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**President: Mr. Hamilton Shirley AMERASINGHE**  
(Sri Lanka).

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Al-Zawawi (Oman),  
Vice-President, took the Chair.*

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ABDALLA (Uganda): Mr. President, may I first of all take this opportunity to convey to you and, through you, to all delegations assembled here, greetings from His Excellency Alhaji Field Marshal Mr. Idi Amin Dada, VC, DSO, MC, Life President of the Republic of Uganda, the Government and the entire people of Uganda and their best wishes for fruitful deliberations. Uganda attaches great importance to this Organization in the sincere conviction that it is here to serve the interests of mankind.

2. Also on behalf of my delegation I would congratulate Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe on his unanimous election to preside over this session. His high reputation and the impressive list of his diplomatic and administrative achievements are undoubtedly the best guarantee that he will carry out this assignment with competence and to the satisfaction of all Member States and especially to the pride of the non-aligned movement, of which his country is a member. My delegation assures him of its full support in the discharge of his duties.

3. I should also like to pay a tribute to his predecessor, His Excellency Prime Minister Gaston Thorn, for the efficient manner in which he conducted the deliberations of the last session.

4. On this occasion too I should like to express our deep appreciation and gratitude to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his staff for their good work. Uganda greatly appreciates the work of Mr. Waldheim in promoting peace, justice and equality, particularly in the third world. His dedicated service to our Organization will remain on permanent record in the annals of the United

Nations. We are particularly grateful for his services in the field of decolonization and in handling the problems of the racist minority régimes in southern Africa.

5. It is also my delegation's pleasure to congratulate the people of the new Republic of Seychelles on their attainment of independence. Uganda welcomes this newest State from Africa among the ranks of this world body. This demonstrates Africa's determination to cast off the last chains of colonialism and to establish a free and peaceful human society. It is now the duty of the United Nations to help this new State to preserve its political and economic independence and its territorial integrity.

6. While welcoming the Republic of Seychelles, Uganda expresses the hope that during this session the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam will take their rightful places in this Organization.

7. May I at this juncture record our sorrow at the passing away of Chairman Mao Tsetung and, through you, Mr. President, convey to the Government and people of China our condolences at the loss of their great and beloved leader.

8. The world community is still experiencing hot-beds of political tension. The United Nations has all along been preoccupied with finding long-term solutions to these problems with a view to achieving lasting world peace, justice and equality among all the nations of this globe.

9. At this very moment, as I speak to you, the grave situation prevailing in southern Africa has become more than ever before a threat to international peace and security.

10. This august Assembly has for many years both in its debates and in its resolutions condemned the illegal and racist minority régime in Rhodesia. The sanctions against rebel Ian Smith's régime have failed miserably because of the support of the Vorster régime and some Member States represented here in this Assembly.

11. Recent developments in Zimbabwe and observations made in the present debate highlight the need for an immediate solution to the deadlock in Zimbabwe. Various proposals have been made in recent weeks ostensibly to solve the Rhodesian problem by peaceful means. Why, may we ask, should the people of Zimbabwe wait for another two or so years to have power transferred to them, when they have been fighting rebel Smith's illegal régime since 1965? The people of Zimbabwe have shed their blood for many years, particularly in the last 11 years, fighting for their independence. Uganda has given, and continues to

give, material and moral support to the liberation movements in Zimbabwe. Now that total liberation is within reach, any attempt to call on the liberation movements to lay down their arms should be strongly resisted. Accordingly, President Amin, speaking as one with the entire people of Uganda, has appealed to the liberation movements not to give up the armed struggle. The armed struggle must be intensified until racist Smith and Vorster are brought to their knees and total liberation is achieved.

12. Despite numerous resolutions of the United Nations, under whose mandate Namibia falls, Fascist South Africa continues to occupy Namibia illegally. Besides occupying Namibia illegally, South Africa has extended its inhuman policy of *apartheid* to that Territory. South Africa is in the process of fragmenting Namibia and establishing pocket régimes under the policy of "bantustanization". The bogus constitutional conference held recently in Namibia has been denounced by the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the authentic representatives of the people of Namibia, and we support them. South Africa has further militarized Namibia and turned it into a police State from which the racist régime stages attacks on other independent African States. We cannot condone these barbaric acts.

13. The people of Namibia, under the leadership of SWAPO, are waging a gallant struggle against the racist régime in South Africa. We appeal to all peace-loving nations to support their just cause until final victory is achieved. We in Uganda will continue to render every assistance to those heroic people.

14. This Assembly is fully aware that the principles underlying the system of *apartheid* are in sharp contradiction to the very principles of the United Nations Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Yet the racist régime of South Africa has committed, and still continues to commit, crimes against humanity, and there is no doubt that this régime remains a threat to international peace and security. When it is stripped of all propaganda and sentiments, we all know that the tyranny in South Africa, unequalled anywhere in the world, is maintained by deliberate racist legislation and carried out by a ruthless administration, secret service and police force.

15. The situation in South Africa is, more than ever before, a test which will enable us to assess the real practical value of this Organization. For our part, we have not hidden our hostility to the *apartheid* system and we make no apology for the fact that we want that racist régime and its policies dismantled.

16. For a long time we have heard some Members of this Organization speaking loudly against the policies of *apartheid*, and yet they arm South Africa and are even supplying nuclear reactors to that country to enable it to entrench its policies. These countries have attempted to enhance the credibility of Vorster, who now poses as a mediator and a co-sponsor of the so-called African solution to an African problem. The time has come for those who claim to be the friends of independent Africa to stand up and be counted. We believe that those who continue to arm South Africa with sophisticated and dangerous weapons cannot at the same time genuinely claim to be on our side. Current events in South Africa have shown that *apartheid* is

collapsing, and the oppressed majority in South Africa are prepared to lay down their lives for the total liberation of their country. We join all peace-loving peoples in mourning the death of the hundreds of innocent men, women and children who lost their lives at the hands of a gang of racist terrorists. Let those who back Vorster be informed that the ship is sinking and it is time for them to make their choice.

17. Since the establishment of the Zionist State of Israel, the Middle East situation has been a threat to international peace and security. Those who support Zionist Israel forget that the Palestinians have been made to suffer for the last 30 years. The Palestinians have now been driven into the desert, surviving on hand-outs and living in tents. In all this the Zionists and their allies have treated the Palestinians as if they were surplus human beings to be removed and dumped anywhere in the harshness of the desert.

18. It is true that had it not been aided militarily by powerful imperialist forces, Israel's ambitions would have been crushed by now. This Assembly should not be intimidated by those imperialist forces in condemning the Zionist atrocities committed in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world. No solution in the Middle East will be lasting unless Israel withdraws from the occupied Arab territory, and the rights of the Palestinian people are fully recognized.

19. As regards the situation in Lebanon, we hope that the people of that troubled country will be able to find a quick, peaceful and lasting solution to existing conflicts in that country, so that the Arab people can focus their attention on their major objective in the Middle East.

20. My delegation is alarmed at the lack of progress in disarmament and the upward trend in the production, stockpiling and proliferation of armaments, particularly nuclear armaments. The vast resources which the world is devoting to the arms race should usefully be channelled towards the social and economic development of the developing countries. It is against this background that my delegation would like to endorse the proposal of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976, to convene as soon as possible a special session of the General Assembly to discuss the question of disarmament.

21. The world has changed a lot since the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up more than 30 years ago. The membership of the Organization has since greatly increased, and so have its activities, especially in functional fields and in other burning international issues that have since confronted us. These drastic changes in the facts of international life make corresponding changes in the structure of the Organization imperative and require our urgent attention.

22. The negative vote system in the Security Council, for instance, has now, more than ever before, become distasteful to most members of this Assembly because it runs counter to the principle of equality of all States and gives to a few a privileged status, dwarfing the will of the majority. We have stated before that this Organization was founded on the fundamental principle of equality among nations, whether great or small, strong or weak, rich or

poor. My delegation, therefore, urges that the veto system be replaced by a more democratic system in line with the requirements of law and justice.

23. Uganda has pursued and participated with keen interest in the proceedings of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Although a land-locked country, Uganda shares an active interest in the peaceful exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed for the betterment of mankind. My Government is ready to support a just international convention for the effective exploitation of these resources.

24. Uganda feels that any convention on the law of the sea must adequately cover the interests of all countries, including the land-locked countries. There are still many areas of disagreement, and the non-aligned countries have already made proposals on the right of free access to and from the sea. This and other issues, particularly regarding the sea-bed and its exploitation and the exclusive economic zone, have to be satisfactorily resolved before we can come to a convention acceptable to all. We shall not be intimidated by threats of unilateral action on the part of some Member States to conclude a convention which will not cover our interests. We hope that the remaining difficulties will be resolved at the sixth session, which will take place in 1977, taking into consideration the position of the Group of 77.

25. Regarding the world economic situation, we are all familiar with the reasons and developments which led to the current international economic crisis. Although there are some prospects for improvement on the world economic scene, economic growth in the developing countries has generally been scanty and in certain cases there has been some negative growth. The most seriously affected countries have been the ones least able to withstand this crisis. Considering that 18 out of the 29 least developed countries are located in Africa, many of them being land-locked or situated in disaster areas, and that Africa also contains 28 of the 45 most seriously affected countries [see A/31/21, annex IV], the African continent has been the most severely hit of all the regions of the world. In this respect, the continent deserves increased assistance from the international community.

26. The alarming disparity between the levels of development in the developed and developing countries has become a threat to world peace and security. Durable solutions must be found to the grave problems being generated by the present distribution of wealth in the world, the price relationship between raw materials and manufactured goods and discrimination in the world trade system as well as in the credit and monetary system. My Government considers the move towards the new international economic order as a logical response to the urgent need for greatly enhanced development prospects in the developing world.

27. In this respect, we reaffirm our support of the positions taken at various international conferences, particularly at the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] and the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries.

28. My Government views with great concern the slowness with which some of the generally accepted programmes of action for the international community are being implemented. It is particularly discouraging to note the lack of commitment on the part of the developed countries to implement those decisions of the General Assembly which laid down the foundation of the new international economic order. The efforts of the developing countries to bring about social and economic changes have been seriously hampered by various constraints, which, *inter alia*, have caused such efforts to fall short of the growth target of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The developed countries should accept and fulfil their obligations and commitments arising from the decisions and recommendations which laid down the foundations of the new international economic order. Furthermore, the developed countries should respond more positively to the proposals of the developing countries as contained in the Manila Declaration<sup>1</sup> adopted at the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, which was held from 26 January to 7 February 1976.

29. My delegation is deeply concerned at the lack of progress in the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation. After almost nine months of negotiations, the developed countries have not even responded, beyond general remarks, to the concrete proposals submitted by the Group of 19 developing countries taking part in the Conference. We expressed misgivings at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly about the Paris Conference, and the deadlock reached at the Conference seems to confirm our fears. We would, therefore, wish to propose that all future negotiations of this nature should be conducted under the auspices of the United Nations.

30. The real issue now before us is whether or not we can come to terms with the political realities of an economically divided world and whether or not we can agree on the need to establish a viable economic system for the equitable distribution of the world's resources. This, then, is the stark reality before us. Mankind is now at the crossroads. We have either to turn towards the new international economic order or to choose to continue with the present inequitable system. My delegation is confident that the United Nations system is capable of arriving at an integrated multisectoral approach to the problems of economic and social development.

31. In this context, I should like to refer to the limited nature of the progress achieved last May at Nairobi during the fourth session of UNCTAD, and urge the developed countries which have not already done so to accept, among other things, the principle of indexation, to achieve the target of 0.7 per cent of their gross national product as official development assistance to the developing countries in accordance with the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)], to accept the cancellation or rescheduling of the developing countries' external debts and to implement the special measures in favour of the most

<sup>1</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

seriously affected, least developed, land-locked and island developing countries.

32. In addition to the foregoing, very far-reaching economic decisions were taken at the recent Colombo Conference, and Uganda supported these decisions, which have already been presented to this Assembly by Mrs. Bandaranaike, current Chairman of the non-aligned movement, in her address of 30 September last [11th meeting]. They represent the joint aspirations of a big group of members of the world community. These decisions emphasize the importance of self-reliance. The non-aligned countries will together defend these aspirations, and the world community should take these countries' aspirations into consideration.

33. May I reiterate our firm conviction that, whatever measures the international community may take in favour of the developing countries, the economic development of each country in the third world remains the prime task of the State concerned. My Government is resolved that international and foreign financial and technical assistance can only complement national efforts in the field of development. In this connexion, Uganda has taken steps to effect institutional changes in our economy and the Government has established full sovereignty over Uganda's natural resources to ensure that the course of economic development is directed in the best interest of the people.

34. Taking self-reliance as the basis of our economic policy, my Government is keen to develop closer co-operation among the developing countries. My delegation would like to urge those developing countries in a position to do so to increase their investments in developing countries rather than channelling them to developed countries. My Government is of the view that there is a vast potential for investment by developing countries in Africa as a whole and Uganda in particular.

35. Having actively participated in the fourth session of the Governing Council of the United Nations Environment Programme [UNEP] and in the preparatory work for Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements and in the Conference itself, which was held at Vancouver from 31 May to 11 June 1976, my Government is satisfied with the progress that has been made so far by UNEP in playing its role in the stimulation of interest in environmental problems as well as promotion of international and national awareness and action aimed at combating problems of the environment and of human settlements. My delegation supports the Vancouver Declaration of Principles, the recommendations for national action and the programmes for international co-operation<sup>2</sup> and believes that their implementation would go a long way towards improving human settlement conditions in developing countries. My delegation, therefore, wishes to support initiatives aimed at trying to establish a new, independent body on human settlements to tackle the serious problems of human settlements afflicting the world today.

