it seems to us, will be decisive in the construction of a new international order. Within that Europe we think we shall have a specific and fundamental role in the dialogue with the other continents. For this we have unique prospects.

260. Thus it is fortunate that recently we attended, as invited guests, the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, the conclusions of which are of such great importance to this thirty-first session of the General Assembly [see A/31/197].

261. The concern to bring an end to colonial oppression and racial segregation, which dominated the work of that Conference, finds a profound echo in the Portuguese people.

262. With those nations we also share the desire to end the deterioration in commodity price levels and ultimately to

create a new international economic order, the fundamental requisite for elimination of the injustices that afflict peoples and the contradictions that divide humanity.

263. Like those nations, Portugal is concerned about the intensification of the arms race so often camouflaged behind pacifistic declarations and, with them, we should like to see consecrated international détente and the existence of zones where there would be no risk of violent confrontations.

264. Along these lines, Portugal will be especially sensitive to the outcome of the results achieved and enshrined in the Final act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and shares a particular interest in the future Belgrade meeting, where the application that has been made of these principles will be reviewed.

265. Portugal will not refrain from participating intensively in this domain and believes that the small nations can now play a decisive role in the defence of the conditions of their security, so often different from those intended by the great Powers.

266. A profoundly European and Atlantic country, Portugal is a member of NATO, and we are intent on remaining within the political and geographical parameters of that alliance, contributing our best. Meanwhile, we have a foreign policy open to other fronts and latitudes, and in the areas not covered by the Atlantic Alliance Portugal will practise its own policies.

267. Portugal has a diverse and necessarily transcontinental foreign policy which is nothing more than the logical consequence of our position in the world, of the existence of Portuguese in the various latitudes and of the very expansion of the Portuguese language.

268. We express here our satisfaction at the fact that OAU, which maintains with the United Nations a status of frank co-operation, has recently included Portuguese among its official languages. Portugal considers this to be of significant importance. In truth, the fact that Portuguese is now considered an African language creates ties of deep intimacy with that great continent, whose present influence in international relations is clear, and on whose future the full process of liberation of men and nations depends. For the democratic Portugal that I represent here, the qualitative and quantitative transcontinental reality of the Portuguese language must shortly have its official dedication at the United Nations level: not only because of the fact that Portuguese is spoken in Europe, Africa and America by about 120 million people and exerts a cultural influence in Asia and Oceania—which would already be sufficient—but also because we are convinced that the Portuguese language will become progressively more important as a liberating instrument of men and of their ideological, technical, economic, social and political alienations.

269. For the democratic Portugal emergent from the revolution of 25 April 1974, this dimension of the Portuguese language as an emancipating instrument of humanity is essential to its own destiny.

270. In this regard, I would like to think I interpret here the desires of the statesmen of Brazil, Guinea-Bissau,

Mozambique, Cape Verde, Sao Tome and Principe and Angola. We hope besides that the representative of the People's Republic of Angola will shortly be able to speak the Portuguese language from this rostrum of the United Nations, in equality with the diverse States represented here. The Portuguese Government defends and actively supports admission of the People's Republic of Angola as a full Member of the United Nations. When a State remains outside the United Nations, it is always the United Nations that is incomplete.

271. In the international community, meanwhile, some problems continue to persist, and I would like to refer to them, as I believe they are of extreme concern.

272. For the anti-colonialist Portugal that I represent here, it would be a tragedy if the decolonization process that has already taken place were to give rise to new conflicts in southern Africa or, worse, if interests outside the African countries should come to dictate solutions to the current problems.

273. It is the interests of the nations of southern Africa that are in question in the situation that is now becoming critical in that area, and it is those interests, and no others, that must be held paramount in the solutions to be found. The profoundly negative influence of the policy of *apartheid*, contrary to internationally recognized human rights, shocks our conscience and constitutes a factor of tension in that region of the world.

274. We hereby declare ourselves in favour of the independence of Namibia and of the rapid establishment of a majority government in Zimbabwe. We thus support all realistic efforts to bring about the necessary changes without leading to convulsions, whose spread could even aggravate the problems they are intended to resolve.

275. We also express our concern at the situation in the Middle East, where the Palestinian people continues to see the homeland to which it is entitled unjustly disputed. We support the rapid convocation of the Geneva Conference and hope that it will recognize the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people, as well as provide guarantees for the security of Israel.

