

United Nations
GENERAL
ASSEMBLY

THIRTY-FIRST SESSION

Official Records



30th
PLENARY MEETING

*Wednesday, 13 October 1976,
at 3.20 p.m.*

NEW YORK

CONTENTS

Agenda item 9:

General debate (continued)

Speech by Mr. d'Alva (Sao Tome and Principe)	559
Speech by Mr. Christophides (Cyprus)	563
Speech by Mr. Adriázola Valda (Bolivia)	568
Speech by Mr. Gauci (Malta)	571
Speech by Mr. Fortes (Cape Verde)	575

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. D'ALVA (Sao Tome and Principe)** (*interpretation from French*): It is with great joy that I have the honour of welcoming Mr. Amerasinghe, through you, Sir, as President of this thirty-first ordinary session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. I offer him my most sincere congratulations on his brilliant election, and the delegation which is here with me joins me in paying him this well-deserved tribute. We are certain that this election is not only a token of the recognition by the Members of the United Nations of his experience and competence, which have been demonstrated so often at international meetings, but also a well-deserved tribute to his country, Sri Lanka, which plays a very important role in the search for solutions to the problems confronting the States Members of the United Nations.

2. Indeed, his country only recently hosted the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which dealt in an objective and realistic manner with the main problems which are of concern to the international community. That Conference of non-aligned countries made a number of highly pertinent suggestions [see A/31/197] designed to establish greater harmony in relations of international co-operation and to promote justice and peace.

3. The last session of the General Assembly has just completed its work under the leadership of Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, who with great skill and competence placed his rich experience of international affairs in the service of our Organization. His effective guidance of our discussions enabled us to engage in an open and frank dialogue regarding the countless problems with which the international community is concerned and which

call for a just and speedy solution. We are very grateful to him for this contribution to the cause of our international community.

4. Our delegation wishes to associate itself with preceding speakers in paying a resounding tribute to the Secretary-General of our Organization, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We want to express to him the great satisfaction of our Government at the efforts which he is making in this high office and the important contribution which he has made towards the implementation of the resolutions of our international community.

5. We warmly welcome the admission of the new Member of our Organization, the Republic of Seychelles, and wish the people and Government of that country, with which our country hopes to co-operate in a wide variety of fields, a prosperous future.

6. Our Assembly is meeting in the shadow of the demise of Chairman Mao Tsetung, that eminent and esteemed personality who played such a vital role in solving the major problems confronting mankind. The ideological contribution of Chairman Mao as an experienced and realistic theoretician, and his concrete contribution, as a militant, to the liberation of the Chinese people and other oppressed peoples, have made a deep impact on the course of history. The peoples of Africa are particularly grateful to Chairman Mao for the assistance which his country, the People's Republic of China, is giving them, either in consolidating their independence or in helping them to stand on their own feet.

7. Last year, when the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe was admitted to membership in the United Nations, the delegation of my country had the honour of conveying to this international Assembly the gratitude of the people of Sao Tome and Principe for the support and assistance which this Organization gave us during our national liberation struggle. We have expressed our dedication to the Charter of the United Nations and the will of our people and Government to co-operate with all other peace-loving States, irrespective of their political and economic systems, in a wide variety of fields and on the basis of full equality and respect for national sovereignty. We are absolutely convinced of the interdependence which already exists between the various States on our planet, and also of the need to create a new political and economic framework for our international community.

8. While nationalism is certainly an indispensable means for peoples to achieve their liberation and to reaffirm their identity and at the same time enable them to become masters of their countries and of their natural resources, it

must on no account be a force barring the way to interdependence among nations and to bilateral or multilateral co-operation which is advantageous for all.

9. Nationalism should not exclude arrangements for much more fruitful co-operation at a regional or international level within the framework of the new economic and political international order. The independence which we achieved last year is only a means for our people to recuperate and to preserve its freedom. It is also an indispensable weapon which enables us to use our full potential in order to respond rapidly to the problems of hunger, sickness, illiteracy, unemployment, ignorance and the poverty of the masses of the people in general. We were exploited by a régime which was interested in seizing our resources with virtually no compensation in the form of training personnel or developing a socio-economic infrastructure, or supplying equipment. By forcing our country to follow an economic policy which was oriented only towards developing agricultural exports and by preventing it from developing the production of food which might have competed with that of the home country, the Portuguese colonial domination has left us a very negative heritage, namely malnutrition, the absence of institutions for health care, unemployment, obsolete economic equipment, amortized long ago, a total lack of any means of communication with the outside world, and the alienation of our natural resources. It should also be noted that during the colonial and Fascist period the development of the industrial sector was regarded as incompatible with the interests of the metropolitan country and therefore it was prohibited.

10. It is true that, when we attained independence last year, the Portuguese colonial régime which, none the less, lasted for over five centuries in our country, had not left us with a single port, any real airport, or any other means of transport to the outside world. Furthermore, our people were completely dispossessed of the most elementary means of production which could have enabled us somehow to meet our most vital needs.

11. We inherited a country where agriculture to this date is the main source of national income and then it became apparent that 80 per cent of the arable grounds belonged to a tiny minority of the population who were nationals of the former metropolitan country and which represented less than 1 per cent of the total population.

12. Moreover, having inherited an economic structure which was founded on the exclusive cultivation of exportable agricultural products at the expense of foodstuffs, we considered that we would not be able to embark upon an economic development programme that would be capable of solving the acute problems of the masses in our country unless we developed our country economically in a way that would be more in conformity with the vital interests of our people.

13. We therefore began to carry out during the whole of last year a programme of agrarian reform, the aim of which is to overcome the harmful economic structure we have inherited from colonial domination.

14. This programme of agrarian reform began with the expropriation of 90 per cent of the arable land of our country which had belonged to absentee landlords. As regards the exploitation of this land we have brought about the election for each agricultural production unit of a management board consisting of representatives of the workers. This management board must take over the administrative, financial and economic administration of the agricultural unit under the guidance, and with the technical assistance, of the State in order to meet the collective needs of our population. We are beginning now to see some fruitful results from this reform, despite the difficulties which we still face as regards technical assistance and capital equipment.

15. At the external level we deem it indispensable to change the structure of economic international relations. The prices of the manufactured products we import continue to increase disproportionately to the movements in the prices of the raw materials we export. In our opinion it is not enough merely to take domestic measures in order to create the conditions necessary for our development.