36. Before I conclude, let me briefly refer once again to the Israeli military aggression against Uganda on 4 July

1976. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica made malicious and unfounded allegations against Uganda on 27 September last [6th meeting], insinuating that my country was a party to the hijacking of the French airbus to Entebbe. It is shameful that a Minister from a developing country, namely, Costa Rica, should have turned himself into a spokesman for a racist, aggressive, Zionist country. Listening to what the Foreign Minister of Costa Rica said, one wondered whether he was speaking as a representative of Costa Rica or as an honorary citizen of Israel. Who knows?—what happened to Uganda could happen to Costa Rica. My delegation wishes him God's forgiveness.

37. The Israeli military aggression against my country was a criminal, premeditated and flagrant violation of the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Uganda. A debate was held on that aggression against my country in the Security Council last July.<sup>3</sup> I take this opportunity once again to reject categorically such malicious allegations and to stress that Uganda does not and will never support or condone terrorism and that no one should try to confuse a humanitarian act with an act of terrorism.

38. This Assembly and the whole world are fully aware of President Amin's efforts to save the lives of the hostages held by commandos of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine in a hijacked French airbus. Permission for the hijacked airbus to land at Entebbe airport was granted on purely humanitarian grounds and at the request of the French Government. The Uganda Government under the direct command of my President undertook every effort to give the most comfortable treatment to the hostages who, for the first time in the history of hijacking, were allowed to leave the aircraft. President Amin also persuaded the Palestinian commandos to release the hostages, and some were indeed released.

39. The President of Uganda has already received some messages of thanks from the hostages, including the Israelis, for the excellent efforts he deployed to secure their release and the comfortable treatment they received during their stay at Entebbe airport. In actual fact, Uganda fulfilled, to the best of its ability, its moral and humanitarian duty. Now, instead of being grateful to Uganda, the Israeli Government carried out a barbaric invasion into my country, under the pretext of rescuing the remaining hostages. During the raid Uganda suffered heavy human and material losses. Our people died at the hands of the Zionists, who had no respect for human life or for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of an independent State Member of the United Nations. In any circumstances, the Israelis had no justification in attacking Uganda, which at that time was striving to secure the release of the remaining hostages. Israel has a reputation for disrupting efforts being undertaken for the establishment of peace and security. Uganda strongly condemns this wanton act of aggression.

40. The Organization of African Unity [OAU], at the thirteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, held from 2 to 5 July at Port Louis, adopted a resolution strongly condemning the Zionist raid on Uganda and calling for payment of full compensation for both human and material losses which my country suffered

<sup>2</sup> Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7), chaps. I-III.

<sup>3</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1939th to 1943rd meetings.

during the raid. A similar condemnation is contained in the Political Declaration adopted by the Colombo Conference. [See A/31/197, annex I.]

41. Our efforts to secure similar resolutions in the Security Council have been frustrated by the imperialist forces in the Council who are sympathizers with the Zionist régime in Israel. However, Uganda would like to register its gratitude to all the peace-loving countries which showed solidarity and sympathy during that trying period.

42. Representatives will agree with me that the Israeli raid on Uganda defied all known principles of humanity enshrined in the United Nations Charter and was in direct violation of the Charter. Israel violated our sovereignty and territorial integrity, respect for which constitutes the basic principle for the maintenance of world peace and security, of which the United Nations is the chief custodian.

43. Despite the Israeli aggression against Uganda, we have returned to Israel a jet plane that was loaned to us in 1971. Furthermore, the Uganda Government has appointed a commission of inquiry to look into the whole question of the Israeli invasion of Uganda, including the whereabouts of Mrs. Dora Bloch.

44. Finally, we reiterate our faith in the United Nations and our willingness to co-operate with this world body in trying to find solutions to the many problems that face mankind.

45. Mr. CISSOKHO (Mali) (*interpretation from French*): With the Assembly's permission, my delegation would like to discharge what to us is an especially important duty. I hope it will not embarrass Mr. Amerasinghe if I extend to him our warmest congratulations on his election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

46. That tribute was paid to him because of his outstanding qualities as a statesman and an experienced diplomat. It is also a tribute to his country, Sri Lanka, an Asian country which has played a decisive role in the growing self-awareness of the Afro-Asian peoples of the world.

47. One of the principal promoters of Pan-Asianism and the Afro-Asian spirit, Sri Lanka is a founding member of the movement of the non-aligned countries, which today encompasses nearly all the countries of the third world. At New Delhi in March-April 1947, at Belgrade in September 1961, earlier at Colombo in April 1954 and at Bandung in April 1955, Sri Lanka was instrumental in building the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist movements of Africa and Asia. My country has participated in all the third-world conferences since Bandung and can bear witness to this statement.

48. It was in view of that exceptional contribution to the awakening of those who have been exploited and colonized on the five continents that the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, meeting at Colombo, appointed Mrs. Bandaranaike, the Prime Minister of that country, Chairman of the non-aligned movement. That distinguished name of Bandaranaike which she so proudly bears calls forth moving memories of important stages in the emancipation struggle of the Afro-Asian peoples.

49. President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, representative of the Chairman of the Co-ordinating Committee on non-aligned countries, Chairman of the Committee on the Peaceful Uses of the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction, and Chairman of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories—Mr. Amerasinghe has all the qualities and experience needed to conduct our work. The delegation of Mali wishes, through me, to assure him of our active co-operation.

50. Secondly, I wish, through you, Mr. President, sincerely to thank Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, who so skilfully conducted the proceedings of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Thanks to his talents and vitality, he steered our difficult debates clear of a number of shoals. His success was particularly welcome to me because Luxembourg and my country have very friendly relations, both bilaterally and within the association of members of the European Economic Community and of the African, Caribbean and Pacific Group, in which he has been a prime mover.

51. My delegation would not like to conclude these comments without expressing to the Secretary-General our appreciation for the outstanding services that he has rendered to the cause of peace and harmony in the world. He is a trustworthy man with a sense of duty. Mr. Kurt Waldheim, during his brief term of office, has travelled to all continents of the world to take our Organization's message of hope. My delegation wishes to express to him our appreciation for the exceptional contribution that he has made with his characteristic political courage to strengthening the role of the United Nations throughout the world.

52. Scarcely two months after OAU did so, the United Nations, on 21 September last, admitted a new Member, the Republic of Seychelles. My delegation bids welcome to that fraternal country and extends to its Government and people our warmest congratulations. We wish to pledge to them Mali's fraternal co-operation. A multiracial country and member of OAU, which acceded to independence in peace and concord, the Seychelles will, I am sure, make a valuable contribution to our work.

53. My delegation would like also to take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the victory of the valiant Angolan people over the imperialist forces and their puppets who tried to block their independence. We bow humbly in memory of all those patriots who have fallen for the sacred cause of freedom in Angola. The People's Republic of Angola is a reality today which the world cannot ignore. It is a member of OAU and is recognized by nearly all the States Members of our Organization. The victory of the heroic people of Angola, who fought spontaneously under the banner of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA], under the leadership of Agostinho Neto, is the victory of all peace-loving peoples in the world over colonialists and racists. It is also a victory for the United Nations, which has solemnly proclaimed in its Charter the right of all peoples to freedom and independence.

54. The international community can no longer tolerate the unjustified and unbearable obstruction of the admission of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations. More and more people here are speaking out against those attempts, because they undermine the prestige of our Organization and are also a flagrant violation of the principle of universality, which is the very strength of our Organization. The admission of the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam cannot be postponed any longer, without defying democracy and calling into question the moral authority of the United Nations. The thirty-first session of the General Assembly must live up to its responsibilities and assert what is right and just concerning the admission of those two States, which find the door of the United Nations unfairly closed to them by reason of the improper use of the veto right by the United States of America.

55. The maintenance of that exorbitant privilege which was granted by the founders at San Francisco to the allied Governments following their victory over nazism can no longer be justified and is no longer in keeping with present-day reality or with simple justice. The decisions of the United Nations must reflect the interests of all the Member States. In such fundamental questions as the admission of States, a single Member can no longer assert certain domestic considerations which have little to do with the mission assigned to the Organization by its Charter. It is reprehensible indeed that a single negative vote can cancel out the positive votes of 14 other members of the Security Council. That is a denial of the principles of democracy. We must put an end to that anomaly which paralyzes our Organization and discredits us in the eyes of the peoples of the world which we represent.

56. The improper use of the veto right by certain permanent members of the Security Council has blocked the process of decolonization in southern Africa and has put a brake on effective action by the international community to bring down the racist and rebel régimes of Pretoria, Salisbury and Tel Aviv. Assured of impunity, thanks to the protection of their allies, they are openly challenging our Organization and have done so for a number of decades. That is why, at its thirteenth session, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, meeting at Port Louis, adopted a resolution calling for a reconsideration of the veto right in the United Nations. We are sure that a number of delegations here present share the views and concern of OAU on that question.

57. In the opinion of my delegation, the imperative task before us, namely the democratization and the rationalization of our institutions, requires that we reconsider the veto right of some Member States in the organ which is primarily responsible for the maintenance of peace in the world, the *raison d'être* of our Organization. This question must occupy a central role in our efforts to revise the Charter and restructure our institutions. The efficiency and the credibility of the United Nations depend on that action. I remain convinced that everyone has a proper appreciation of the importance of what is at stake.

58. The sessions of the General Assembly give us an opportunity to review the international situation, to sum up what we have done for peace over the past year and to

contemplate the future in the light of the objectives of the Charter. In this connexion, while we may say that relative peace has reigned in South-East Asia since the victory in the spring of 1975 of the patriotic fronts in Viet Nam, Cambodia and Laos, at the same time we must realize that with respect to certain sources of tension, the focus has shifted to Africa and western Asia. The bloodshed at Soweto, the general uprising of the blacks and the Coloureds in the large towns of South Africa against the inhumanity of *apartheid* and the savage and blind repression which followed, and which indeed continues today, reminded the international community of the ugly nature of the Fascist régime in Pretoria.

59. Some like to say, perhaps to quiet their consciences, that for the past three decades there has been no war in the world. For them, regardless of the number of the victims, an armed confrontation is no undue source of concern, unless the arena is Europe and unless it endangers the major military Powers. In the terminology of those "mentors", the wars in Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, in the course of which the aggressors and their allies in the South-East Asia Treaty Organization used the means of mass destruction and extermination in a vain attempt to reduce the peoples of those countries to subjection, those wars are merely local conflicts. A more cynical view, indeed, could not be taken. It is not a well-known fact that in Viet Nam alone the quantities of bombs that were dropped during the 30 years of the national liberation struggle equalled in force all the bombardments that took place during the Second World War? From January to August 1973, from 4,000 to 5,000 tons of bombs per month were dropped on Cambodia, which is the equivalent of six atomic bombs of the type used at Hiroshima. For our part we would contradict that incorrect theory and say that the world has not known peace since 1939. The theatre of war has moved from Europe to the third world, where violence has at times been extreme.

60. Africa, like Viet Nam, Laos and Cambodia, does not need the "compassion" of those theoreticians and, if necessary, it will take up arms to free itself from the yoke of the racist régime of Pretoria and the rebel clique of Ian Smith. The peoples of those countries are on a war footing and they are determined today more than ever to recover the land of their ancestors and to determine their own future. The killings at Soweto, Alexandra and other black ghettos in South Africa have only made them stronger.

61. We consider in this connexion that the historic communiqué of the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the five nordic countries published at Copenhagen on 20 August last is an exceptional contribution to the liberation struggle of Africa. We should like to extend our thanks and congratulations to the peoples and Governments of those countries who have not spared their material, moral and political support to the freedom fighters.

62. My delegation condemns, however, the recent agreement between South Africa and France on a nuclear power station.

63. The international community will assume sole responsibility for the racial confrontation brought about by its own inertia. The fact that some major Powers have paralysed the United Nations gives Africans no alternative

but to wage an armed struggle to win their inalienable right to freedom. We shall not retreat because ours is a just fight and our victory is inevitable. Azania, Zimbabwe and Namibia will be liberated. Mayotte will become part of the Comorian group, to which it has never ceased to belong. France has illegally occupied that province of the Comoros and must give it up immediately.

64. No stalling tactics, regardless of how subtle they may be, and no military force can prevent the African peoples from achieving their final goal, namely, the total liberation of the last bastions of colonialism and racism in Africa. The last vestiges of colonialism will also be uprooted from the continents of Asia and Latin America by their people.

65. Returning to western Asia, we note that there has been no progress in settling the two crises which have existed there for a number of years, namely, the crisis in the Middle East and the crisis in Cyprus.

66. The situation in the first case is stalled because Israel refuses to abide by the relevant decisions of our Organization. The Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, created by General Assembly resolution 3376 (XXX), has had no greater success with the authorities in Tel Aviv.

67. The tragedy which continues to tear Lebanon apart and which indeed is a constant and daily threat to the very existence of that country and its people is one of the tragic consequences of the lack of improvement in the situation in that region.

68. Tension is mounting in the Middle East and Israel continues to arm itself feverishly and to strengthen its alliance and military co-operation with the racist and Fascist régime in Pretoria. The theory of secure and recognized boundaries advanced by the officials in Tel Aviv is more and more being replaced by that of secure and defensible boundaries. The establishment of settlements, which has become State policy, is being frantically pursued in the occupied Arab territories. The "Koenig plan" is being hatched; here we have an antisocial plan which advocates a series of measures to check the growth of the Arab population in the country.

69. The situation in the Middle East remains more explosive than ever. Israel's boasting and untimely outbursts can ignite the powder at any moment. The United Nations must therefore reactivate the process of finding a settlement to the Middle East crisis before it is too late. It is above all up to the United Nations to implement the relevant resolutions which it adopted on the question and which established the framework, namely, Israel's unconditional withdrawal from all the occupied Arab territories and the restoration of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

70. This latter question is at the very heart of the Middle East crisis. That is why our Organization believes that the return of the Palestinian people to its homeland, which was usurped by international Zionism, is the *sine qua non* for a settlement. The Committee which was established to that end at the last session of the General Assembly was unfortunately not able to carry out its mission owing to

Israel's categorical refusal to co-operate with it. We must therefore see to it at this session that the Tel Aviv Government gives up its negative and belligerent attitude. If necessary, we must force it to do so by having recourse to the relevant provisions of the Charter. Let us not wait until violence breaks out in the area before attempting to contain it. Let us act in accordance with our responsibilities while there is still time. That is the price for a return to a just and lasting peace in this martyred land of the Middle East.