276. On the other hand, it is imperative that an end be put to the tragedy in Lebanon, which has resulted in the loss of so many lives and spread so much suffering in a land that had been known for the peaceful and balanced coexistence of its diverse cultural communities.

277. We place the greatest hopes in the actions of the newly-elected President, as well as in continuation of the efforts of international institutions, particularly the League of Arab States, to restore peace to a people martyred by a violence unbroken by truces.

278. The question of Timor is, at the moment, before the United Nations, with which Portugal has fully co-operated in the efforts undertaken to apply the internationally accepted principles of self-determination and the right of peoples to determine their own future. The Portuguese Constitution also upholds these principles, specifically in the case of Timor.

279. The problem is now a matter for the effective application of the rights and duties recognized by the competent organs of the United Nations, it being certain that the Portuguese Government remains undisposed to recognize *de jure* the integration of East Timor within the territory of another State as a result of a unilateral decision. Meanwhile, we are ready to accept a consensus of the United Nations regarding this matter, for we are sure that it would be in accordance with the principles that have always guided the United Nations.

280. Among the causes of concern to my country, I would not like to omit reference to those that are related to world-wide economic problems and which derive from our desire to see launched a new international economic order.

281. We follow with the utmost attention the deliberations of the North-South Conference and hope that concrete directives will result from it so that we may progress along the rough road to more just economic relations.

282. We believe also that the new economic order to which we aspire should be based, above all, on the distribution and more equitable sharing of wealth, through correct appraisal of the necessities of each people and the internal resources of each country. Despite the progress already achieved, it is with concern that Portugal faces the fact that the fourth session of UNCTAD, which took place this year in Nairobi, was unable to resolve the problems related to the exploitation, production and trade of raw materials and basic products. We also place the greatest importance on the question of the external debt of the developing countries, for we are convinced that this phenomenon has universal implications that can lead to imbalances incompatible with a harmonious ordering of international economic relations. Portugal, being neither an exporter of raw materials nor a highly industrialized country, is naturally attempting a realistic solution which would unite the various interests in question.

283. I shall now turn to an important aspect of international co-operation with which our President, Mr. Amersinghe, is particularly involved. I refer to the questions arising out of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea.

284. The technological advances achieved in the realm of fishing and in the exploration of the sea-bed, as well as the contingencies of nations' geographic positions, demand that defence of natural resources and the environment in territorial waters be assured in sovereign terms. With respect to the future law regarding exploitation of mineral resources in the ocean depths, we are convinced of the necessity for an attitude of compromise between the differing and as yet immovable positions. Portugal will do everything within the negotiating groups of which it is a part to assist in overcoming the difficulties encountered at the Conference. Thus we understand the appeal of the President of the Conference that unilateral actions should be avoided in the near future. We are confident that the consensus that has already been reached in various areas will, during the sixth session, be extended to others.

285. I would now like to make some comments regarding the role of the United Nations.

286. I belong to a generation of Portuguese who were subjected to propaganda discrediting the United Nations by the dictatorial régime that was overthrown on 25 April 1974. The reasons for the fury against the United Nations are understandable: the principles that guide the United Nations are manifestly opposed to tyranny and the use of force in international relations. The previous régime relied for its support on those two pillars.

287. However, the tendency shown at times in this forum to adopt resolutions in clear opposition to world realities solely by the arithmetical exercise of regimented majorities, or by simplistic stereotypes which bring discredit to their promoters, still remains a matter of serious concern. It is no less certain that the repeated use of the veto constitutes an abuse of the Organization by the practitioner. It is pressing, then, to consider carefully the economy of use of these decision-making instruments so as to guarantee for the United Nations the prestige and role that we all wish for it. Otherwise, it will result in a revision of the Charter, of undetermined scope, being imposed, the effects of which are not as yet predictable. We sincerely hope that all will guide their actions bearing in mind that the United Nations is the sole universal forum capable of exercising a pacifying influence upon the international community.

288. The fact that the politico-military blocs persist and that certain States seek to group themselves in movements pursuing interests that are not universal, based on ideological criteria or degrees of development must, however, be reflected on, although this inevitably means that this Organization, in which we place the best of our hopes, has not yet been able fully to carry out the ends for which it was envisaged.

289. We believe that in so far as we are able to advance in the concrete realization of the objectives of the United Nations Charter, we shall be contributing decisively to the abolition of the present divisions between peoples and removing the cause of the formation of politico-military blocs.

290. We think it thus essential to engage in all actions intended to provide effective protection for human rights, and are even willing to see the great moral principles to which we are bound prevail over barriers of national sovereignty.