16. We also note that the difficulties we are encountering in changing our domestic economic structure and the system of international economic relations are being experienced almost as keenly by all the third-world countries which produce commodities. The same difficulties are to be found in practically all the countries of the third world, whether they have decided to base their development on the export of two or three raw materials, which enables them to import manufactured products; or whether they practise an economic policy of producing manufactured goods for the purpose of import substitution; or again whether they have staked their development on the production of manufactured goods for export. These general difficulties which are being encountered in almost all the countries of the third world, are of course attributable to the existing financial monetary and commercial structure which was imposed during the period of colonial domination in these countries. This economic structure is to a large extent the cause of the balance-of-payments deficits and the ever-increasing indebtedness of most of the third-world countries. Inflation, economic stagnation, and the recession in most developing countries are largely due to the structure inherited from colonialism and imperialism.

17. According to the report of the fourth session of the United Nations Conference of Trade and Development [UNCTAD], during the quarter of a century extending from the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the 1970s the existing order brought to developing countries with a market economy a phenomenal expansion of the productive capacity of these countries, of their real income and their levels of consumption. On the other hand, according to the report, during the same period the experience of the developing countries presents an alarming contrast. If we consider the 20 years which elapsed between 1952 and 1972 the total national product of the developed countries with a market economy has increased from \$1,250 billion to approximately \$3,070 billion at the prices of 1973 and the increase of \$1,820 billion represented by itself around three and a half times the total accumulated gross national products of all the developing countries in

1972 which came to only \$520 billion. The real income *per capita* showed an even more striking contrast. In the developed countries with a market economy it moved from \$2,000 *per capita* in 1952, estimated at the prices of 1973, to a figure close on \$4,000 in 1972. In the developing countries, however, the real income was approximately \$300 *per capita* in 1972, the increase being only \$125 as compared with the figure of 1952. The increase of the real *per capita* income therefore during this period was 16 times greater in the developed countries with a market economy than it was in the developing countries.¹

18. And yet it is quite clear that the struggle which is waged by the third-world countries to change both their domestic economic structures as well as the general structure of international economic relations is being met with resistance on the part of most industrialized countries in the West. With the exception of some industrialized countries which are prepared to make their contribution to satisfy the just claims of the third-world countries with regard to new financial, monetary and commercial relations, we see that there are also manoeuvres that are being conducted by Western industrialized countries in order to conceal the true nature of the struggle which all of the third world has to wage in order to cope with the problems caused by the poverty of their populations. Just as the demands of the colonial peoples for their just right to self-determination and independence were construed as a simple ideological conflict involving attempted infiltration by the Communist countries in order to establish a new form of domination, in the same manner efforts are being made to confuse international public opinion and to divide the countries of the third world by making it appear that their attempts to recuperate their natural resources and to recover control over their economic activities is only a subversive foreign Communist offensive.

19. Yet one forgets the positive role which the militant solidarity of the socialist countries played during the whole period of colonial domination and the role it still plays in fostering the real economic development of many developing countries.

20. If it is true that the vast majority of the peoples of Africa under foreign domination have, through their own efforts together with the militant solidarity of the peoples who love peace and justice, been successful in achieving political independence and beginning with determination their march towards finding the true path of co-operation with other States of the international community, it is none the less true that much remains to be done in southern Africa, where racist domination is still the most repressive and inhuman in the world. This situation is a flagrant violation of the most elementary principles of human rights and of the Charter. It is also a threat to the security of all the peoples of Africa and endangers world peace.

21. It is surprising to see that some countries which claim to be defenders of human rights and which condemn, in words, *apartheid* none the less have very close relationships with the racists Vorster and Smith, while at the same time they denounce their policies of racial discrimination.

22. Indeed, these countries give very valuable assistance to the legal and racist régimes by co-operating with them, by

giving them the economic, financial, technical and even diplomatic support they need to continue their Fascist domination over the peoples of southern Africa. There is no doubt that the régimes of Smith, Vorster and their henchmen would certainly not have lasted if they did not receive the barely concealed support of some Western Powers which have expanded their investments in South Africa and Rhodesia while at the same time supplying these régimes with powerful military means for barbarous repression of the African masses.

23. Despite the condemnations voiced by almost all the countries of the world, the racist régimes of southern Africa continue to seek internal and external means to ensure their survival.

24. Indeed, the alliance between Tel Aviv and Johannesburg, which is reinforced by the visit of the racist Vorster to Israel, has clearly shown the nature of these two racist and oppressive régimes which give each other mutual assistance against the Arab and African peoples.

25. The policy of "bantustanization" is simply a legalization of *apartheid*. It is aimed at implementing the diabolical South African policy of perpetuating domination over the blacks by enclosing them in the most forsaken and disadvantaged regions in order to prolong indefinitely their exploitation of African labour.

26. The United Nations must therefore withhold recognition of the project of "bantustanization", the current model of which simply presents some black puppets as the leaders of Transkei.

27. The activities of the régimes of Johannesburg and Tel Aviv have not deceived the Arab and African countries, which have now reinforced their solidarity against these oppressive régimes. The tactics of the South African racists have also failed to deceive the black population of South Africa. The successive revolts in Soweto and elsewhere all over South Africa show very clearly that the people of that country have resolutely decided to sweep away the sordid régime instituted by the partisans of *apartheid*.

28. With regard to Zimbabwe, only the development of the armed struggle and other nationalist actions, helped by the active solidarity of the peoples who love peace and liberty, can force the rebellious Ian Smith and his followers to abandon Zimbabwe.

29. Indeed, what positive role can the rebellious racist Smith and his followers play in an independent Zimbabwe?

30. How can Smith and his friends maintain that they want to discuss the constitutional régime to be established in Zimbabwe when for over 10 years they have flouted all of international law and themselves rebelled against Great Britain, which has responsibility for the Territory of Southern Rhodesia?

31. These racists should realize that, while Africa is a land of brotherhood and peace, it has no need of them to build its future. Africa is no longer the continent where the minorities can perpetuate through racism the privileges they acquired during the colonial period.

¹ See document TD/183, paras. 8-10.

32. With regard to Namibia, we see that, despite the resolutions of the United Nations and of other international organizations, South Africa continues to maintain illegally its domination over this Territory. The purpose is to find puppets who will enable South Africa to ensure the continuation of the *apartheid* régime. The mandate to administer Namibia entrusted to South Africa by the United Nations has expired.

33. South Africa must now withdraw from Namibia and we can ask the United Nations to take every conceivable measure in order to achieve speedy independence for Namibia.