71. The other centre of tension in western Asia, Cyprus, continues to be a source of concern to us. Indeed, since the adoption by the General Assembly in 1974 of resolution 3212 (XXIX), no progress has been made in the inter-communal talks which that resolution recommended to the parties and which constitute the most appropriate framework for negotiating a just and lasting settlement of the crisis, that is to say, a settlement that would safeguard the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and policy of non-alignment of the Republic of Cyprus, which our Organization has pledged to guarantee.

72. The five series of talks held under the auspices of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus have not produced any significant result. However, the doors are still open to new attempts at a settlement. The praiseworthy efforts that the Secretary-General continues to make to establish a basis for resumed negotiations among the parties should be supported and encouraged by our Assembly.

73. When I spoke a moment ago about South-East Asia, I said that there was only relative peace there. I would add that it will remain precarious so long as that sub-continent continues to be plagued by the abcess of the Korean crisis. This was dramatically revealed by the well-known tree-cutting incident of August last. It was quite possible that that incident could have degenerated into open hostilities, and our Organization would have found itself involved, even though it has no effective responsibility in the country. Indeed, during this incident the so-called United Nations Command in Korea was receiving its instructions from a third authority and not from our Organization.

74. We must draw a lesson from that. In fact, the United Nations served only to lend its name throughout the Korean war. It is only by making use of this subterfuge that the southern part of the country was turned into a military base for aggression, endowed with a formidable arsenal which even includes nuclear warheads. That is an example of the danger to peace and security in South-East Asia as a result of the tension persisting in Korea, as well as indication of the gravity of our responsibilities in maintaining the so-called United Nations Command. That is why my delegation believes that its dissolution is imperative, as was decreed by the General Assembly in its resolution 3390 B (XXX), which was not implemented because of the obstruction of certain Member States.

75. The Koreans and the Koreans alone must be allowed to settle their dispute without any foreign interference. The foreign armed forces now in place there must be withdrawn unconditionally, in order to make it possible for negotiations to resume between the two parties on the basis of the 4 July 1972 joint communiqué of their Red Cross Societies.

The Armistice Agreement of 27 July 1953 is no longer relevant, and it must be replaced by a peace agreement. In the settlement of the Korean crisis, the United Nations must ensure the territorial integrity of the country, which it has pledged to guarantee. Resolution 3390 B (XXX) remains valid in this connexion; our Organization must require that all its provisions be implemented.

76. As we have just seen, the international situation once again confirms that the third world is not benefiting from détente; its promoters in any case conceived it only for the European continent and related areas beyond the Atlantic. The détente held out to us is based more on a balance of terror than on a real political desire to promote peace and true collective security in the world. Because of that, its foundations are fragile and its scope limited.

77. The third world has become accustomed to this cruel reality. That is why the arms race is being frantically pursued. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and the partial disarmament agreements concluded thus far have, as we have always said, been outside the framework of real disarmament, that is to say, general, complete and controlled disarmament. The second round of the strategic arms limitations talks remains suspended and the conference on the mutual and balanced reduction of forces in central Europe seems to have come to a standstill.

78. As the Secretary-General so aptly said in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

“Any significant advance towards a system of world order based on collective responsibility will depend upon a degree of disarmament and upon a climate of confidence, both of which are lacking today.” [*See A/31/1/Add.1, sect. V.*]

No one is any longer deceived and no State any longer believes in the theory of collective security, which nevertheless remains vital for the survival of mankind. That is why increasing amounts are being spent on armaments.

79. Again in the introduction to his report the Secretary-General indicated this when he said:

“... while the world spends approximately \$300 billion a year on armaments, the net flow of official development assistance amounts to some \$15 billion a year. Resources devoted to the arms race since the end of the Second World War have exceeded \$6,000 billion, which is roughly equivalent to the 1976 gross national product of the entire world.” [*Ibid.*]

That is stupefying!

80. Vertical and horizontal nuclear proliferation is continuing. The “grey” market is expanding daily. The Fascist and belligerent régimes, such as those of Pretoria, Taiwan and Tel Aviv, now have nuclear capability thanks to official transactions. The world is living with the spectre of self-destruction, while it must at the same time cope with the most serious challenges in its long history. But the words of the Preamble of the Charter are before us to remind us of the solemn commitments which we have

undertaken vis-à-vis future generations. There is still time for the international community to come to its senses and resolutely move towards genuine disarmament, that is, general, complete and controlled disarmament.

81. In this connexion we would recommend to the Assembly for assessment and consideration the resolution adopted at the Colombo Conference, in which the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on this question was proposed. [*A/31/197, annex IV, resolution 12.*]

82. As I said during the general debate last year,<sup>4</sup> the insecurity which characterizes the international situation in regard to peace is also, unfortunately, a feature of the world economic situation. The same division exists, namely, the developed world on one side and the third world or the developing world on the other.

83. More than two years after the sixth special session and one year after the seventh special session, which established the bases of a new international economic order to redress the imbalance, no progress has been made in the implementation of the celebrated Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], which are the basis and the charter of that new international economic order.

84. World-wide inflation, the recession in the industrialized countries and the iniquities of international trade have only widened the gap between the developed countries and the developing countries. Even before the world crisis the developing countries were finding it difficult to keep up with the implacable needs of development, and now their situation has worsened as a result both of the decrease in their resources and of the reduced flow of the foreign capital necessary for them to maintain their growth rate. According to recent estimates by the World Bank, there has been a zero growth rate, since 1975, in the *per capita* income in the least developed among the developing countries.

85. The various conferences held for the purpose of setting up the structures of the new international economic order have yielded very meagre results indeed.

86. First and foremost, there has been the North-South dialogue in Paris, or the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, which, had it not been for the ingenuity of the co-chairmen, would have failed because of the differences on the problem of the establishment of a common fund for commodities and the problem of public debt in the third world. Although we recognize that that Conference has some merit, the fact remains that we have no illusions about the results, for we still see no sign of a genuine thaw.

87. With regard to the fourth session of UNCTAD, held at Nairobi in May 1976, it ended its work, at the eleventh hour, after stormy debates and under the pressure of world

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2356th meeting.

public opinion, with a consensus to which some delegations of the industrialized market-economy countries paid only lip service; indeed, shortly afterwards they rejected the consensus in June during a ministerial session of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development in Paris. The negative attitude adopted by those countries constitutes a serious hindrance to the North-South dialogue in Paris.

88. I turn now to the United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, held last June at Vancouver. It too was characterized by a regrettable division between the North and the South.

89. Finally, I would refer to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which deals with an area unanimously regarded as the common heritage of mankind. Here again we must note that the participants at the fifth session were unable to reach any agreement. The intransigent statements of some delegations reminded us of the famous Berlin Congress of 1885, which made official the division of colonial possessions among the imperial Powers. The paradox of this "1976 Congress", that is, the fifth session of the Conference, is that the victims of the dividing up of the sea, the common heritage of mankind, are the land-locked and geographically disadvantaged States, including some industrialized countries of Europe.

90. In this case the division is not based on traditional affinities, but on interests of the moment. On the one hand we have the coastal States and on the other the land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries. None of the just claims of the latter countries were accepted. Actually, they were only asking for the legal confirmation of a *de facto* situation rather than making new claims. They asked that the convention being drawn up should merely note the right of free access to and from the sea and the right to exploit the marine resources in future exclusive zones. That request was refused. But the coastal States are about to obtain legal sanction for all their new demands. In order to bypass the requests of the land-locked and geographically disadvantaged countries, the spokesmen of the coastal States went so far as to offer them a deal, and what a deal! There is a flagrant injustice here. The international community cannot assume responsibility for that.

91. Mali, my country, has no problem with its neighbours in regard to its access to and from the sea. It has the best of relations with the fraternal States of the Ivory Coast, Guinea and Senegal, which provide all port and transit facilities without asking anything in return. But in legislating for the future we must, taking into account the lessons of history, adopt a broader view than those who attended the Berlin Congress in 1885. Let us not, then, draw up, in the name of the United Nations, legal instruments that can lead to conflicts between future generations, when we know that under the Charter we are committed to preserving those future generations from the scourge of war.

92. Let us not encourage, through the strengthening of this division, the establishment of a "fourth world", as is desired by some theoreticians who always need something to prophesy about. The accentuation of the division in the world and the confrontation between groups of interests

that could result from that division represent sources of tension that will inevitably endanger peace in the more or less distant future. The sea, the common heritage of mankind, which only yesterday belonged to no one, must be exploited for the benefit of all. It is in that spirit that we must draw up the new convention on the law of the sea, which will be, let us never forget, one of the main pillars of the new international economic order, which everyone ardently wishes to see established. Justice and solidarity are the principles that should guide us all as we build this edifice.

93. The fourth part of my review of the world economic situation relates to international economic co-operation. Here again there has been no progress.

94. Indeed, there has been a net reduction in the official development assistance of the industrialized countries. If the present rate continues, that assistance will be reduced by 1980 to 0.29 per cent of those countries' gross national product, whereas the Second United Nations Development Decade has established a goal of 0.7 per cent for that period. The praiseworthy financial assistance given by the countries of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries to the developing countries between 1970 and 1975, amounting to \$16 billion, was insufficient to make up for the deficiency.

95. Furthermore, the prospects for the fifth replenishment of the resources of the International Development Association [IOA], a branch of the World Bank which was established to assist in the financing of the development of the poorest countries, by means of long-term, interest-free loans are not encouraging because of the reluctance of the traditional donors. Indeed, the trend seems to be towards a reduction in contributions whereas, in view of the inflation in the world, fluctuations in national currencies, and the recession, the resources of IDA should be increasing if the level of action of the fourth replenishment, which will come to an end on 30 June 1977, is to be maintained in the future.

96. With regard to the financing of the "third window", the World Bank has been able to mobilize only \$600 million of the target of \$1 billion. The International Fund for Agricultural Development, established in November 1974, has not yet been able to start operating because of the lack of resources.

97. The picture that we have just painted is certainly not a brilliant one. It contains many shadows which must be eliminated if we really wish to establish the new international order that we have promised the world. Such an undertaking, on which the salvation of everyone depends, is incompatible with the spirit of exploitation and domination that guides certain large Powers. It is incompatible too with the subjugation of peoples that still persists in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

98. The new international order, which is composed of a political, a military and an economic aspect, is an indivisible whole. If it is to be viable it must be based on justice, solidarity, harmony and collective security and responsibility. If that new international order is not established, mankind will succumb to confrontation and chaos. No

nation, no group of nations, however powerful, can face alone the challenges confronting mankind. It is therefore high time that the great Powers of our world came to their senses and demonstrated a real political will to act in the common struggle we have undertaken for our survival. The implacable law of interdependence obliges them to do so. In any case, they have no alternative. May they heed this final appeal that my delegation takes the liberty of making to them through you, Mr. President.

99. Mr. GURINOVICH (Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): The delegation of the Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic congratulates Mr. Amerasinghe upon his election and wishes him success in his responsible work.

100. We should also like to congratulate the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to the United Nations and to wish its people success in the building of a new life.

101. The course of this debate and the contents of the previous general political debates in the General Assembly of the United Nations have made it possible for us to draw the conclusion that the noble principles of peace, international security, freedom and independence, equality and co-operation of the peoples proclaimed by the Great October Socialist Revolution are receiving ever broader support every year.

102. Like a sort of political barometer, the general debate reflects the beneficial changes which have occurred recently in international life. The clouds bearing the threat of a new world war have become noticeably less dense. The peoples of the world are increasingly enjoying the benefits of the Leninist principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, which are being put into effect, as well as the benefits of international détente. The favourable changes in the world are a result of the purposeful and persistent peaceful foreign policies of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the Soviet State, of other countries of the socialist community and of all the progressive forces of our time.

103. The great interest in the United Nations shown in the new and important proposals of the Soviet Union put forward here by Comrade A. A. Gromyko [*7th meeting*], member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the USSR, is only natural. The concrete actions and measures provided for in those proposals are based on the programme of further struggle for peace and international co-operation and for the freedom and independence of the peoples approved at the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

104. The decisions of the Twenty-fifth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and of the congresses of the fraternal parties of the other countries in the socialist community and the document entitled "For peace, security, co-operation and social progress in Europe", adopted by the Conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of Europe show that the socialist States and Communists are in the vanguard of those fighting for peace, freedom, equality, brotherhood and the happiness of all peoples. They have taken initiatives and made constant efforts to

strengthen peace and international security and disarmament up to and including general and complete disarmament, to eliminate existing hotbeds of war, to deepen and give substance to international détente, consistently to implement the principles of the peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems, and of the non-use of force in international relations, to eliminate colonialism and racism and their consequences and to organize equitable and mutually beneficial economic, scientific, technological and cultural co-operation among all States.

105. As Comrade Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has pointed out:

"In upholding the principles of peaceful coexistence, we are fighting for what is dearest of all to billions of people on earth: for the right to life itself, to save mankind from the danger of annihilation in the flames of war. At the same time, and by so doing, we are fighting to ensure favourable international conditions for the promotion of the cause of the social progress of all countries and peoples."

106. The foreign policy of the USSR and other States of the socialist community is in keeping with the interests of all peoples. It has never aimed and does not aim at seeking any unilateral advantages or the establishment of political or any other kind of domination over other peoples or countries. It is a policy of peace and international co-operation, freedom and independence of peoples, which reflects the noble ideals of the most advanced and just social system.

107. It is gratifying that in the course of the general debate the majority of delegations have based their statements on attitudes which are in keeping with the needs of the times and the United Nations Charter. We hope that this will allow us to adopt constructive decisions and recommendations on a broad range of questions which are being considered at this session as well as to indicate fruitful ways and means of working within the framework of the United Nations in the future.