291. Therefore, we are pleased with the proposal of the Federal Republic of Germany for the drafting of a convention against the taking of hostages [A/31/242]. Portugal associates itself with this initiative of the Federal Republic of Germany in the spirit of defence of human rights and in order to safeguard security and international order. We oppose all forms of terrorism.

292. It is not surprising that we pay particular attention to matters connected with the protection of human rights. The experience of a dictatorial régime that ignored the most elementary guarantees and individual rights has shown us very well the importance of their recognition; clear and decisive provisions regarding this are enshrined in our Constitution.

293. Consequently, my Government holds as one of its priorities on the international level the acceptance of the

principal instruments approved by the United Nations, such as the human rights Covenants, which I have just signed on behalf of my Government. Portugal considers these texts and others wrought in the United Nations—for example, the Declaration on the Protection of All Persons from Being Subjected to Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment [*resolution 3452 (XXX)*]—to be essential for understanding between societies and individuals.

294. We must seek, then, to act together in those areas which are the common aspirations of all peoples. One of these areas is clearly that of the defence of the dignity of the human person, carrier of the universality that we wish to attribute to the United Nations.

295. The United Nations represents and symbolizes an ancient dream of humanity, a dream of unity, peace, tolerance and understanding. This dream is far from being accomplished, but my Government and my country will be the last to underestimate the steps that have already been taken here in that direction or to diminish the efforts so that more and more substantial progress can be achieved.

296. Mr. M. H. KHAN (Bangladesh): My delegation had an opportunity earlier during this session to express its congratulations to Ambassador Amerasinghe on his election as President of this august Assembly. I reaffirm what I have said before and express the confidence of my delegation that the deliberations of this august Assembly will receive added meaning under his able guidance.

297. I should also like to pay a tribute to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who has a very heavy responsibility resting on him and who has borne it with fortitude and devotion. The world has benefited immensely from his stewardship of the United Nations. The leadership that he has provided to this Organization through some very critical times will be remembered with gratitude and admiration by the international community for years to come.

298. The most important challenge facing the international community today is the crisis in international economic relations. The heart of the problem lies in the widening disparity between the rich and the poor nations of the world. Extensive negotiations during the past few years have confirmed the urgent need to establish a more equitable relationship between the developed and the developing countries of the world. Out of this recognition was born the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. To achieve any meaningful progress towards the objectives of this programme it was necessary to follow up expeditiously with comprehensive proposals and agreements. A hopeful beginning for initiating necessary changes in the global economic system was made during the seventh special session of the General Assembly. Unfortunately, this momentum has not been sustained. Subsequent negotiations have hardly progressed. Little has been achieved at the fourth session of UNCTAD, particularly on the two most important issues of commodities and debt-liability. The Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris remains stalled, without making any progress in substantive discussions.

299. The problems have been identified and remedial action proposed. A restructuring of international economic relations and the establishment of a new and more equitable system remains the only solution of the economic challenge that faces us today. The time has come to break the inertia and revitalize the process of negotiations and consultations in a spirit of co-operation and mutual accommodation. Real progress can be achieved only if the rich are prepared to concede that economic justice is not a slogan only for the poor but is the only means by which a new and stable world order can be achieved. To deny this would be to reject the established fact of interdependence, which is the corner-stone of contemporary world order.

300. In working for fundamental changes in global economic relations, both the developed and developing countries have their responsibilities to fulfil. We on our part recognize the imperative need to promote the socio-economic and infrastructural changes necessary for rapid growth. We are also committed to the concept of self-reliance as our ultimate goal.

301. We have embarked on a series of reforms and a reorientation of our development policy objectives. These have succeeded in creating self-reliance and sustained economic growth. The Government of Bangladesh has undertaken an integrated rural development programme with the twin objectives of achieving self-sufficiency in food through increased food production and creating more employment opportunities for the rural poor, who constitute 90 per cent of our total population. Side by side with this, we have also launched a crash programme for family planning to control population growth. The two programmes, together, are designed to create a sound basis for future development.

302. In the brief period in which these programmes have been in operation significant results have been achieved—a fact which has been a source of great encouragement for us.

303. Meanwhile we are deeply concerned about the global co-operation required to overcome the economic challenges of our time and the fact that it can be achieved only within an environment of peace. We, therefore, remain totally committed to peace—peace in our region, in our continent and in the world.