34. The South African repression of the indigenous population of Namibia, the imprisonment and the massacres of the patriots of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], and the invasion of the People's Republic of Angola are facts which are so well known that we do not need to repeat them here.

35. We do appeal to this international Organization to support SWAPO as the only legitimate representative of the interests of the Namibian people:

36. The detachment of the island of Mayotte from the Comoros by France is a very dangerous precedent and is necessarily a matter of much concern. This act certainly casts a shadow on the relations of friendship and co-operation which France wishes to have and to maintain with the African States.

37. We take our places at the side of the Government of the Comoros in asking for the restoration of its territorial integrity, and we appeal to this international community to give positive support to the Republic of the Comoros to help it to regain its territorial integrity and national unity.

38. The right to self-determination and independence is a principle for which we have waged a long struggle, and we feel that no nation on this planet should be deprived of this right. We are very vigilant as regards legal manoeuvres and subterfuges which can be used to frustrate such rights for we were victims of such action under Portuguese colonial domination. By a legal subterfuge, the Government in colonial times sought to deny our people its right to self-determination and independence.

39. Despite the relevant resolutions of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and the United Nations, some States continue to flout these rights, and this can only be prejudicial to relations among States and constitute the source of grave conflicts.

40. My Government believes that the peoples of East Timor and Western Sahara have been deprived of their right to self-determination. We reaffirm our full support for FRETILIN² and the Frente POLISARIO, which are struggling for the just implementation of the right to self-determination and liberation in East Timor and Western Sahara respectively.

41. It seems to us increasingly clear that the international community is moving towards greater awareness of the

need for solidarity and co-operation in order to improve the standard of living of all the peoples of this planet than of the need for the creation of arsenals of highly sophisticated armaments which could easily lead to the destruction of mankind. Our community should move towards interdependence, leading to the creation of maritime zones of peace and peaceful co-operation rather than of militarized zones.

42. It is the will of the masses which are from year to year gaining their freedom from colonial and imperialist domination through their struggle and their sacrifices to preserve their full sovereignty and to pursue a policy of non-adherence to any military bloc.

43. The voices that call for international security through the destruction of armaments, particularly of nuclear weapon stockpiles, are as loud as those which proclaim the advent of a new political and economic international order.

44. And yet we see that enormous sums are still being wasted in the making of weapons of destruction, whereas what is necessary is to deal with the urgent problems besetting the countries which have been reduced to indigence as a result of colonial and imperialist domination. We note with indignation that, while over 1 billion people in the third world languish in poverty, more than \$300 billion yearly is spent on armaments.

45. We associate ourselves with the previous speakers who have expressed their countries' hope that the climate of security initiated in Europe with the signature of the Final Act of Helsinki on 1 August 1975 will extend to the rest of the world.

46. We believe that this security should not be confined to Europe but that it should include other continents as well.

47. We support the idea of an international conference on disarmament. All States should participate in such a conference, which should establish a time-table for general and complete disarmament.

48. The manoeuvres aimed at violating the territorial integrity, national unity, sovereignty and independence of States can only foster insecurity at both the regional and international levels.

49. The partition of Korea, for instance, creates a situation that threatens peace and security in Asia and throughout the world. We reaffirm our full support for the policy of peaceful reunification of Korea, without any foreign interference in the domestic affairs of that country. All foreign forces should be withdrawn from the southern part of Korean territory and the Armistice Agreement should become a peace treaty. We urge the immediate implementation of the resolution which was adopted last year [resolution 3390 (XXX)].

50. The threats to the territorial integrity of Cyprus and the acts designed to thwart its policy of independence must necessarily cause insecurity in that region, and my Government firmly supports the policy of non-alignment and independence of the Government of Cyprus, as well as its policy of national unity and territorial integrity.

² Frente Revolucionária Timor Leste Independente.

51. Notwithstanding the principles of the United Nations Charter which govern the international community and which lay down rules for guiding international relations—namely, the sovereign equality of States, non-interference, the sovereignty of States over their natural resources and the economic activities engaged in within their territories—certain States persist in trying to impose their will in order to perpetuate their system of economic and political exploitation.

52. A striking example of the use of force in defiance of these principles which govern the international community is the attitude taken towards the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the People's Republic of Angola. The object sought was to prevent these countries from setting up a political and economic system that would not only ensure their full sovereignty and non-alignment but would also enable them to respond more effectively to the development needs of their peoples, who had been the martyred victims of colonialism and imperialism. Our international Organization retains in its Charter certain provisions which in fact negate the principle of equality among States and which therefore institute discrimination among them. The vetoes cast in the Security Council to oppose the admission to the United Nations of Angola and Viet Nam, both recognized by a majority of the membership of this Organization, are examples of an abusive and unilateral use of the anachronistic right of veto. But the brave peoples of Angola and Viet Nam, who gave such examples of self-sacrifice and determination by trying to preserve the principle of independence and the right to choose the political system that suited them, will soon take their places in the United Nations because they fulfill all the conditions for membership. My Government urges that the Republic of Angola and Viet Nam be admitted to membership in the Organization without delay.

53. It is also our duty to support Panama in its just struggle to exercise full sovereignty over its own territory, as well as the efforts of Guyana and Jamaica in a framework of nationalism and independence to strengthen their sovereignty and to establish control over their natural resources and all other economic activities in their countries.

54. We express our solidarity with the Chilean patriots in their struggle for the restoration of respect for human rights in Chile, and we avail ourselves of this opportunity to ask the international community to exert every effort to achieve the liberation of the great patriot, Luis Corvalán.

55. The heroic struggles of the peoples of Kampuchea and Laos, whose victory we warmly welcome, show that, despite imperialist opposition, the peoples will always triumph over all aggression and all threats which imperialism makes against them.

56. I have just enumerated some of the problems which are certainly of concern to the entire international community and which, in the view of my Government, require a just and immediate solution. These problems make it difficult for our whole international community to have fruitful and friendly relations which should be profitable to the future of the whole of mankind.

57. We are deeply convinced of the need for co-operation among the various peoples and States which make up the international community. Such co-operation certainly requires interdependence among States based on a spirit of justice.

58. However, we do not believe that these problems will be solved by a miracle or by the passivity of the peoples. History is marching on and the peoples of all continents have affirmed their will to combat all forms of domination and exploitation and to create a new political and economic framework which would be more in conformity with nature and human destiny.

59. We recognize that the existence of the United Nations, where such a wide variety of countries are represented, marks an important stage in the search for ways and means of creating a political and economic framework which would make it possible to achieve the noble objectives of the Charter of our Organization and the implementation of the just and pertinent resolutions that derive from them.