*Mr. Fischer (German Democratic Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

108. While noting the usually constructive character of the general debate now under way, we cannot fail to see that the positions of a number of delegations do not indicate any clear approach to the basic problems of strengthening international peace and co-operation and the questions of disarmament which the General Assembly must take up. In a number of cases, under the cover of general phraseology and declarations, attempts are in fact being made to justify aggressors, colonialists and racists, to avoid the settlement of urgent tasks, to substitute certain questions of secondary importance and to whitewash their negative approach to the fundamental problems.

109. The interests of all people require that we do everything possible to deepen international détente and extend it to all parts of the world. Important proposals have been made here on specific forms of comprehensive co-operation among States. These proposals are valuable

and realistic because they are based on the profound substance and objective of détente, namely, precluding the use or threat of force in disputes and conflicts between States, averting the threat of a new world war and organizing mutually advantageous co-operation between various countries, with strict observance of the principles of non-interference in one another's internal affairs and respect for independence and sovereignty.

110. Of primary importance is the proposal of the Soviet Union for the conclusion of a world treaty on the non-use of force in international relations [see A/31/243]. The source of this initiative is to be found in the first foreign policy act of the land of Soviets, namely, the Decree of Peace. This initiative reflects the deeply humane nature of the foreign policy pursued by the Soviet State for almost 60 years now.

111. The draft treaty submitted by the Soviet Union as an annex to its proposal stipulates that its participants, including the nuclear Powers, will undertake to refrain from the use or threat of force involving any types of weapon and to refrain from assisting, encouraging or inducing others to use or threaten force. The clear-cut articles of the draft treaty take into account existing multilateral and bilateral agreements, the present state of relations among States and the aspiration of the peoples of the world to make renunciation of the use of force an immutable law of international life.

112. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR urges other delegations actively to join in the work of defining specific steps to lead to the implementation of these proposals in the interests of the peace and security of the peoples of the world. The conclusion of the treaty on the non-use of force, and its strict observance, would further the solution on a new basis of many important problems on which negotiations are under way, the fulfilment of the cherished dream of humanity to banish war from man's life, and the realization of the desire of all peoples, in the words of the United Nations Charter, "to live together in peace with one another as good neighbours".

113. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe<sup>5</sup> has laid an excellent foundation for ensuring peace on the continent—a continent which has given birth to two world wars. This document, which was worked out collectively and has consolidated achievements in the improvement of the political climate, outlined the long-term prospects for the realistic and responsible conduct of inter-State affairs, particularly in Europe, and, from the standpoint of possibilities, to a great extent for the solution of problems of an international character. The Final Act prompts States to reduce international tensions, to cease military conflicts in those areas of the world where they still exist, and to develop and deepen mutually advantageous and equitable co-operation in all spheres.

114. Unfortunately, there are certain people in the West who are trying to evade the principles elaborated and the understandings reached at the pan-European Conference. Attempts have been made to interpret arbitrarily various

provisions of this document which was worked out collectively, to distort their purport and to undermine the general orientation of that Final Act.

115. The Soviet Union and other socialist States are strictly observing the letter and spirit of all provisions of the Final Act; they have put forward proposals designed to implement the understandings reached at Helsinki. Comrade Brezhnev, in his interview on French television on 5 October 1976, in which he set forth the Soviet Union's position of principle on important international problems, said, *inter alia*, in connexion with the Final Act:

"As far as the Soviet Union is concerned, we respect and are carrying out in full the understandings reached at Helsinki. I repeat: in full. The important thing in these agreements is everything connected with the strengthening of security and peace. But, naturally, we in no way wish to detract from the importance of co-operation in economics, science and technology, culture and information, and in the development of personal contacts and in the implementation of measures of confidence."

The Soviet Union, as is well known, has proposed the convening of pan-European congresses or inter-State conferences on the questions of the protection of the human environment, the development of transport and energy, in other words, problems affecting the interests of all European States.

116. The Byelorussian people, a people which knows only too well the terrible cost of war, and which values above all the benefits of peace, has a vital interest in the full and consistent implementation of all provisions of the Final Act of the pan-European Conference. In struggling for peace and international security, the countries of the socialist community have a clear-cut objective: not only the outlawing of war, but also the elimination of the very possibility of the outbreak of war, and the elimination, on the basis of international agreements, of the material means of waging war.

117. To the credit of the United Nations there are a number of international treaties and conventions, as well as resolutions, which taken together contribute to curbing the pace of the arms race, particularly the nuclear arms race, and to confining it to certain spheres. They also contain a broad programme of further measures in the field of disarmament. We welcome the completion of a draft convention, agreed on in the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament, on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques, and we shall seek its adoption at this session of the General Assembly [A/31/27, annex I, para. 5].

118. Unfortunately, however, as has already been pointed out by many speakers in the general debate, progress in the field of disarmament is clearly inadequate. Some States, including two nuclear Powers, are still not parties to the existing treaties and conventions which limit or prevent the arms race. The implementation of the decisions of the General Assembly with regard to the need to produce agreements providing for a general and complete cessation of nuclear weapon testing, the elimination of chemical means of warfare, and the prohibition of the development

<sup>5</sup> Signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

of new types and systems of weapons of mass destruction has been unjustifiably delayed.

119. The resolution [3093 (XXVIII)] on the reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council and other States with a major economic and military potential, and the utilization of part of the funds thus saved to provide assistance to developing countries is a resolution which has not yet been carried out. The military expenditures of a number of Western countries continue to grow; the business of trading in the instruments of death is prospering. Certain nuclear Powers are sabotaging the decision of the United Nations on the desirability of preparing for and convening a world disarmament conference. Such a situation makes it particularly imperative to implement the most important measures outlined in the memorandum of the Soviet Union on matters pertaining to the ending of the arms race and to disarmament [see A/31/232]. This document provides for realistic ways for States to agree upon the reduction and elimination of weapons of mass destruction, conventional weapons and armed forces, the reduction of military expenditures and the establishment of zones of peace. The memorandum proposes effective ways and means of conducting negotiations in order to achieve radical movement in the solution of disarmament problems.

120. In order to make progress towards disarmament, the joint action of all peace-loving forces is essential in order to expose and isolate the opponents of disarmament and to create conditions that would preclude the possibility of a new world war. In this respect, we take a very favourable view of the World Conference for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament and détente, which was held from 23 to 26 September last at Helsinki. Of great importance is the campaign for the collection of signatures for the new Stockholm appeal of the World Peace Council for the cessation of the arms race and for disarmament. More than 6.5 million people have signed it in the Byelorussian SSR—that is, practically the whole adult population of the Republic.

121. It may be noted with satisfaction that a positive approach is prevailing in the United Nations as to ways and means of eliminating existing hotbeds of military conflicts.

122. In the Middle East, there is a need for the full withdrawal of Israeli troops from all Arab territories occupied in 1967; the implementation of the inalienable rights of the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to self-determination and the creation of their own State; the ensuring of the right to independent existence and security of all States which are direct parties to the conflict; the granting to them of appropriate international guarantees; and the cessation of the state of war between the various Arab countries and Israel. There is also growing understanding that such a just and durable settlement in the Middle East can be ensured by the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with the participation of all parties concerned, including representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

123. With regard to the tragedy which the Lebanese people is suffering as a result of the intrigues of imperialism and zionism, foreign interference in Lebanon must be

halted, and the conflict must be solved by peaceful means by the Lebanese themselves, on the basis of respect for the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Lebanon.

124. In Cyprus, what is necessary is the implementation of the relevant decisions of the Security Council and resolutions of the General Assembly. We should take reasonable account of the interests and rights of both communities in Cyprus and observe unconditionally respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus and prevent any attempts to impose on the Cypriots decisions which are alien to them.

125. It is the bounden duty of the United Nations to force those who have engendered conflict or who have an interest in fanning the flames of conflict to respect the will of the peace-loving peoples of the world and to observe strictly the United Nations Charter.

126. Many States quite rightly consider that the proper way of preventing new conflicts is to ensure security on the basis of joint actions by countries in various regions, including Asia, the largest continent, where over half of mankind lives. Recently, many favourable changes have occurred in Asia. The victories of the peoples of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have substantially improved the situation in South-East Asia and strengthened the cause of peace and security in this region.

127. The Vietnamese people have realized their cherished dream of the reunification of their State and have proclaimed the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. The delegation of the Byelorussian SSR warmly congratulates the fraternal Vietnamese people on this achievement and wishes them the speediest possible healing of the wounds of war and success in their building of a socialist society. We resolutely support the application of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam for admission to the United Nations, and we express the hope that no new fabricated obstacles, which have nothing whatsoever to do with the question of admission to membership in the United Nations, will be created.

128. Favourable conditions are now being created for the intensification of the struggle for the withdrawal of foreign troops from South Korea and for an independent, peaceful reunification of Korea, that is, the implementation of General Assembly resolution 3390 B (XXX). There are, further, growing demands for the elimination of foreign military bases in the Indian Ocean and on the whole Asian continent.

129. We are witnessing a favourable process of development of relations between the Soviet Union, other socialist States and the countries of Asia as well as between the countries of that region. The United Nations should promote consolidation of security in Asia on the basis of such principles as renunciation of the use of force, respect for sovereignty and the inviolability of frontiers, non-interference in internal affairs, and development of economic and other types of co-operation in conditions of full equality and mutual benefit.

130. Anti-imperialist forces and the United Nations are entitled to regard as one of their achievements the collapse

of the system of colonial oppression. However, the task of totally eliminating all hotbeds of colonialism and racism and the imperialist practice of encroaching upon the independence of peoples is something which still awaits solution. The outstanding victory of the Angolan people over the forces of international reaction, colonialism and racism has played an important part in intensifying international efforts in the struggle against colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. We are confident that the People's Republic of Angola will take its place in the United Nations.

131. In spite of mass repression and brutal terror, the national liberation struggle of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa has entered a decisive phase. Alarmed by this, and manoeuvring in an alliance with racists and local reactionaries, imperialist circles of the West have undertaken active measures to preserve their crumbling positions there and the interests of the international monopolies. By means of very clever tricks and manoeuvres, they have attempted to dampen the flame of the liberation struggle and to split the ranks of the African peoples and distract their attention from the solution of urgent tasks. No one should allow himself to be duped by the attempts of certain Western Powers to pose as ardent champions of the elimination of colonialism and racism now that the final collapse of colonialism and racism has already been determined.

132. All the achievements in the field of decolonization are a triumph of the joint actions of socialism and all anti-imperialist forces, among which the non-aligned countries occupy an important place. It is pointed out in the decisions of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries that they regard as their most important duty that of struggling against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and zionism. The Conference welcomed progress in détente and urged that the process of détente should be extended to all parts of the world.

133. The socialist States consider that progress towards independence and social progress is closely linked with the implementation of fundamental human rights. They have every reason to pride themselves on the degree of the freely guaranteed rights of their peoples. In a socialist society, the working people have rid themselves for ever of exploitation and oppression, crises and unemployment, social and national inequality, and illiteracy and the absence of social prospects. They have wide opportunities of access to the treasures of national and world science and culture, to all the achievements of the human genius. Everywhere, people are aware of the constant care on the part of society and the State for their health, well-being and secure old age. Under socialism, people live in conditions of genuine freedom and democracy; they are sure of the present and of the future; they work with enthusiasm to create a communist society and their living standards are constantly rising. The spiritual values and moral health of the people are protected from every kind of anti-social infringement or misinformation. The interests and rights of citizens in our society are carefully protected by State and governmental bodies, in whose activities the working people participate on a large scale, as well as by public organizations which the people themselves have created.

134. Our people have been raised in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and they express their whole-hearted solidarity with the struggle of the African peoples against racism and *apartheid*. They demand the cessation of the atrocities of the Fascist junta in Chile and the immediate release of that ardent champion of freedom, Luis Corvalán, and other Chilean democrats. The Soviet people are fighting actively for respect for human rights throughout the world; they resolutely oppose interference in the internal affairs of other countries and, naturally, they will not permit anyone to interfere in their affairs.

135. As we know, there are still people to be found in the West who are fond of mischief-making, of looking for violations of human rights where none exist. They are inclined not to notice the most flagrant mass violations of human rights in Chile, in the occupied Arab territories, in Southern Rhodesia, Namibia and the Republic of South Africa. They are not averse to justifying the piratical actions of the Israeli military against Uganda and the sinister alliance of the South African racists and the zionists. They are also advocates of their own and international monopolies, which are continuing to derive enormous profits from the young independent States and to exploit those peoples who are still languishing under the yoke of colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism. At the same time, everyone knows that in their own countries the most urgent social problems are still awaiting solution, that many elementary human rights are flouted, that corruption and bribery are rampant, and that moral degeneration is eating away at the bourgeois society.

136. The socialist States, which have united their efforts in order to bring about accelerated social and economic progress and the equalization of the level of development of the countries members of the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance, are the most dynamic force in the world. The high rates of growth of productive forces, the growing efficiency of public production, the constant rise in the people's living standards, demonstrate the tremendous creative possibilities and potential of the socialist system.

137. The Byelorussian SSR has achieved impressive successes in economic and social development. During the period of the last five-year plan alone, from 1971 to 1975, the national income of the Republic increased 47 per cent and the industrial output 64 per cent.

138. In expanding their participation in international economic, scientific and technological co-operation the socialist countries are striving for the removal of discrimination and other artificial obstacles in international trade, the elimination of all manifestations of inequality, "diktat" and exploitation in international economic relations. When at sessions of the General Assembly, UNCTAD, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and other international organizations the developing countries put forward ways of solving the fundamental problems of their development, they meet with the understanding and necessary support of the States of the socialist community, which constantly affirm in international relations the principles of equality and mutual benefit. This has been fully and cogently stressed in the statement by the Soviet Government on the restructuring of international economic relations.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> See document A/C.2/31/2.