304. Global concern over disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, continues unabated. The Declaration of the Colombo Conference of non-aligned countries has summed up our position [*see A/31/197*]. We are concerned that, unless substantive safeguards are provided to the non-nuclear States, their security will continue to be threatened. Recent developments have highlighted the importance of the relationship between peaceful and military uses of nuclear explosives. The practical value of peaceful nuclear explosions needs to be carefully evaluated and suitable safeguards adopted to avert the inherent dangers of nuclear weapons proliferation.

305. A comprehensive study of the question of nuclear-weapon-free zones in all its aspects has been undertaken by the United Nations. There are also a number of proposals under consideration by the General Assembly on the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in different

parts of the world. We support the initiatives for early establishment of such zones.

306. The Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace adopted by this Assembly sought on the one hand to eliminate great-Power rivalry from the area and on the other to promote co-operation among the regional States to ensure conditions of security within the region. As a littoral State of the Indian Ocean, Bangladesh has supported this Declaration. We consider that the first task before the littoral and hinterland States of the Indian Ocean is to evolve a common position on a viable system of security within the region. If we ourselves are not united in our resolve to uphold our collective interest and renounce the threat or use of force against each other, it will not only detract from the morality of our cause but also create practical problems of credibility. We call upon the great Powers to co-operate in the implementation of the General Assembly's Declaration.

307. Born out of a prolonged struggle against colonialism, the commitment of Bangladesh to the right of self-determination is immutable. The focus of the attention of the international community is now on southern Africa. Recent developments in Rhodesia offer a possibility of ending the illegal minority régime in Salisbury without further unnecessary bloodshed. We lend our firm support to the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle to establish majority rule in an independent Zimbabwe.

308. We have fully associated ourselves with the unceasing efforts of the United Nations to end the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa. The essential conditions for the transition of the Territory from the South African illegal occupation to independence have been stipulated in Security Council resolution 385 (1976). Those conditions must be complied with unequivocally and immediately. The recent mass uprising in South Africa is a clear warning that time is running out for the racist *apartheid* régime. We condemn the violent suppression of this legitimate demand for racial justice and freedom and urge the international community to discharge fully its obligations to end this crime against humanity.

309. The Middle East question remains unresolved, posing a great threat to international peace and security. The tragic events in Lebanon are a painful illustration of the dangerous consequences that can result from the situation. It is, therefore, essential to resume all efforts for resolving the problem. A just and lasting peace in the Middle East can be established only on the basis of a complete Israeli withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the exercise by the Palestinian people of their inalienable rights, including the establishment of an independent, sovereign Palestinian State of their own. Continuation of the policy of new settlement by Israel in the occupied Arab territories, with a view to changing the political, social and demographic character of the area, will create further obstacles in the way of permanent settlement of the Middle East problem. This policy of new settlement is also being applied by Israel to the holy city of Jerusalem. Jerusalem is one of the holiest places of Islam. As a Moslem nation we cannot remain indifferent to the continued desecration of Moslem holy shrines in Jerusalem by Israel and its policy of insidious annexation of the holy city.

310. We welcome the progressive developments in Viet Nam since the successful conclusion of the long struggle of the Vietnamese people for freedom. The victorious struggle of the Vietnamese people is a source of inspiration for us. The emergence of a free Socialist Republic of Viet Nam has contributed towards political stability and a relaxation of tension in the region. We believe that membership of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam in the United Nations will promote the cause of freedom and peace in the world. We eagerly await the day when we shall have the opportunity to welcome them in this hall.

311. The principle of universality demands that all countries which fulfil the qualifications for membership should be allowed to join the Organization. Therefore we support the immediate admission of Angola to the United Nations.

312. We should like to see an early settlement of the outstanding problems in Cyprus that would allow the Turkish and the Greek communities in Cyprus to live in safety, dignity and honour. We have supported all initiatives for such an amicable settlement. We believe that no solution of the problem can be lasting unless it takes into account the legitimate aspirations and wishes of both the Turkish and Greek communities of Cyprus and respects the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-alignment of Cyprus. It is also essential that in any deliberation of the issue both the communities should be allowed equal opportunity to present their views in an international forum.

313. For a country like ours with one of the highest densities of population in the world, the resources of the sea are of crucial importance. We have, therefore, a vital interest in ensuring that these resources are exploited for the benefit of the needy. The international community has accepted the concept of the sea-bed as the "common heritage of mankind". We cannot leave the exploitation of its resources to the tender mercies of unilateral appropriation without regard for the needs and rights of developing countries.