60. Mr. CHRISTOPHIDES (Cyprus): It is with particular pleasure that, through you, Sir, I express to Mr. Amerasinghe, on behalf of the Republic of Cyprus, warm congratulations on his unanimous election to the presidency of this thirty-first session of the General Assembly. It is very fitting that an eminent representative of Sri Lanka, which now chairs the non-aligned movement—to which the majority of the States Members of the Organization belong—should guide our deliberations during a crucial period in international developments. We are confident that, with his rich experience and recognized ability and with his dedication to the principles and ideals of the United Nations, this Assembly will contribute constructively and significantly towards the solution of the various pressing international problems.

61. May I take this opportunity also to congratulate his predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for the outstanding way in which he successfully guided the deliberations of the last session of the General Assembly.

62. It also gives me great pleasure to welcome the Republic of Seychelles to the Organization. The admission to membership of yet another State which has just emerged from colonial status constitutes a further step in the irreversible process towards complete decolonization and the realization of the principle of universality of the United Nations. We hope that this process will soon be further consolidated by the admission of Viet Nam and Angola and of the remaining Territories still under colonial or other alien rule.

63. Thirty-one years have elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations. Its membership has grown from the original 51 States to the present number of 145, and this fact shows the momentous evolution which has taken place since the Second World War and demonstrates the significance of the Organization in the new era which has since been ushered in for mankind.

64. Today, the outmoded patterns of international thinking and behaviour have given place to the new concept that

the world is interdependent and constitutes a single community. Technological advance has made the world shrink, and events occurring in one place have global repercussions. In our world of today, peace, freedom, and social and economic justice are indivisible, and co-operation among peoples and nations is an imperative necessity.

65. Despite this new thinking and these realities, however, we are equally faced with the very strong resistance of forces striving to preserve inequitable relations by all means. The international scene still abounds with situations ominously removed from the fundamental principles upon which the Organization is based. This reality should not be glossed over in the United Nations and cannot be ignored by the international community without dire consequences to the further course and development of the world; for we are in a period of a delicate balance between the prevalence of the concept of the use of force and domination—an outdated relic of the past—and that of reason and peace, so necessary for the survival of mankind in the interdependent world of the nuclear age. It is in this context, too, that one should view attempts to bypass or ignore the world Organization and attempts to discredit in various ways the United Nations, or to limit its effectiveness merely by declarations or verbal reports.

66. As the Secretary-General has pertinently pointed out in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

“We have had many recent experiences of the wide discrepancy between the unanimity, or near unanimity, of decisions of the Security Council or the General Assembly and the practical effect which such decisions have on the issues to which they are addressed” [*A/31/1/Add.1, sect. IV*].

And later he stressed:

“The responsibilities of Governments do not cease when a resolution is adopted; indeed resolutions usually require determined action by Governments, in addition to the parties directly concerned, if they are to be translated into reality” [*ibid.*].

67. This is indeed true and touches upon a raw nerve and a fundamental issue: the divergence between what is professed in theory and what is done in practice. If the United Nations is to fulfil its fundamental objectives, this pattern must be corrected. Setting aside the legalisms as to the binding effect of United Nations resolutions—whether they be “recommendations” of the General Assembly or “decisions” of the Security Council and, in the latter case, whether they be made under Chapter VI or Chapter VII—the essential point which emerges from this observation of the Secretary-General which is valid and too true for comfort is that a Member State which has voted for a resolution has an obligation, and is duty-bound, to act consistently with the position it has freely taken, and to do its utmost to fulfil the commitment it has thus made; for the alternative plainly is to demonstrate to all—and not only to the critics of the United Nations—the impotence of the Organization to implement what it solemnly, and after due consideration, decided and the hollowness of its resolutions.

68. It is significant that the Heads of State and Government of the non-aligned countries pledged in the Political Declaration of Colombo to use their collective weight in the United Nations for the promotion of the purposes and principles of the Charter and, more particularly, for the “full application of the Charter provisions relating to the maintenance of international peace and security and also the effective discharge of the functions of the Security Council through the implementation of its decisions” [*see A/31/197, para. 152*]. Such a development would give practical expression to the general wish for the strengthening of the United Nations.

69. Many are the grave problems that are to be dealt with by this Assembly. One, which is of vital importance to mankind, is disarmament. The concept of force and armaments still seems to be the axis around which all notions of security revolve. The effect of this concept is to promote military antagonism and an escalating arms race inconsistent with the Charter and with the basic needs of our times. It should be a source of serious concern to us all that there has been no progress at all towards disarmament since our last session. Indeed, no progress has been made towards defining concepts which could make possible the commencement of negotiations on general and complete disarmament, while the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] has not as yet attained its objectives.

70. It is with great anxiety that we watch this state of affairs and the recent trend towards the wider proliferation of nuclear weapons which, if allowed to continue, is bound to have the gravest implications and repercussions for the international community as a whole. It is my Government's long-held view that, while all assistance should be given by the nuclear Powers to non-nuclear States in obtaining access to nuclear energy for peaceful uses, the paramount necessity for the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons should at the same time be safeguarded at all costs. Accession to the Treaty should be encouraged by all means possible.

71. We believe that the problem of disarmament is closely related to the stand which should be taken for the activation of the Charter in its most essential provisions on the maintenance of international peace and security, namely, for the effective functioning of the Security Council through the implementation of its decisions. When Security Council decisions become effective, the foundation will be laid for collective security and peace in a world of progressive legal order. This development will reduce emphasis on ensuring security through antagonistic military alliances and will contribute significantly to the cessation of the arms race.

72. In parallel, persistent efforts must be made to find a way out of the increasingly threatening situation that the arms race involves. We support, therefore, the holding of a world conference on disarmament, or the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on the subject, in which all nuclear Powers would participate.

73. Colossal sums are annually squandered on purposeless armaments instead of being spent for the well-being of mankind. If only a small part of this wasteful expenditure was applied to the positive purpose of development, the

grave economic difficulties facing the world could be overcome, and the existing gap between the developed and developing countries could be substantially bridged.

74. This brings us to the inequitable economic disparity which exists in the world and which seriously hinders efforts for the consolidation of peace. The establishment of a new economic order which would lay the foundations for bridging the gap between developed and developing countries has become an imperative necessity in our interdependent world. The seventh special session of the General Assembly went a long way towards this end, but much still needs to be done. The general awareness of the importance of the problem, and of the need to deal with it realistically, as shown at the conferences held at Manila,³ Nairobi⁴ and Colombo,⁵ gives rise to the hope that more concrete results may be forthcoming through increased solidarity among the developing countries.