139. It is the opinion of the delegation of the Byelorussian SSR that on the whole the United Nations has real opportunities to solve the problems confronting it. Relying upon the unity and cohesion of all anti-imperialist forces and by strict adherence to its Charter and the progressive decisions adopted by the Organization on the initiative of peace-loving forces, the United Nations can and must increase its contribution to the struggle for peace and international co-operation, for the freedom and independence of peoples and for making the détente that has been achieved stable and irreversible. I wish to express the hope that the thirty-first session of the General Assembly will become an important landmark in this respect.

140. Mr. TSERING (Bhutan): I should like to offer our warmest congratulations to Mr. Amerasinghe on his election as President of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. We are indeed fortunate in having a person of his eminent stature, wide experience and great ability as our President. It is also a matter of special pride for us that he belongs to a country which is not only a neighbour of ours but one with which we enjoy common cultural traditions and close friendship.

141. To the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, I should like to express our deep admiration for the impartiality and dedication with which he has been discharging his onerous responsibilities. He is a man whom the international community has come to trust and respect during the nearly five years he has held office as Secretary-General of the United Nations. We hope that he will continue to serve the international community for many more years to come.

142. I should like to express the appreciation of my delegation for the admirable manner in which Prime Minister Thorn of Luxembourg guided the deliberations of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

143. We are happy to welcome the Republic of Seychelles to our midst as our one hundred and forty-fifth Member. We have no doubt that the admission will add further strength and vitality to our Organization. We now look forward to the admission of Viet Nam and Angola to the United Nations, as both of them fully meet all the requirements of membership.

144. Mr. President, I have the honour to convey to you and, through you, to all the representatives assembled here today the greetings and good wishes of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, King of Bhutan, for the success of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly.

145. The most pressing and crucial problem facing the world today is the question of disarmament, not only as a means for relaxing tensions in the world and promoting international peace and security but also for the purpose of releasing much-needed resources for development purposes. It is difficult to justify on any grounds the expenditure of astronomical sums of money on producing and accumulating weapons of mass destruction, when a substantial percentage of the earth's population is permanently on the verge of starvation. In our view, the development of technology, and ever-increasing expenditure on armaments, is a vicious cycle, which is leading mankind ever closer to total disaster. One way, and possibly the only way at

present, of breaking this cycle in order to halt the arms race and initiate a genuine process of disarmament would be for the General Assembly, the most representative institution of nations in the world today, to take the initiative in convening either a world disarmament conference or a special session devoted exclusively to problems of disarmament.

146. The other major issue that is agitating the minds of people all over the world at present is the question of southern Africa. As the result of certain initiatives taken by the United States recently, positive developments have taken place in southern Africa which offer genuine opportunities for just and lasting settlements of the basic political problems affecting the region. We feel that the weight of the entire international community should be placed behind the parties concerned in their efforts to arrive at negotiated settlements. It is our earnest hope that, as a result of these negotiations, an independent Zimbabwe with majority rule will emerge in the near future. We also hope that the minority group will be given a constructive role to play in the building up of the new State of Zimbabwe. An independent State of Namibia as one unified nation must emerge within a short period of time. The attempts of South Africa to grant so-called independence to Transkei and to create similar "bantustans" need to be roundly condemned by the international community. If conditions of peace and stability are to be created in southern Africa, it is essential that the abominable practice of *apartheid* in South Africa be abolished forthwith, and a new society created with freedom, equality and justice for all persons, irrespective of race, colour or creed.

147. In the Middle East, old crises and new tensions continue to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. The continuing fratricidal war in Lebanon is a tragedy of the greatest magnitude. Israel continues to occupy Arab territories forcibly and illegally. It is our view that the Palestinian question is at the heart of the problem, and that there can be no just and durable peace in the region unless Israel withdraws from all Arab territories occupied by it since 1967, and unless the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people are fully restored, including the right to return to their homeland and establish an independent State in Palestine. Any lasting settlement in the Middle East must also ensure that every State in the region has a right to exist within secure and internationally recognized boundaries.

148. The other area of concern to my delegation is the situation in Cyprus. We fully respect the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and non-aligned status of the Republic of Cyprus. In our view, General Assembly resolutions 3212 (XXIX) and 3395 (XXX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975) still provide a good basis for a just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem. We should like to express our appreciation to the Secretary-General for his tireless and unremitting efforts to bring the two Cypriot communities together for talks under his auspices in order to find solutions to their differences.

149. Nearer home, the Indian subcontinent to which we belong has been an area of much tension and conflict during the past few decades. Fortunately, there is a glimmer of hope for the future. In reviewing the regional situation,

His Majesty the King of Bhutan, when addressing the Fifth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries at Colombo, observed:

"In our region of Asia, there have been certain far-reaching developments recently which have undoubtedly strengthened the forces of peace and progress. The normalization of relations between India and Pakistan in the spirit of the Simla Agreement is a positive step forward, and shows great statesmanship on the part of the leadership of the two countries. The normalization of relations between India and China will also certainly contribute to peace and stability in Asia. Living as we do next to India, we are fully aware of the constant efforts being made by India to promote good-neighbourly relations among all the countries in our region on the basis of sovereign equality and mutual benefit so that, living in peace, co-operation and friendship among ourselves, we can fully devote our energies and our resources to the urgent and critical task of improving the living standards of our people."

We hope that the momentum towards peace and co-operation will be maintained and that all countries in our region will make determined efforts to promote friendship, understanding and co-operation in order to realize the goal of a brighter, happier and more secure future for all our peoples.

150. The General Assembly by a vast majority adopted resolution 2832 (XXVI) on the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. Even after the lapse of five years, we find that the Declaration has in no way been respected by the great Powers. It is our view that the presence of great-Power rivalry in the Indian Ocean will disturb the peace and stability of that sensitive zone. We hope that the proposal recently made by the Soviet Union in this regard [see A/31/232, sect. 7] will meet with a favourable response from the other great Powers. Such a development would go a long way towards making the Declaration a reality, and thereby reduce tension and the possibility of conflict in yet another area of the globe.

151. The world economic system continues to suffer from serious imbalances and growing inequalities. The ever-widening gap between the rich and poor countries is still one of the major sources of tensions and conflicts. It is evident that the present economic order cannot ensure the progress and prosperity of the developing countries. We are all aware that it is not the fluctuations in the market forces which are causing economic stagnation in the developing countries, but the inbuilt biases of the present economic order itself is to blame. The General Assembly, on the initiative of the developing countries, adopted numerous resolutions during the sixth and seventh special sessions to bring about a new international economic order based on equity and justice for all.

152. We hope that the appeal made by the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned movement from Colombo will not go unheeded. During the course of her eloquent address to this august body, the current Chairman of the non-aligned movement, Prime Minister Mrs. Sirimavo Bandaranaike of Sri Lanka, stated:

"It is not my intention to plead here that the developed nations owe a living to the developing. I do plead indeed,

on the other hand, that all nations, regardless of their levels of development, owe it to themselves and to future generations not to throw away the opportunity available today to find timely solutions for the problems of mankind and to establish, through mutual understanding and constructive co-operation, a just and therefore enduring pattern of international relations." [11th meeting, para. 54.]

153. There are further disturbing signs on the horizon. The results of the fourth session of UNCTAD, held at Nairobi last May, have fallen short of the aspirations of the developing countries. The negotiations currently being held in the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation are not progressing, owing to a lack of political will on the part of the developed countries. The implementation of the policy measures embodied in the International Development Strategy is most discouraging, as the developed countries are not fulfilling their international obligations. We are still far from achieving the 0.7 per cent target set in the International Development Strategy for the Second Development Decade.

154. The Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in his opening remarks to Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements,<sup>7</sup> pointed out that one third of the entire urban population of the third world lives in squatter settlements; a large percentage of the people of the least developed countries have no water within 100 metres of their houses; and that half of these people are without electricity. Those statistics are not pleasant to hear, but they highlight the pitiable condition in which hundreds of millions of people in the developing countries live. The situation is still worse in the least developed land-locked countries. Apart from other factors, their geographically disadvantageous position seriously retards their development. The international community must look upon the special problems of that category of States with greater understanding and sympathy. I wish to submit in all humility that we need to go beyond mere reaffirmation of basic aims and principles. The Manila Declaration provides a comprehensive and realistic strategy for action.

155. The fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea ended on 17 September in New York without agreement. My country has always been of the opinion that a just and equitable new legal order to govern the sea and the ocean floor must take into account the interests of all countries, whether coastal or land-locked. We also believe that a just and equitable law of the sea will play an important role in the establishment of the new international economic order. In the case of the land-locked countries, the right of access to and from the sea and freedom of transit needs to be safeguarded, for that is vital to their trade and development.

156. A new phenomenon has emerged in recent times which seriously endangers human lives and the safety of international traffic. I refer primarily to the phenomenon of taking hostages by seizing aircraft, although other methods have also been used to take hostages. Surely there

<sup>7</sup> See Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7), chap. VII, para. 39.

are better ways of expressing grievances than by threatening to blow up aircraft, thereby imperilling the lives of innocent men, women and children and holding Governments to ransom. The international community must co-operate fully in evolving suitable measures to curb such cruel and senseless acts. The proposal of the Federal Republic of Germany in this regard [see A/31/242] deserves the most serious consideration of this Assembly.

157. In conclusion, I wish to say that while there are no easy solutions to the world's problems, a great deal can be achieved if all nations join hands and work together with patience and determination, a sense of vision and, above all, a great deal of courage.

158. Mr. SAUDE MARIA (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): The delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which it is my single honour to represent in this General Assembly of the United Nations, welcomes the election of Mr. Amerasinghe to direct our work. We are pleased to join in the congratulations which have been addressed to him and to the other representatives of Member States who have been elected to serve on the General Committee of the General Assembly. We wish them every success in their mission. No one can have any doubt about the skill, experience and selflessness of Mr. Amerasinghe, who has constantly worked for the fulfilment of the noble principles of the great family of the United Nations.

159. We should also like to pay a tribute to his predecessor, the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn. Mr. Thorn successfully carried out his difficult task in the defence of the supreme and vital interests of our various countries.

160. We should also like to take this opportunity to welcome the Republic of Seychelles to the United Nations. We extend to it our congratulations and best wishes and assure it of our fullest co-operation.

161. It is clear that the work in which the President is now leading us is very important and that the decisions that we are about to adopt on the problems before us will not only affect the immediate future of the peoples of the world but will also have an influence on the march of events, on a world-wide scale.

162. On this historic occasion, as the thirty-first session of the General Assembly or our Organization gets under way, it is a pleasure for me, on behalf of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and its Council of State, to thank all the States Members of the United Nations, the Secretariat and the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for their tireless efforts to ensure the survival of this great international body.

163. I should like to pay a special tribute to that clear-minded and lucid diplomat, who has such a penetrating understanding of the burning international problems of the day. Mr. Kurt Waldheim is a great friend of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and a companion in arms of the peoples of the third world. We wish to express our gratitude to the Secretary-General, who has always placed his competence and devotion at the service of mankind. The people and Government of Guinea-Bissau consider them-

selves his great friends and we wish him every success in his career as a statesman and diplomat. We wish to reassure him of our confidence, our support and our unfailing solidarity.

164. The United Nations already has to its credit a number of significant changes which have taken place in the development of international relations. The prospects for peace in the world strengthen our conviction that people must come together and talk if they are to fulfil the legitimate aspirations of all the countries of the third world to independence and sovereignty. In the circumstances, we must once again reaffirm our position on certain localized events and conflicts which are absorbing all the energies of the peoples engaged in the struggle and obstructing their normal progress towards peace and well-being.

165. For a clear definition of the pressing problems of the world whose solutions we have gathered here to seek we must, without delay, but with courage and directness, recall to this Assembly the characteristic features of the international situation today; the intolerable facts and events which disturb our existence and the lives of our peoples and States. Thanks to the determination of the international community, reason has finally triumphed in support of the principle of universality, which is one of the fundamental principles of the Organization.

166. In considering objectively the ways and means to be adopted to give effect to our action we must try to define a code of consistent, courageous and determined conduct for ourselves if our presence here is to have any positive meaning, a meaning that must constantly be renewed, and if those whom we represent nationally and internationally are to be satisfied of our trustworthiness and efficiency.

167. The people of Guinea-Bissau, who for centuries suffered under foreign domination and who, in order to win freedom and independence, fought a long war that cost the lives of thousands of their best sons, cannot today remain indifferent to international problems. The commitment of the people of Guinea-Bissau in their struggle to bring peace to the territory allows us to affirm that our country will spare no effort and no sacrifice in making its modest contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security, in accordance with the purposes and principles of our Organization's Charter.

168. That is why the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, now completely rid of colonial domination, resolutely commit themselves on the side of their brothers in southern Africa struggling for national liberation. In our opinion, there can be no development without liberation and, consequently, no guarantee for world peace. It is the duty of all peoples who love peace and justice, in accordance with the various resolutions of our Organization on decolonization, to give effective assistance to the peoples that are still oppressed, in order to hasten their liberation and to struggle by all possible means against those who have still not accepted the objectives which we have set for ourselves.

169. South Africa and Rhodesia, united in their evil scheme to maintain the African peoples under their domination through the disgraceful practices of racial discrimination and colonial oppression, are continuing with

impunity to defy international opinion and morality. Nevertheless, we shall not cease to encourage and unstintingly support the struggle of the national liberation movements, which are now the only legal and legitimate representatives of these problems. The significant progress made by the freedom fighters in Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa must lead us further to increase again, in a general and concrete manner, our assistance to all those struggling to free themselves from foreign domination and imperialism in all its forms.

170. We must therefore make clear our active solidarity with the struggling peoples of southern Africa and stand ready to act at any moment upon their request. The unspeakable massacres of the defenceless populations of Soweto, Johannesburg and Cape Town by Fascist forces are a tragic reminder of the urgent need to ensure the implementation of the resolutions adopted by our Organization against the Government of South Africa. No African people, no peace-loving, justice-loving people will ever tolerate the massacre of black populations in South Africa. That is why the Republic of Guinea-Bissau firmly supports the liberation movement in South Africa in its struggle against *apartheid* and for social justice, democracy and an end to all racial domination.