314. We are greatly concerned that the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea should adopt provisions for demarcation of a base-line which meets the demands of our special geographical and geomorphological situation. On the question of an exclusive economic zone, we are convinced that an equitable delimitation is the only basis for an acceptable solution. We are in favour of the adoption of a mandatory system of settlement of disputes.

315. In reviewing some of the crucial political and economic issues that now confront us, I should like to take this opportunity of reaffirming my country's commitment to the principles and purposes of the United Nations Charter. Our firm adherence to these objectives has been given vital perspective and strength by our membership in the Islamic Conference, the Conference of Non-Aligned Countries and the Commonwealth Conference. Integral to our policy also are the five principles of Bandung. Our accession to these international associations is based on the firm belief that they reflect the basic aspirations of mankind to freedom from subjugation and exploitation and man's legitimate desire to shape his destiny without pressure or interference.

316. It is in pursuit of those objectives that Bangladesh has made all efforts to consolidate relations with countries of the region and the subcontinent in particular. To this end we have consistently pursued and reaffirmed our total commitment to a policy of peace, stability and co-operation with our close neighbours on the basis of mutual respect for equality, independence and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

317. On the subcontinent our belief that the emergent role of Bangladesh would significantly contribute to the normalization of relations has been vindicated. We have taken important steps to normalize our relations with Pakistan. Our relations with Afghanistan, Bhutan and Nepal are based on a firm footing and new avenues are being explored for bolstering our existing ties. Our historic relations with Sri Lanka are of abiding friendship. With Burma we have the most cordial and friendly relations based on good neighbourliness. We believe that Bangladesh, by virtue of its geographical location as well as its historical and cultural affinities with the people of South-East Asia, stands as a bridge between South and South-East Asia. We attach the utmost priority to the pursuit of all efforts to strengthen our relations with our South-East Asian neighbours.

318. Our affinity and identification with the cause of the Islamic world stretching from Morocco to Indonesia is total. We firmly believe that the 800 million people of the Islamic group can contribute significantly to promoting our common endeavour for a more stable and meaningful world order.

319. In any review of our international relations, however, we cannot remain unmindful of certain objective realities that pertain to our region.

320. As Chairman of the Bangladesh delegation, I speak on behalf of the Government and people of a country which is located in an area inhabited by a quarter of the entire human race. The appalling conditions of life in our part of the world are a blemish, a disgrace and a crime in the late twentieth century. We cannot escape responsibility for a total effort to bring about an immediate change in this deplorable state of affairs. When we come to this forum with problems that are described as bilateral and at times even referred to as misconceived, we can say, with all honesty, that we cannot afford the luxury of stalemate nor can we be deterred by verbal gymnastics simply because the limits of patience, forbearance and even resignation have long since been crossed. Our people are resolved to secure their legitimate rights and persevere in their determination to carve out for themselves what, even by the most niggardly contemporary standards, can only be termed a very modest improvement in their living conditions.

321. I do not at this stage wish to dilate on the question of unilateral diversion of water at Farakka, since the matter has already been included in the agenda [item 124] and allocated to the Special Political Committee. I would merely stress that we have not come to this world forum to strike a note of discord nor have we come in a spirit of confrontation. Our imperative is one and only one: it is the fact that as a country we cannot afford to leave any stone unturned in seeking redress where the vital interests of our people are threatened.

322. The Government of Bangladesh sincerely desires to solve the problems. I should also like to reiterate our adherence to a policy of good neighbourliness and mutual co-operation on the basis of sovereign equality. We shall continue to support all initiatives for the normalization of relations on the subcontinent.

323. The regrettable stresses and strains in the affairs of the subcontinent have not deterred us in our resolve to consolidate our state sovereignty, safeguard our genuine and true independence, and uphold the imperative need for peace and stability. We have persisted in this in spite of the loss of many valuable lives and notwithstanding the disruption caused among the inhabitants of our border areas. No country can do more than temper firmness with restraint.

324. In the three decades since the signing of the United Nations Charter in San Francisco in 1945, the political scene in the world has changed almost beyond recognition; it is not inconceivable that it has changed beyond the imagination of the founding fathers. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/31/1/Add.1], the Secretary-General has accurately observed this profound geopolitical change, its implications and the wider scope for the United Nations role it calls for.