75. The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe constitutes a landmark in the history of East-West relations. It is the result of the consciousness of the necessity for co-operation and for a common approach to common dangers and problems, the solution of which will without doubt prove to be to the benefit of the whole world. The sincere, full and indivisible implementation of the Helsinki principles and the turning of the Final Act into a standard of international behaviour is a moral obligation for the signatories and constitutes an imperative need for the promotion and consolidation of world peace and security. The continuing occupation of my country by Turkey, also a signatory of the Helsinki Act, serves as an illustrative reminder that the principles envisaged by this Act have not as yet been fully respected, nor its fundamental purposes achieved.

76. At the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, efforts have been under way to deal with the complex legal, economic and political issues involved and to arrive at an orderly, just and equitable system for the benefit of mankind as a whole. Considerable progress has been made towards the adoption of a comprehensive and generally acceptable convention—and I would like to pay a tribute to Mr. Amerasinghe for his constructive role in guiding the Conference to this end. Cyprus, an island State located between three continents, has a fundamental interest in the early and successful outcome of this major undertaking in a manner that will safeguard the position of islands and ensure that the delimitation of zones of maritime jurisdiction will be in accordance with clear and objectively ascertainable rules and with the basic principle of sovereign equality. We are firmly convinced that an essential corollary to the substantive rules of the convention is a comprehensive and effective system for the peaceful and just settlement of international disputes arising therefrom, thus ensuring for all States the protection of their legitimate rights through third-party adjudication on the basis of objective legal criteria.

³ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976.

⁴ Fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, held at Nairobi from 5 to 31 May 1976.

⁵ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

77. Persistence in the anachronistic policies and attitudes of southern Africa seriously imperils peace and stability in the African continent and threatens international peace and security. The continuing illegal occupation of Namibia, the denial of the right to self-determination and majority rule to the people of Zimbabwe and the racist policies followed by the South African régime are unacceptable situations fraught with grave dangers.

78. The United Nations is shouldering a special responsibility with regard to Namibia and all Member States must give their full support to this Organization so that the people of Namibia may enjoy their inalienable right to independence. With regard to Zimbabwe, we express the hope that efforts currently under way will lead to positive results and enable its people to exercise their inalienable right to self-determination and to attain the majority government to which they are entitled. The abhorrent policies of *apartheid* in South Africa continue to be an affront to the conscience of mankind, inasmuch as they constitute a negation of justice, human dignity and the moral values for which our civilization stands. We emphatically condemn the injustice being perpetrated against the South African people in defiance of repeated United Nations resolutions, and we call for the adoption of effective measures for the implementation of these resolutions; we also denounce "bantustanization" in South Africa, which is aimed at preventing the liberation of its people, while at the same time breaking up the unity of the country. We call for effective and resolute action to combat the designs of the racist régime.

79. Regarding the question of international violence, including that of the taking of hostages—an aspect dealt with in the proposal by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Federal Republic of Germany [*7th meeting, para. 113*]/—there is no doubt that these matters have become of serious concern to the whole world. A real discussion, however, would have to go to the root of the problem in a comprehensive way in an effort to reach an understanding on all its aspects, with a view to deciding, on the basis of consensus, how the problem can be tackled in its proper perspective.

80. Guided by the fundamental and immutable principles of the Charter of this Organization, my Government fully supports Panama's legitimate claim to sovereignty over the Panama Canal. It is our fervent hope that the relevant bilateral contacts and negotiations will soon lead to a successful outcome.

81. In the Middle East, the crisis remains unresolved and the situation continues to be fraught with grave danger. The absence of war does not necessarily mean the presence of peace. The continuing illegal occupation of Arab territories and the violation of the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people constitute the elements of a human tragedy and are the cause of a serious threat to world peace and security.

82. There can be no radical and final solution, and 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 homes in safety, in full implementation of

the relevant resolutions of the Organization. The effective implementation of these resolutions will greatly serve the cause of peace in this very sensitive part of the world.

83. The tragic events in our neighbour, the friendly State of Lebanon, are directly related to the Arab-Israeli conflict and should serve as a warning of what could befall the whole region if a just settlement of the Middle East problem is not reached soon. We follow these events with grief and anxiety and it is our earnest hope that hostilities will cease and that a solution safeguarding the country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, unity and non-alignment will be speedily reached.

84. Closely connected with the problem of the Middle East—and similar to it in many of its aspects—is the problem of Cyprus.

85. More than two years since the original aggression and invasion of Cyprus by Turkey the problem of my country remains unresolved and the picture that Cyprus presents today continues to be grim. Its component elements remain: the continued occupation of 40 per cent of the island's territory; the usurpation and/or destruction of 70 per cent of its economic resources; the 200,000 Greek Cypriot refugees, representing one third of the total Cypriot population; and the illegal presence in Cyprus of 40,000 Turkish troops, with the untold misery which they cause to the Cypriot people, Greek and Turkish alike. Beyond these, the human drama of the thousands of missing and unaccounted for; Ankara's policy of *faits accomplis*; the turning of the negotiations into a travesty; the daily expulsions of Greek Cypriots still remaining in the occupied area; the colonization of this area by the mass transfer of settlers from Turkey; and the contemptuous disregard persistently shown by Ankara towards the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus—all these constitute the other aspects of the tragedy of the Cypriot people and reveal the true dimensions of the problem.

86. The United Nations has repeatedly dealt with the Cyprus problem and adopted resolutions providing the framework and the guidelines for its settlement. Even Turkey voted for resolution 3212 (XXIX) on Cyprus adopted by the General Assembly and endorsed by Security Council resolution 365 (1974). These and other United Nations resolutions, notably General Assembly resolution 3395 (XXX), provide for the withdrawal of all foreign troops without delay and for the urgent return of the refugees to their homes in safety. Since the Turkish aggression, a total of 16 resolutions on Cyprus have been adopted by the United Nations; 13 by the Security Council and 3 by the General Assembly. None of these resolutions has been implemented by Turkey, and none of their provisions has it respected. Sixteen United Nations resolutions have been treated by Turkey as scrap paper devoid of any value.