171. The Government of South Africa must not be allowed to continue illegally to occupy and plunder Namibia, that Territory which the League of Nations had earlier placed under its administration. While we hail the earnest efforts of the Secretary-General to bring Pretoria to its senses, we must at the same time continue to encourage the United Nations, in particular the Security Council, to put an end to South Africa's imposture.

172. The brother peoples of Mozambique, Zambia and Botswana, who are victims of the racist régime of South Africa and of the economic aggression of the Ian Smith clique, must be able at all times to count on our sympathy and our effective assistance in the defence of their territorial integrity and the pursuit of their economic development protected from all criminal threats from Rhodesia and South Africa.

173. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau wishes, in accordance with its options and commitments to the people of Angola and their pioneering movement, MPLA, to express its indignation at the refusal to admit the People's Republic of Angola to the United Nations. It is inconceivable that the People's Republic of Angola, already recognized by nearly all the Members of this Organization, should not be allowed to participate here as a fully fledged Member in formulating decisions pertaining to the international community.

174. We are following also with particular interest events in so-called French Somaliland, and we reaffirm our solid support for the liberation movement in that Territory. The results obtained for the decolonization of that African Territory are undoubtedly a victory for the Somali people. Consequently, a solution must be found in the very near future so that the oppressed people may achieve autonomy and national independence.

175. We could not fail here to refer to the situation prevailing in the independent Republic of the Comoros.

That African country, which has just attained national independence, still has part of its territory under occupation, thus depriving it of its territorial integrity, which is in flagrant contradiction with the fundamental principles of our Organization's Charter. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau can only reaffirm its unswerving support for the people and Government of the Comoros in their just struggle for territorial integrity.

176. One of the regions of the world where tension threatening international peace still persists is the Middle East. The critical situation prevailing there is a source of concern, and it is not without anxiety that we have been closely following events. Hundreds of thousands of inhabitants in the area are experiencing untold suffering as the result of these ravaging conflicts. Having most carefully considered the problem, we recognize its complexity but we believe, however, that it can be resolved.

177. In order to arrive at a satisfactory and lasting solution, Israel must recognize the injustice it has committed against its Arab neighbours, especially against the people of Palestine. Israel must be willing to correct the situation in the area, so as to be able to open a new chapter in its relations with its neighbours. It should first of all, and without delay, withdraw from the Arab territories which it occupied in June 1967 and the territories assigned to the State of Palestine by the partition plan contained in the resolution [181 (II)] adopted on 29 November 1947 by the General Assembly by virtue of which the State of Israel was born.

178. In the opinion of the delegation of Guinea-Bissau, the tension in the Middle East will be finally dispelled only if the people of Palestine have their national rights restored to them. Within this framework, the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in all efforts to bring about a negotiated settlement of the problem remains the *sine qua non* of the success of this process. The delegation of Guinea-Bissau wishes to express its whole-hearted solidarity with those fighting in the just cause of the Arabs, in particular the Palestine Liberation Organization, the legitimate representative of the Palestinian people struggling for the liberation of their usurped motherland.

179. We are focusing particular attention on the question of Cyprus. We believe that in Cyprus, as in so many other parts of the world, the tension is caused essentially by interference of foreign forces in the domestic affairs of the country. In those circumstances, it is absolutely indispensable, if the situation in Cyprus is to return to normal, for all the foreign forces to respect the resolutions adopted by the United Nations—that is, by the General Assembly and the Security Council, respectively—and stop interfering in the domestic affairs of the island. The Cypriot community must be free to determine its own destiny and to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of its country, in keeping with the policy of neutrality and non-alignment.

180. Although we have been gratified to note the success registered in the period that has elapsed in regard to the maintenance of peace and security, we remain concerned by the problem of an artificially divided Korea. That division creates a threat to international peace and security. That is why the Republic of Guinea-Bissau supports the

Democratic People's Republic of Korea in its just struggle to put an end to foreign interference in Korea's domestic affairs and to speed up the peaceful reunification of the country.

181. With regard to Viet Nam, today reunified after a long liberation struggle, an exemplary and triumphant struggle, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau from this rostrum salutes that heroic people which not only contributed to the restoration of peace in the Indo-Chinese peninsula, but was also the symbol of the resistance of the peoples of the third world. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam must take its proper place in the United Nations, in accordance with the principle of universality of our Organization.

182. The Latin American peoples are increasing their action to strengthen their national independence; they wish to recover their natural resources and play their proper role in international life. The assertion of their independence requires the immediate liquidation of colonialism in all its forms. To that end, the independence movements in Latin America must be encouraged and supported by all of us, through active solidarity with Panama in its struggle for the full exercise of sovereignty over the Panama Canal. We firmly support the Chilean democrats also. It is our duty to help the peoples of Panama and Chile in their struggle for territorial integrity, independence and the restoration of democracy.

183. Two major problems are of concern to the delegation of Guinea-Bissau: what is happening now in Western Sahara and East Timor.

184. It is obvious that since the signing in Madrid, on 14 November 1975, of the tripartite Agreement<sup>8</sup> no solution to the problems of Western Sahara has been found. The Saharan people, who have demonstrated their desire for self-determination, have had no choice but to resort to arms. The situation prevailing today in that part of our continent poses a grave threat to international peace and security. That is why our delegation believes that the urgency of the Saharan problem requires more detailed consideration by the Assembly, in order to avoid the worst.

185. At the time when fascism was overthrown in Portugal, the Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente [*FRETILIN*] was preparing finally to assume the leadership of the country and the exercise of national sovereignty. But Indonesia, with annexation as its objective, seized that occasion to jeopardize the independence, territorial integrity and future of the country. We are today witnessing a process designed to eliminate the resistance of the people of Timor. The delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau therefore urgently appeals to the former colonial Power, Portugal, which has the moral and legal duty to ensure the accession of that country to international sovereignty, to discharge all its responsibilities and guarantee independence for the people of Timor. We therefore specifically request that the problem of East Timor be considered at this session of the Assembly, so that we may find solutions that will enable the people of Timor freely to express their views on the future of their country.

<sup>8</sup> Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975, document S/11880, annex III.

186. We see in the present international situation a crystallization of the efforts of our peoples not only to improve their standard of living but also to establish new bases for closer and more effective economic co-operation among peoples. In that regard our Organization's role is to polarize the solidarity which binds us, so that we may constantly seek new ways of establishing a more realistic and more just, I would even say humanitarian, economic order.

187. The Colombo Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries took note in its Political Declaration [*A/31/197, annex I*] of the profound changes in the over-all balance of forces in the world as a result of the development of the forces of peace, independence and progress. At the same time, it welcomed the efforts and initiatives to strengthen détente. The Conference stressed that peace is far from being achieved in the world, because of the persistence of colonialism, racial discrimination and *apartheid*; imperialist aggression and foreign occupation; and the policy of the big Powers, foreign domination and economic exploitation. Furthermore, the Conference declared that peace is indivisible and that it cannot be reduced to the mere transfer of confrontation from one region to another, nor can it resign itself to the persistence of tensions. Détente will be precarious if it does not take into account the interests of other countries. The Conference stressed also that détente must lead to the dissolution of military alliances born of the cold war.

188. The Colombo Conference once again emphasized the limited nature of the process of détente, although it did welcome the results of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. It drew attention, also, to the close relationship between security in Europe, in the Mediterranean and in the Middle East, and invited the participants in the European Conference to undertake to settle the problems of development in the interests of all countries. It is precisely détente that was responsible for placing on the agenda the reorganization of economic relationships in the world. We have to eliminate inequality and discrimination, and effectively guarantee the sovereign right of all States to dispose of their own natural resources. The seventh special session of the General Assembly called strictly to account those who for centuries have been exploiting the work and resources of others. That session of the General Assembly, followed by the fourth session of UNCTAD held at Nairobi, traced a course for the liquidation of economic oppression. That is why the Republic of Guinea-Bissau firmly supports the claims of the developing and non-aligned countries, a group of which we are an integral part.

189. Having set forth the views of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on various international problems which are of concern to our Organization, I should like now to make a brief reference to my own country. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a member of most international organizations, which has opted for the policy of non-alignment in its struggle for peace and development, is deeply committed to the course of co-operation with all States in the international community without discrimination, except in the case of two States which still pursue the disgraceful policy of *apartheid* and colonial and Zionist domination. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has established diplomatic

relations with almost all countries of the international community, and today has every intention of developing co-operation at all levels with those States without any discrimination.

190. Every deterioration in the international situation is caused either by blows delivered against the freedom and independence of the peoples or by the unbridled arms race, and that is why we must combine our efforts to consolidate and make irreversible what has already been done for the sake of the independence and sovereignty of all peoples, peace and international solidarity.

191. In conclusion we should like to reiterate here our firm determination to work tirelessly for the maintenance of international security and our solidarity with those peoples who are struggling for just causes.

192. Mr. PALMA GALVEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): We are loyal to the fundamental postulates of international law, one of which is the juridical equality of States, and thus we should like to take this opportunity to congratulate Mr. Amerasinghe on his well-deserved election to the office of President. His election is an acknowledgement of the tradition of culture and the devotion to peace of the country he represents. This election does honour to our world Organization and underlines the effectiveness of the principle of the equality of States, since it indicates that it is not necessary to possess great economic wealth to serve in a leadership role in the United Nations and its General Assembly.

*Mr. Illueca (Panama), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

193. For nations such as ours, which do not have abundant economic means, it is encouraging to see that within this Assembly high moral values are respected, because only by recognizing the true and transcendental value of the human person is it possible to foresee a bright future for mankind, which, unfortunately, is hesitantly groping along at the present time.

194. We should also like to express our appreciation to Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for his discretion and his effectiveness in guiding the debates of the last session of the General Assembly.

195. We also extend our praise to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for the positive action he has taken during the period as is outlined in his report on the work of the Organization [A/31/1], which is before the Assembly.

196. A new Member has come to swell the concert of nations gathered within the portals of this world Organization. We are extremely pleased to welcome the Republic of Seychelles, and at the same time we should like to express our admiration to the United Kingdom for its strict compliance with international law. By giving autonomy to the Seychelles, the United Kingdom has punctiliously applied the principle of the self-determination of peoples.

197. With due attention we have taken note of the report of the Secretary-General with regard to the maintenance of peace and international security, which constitutes one of the most outstanding duties of the international body, and

is one of the fundamental concerns of exponents of the law of nations, both ancient and modern. Any weaknesses or imperfections attributable to the international legal order arise out of the conscious will of States which regulate their relations according to its tenets, for they have not wished to be compelled to abide by its precepts or to make them binding. Even the jurisdiction of the legal arm of the Organization depends upon the free will of the parties involved in any legal dispute, and the provisions of Chapter VII of the Charter, which, because they refer to acts which constitute breaches of the peace, seem to be highly effective, in fact lack any threatening power. Despite this, hesitant steps have been taken, albeit with understandable caution, to make international law more effective, and the defects in the legal arm of the Organization can now be compensated for by the application of compulsory measures. This means that the factor of virtual coercion has made its appearance: its absence had been one of the many gaps inherent in international law. This more sophisticated thinking demonstrates the achievements which can be made when there exists a will to acknowledge that there are limitations to traditional concepts. Those concepts are not absolute, and it is to be hoped that States, the principal protagonists in the legal field, once they are convinced that coercion, even if only moral coercion, can be embodied in principles and resolutions, will co-operate so that international order may rise to even greater heights of perfection.

198. This degree of development will be possible only when it is generally held that any dispute can be settled by means of instruments in which the will of the parties is taken as the decisive positive factor. In other words, the effectiveness of a means of solution does not depend upon the technical or legal tool itself; rather, it flows from the willingness and concurrence of States to contribute to the success of the regulatory system.

199. But if, instead of contributing to the strengthening of the world body or of regional bodies, Powers are compelled to perfect the means of mass destruction, while law languishes from neglect and repudiation, we can see looming over the future the risk of a conflagration that would imperil the survival of civilization itself.

200. For those reasons, we believe that the detonation of atomic devices in the atmosphere, underground or under water should be prohibited by a treaty or by conscientious self-limitation on the part of States which possess such weapons. Explosions in the atmosphere pollute with their harmful gases elements which are essential for life, while explosions under water will destroy or make unuseable species which inhabit vast areas within the range of radioactive fallout. Indeed, there is no general belief to the contrary. Moreover, experiments of this type can alter ecological conditions, and hence any test which would, intentionally or otherwise, modify the environment should be prohibited.

201. In this connexion, it would seem that the nations which have scarce resources and limited economic and war-making potential are the ones looking hopefully to juridical systems for the settlement of disputes. Honduras, through civilized channels, is in the process of solving its dispute with El Salvador, both countries having agreed to mediation, the recommendations of which would be

respected by the parties. Such respect is necessary because, besides complying with the minimum requirements of ethics, it would open the way to a bright future for two nations which, because of their identity of origin, should undertake joint enterprises.

202. If mediation fails to settle all issues, Honduras would be ready to take its case, in all goodwill, to any other body able to eliminate once and for all any basis of disagreement or lack of understanding, and would comply fully with any ruling, in the case of an arbitration or judicial procedure, both because of the nature of those means and because of the fact that it is the inherent factor of good faith which must underlie such agreements.

203. We are pleased to see proceeding the talks to end the existing dispute over Belize—a Central American region which, because of its historical and juridical links with the sister Republic of Guatemala, is foremost in the minds and spirit of justice of the peoples of the Isthmus. Because of everything Honduras and Guatemala have gone through together, Honduras trusts that this time the negotiations will lead to recognition of those rights which Guatemala is claiming.

204. There is also a recommendation before this Organization that the parties continue in their talks aimed at settling the status of the Falkland Islands (Malvinas). Any time a dispute is settled, it can be said that no party loses because, in any case, what is being strengthened is the juridical order, and this in itself constitutes a guarantee for the preservation of peace and the harmonious coexistence of States. Hence we wish to take this occasion to express our optimism for the success of those direct negotiations which, with mutual understanding based on their long diplomatic tradition, are to be undertaken by the Argentine Republic and the United Kingdom, and we hope that those negotiations will culminate in a just settlement for Argentina.