325. The most obvious change has been the disappearance of the old colonial empires. With the near completion of the process of decolonization the number of independent countries in the world has multiplied about three times. Instead of a few world Powers and Territories under their protection, we now have—and here I quote the Secretary-General:

“... an international community of independent States seeking to maintain their freedom and to develop their destiny as sovereign and equal Members of the United Nations. It is impossible to underestimate the importance of such a fundamental historic change and its implications for the world order which the Governments and the peoples of the world are seeking to build in the United Nations.” [A/31/1/Add.1, sect. II.]

That transformation in the geopolitical map of the world has produced a concomitant transformation in the world power structure. The emergence of a large number of newly independent countries has led to a significant decentralization of the focus of power. We now have a situation where a number of regional power centres have emerged in different parts of the world.

326. The contemporary world situation is that of an unequal relationship among countries, in terms of size, population, military and economic strength, in which the strong can dominate the weak. In many parts of the world the security and existence of smaller nations are being threatened by their more powerful neighbours. It will make a mockery of our hard-won independence if we now have to subordinate our national interests to those of our more powerful neighbours or bend our national policies to accommodate their interventionist role. The basic political compulsion facing the world today is the protection of the weaker states from their stronger neighbours. Unless the freedom of the smaller and weaker nations to pursue their

own social, economic and political policies is protected, the fabric of international co-operation and development will be jeopardized.

327. This Organization is based on the principles of the sovereign equality of all its Members, of territorial integrity, political and economic independence and of non-interference in their internal affairs. Maintenance of international peace and security and protection of the equal rights of all nations, large and small, is a fundamental responsibility of this Organization. To perform that duty effectively, it is essential for the United Nations itself to reflect the evolution of the international community. The geopolitical changes which have occurred during the last 25 years call for a wider role for the United Nations as an instrument for dealing with international disputes and for maintaining peace and security. The potentially beneficial role that the United Nations can play in this respect has not been fully utilized even when the world power structure was restricted. The disparity between the potential and the actual performance of the United Nations has now become more glaring. The short-comings of the United Nations system as an instrument for maintaining world peace and security have constantly engaged our attention. If the United Nations system has to prove its continued relevance it has to demonstrate its ability like all other living organisms to adapt itself to changing conditions. It would serve a useful purpose if we could transform our criticism of the United Nations into a constructive review of its primary role as an instrument for maintaining international peace and security.

328. The Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Colombo, in reaffirming the dedication of its countries to the principle of the United Nations and its Charter, has confirmed its abiding faith in the continued relevance of the Organization to the future welfare of mankind. The Declaration it issued [see A/31/197, annex I] is a tribute of the highest order to this august forum, which in a sense is the embodiment of the conscience and enlightenment of the world community as a whole.

329. The Conference made specific recommendations of great significance to the future of this Organization. In keeping with the spirit of the Declaration, and with the object of taking one single constructive step forward, my delegation proposes for the consideration of the Member

States that the General Assembly include in its agenda an item on the strengthening of the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security. A discussion of the issue should include, in our opinion, the following: first, a comprehensive review of the geopolitical changes that have taken place since the birth of the United Nations and their effects on relations between States; secondly, a study of the wider role of the United Nations that is required to meet the changed geopolitical conditions; and, thirdly, specific recommendations for strengthening the role of the United Nations for maintaining peace and security and protecting the equal rights of all nations.

330. If this proposal commends itself to the members of this Assembly, my delegation will be prepared to submit a memorandum on the subject elaborating the proposal. Alternatively, this proposal could be considered by a special session of the General Assembly. The Fifth Conference has called for the holding of a special session of the General Assembly not later than 1978 on disarmament and security. The agenda of this proposed special session could be adjusted in a suitable manner so that it could also review the role of the United Nations with regard to the maintenance of international peace and security and for protecting the equal rights of all States.

331. In conclusion, I would pay respectful homage to the memory of Chairman Mao Tsetung. We convey to the Chinese Government and people our deep sense of loss at his death. Others have spoken eloquently about the greatness of Chairman Mao and the miracle he performed in his own lifetime. The lesson of Chairman Mao and of the Chinese people in modern times is of the utmost relevance to our world. His was the embodiment of that leadership which united a full quarter of the human race and directed its energy in the single-minded pursuit of national development. The history of the Chinese people under his leadership is the history of infinite capacity of human endeavour, and it will remain as a source of inspiration for struggling humanity till the end of time.

332. The PRESIDENT: In view of the lateness of the hour, representatives who have indicated a wish to exercise the right of reply will be heard at the end of the plenary meeting tomorrow afternoon.

The meeting rose at 7.35 p.m.