87. Even with regard to General Assembly resolution 3450 (XXX) on the purely humanitarian problem of the over 2,000 missing and unaccounted-for Greek Cypriot civilians and prisoners of war, Turkey has taken an arbitrary stand. It bluntly refused to co-operate with the International Committee of the Red Cross and denied the Committee the access to the occupied area which it needed

to carry out searches or collect information on the fate of the missing persons. I address an emphatic appeal to this Assembly to assist in this purely humanitarian matter by taking steps towards the urgent implementation of resolution 3450 (XXX), so that an end may be put to the agonizing ordeal of the families of the missing persons.

88. Apart from the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and the return of all refugees to their homes—provisions which Turkey has chosen to ignore—the United Nations resolutions provide for the holding of substantive and constructive negotiations between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, with a view to reaching freely a mutually acceptable political settlement based on their fundamental and legitimate rights. The purpose of the negotiations is clearly and unambiguously stated in the resolutions. The negotiations are concerned with the constitutional issue and not with the withdrawal of the foreign troops and the return of the refugees to their homes, which, in accordance with the resolutions, should precede and not follow the talks; for how could the people of Cyprus of whatever origin, by themselves, bring about the cessation of the aggression and of the occupation of their country by a foreign Power and in what way could they be expected to negotiate freely their future with the presence of a powerful army of occupation on their territory? It should be remembered, that the problem of Cyprus is not in essence one between the two Cypriot communities but one of aggression against the defenceless non-aligned Republic of Cyprus by its powerful neighbour, Turkey.

89. The intercommunal talks began within the framework of the above resolutions with the reasonable expectation that Turkey, in compliance with the resolutions, would, in a parallel way, set in motion measures for their progressive implementation. Turkey not only failed to take any steps for such implementation but actually violated the resolutions by engaging in *faits accomplis* directly contrary to the substance of the resolutions. At the same time, acting through the Turkish Cypriots in the talks, it adopted delaying tactics and persistently failed to put forward any concrete proposals despite its express commitment. The talks were thus rendered practically useless.

90. We always welcome talks and negotiations as an effective means of solving any problem. We firmly believe that a well-meaning dialogue may bridge opposing views and settle differences. No problem is impossible to solve if substantive talks are conducted with goodwill, a common wish for their success and a common objective. This has been, and still is our view and conviction. Similarly, we have always expressed readiness to examine any proposal for a solution of the Cyprus problem in the light of the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions. It is in the sense of this basic position that we look into the views, advanced by the Secretary of State of the United States, before this Assembly, on 30 September 1976 [11th meeting].

91. The Turkish side, however, has been approaching the talks in a striking different way. Ankara, which, as is well known, dictates the Turkish Cypriot position in these negotiations, considers the negotiating table as a suitable forum for imposing inadmissible terms, relying upon its military forces of occupation. Turkey looks upon the

negotiating procedure as a convenient vehicle for an undisturbed passing of time which it uses in order to consolidate its position in the occupied territory through a series of *faits accomplis* and the colonization of this area. It does not aspire to a just solution of the Cyprus problem through the intercommunal talks, but it does find convenient a semblance of negotiation. Although the Turkish Cypriot negotiator, on instructions from Ankara, does not allow a constructive dialogue to develop, yet by futilely attending rounds of talks in Vienna or New York, he tries to mislead the world into believing that Turkey favours the talks and through them is seeking a solution to the Cyprus problem. The aim is obvious. In this way, Turkey is enabled to head off international efforts for a just solution under the pretext that negotiations are in progress while at the same time it consolidates its position in the occupied area by a series of *faits accomplis*. In this respect, it may be recalled that Turkey, deliberately evading international efforts for the solution of the problem, had rejected outright the Soviet proposal for a wider international conference on Cyprus, which my Government accepted.

92. Turkey has been undermining the negotiations not only by its negative stand on the talks but also by creating further *faits accomplis* in breach of express commitments which the Turkish side had undertaken during the talks and in flagrant violation of basic norms of international humanitarian law and the United Nations resolutions on Cyprus.

93. At the third round of the intercommunal talks in Vienna in August 1975, it was agreed that the Turkish Cypriots who remained in the Government-controlled areas would be allowed to move to the Turkish-held areas and the Greek Cypriots who remained in the occupied areas, would be free to stay there and would be given every facility to lead a normal life. It was also agreed that the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP] would have free and normal access to the Greek Cypriot villages in the occupied areas. Turkey, having secured the implementation of those provisions of the agreement which were to its advantage, chose to throw aside and violate the rest of the provisions. Not only did Turkey prevent the Greek Cypriots who remained in the occupied area from leading normal lives and denied UNFICYP the possibility to exercise its agreed role, but it also embarked upon a process of systematically expelling the Greek Cypriots through tactics of oppression, harassment and brute force. These inhuman expulsions, which are being carried out daily, add to the drama of the Cypriot people and accentuate the tragedy. The wholesale expulsions have been resorted to by Turkey for the purpose of "homogenizing", as it calls it, the occupied area and for the purpose of facilitating it the perpetuation of yet another repugnant international crime, that of colonization.

94. Ankara, not content with the uprooting and elimination from the occupied area of the indigenous majority because of its ethnic origin, has also been engaged in the illegal colonization of the area by the massive transfer of people from Turkey, who are currently being settled in the usurped homes and properties of the expelled Greek Cypriots. One of the results of the policy of colonization—a paradoxical one—has been that the Turkish Cypriots, for whose protection and well-being Turkey allegedly invaded

Cyprus, have also become victims of this policy and suffer greatly from the presence of the imported settlers, who receive preferential treatment from the Turkish occupation authorities.

95. The purpose of the expulsions and colonization and of Ankara's dilatory tactics in the negotiations is only too obvious. Turkey, as I have already mentioned, is trying to "homogenize" the occupied area and to bring about changes in the demographic character of Cyprus with a view to paving the way for the partition of the island and the *de facto* annexation of the occupied areas. At the same time, the creation of the *faits accomplis* enables Ankara to repeat its favourite tune of "new realities" in an effort to avert international pressures for the return of the refugees to their homes and lands and for the just settlement of the territorial aspect of the problem.

96. Turkey's policy over Cyprus consists in the creation, by the use of force, of *faits accomplis* which it tries to justify to the world by false pretences and misrepresentations. Turkey calls such *faits accomplis* "new realities" and asks the Greek Cypriots and the world to accept them. The original *faits accomplis* are followed by others and the original "realities" become "newer realities", supported by new false justifications and lame excuses. The policy of the step-by-step solution of international problems is in fact used by Turkey in reverse—not for the peaceful solution of the Cyprus problem, but for the forced dissolution of the Republic of Cyprus.