205. In the same spirit of equanimity which inspires our international relations, we sincerely hope that the negotiations being carried out by the United States and Panama within the framework of mutual respect will yield positive benefits for both States and the recognition of their mutual rights.

206. But while some American countries are trying to solve their differences by peaceful means, in other parts of the world burning passions unleashed by opposing factions are endangering international order, wasting hundreds of thousands of lives in a sterile holocaust, because on innumerable occasions the ideology of a prevailing régime has flouted basic rights and principles of human conscience, which are recognized by only one form of social interaction: the Western system of coexistence. It is to be hoped that these difficulties will cease so that our civilization, which must face a future of limited physical potential, as indeed the world which surrounds us is limited, will be able to apply its energies and intelligence to meeting the needs of the immediate future.

207. During the course of this year, the fourth and fifth sessions of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea have been held, presided over by the President of this Assembly. As is logical to suppose, it is not

easy in a short time and on so controversial a subject to reach agreements that reconcile the interests and aspirations both of those States having vast economic potential and those which, for all their incipient development, still have the right to share in the benefits of wealth which belongs equally to all peoples of the world, as do the resources of the sea. Efforts are being made to establish a special tribunal for the settlement of disputes which may arise in this connexion. This proposal should be considered in all its ramifications, because if jurisdiction is fragmented by the creation of other legislative bodies we run the risk of weakening the authority of the International Court of Justice, which is the highest judicial body, *par excellence*, of this Organization. And even if that should not occur, there would be a fragmentation of jurisprudence, which is one of the principal sources of the law of nations. It might be better to consider systems for the joint exploitation of marine resources through the setting of quotas proportionate to the capabilities of States, so that their peoples, who must regard the sea as being the safeguard of the future, may be able to share in the benefits of this resource which is the common heritage of mankind.

208. A concern which must be shared by all nations of the world derives from the Malthusian theory that the relentless rate of population growth will outstrip the rate of food production. Few States have rationally conserved their natural resources; others—the poorest—have frittered them away improvidently. But whatever precautions may be taken, it is certain that there is a growing shortage of food-stuffs, and in a few decades the squalor of hunger will overshadow many horizons, just as the scourge already exists as a living fact in many regions. That is why we must take collective measures to forestall that evil. Any contribution made to the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations will be small in relation to the dimensions of the problem, and the one relatively untapped reserve, the riches of the sea, must be protected so that it may feed the progeny of tomorrow.

209. With regard to the item on our agenda [item 80] which deals with freedom of information, I can announce with heartfelt satisfaction deriving from respect for a right of such magnitude, that the Government of my country is fully complying with a commitment which, besides being enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, corresponds to a guarantee rooted in the depths of the conscience. Therefore, this ethical imperative must be strictly observed so that no one, in this day and age, should be interfered with or persecuted for expressing his thoughts.

210. Although it does not exist in our country, political terrorism is of great concern to the people of Honduras. The proliferation of such acts in recent years merits a thorough study of their causes, and drastic action on the part of States in which terrorists seek refuge, even though those who commit the transgression may be identified with the prevailing ideology of the particular country. The form of mass danger generally inherent in these acts of terrorism means that they must be considered as a flagrant crime against humanity.

211. Although not of specific concern to our continent, *apartheid* does affect mankind as a whole. Hence we join

our voice to the chorus of those calling for the elimination of the discriminatory practices of *apartheid*. An infraction of the most fundamental principles of social interrelations, *apartheid* cannot continue to exist in human society, where daily the essential moral values of man are being reaffirmed.

212. The contribution of the United Nations to forging peace has been great, and its efforts at maintaining collective security have been effective. But an Organization born of a conflagration must adjust its machinery to the experience acquired over 30 years of existence. This is why Honduras has supported the efforts designed to carry out a new study of its statute and those of its subsidiary bodies. There can be no doubt that grave and frequent infractions of the code of coexistence among States do indicate gaps and imperfections which could be overcome. The slowness with which infringements of national sovereignty are sometimes dealt with; the possibilities and the subtle utilization of the veto; the fact that some provisions, recommendations and resolutions are not compulsory; the limitation and neutralization of the jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice; and the fact that the Organization cannot take up facts or conflicts, however serious they may be, when they are being studied by other regional bodies, are all serious impediments to the effectiveness of the Charter and mean that the United Nations organs do not function as they should.

213. All this deserves a revision that would really be a proof of goodwill, taking into account the experience gained over 20 years. It would make it possible to strengthen the United Nations once again while maintaining its present organic and legal structure.

214. Once unswerving confidence has returned to the international sphere the new order will prevail in a collective life free of anguish and ensure a future free of catastrophe for man, who longs to follow a sunlit path brightened by the light of law, which, as Cicero said, frees us as we abide by its principles.

215. The tasks before this General Assembly at its thirty-first session are of great importance, and great are the hopes of the peoples whose trust is placed in this highest forum. We should like to express our desire that decisions may always be taken in furtherance of justice and man's dignity—and we shall contribute as far as we can to this—so that within this body the law of nations will reach levels of excellence such that here may be heard the clearest voice of the conscience of mankind.

216. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): We have just heard the last speaker on the list for this afternoon. The representatives of Egypt, Yugoslavia, India, France, Costa Rica and the United States of America have asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of their right of reply, and they will be called upon in that order. Members will recall that at its 4th plenary meeting the General Assembly decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply would be restricted to 10 minutes.

217. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Yesterday afternoon [22nd meeting], we heard in the General Assembly the statement of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel which contained a number of

allegations and claims. He endeavoured to underrate the intelligence of the members of the General Assembly but, by the very nature of things, he was not successful in this since he was unable to conceal the rage and anger of Israel against the General Assembly and the positions which it has taken in connexion with Israeli activities in the occupied Arab territories.

218. Once again the Israeli Minister resorted to insulting expressions addressed to members of the General Assembly and to that body itself, and even saw fit to talk about the dictatorship of a majority, although he lays claim to a democracy in his own country. He wants the General Assembly to endorse Israel's acts of aggression and terrorism or he will attack the Assembly and reject its resolutions.

219. I should like very briefly to shed some light on Egypt's view of certain subjects to which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel alluded in his statement before the General Assembly yesterday. I would venture to commence my remarks by speaking about peace, something which Israel claims to defend.

220. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel more than once repeated the word "peace" in his statement. He felt that by so doing he would enforce this idea, but he was unable to distort the views of the General Assembly or of world public opinion in spite of that. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel thinks, perhaps, of peace as it is construed in Israel. Has he forgotten what he himself referred to in the October 1976 issue of the American review, *Foreign Affairs*, in which he called for annexation of Israeli-held Arab territories, including a territory which we hold very dear, namely, the Sinai? In this the sort of peace which he wishes to see reign? Is this the sort of peace that he is defending? I would say to him resolutely and unambiguously that there will never be peace between Israel and Egypt so long as our Arab territories remain occupied. The Arab States will never give up a single inch of their territory. I hope that this is an adequate reply to the so-called "peace" that was proclaimed yesterday by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel.

221. I should now like to turn to the subject of relations between South Africa and Israel. Despite the fact that these relations have existed for some time, dating from the creation of Israel in 1948, Israel, challenging world public opinion and particularly African public opinion, has done its best in recent years to strengthen these relations with South Africa. There has been a growth in these relations and a strengthening of the relations between the racist systems in South Africa, Israel and Rhodesia. Has the Israeli Minister forgotten the visit of Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of the racist régime in South Africa, to his country a few months ago and the statement made by Mr. Vorster that he was very happy to see relations growing between his country and Israel? Has the Foreign Minister of Israel forgotten this unholy alliance between his country and the racist régimes in various areas? Has the Foreign Minister of Israel forgotten the Israeli weapons which have been sold so lavishly to South Africa in order to fight against the people of Azania? Has the Israeli Minister forgotten the co-operation between the two régimes in order to profit from each other's military experience in their struggles against libera-

tion movements? I should have liked to produce proof to Members of the General Assembly emanating from a former member of the South African armed forces, Mr. Bill Anderson. At a meeting of the United Nations Council for Namibia<sup>9</sup> this gentleman stated how South African forces in Namibia were armed with Israeli guns, which are used by the South African forces concentrated in Namibia in order to put down the Namibian people.

222. The Israeli dossier is hardly to its credit in this connexion. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel should not be proud of this dossier. He should best have remained silent. This is further evidence of the support given by Israel to the racist régime and its resort to terrorism. I would ask the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel to read the report of the Special Committee against *Apartheid* [A/31/22/Add.2], which is before this session of the General Assembly and which contains data describing the growing relations between Israel and the racist régime in South Africa and the material assistance of various kinds provided by Israel to that racist régime.

223. On the subject of the General Peace Conference, which was alluded to by the Israeli Minister—he accused Egypt of having sabotaged the initiatives that had been undertaken for the holding of that Conference—I should like to tell him quite clearly and to remind the Assembly of certain facts in this connexion. At the time of the victorious October war Egypt was the first State to advocate the holding of a conference at Geneva, on 29 October 1973. The President of the Egyptian Arab Republic made an appeal that such a conference be held so that a comprehensive, just and lasting solution could be found to this problem. It was quite natural that Egypt should defend the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in that important conference, because there can be no peace in the Middle East unless the fundamental problem, namely, the Palestinian problem is solved. Thus the General Assembly adopted its important resolution 3375 (XXX), by which it called for the invitation of the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate on an equal footing with the parties concerned in that conference. Does the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel mean that the countries which approved that resolution are precisely the countries that sabotaged the initiatives for the holding of such a conference? I hardly think so. I could never believe that argument. It is precisely the actions of Israel which subverted the peace initiatives for the holding of such a conference.

224. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel then went on to speak of the security felt by the Arab peoples vis-à-vis Israel and the security which the Arabs wished to achieve in co-operation with Israel. Is it security when thousands of Arabs are day by day exposed to the bullets and to the aggressive acts of the Israeli occupying forces, those forces which expropriated the Arab population?

225. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I apologize for interrupting the speaker. I should like to say that, in accordance with the decision taken by the General Assembly, statements made in exercise of the right of reply must be limited to 10 minutes. The speaker may conclude.

226. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): If Israel means that, why has it not accepted the admission of the Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories? There can be no doubt that those who commit crimes are afraid of seeing the crimes revealed. Thus Israel has always refused to allow the Special Committee to go there to pursue its tasks. I am convinced that Mr. Allon has read the Koenig report, which refers to the fact that Arab citizens have been expelled from the Arab territories.

227. I am sure that the General Assembly is accustomed to hearing the usual series of claims and allegations of Israel. Israel is determined to reject the resolutions of this General Assembly, but the Arab States will never accept such acts, nor will the General Assembly approve of the acts of Israel in the occupied territories.

228. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): The representatives of Israel have been constantly endeavouring to distort Yugoslavia's policy deliberately and maliciously. This does not surprise us. What else could one expect from the representatives of a Government which has been violating the Charter of the United Nations, the rules of international law and basic principles of humanity for a number of years and which totally ignores the demands of the vast majority of States Members of the United Nations?

229. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Israel uttered a gross untruth in his speech when he mentioned Yugoslavia and some other countries as "States whose representatives were the most eloquent in thwarting any effective United Nations action" against terrorism.

230. This Organization is well acquainted with Yugoslavia's position regarding every form of terrorism. Yugoslavia has always favoured the undertaking of resolute international action against terrorism in which the United Nations should play a primary role. Yugoslavia is energetically opposed to all forms of terrorism, both individual and, especially, State terrorism; that is to say, the terrorism practised by the Government of Israel in occupied Arab territories and territories of other States.

231. It is obvious that by accusing others, the representative of Israel tries to conceal Israel's accusing record of undertaking terrorist actions against its neighbours and the Palestinian people. The United Nations has repeatedly dealt with those practices, for which Israel has been condemned many times.

232. It is true that Yugoslavia has been the target of the terrorist activities of some notorious Fascist groups and individuals. But I am certain that the representative of Israel knows perfectly well who the aforementioned groups and individuals are and who are those who stand behind them and give them support and protection.

233. Mr. JAIPAL (India): The Foreign Minister of Israel stated yesterday that India was among the States which thwarted effective United Nations action against terrorism in 1972. That statement is entirely misconceived. It is based on a mistaken conception of the factual situation.

<sup>9</sup> See document A/AC.131/SR.237.

234. India has been consistently opposed to all forms of terrorism. In 1972 India supported the Secretary-General's initiative and participated actively in the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism established by the General Assembly [*resolution 3034 (XXVII)*] for the purpose of elaborating the measures to be taken to deal with terrorism of all kinds. If nothing came of it, it was only because of differences of opinion over the definition of "terrorism". Our view has always been that the legitimate struggle of national liberation movements should not be brought within the definition of terrorism.

235. I wish to make this statement for the record by way of clarification of the Indian position and in reply to the inaccurate statement made by Israel yesterday.

236. Mr. GEY (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation wishes briefly to clarify its position as a result of the statement made yesterday afternoon [*22nd meeting*] by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia. My delegation, which has already made clear its position on other subjects, will confine its reply to certain passages in that statement referring to the French Territory of the Afars and Issas. The French Government solemnly recognized the application for independence of that French territory on 30 December 1975. It recalled and confirmed its desire to bring that Territory to independence, respecting the principle of self-determination, on 11 February 1976. My Government did not simply confine itself to affirming a principle; it defined the ways and means that should be applied. Some of them have already been initiated; I should like to refer to them briefly.

237. The French Government has decided that the population shall express its choice in favour of independence by a referendum, in accordance with the French Constitution. The French Government accepted the visit to Djibouti of a mission of inquiry from OAU, which visited the Territory from 30 April to 2 May. The French Government facilitated consultations between the various political groups in the Territory, without any exception. On 8 June 1976, those consultations led to the signing of a joint declaration in which the three political entities "declared that they wished for the future State genuine independence and respect for its sovereignty and territorial integrity". On 29 July, that declaration was followed by the election of a new Government Council comprising the representatives of all political groups in the Territory.