97. Beyond the suffering of a people, the situation in Cyprus and its implications pose a grave challenge to the effectiveness of the United Nations and raise fundamental questions regarding the values and the basic principles on which the continued existence of the Organization depends. The present tragedy in my country, of which I have given but a pale picture, calls for urgent and effective action by the General Assembly. The course to be followed is crystal-clear—that of taking such measures as would give effective implementation to the relevant General Assembly resolutions made mandatory by Security Council decisions. This is the logical and appropriate means for the just and lasting solution of the Cyprus problem which my Government seeks from the United Nations, and this is what we have come to request from this Assembly.

Mr. Kondé (Guinea), Vice-President, took the Chair.

98. May I, before concluding, avail myself of this opportunity to add a word of praise and deep appreciation for the outstanding work of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in promoting the objectives and ideals of the United Nations and at the same time to express to him our gratitude for his untiring efforts to assist in every possible way in the search for a solution of the Cyprus problem in accordance with his mandate and the principles of the Charter. I should also like to highly commend the Special Representative of the Secretary-General, Ambassador Pérez de Cuéllar, for the exemplary manner in which he performs his difficult task in Cyprus. May I also record, in this respect, our warm appreciation for the dedicated efforts of the Under-Secretaries-General R. Guyer and B. Urquhart.

99. We also wish to express deep appreciation to the Commander of UNFICYP, General Prem Chand, and to all

the officers and men serving under his command, who discharge the responsibilities entrusted to them by the United Nations with dedication and devotion despite the many obstacles confronting them.

100. I would be remiss if I did not say how grateful we are to the countries that are contributing military and police contingents to UNFICYP, as well as to those which make voluntary financial contributions to enable the Force to function.

101. Our warmest thanks and gratitude go also to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, for his invaluable humanitarian work in alleviating the suffering of the refugees, as well as to the countries and organizations which contribute for this purpose.

102. Mr. ADRIAZOLA VALDA (Bolivia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is a true honor for me to speak on behalf of Bolivia from this, the most lofty platform of the international community. The United Nations General Assembly is the universal parliament par excellence and in accordance with the principle of universality, there coexist in this Assembly nations which, like mine, advocate peace, proclaim brotherly co-operation, support integral and shared development and favour equality and solidarity in international relations. In this context, we must assume fully the inescapable commitment to work resolutely for a future of security and hope for all peoples.

103. Many are the items to which we must devote our attention at the current session. Their number and importance is obviously in keeping with the most disquieting problems of contemporary life.

104. Before giving the views of Bolivia on a number of these items, which concern not only my country but the international community as a whole, I should like, on behalf of the Government and people of Bolivia, to convey the most cordial greetings to the delegations present here and, in particular, to the President of this Assembly, the distinguished statesman from Sri Lanka, Mr. Hamilton Amerasinghe.

105. Similarly, I should like to convey our appreciation to the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for his able conduct of our deliberations during the last General Assembly.

106. May I also, at the same time, pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his unswerving dedication to peace and understanding throughout the world.

107. Bolivia is likewise happy to extend a warm welcome to the State of Seychelles, which has joined our Organization as a Member, thus strengthening the faith of all peoples in the United Nations.

108. It is clear that since the adoption of the San Francisco Charter new realities have emerged. The principles it incorporated 31 years ago, however, still retain their full validity. For this reason, the Government of Bolivia wishes to reiterate its respect for the norms of

civilized coexistence, which must be decisively strengthened as a foundation for the great edifice of peace, security and development.

109. We wish to maintain our support of the postulate of universality in international relations. In rejecting foreign interference and intervention in all its forms, we recognize the legitimate right of peoples to choose their own means for the achievement of their national destiny.

110. We belong to a society characterized by diversity; our desire for solidarity with all States is bounded only by respect for our sovereignty and for the loyal interdependence that characterizes our times.

111. Plurality must undoubtedly be interpreted as the result of the observance of the principles of non-intervention, self-determination and juridical equality among nations. Otherwise, we would fall into the historic error of seeking to achieve unity by following the course of divergency.

112. It is my Government's view that, for the full exercise of these lofty principles, there must be absolute respect for human dignity and condemnation of any discriminatory practices. We therefore reaffirm our support of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination.

113. The classical tension produced by the desire for predominance of the great Powers has relaxed as a result of the constant action of this august body, since such attitudes do not represent the constructive contribution that mankind expects for development untrammelled by the fear and uncertainty.

114. World tension, however, still exists and today assumes different features that are equally dangerous for the maintenance of peace and that stem from the imbalances to be covered in the general picture of international economic relations.

115. I firmly repeat that we shall not achieve the society of well-being to which we aspire if conditions prevail that allow the prosperity of the wealthier nations to become a threat of greater poverty and dependency to the developing countries. This is one of the major concerns I feel should be sincerely expressed at this time.

116. The task of consolidating a democratic international order entails the need to effect the historic task of eliminating injustices from economic relations, a matter of paramount importance alluded to by His Excellency, the President of Bolivia, General Hugo Bánzer Suárez, last year in this same Assembly.⁶

117. The developing countries advocate the establishment in this era of interdependence of political and juridical instruments enabling them to participate effectively in economic decision-making.

118. Any refusal or attempt to limit the right and the responsibility of our countries to participate in the estab-

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2379th meeting.

ishment of a new international economic order could give rise to new and prolonged tension which might endanger peace and security.

119. The concept of that new order should unquestionably be based on the resolute political will of all countries—large and small, rich and poor—to achieve the goals set in the different spheres of co-operation, because nothing will have been gained if, despite the commitments assumed in different international forums, some industrialized nations continue to give piecemeal and reluctant co-operation to the detriment of the economy of the less favoured nations where poverty is rampant.

120. In the field of trade we are, it is true, endeavouring to remove a series of obstacles preventing access of products from the developing countries to the markets of the economically powerful nations on satisfactory conditions. Regrettably, it is equally true that, while we use our imagination and our acts to endeavour to overcome these difficulties, new restrictions are being created at the same time.

121. In practice, this simply transmutes in different ways the negative effects that it was intended to eliminate. Thus equitable participation by the developing countries in the expansion of world trade is prevented.

122. Such policies cause damage of unforeseeable consequences to those nations that are desperately trying to obtain the well-being to which their peoples are legitimately entitled.

123. I must point out that such difficulties greatly weaken the will for world co-operation and destroy faith in the establishment of a future forged in solidarity and justice.

124. One of the questions that has caused the greatest concern is that relating to the prices of raw materials and stability in the supply of such products.