238. Those measures and new developments are proof of the good faith and sincere wish of the French Government to lead the Territory to independence in a peaceful and democratic manner in a climate of unity. Can one see here any lack of concrete progress, any deliberate intention to hold up the accession to independence of the Territory of the Afars and Issas?

239. The next stages are well known: the French Government will present to the next session of Parliament a bill on the organization of the referendum on the independence of the Territory; that referendum will be held during the first months of 1977, after revision of the electoral rolls.

240. France pledges itself to respect the decision of the people of Djibouti, which will become an independent

State enjoying international sovereignty in the course of next year, as affirmed by the leaders of the main political groups. It would be desirable for the States in that region to do likewise and confirm their desire to respect the independence and sovereignty of the new State.

241. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In his statement this afternoon to the General Assembly, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uganda tried to refute the assertion of the Foreign Minister of my country who, in his statement on 27 September last [*6th meeting*], valiantly denounced the dangers inherent in terrorism.

242. I am convinced that if the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica had not already returned to my country and were still here in New York he surely would have made this reply himself. Therefore, in my capacity as Permanent Representative of Costa Rica, I should like to assume responsibility for this reply and to indicate at the outset that I am not motivated by any desire to start an argument with another delegation because, quite apart from what has been said, the incident at Entebbe deserves to be judged by world public opinion essentially on the basis of the actual events that took place there. Those events are self-explanatory. What occurred at Entebbe can be described by the events that happened there and it would be difficult to imagine any more spectacular incident of international terrorism. If he had not indicated that, the representative of Costa Rica would not have been speaking the truth.

243. A sovereign State such as mine has no reason to feel shame at having expressed its admiration for the action undertaken by Israel, because that action dealt a death blow to terrorism and did not encourage it.

244. The representative of Uganda said, "Who knows, perhaps what happened in my country might happen in Costa Rica". I shall reply by citing a fact. In 1971 a group of terrorists seized an airplane from a neighbouring country and brought it to the airport in my country. The group demanded that certain things be done so that the passengers might be freed. The Government of Costa Rica refused to negotiate. The Civil Guard of my country dealt with that matter and by very valiant action was able to free the passengers. The terrorist group was put in prison. That action put the terrorists on note of the fact that Costa Rica would never serve as a sanctuary for their actions. Because of our action no similar case has ever again occurred in our land.

245. Mr. IDRIS (Indonesia): I apologize for speaking at this late hour but my statement will be very brief. The Foreign Minister of Guinea-Bissau referred to East Timor in his statement and I should like to put on record the Indonesian view on this question.

246. I should like to remind him that the right of self-determination was exercised by the people of East Timor in a manner of their own choosing and in conformity with their own traditional system and institutions. Subsequently, on 17 July this year, the people of East Timor decided to become independent through integration with the Republic of Indonesia, a decision which my country

fully respects. Consequently, the question of East Timor has become an internal affair of Indonesia.

247. It is for these reasons that my delegation categorically rejects the unfounded allegations of the Foreign Minister of Guinea-Bissau addressed to my country.

248. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): I rise with regret, and admittedly in considerable perplexity, to offer a brief reply to certain remarks made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama to the General Assembly this morning [23rd meeting]. Let me make two or three points to clarify this matter for the Assembly.

249. The Foreign Minister of Panama has today attacked the President of the United States and the President's principal opponent in our current electoral campaign. He has also attacked the credibility of the Secretary of State. It is difficult for my delegation to perceive how such attacks on United States leaders can enhance the prospects for successful conclusion of the efforts to revise existing treaty arrangements regarding the Panama Canal.

250. In his remarks this morning the Foreign Minister of Panama associated the Panama Canal talks with current efforts under way to bring about a settlement of southern African questions. Let me emphasize here that the Secretary of State of the United States is determined to continue his negotiations in view of achieving majority rule in southern Africa, and ensuring the acceptance of the principles of non-discrimination and political equality. My delegation has been disappointed that the Foreign Minister of Panama, or anyone else, would cast aspersions on those efforts of the United States Secretary of State.

251. The United States Government is committed, and has been for a long time, to working out a treaty with the Government of Panama to revise current arrangements with respect to the Panama Canal. This very morning's newspapers carried the announcement that the United States and Panama have agreed to resume negotiations within the next two weeks on a new treaty. The integrity and commitment of the President of the United States and his Secretary of State are thus once more demonstrated by that announcement, made in the middle of a busy political campaign.

252. Mr. KINENE (Uganda) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The statement just made by the representative of Costa Rica is the best confirmation possible of the fact that that representative is merely a spokesman for the Zionists in this Assembly. That is precisely what the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country said when he was exercising his right to reply to the malicious allegations of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Costa Rica at the start of this session of the General Assembly. The statement of the representative of Costa Rica demonstrates to what extent that country is involved with the Zionists.

*Mr. Montiel Argüello (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

253. The delegation of Uganda once again is unable to find any apologies for the spokesman of the Zionists. We hope that in the near future we shall be able to here the

true voice of the people of Costa Rica and not merely the voice of a spokesman for the Zionists. Until that time, we are convinced that those words of the representative of the Costa Ricans spoken today do not represent the true feelings of the people of Costa Rica, nor do they represent the feelings of all Latin American peoples.

254. Mr. HUSSEN (Somalia): I listened with attention to the statement just made by the representative of France in exercising the right of reply, in which he referred to remarks made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country in his statement before this august Assembly yesterday afternoon. These remarks in turn referred to the remarks made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France in his statement of 29 September [9th meeting].

255. When the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France spoke of what he preferred to call the "French Territory of the Afars and Issas", he stated:

"France is engaged in a process that will lead in a democratic manner to independence, if"—and I underline "if"—"such is the wish of the population." [*Ibid.*, para. 117.]

256. It was because of that unexpected statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, which cast doubt as to whether or not the population of the Territory wished independence, that the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Somalia found it difficult to let these remarks pass without comment. The following is what he had to say in this respect:

"The desire of the people of the Territory for independence and freedom has been established beyond any doubt... 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." [22nd meeting, para. 197.]

257. We wish to recall that, in its resolution 3480 (XXX), the General Assembly called on France "to grant immediate and unconditional independence" and "to create the necessary conditions in order to accelerate the process of independence."

258. The Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, at its thirteenth session, held in Mauritius in June this year, made a similar call on France and urged it 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.

259. My Government's concern is motivated not only by the French Minister's remarks which I have just quoted but also by the lack of tangible progress in creating the necessary conditions favouring the acceleration of the process of independence, as called for in General Assembly resolution 3480 (XXX).

260. The dismantling of electrified barbed wire and mine fields, the discontinuance of repressive measures, the release of political prisoners, the return to their native land of the

refugees and expellees, the announcement of a fixed date for independence—these are some of the necessary conditions which the General Assembly, in resolution 3480 (XXX), considered to be the prerequisites for a democratic and peaceful transfer of power to the people of the Territory.

261. It is my Government's earnest hope that France will put an end to the present climate of uncertainty and proceed to the creation of the necessary conditions by removing all obstacles, some of which I have just enumerated. My Government again pledges its unreserved co-operation in moving towards that objective.

262. Mr. ARAUJO (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation deeply regrets having to speak at this late hour but, because of the statement made by the representative of Indonesia, it deems it necessary to make the following statement:

263. My country was one of the first to recognize the independent State of Timor. That recognition was not an emotional gesture; it was based on elements which we considered and still consider to be correct.

264. It should be recalled here that during their struggle our people had to face up to a number of threats. True, there were military threats; but there were also threats of a constitutional nature. At a certain time we were no longer a colony but a province. Now, we note that East Timor is also considered to be a province, a province of Indonesia.

265. It is unacceptable that a constitutional camouflage should deprive our Organization of the right to continue to examine in depth a case which is an unfortunate one and which is now characterized by continued resistance by the people of Timor against what we consider to be an act of aggression.

266. That is what motivated the words and the appeal of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of my country. We reaffirm them and we ask the Organization to continue to examine the question of Timor so that all possible light can be thrown on this unfortunate affair.

267. Mr. ILLUECA (Panama) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The representative of the United States, our good friend Mr. Bennett, made a statement here in exercise of his right of reply in which he defended the two candidates for the presidency of the United States.

268. We do not know whether Mr. Bennett is a Democrat or a Republican, but he shows a good example of the fact that the United States applies various standards in the international community. We must carefully analyse that fact: Among those standards is the so-called bipartisan policy, and in the case of Panama it is quite obvious that that bipartisan policy has a different standard.

269. The Assembly will recall that a few weeks ago the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, invited all the representatives attending the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea to a reception, where he made a statement. He said, "We have a package deal to negotiate. This package deal conforms to a bipartisan policy of the United States. There are some who think that after

the elections they will get better conditions. But they are quite wrong, because the United States has a bipartisan position".

270. In the case of Panama, the negotiators have not met since May. This morning, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Panama described the sad position today, in which inflexibility is being practised against a small country that has been negotiating for 12 years with the United States, under three successive Administrations, successively Democratic and Republican, without any solution's having been found to the Panamanian problem.

271. In describing that situation to the Assembly this morning, our Minister for Foreign Affairs was inviting the international community and the just and wise public opinion of the United States to become thoroughly familiar with the suffering, the agony, the anguish of a people that has a thorn buried in its heart, and in the heart of its territory.

272. That is the situation, Mr. Bennett. If there is a bipartisan policy in the United States—and we are told that it is represented here by distinguished persons from both Parties—then it should be applied in the case of Panama too.

273. We could speak here for hours and hours about the suffering of the Panamanian people at a time when a so-called "gold roll" existed for persons of the white race and a so-called "silver role" for persons of the black race; when there were cemeteries for whites and cemeteries for blacks; when part of our territory was occupied and no compensation was paid to us for our land. We could inform the Assembly that the Panama Canal is not the result solely of Panama's geographical position; it functions as a result also of the waters of the Chagres River. Indeed, the Canal is a river canal that was made by channelling a Panamanian river. We have to pay the United States to purify our own waters so that they can be used by our people in their own land. That is the painful situation that we described here today. And when we say that there is a similarity between the situation in southern Africa and the situation in Panama, we do so because it is the truth. Indeed, great discrimination is still practised in our country. Those who visit Panama and the Isthmus, which, as Foreign Minister Boyd said, should be a reflection of hemispheric relations, become very well aware of the true situation, which is an untenable situation and a constant source of tension and conflict.

274. In 1964, after some bloody events, my country broke off relations with the United States; that was when Mr. Johnson was President of the United States and Mr. Chiari was President of Panama. Why did Panama break off relations with the United States? Because aggression had been committed against the people of Panama on their own land, because the glorious weapons of the United States had been directed against innocent civilians—and when such weapons are directed against us, we have only our blood to shed in defence of our freedom. We have really come to the end of our patience. My country's Foreign Minister put a question; perhaps the interpretation into other languages was not perfectly clear. The question was addressed to the United States delegation. It was this:

Can we Panamanians believe that the intention to decolonize Africa is sincere when there exists in the very heart of Latin America a painful, colonial situation which is creating indignation and sorrow throughout Latin America? For, as a Latin American Foreign Minister said here, all the peoples and Governments of the Latin American continent, without distinction as to ideology or geographical situation, are pitting a collective Latin American personality against the collective personality of the United States in this matter.

275. Since mention has been made here of the Ford-Carter debate, I must say that not a single Panamanian has ever had the intention of offending either of those two distinguished North Americans. On the other hand, what offends us Panamanians is seeing Mr. Ford and Mr. Carter engaging in a competition to see which of them is more like someone whom they themselves have called irresponsible, that is, Ronald Reagan. That is the feeling of the man in the street. Why? Because we in Latin America know that there still exist very painful remnants of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union; there still exist some absolutely anachronistic situations—such as that in Panama—resulting from the myopic policy of the United States, our neighbours on the same continent. And I must note that the United States is our client just as we are its client—for Latin America represents the third largest market for the United States, after Canada and Western Europe; and we are among the countries of Latin America that buy the most from the United States. Yet this deplorable, insulting, reprehensible situation continues. That is what we wish to stress here.

276. I want to state in all sincerity and with all frankness that we shall continue to raise this question until an end is put to this colonial situation which has no reason for existing in this era.

277. I would conclude by stating that the delegation of Panama is pleased that Mr. Bennett has said that the negotiations will continue. But we want those negotiations to follow the proper path, the path of an honourable, solemn and sacred commitment made by the United States in the eight-point declaration, the Tack-Kissinger declara-

tion aimed at abrogating the 1903 treaty and drafting a new treaty concerning the Canal, in order to end as quickly as possible United States jurisdiction over Panamanian territory.

278. Mr. GEY (France) (*interpretation from French*): The French delegation listened closely to the statement of the representative of Somalia. It will make a detailed reply in due course in the Fourth Committee.

279. Mr. SALAZAR (Costa Rica) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I am speaking again not because we wish to pursue an argument with another delegation, which would be unnecessary, but rather to reply to what was just said by the representative of Uganda because I believe his remarks undermine the standards of conduct and respect usual among representatives to the United Nations. In his statement he used offensive terms which truly do harm to my country and to his delegation alike.

280. The representative of Uganda utilized that terminology surely because he really does not understand existing circumstances in my country. I should like to assure him that both the Costa Rican delegation to the United Nations and the Government of Costa Rica are authentic spokesmen for the people of Costa Rica. On the international level we have always been the spokesmen for our people; with our very enlightened tradition of support for noble and just causes, we have fought against colonialism, discrimination and the violation of human rights. We have always been militantly on the side of just causes. That has been the result of the true mandate that the Costa Rican people has always given to the Government of Costa Rica and it is something no one here should question.

281. Fortunately, because of that mandate, my country is living under a system of freedom and genuine democracy. The people are consulted periodically, and a Government is elected which thus governs on behalf of the people. Most fortunately we have not fallen into the disgrace of having Presidents for Life.

*The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.*