125. It is desirable, in respect of this very pertinent matter, to adopt equitable criteria in order to determine truly fair and just levels for the prices of primary commodities. A strongly subjective factor comes into play here. For the highly developed countries, just and fair prices tend to be those which improve their already abundant economies. For the developing countries, remunerative prices can be none other than those which guarantee effective margins of earnings from their exports. Only thus can they give the necessary impulse to their industrialization process.

126. We mention these facts because they are the premise of the ideal goal of raw material producers' associations. We believe that these associations pursue the objectives I have mentioned and not that of confrontation, as some would have us believe—an attitude not shared by my country, since we know that thus we would only increase tension and imbalances.

127. Quite to the contrary, we hope that through frank, direct and equitable dialogue between producers and consumers it will be possible for large and small countries to reconcile their mutual interests.

128. For Bolivia this question is of paramount importance because our export earnings depend on the stability of the prices of commodities and internationally guaranteed levels of remuneration. Consequently, we believe that the disruption produced in world trade by the dumping of strategic reserves practised periodically by some States constitutes a policy alien to the spirit of co-operation underlying the objectives implicit in the achievement of collective economic security.

129. In this context Bolivia propounds the effective adoption of a bilateral or multilateral consultative system capable of preventing adverse and disrupting effects for the developing countries, whose economies depend on their exports of primary commodities and raw materials.

130. In keeping with the statement made by the delegation of Bolivia from this same rostrum during the twenty-ninth General Assembly,⁷ I wish to reiterate that my country is still convinced of the need to establish within the appropriate organs of the United Nations automatic mechanisms for linking and adjusting the prices of the commodities exported by the developing countries with the manufactures produced by the industrialized countries. Thus we would prevent the continued erosion of the true value of exports from the developing countries and would lay the bases for the replacement of confrontation between producers and consumers by dialogue.

131. While it is true that the fourth session of UNCTAD did not yield the expected positive results, partly because of the reticent attitude of some of the developed countries, it is desirable to recognize the significance of the resolution relating to an integrated programme for primary commodities which was adopted by the Conference⁸ and which has led to the establishment of a primary commodity stabilization fund of great interest to the economically disadvantaged countries. The implementation of the programme will make it possible to introduce rational elements in this very sensitive aspect of international economic relations, such as the aforesaid primary commodity trade.

132. It is also desirable to point out the adoption within the framework of the United Nations of a normative system for the establishment of appropriate bodies to ensure access by our countries to technology, which is a basic requirement if we are to overcome the obstacles of underdevelopment.

133. May we also say that we adhere to the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], which was strengthened by the adoption of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

134. We also hope that the set of principles and measures set forth in those instruments will make possible in a period of time meeting the expectations of the developing countries the reversal of the existing imbalances as a result of

⁷ *Ibid.*, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2259th meeting.

⁸ 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), part one A, resolution 93 (IV).

which the indebtedness in the balance of payments of the peripheral countries has grown enormously in the last biennium.

135. We would have nothing to add to the statements already made in favour of the harmonious and integral development of peoples.

136. The principles have been laid down; we have the appropriate mechanisms. All we need is resolute political decision to implement them, and this is the fundamental question on which we should focus all our attention.

137. However not all the disruptive factors are to be found in the area of economic requirements. There are other situations to which we must also devote our special attention.

138. We cannot remain impassive observers of the conflicts that are localized in different regions of the world and in respect of which there appears to be no solution in the offing.

139. At a time in which awe-inspiring advances are made in the conquest of outer space, the formidable creative potential of human intelligence cannot resign itself to accept the idea that armed and fratricidal confrontation is the only alternative to the situations that divide us.

140. There is an imperative need to strengthen the will for conciliation of conflicting interests. I therefore believe that it is our inescapable duty to address an appeal to those parties that have assumed attitudes of confrontation so that they may exercise tolerance and bend every effort to find rapid solutions through peaceful means.

141. We also appeal to the spirit of co-operation of those States which, by reason of their size, bear the greatest responsibility in this area, so that they may try to prevent, by every possible means, the search for independence or political controversies becoming the arena of the most acute ideological antagonisms. Mankind would highly appreciate those noble demonstrations of concession for the sake of peace.

142. Consistent with these views we honour those who, imbued with a spirit of understanding, have decided to tackle their problems jointly while sharing responsibilities.

143. That is the clear-cut and categorical response that mankind needs if it is to go forward along the path of constant improvement.

144. We sincerely hope that this attitude will prevail in contemporary international relations, and in particular in the inter-American community, thus strengthening the bonds of lasting friendship in the regional area to which Bolivia belongs.

145. Consequently we view with pleasure the pursuance of negotiations in this direction under such enlightened leadership between the Republic of Panama and the United States of America on the Canal question and express our wishes for their happy conclusion.

146. Bolivia wishes to reiterate its repudiation of violence whether it assumes the form of armed or covert aggression.

147. Terrorism has caused many victims and its dark threat which knows no boundaries hangs over us all in an increasingly alarming manner.

148. This escalation of irrational, systematized violence cannot be a valid means on which to base the legitimacy of any claim, be it political, economic or social.

149. It is the pressing duty of the international community to agree on the most effective means of eradicating the proliferation of these practices, which offend the conscience of civilized man, which ought to be the guide of our times.

150. In this connexion we give our firm support to the initiative on this question taken by the delegation of the Federal Republic of Germany [A/31/242].

151. I cannot but mention the serious concern of my country at the staggering upward trend of the arms race. We see with profound discouragement that, compared with the very modest progress of negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons, we are now astounded by the announcement that military and weaponry expenditures have exceeded in 1975 the figure of \$300 billion.

152. It is difficult to understand that while gigantic resources are earmarked for the manufacture of some weapons and the development of others which are capable of changing our earth's environment and even of exterminating our species, the execution of work which would lead to progress is stopped or limited because of insufficient financing.

153. What is more, the arms escalation has extended to developing countries, a fact which exposes certain areas, including the American continent, to the possibility of becoming hotbeds of tension, as a result of which the aspirations of their inhabitants, who seek to achieve minimum levels of well-being consonant with the dignity and worth of the human person, will be postponed.

154. At the beginning of my statement, I said that it was the inalienable right of peoples to choose the means most in keeping with their historic traditions to achieve their aspirations.

155. For this reason, the Nationalist Government of Bolivia, presided over by General Hugo Bánzer Suárez, as the authentic interpreter of the feelings and desires of our people, proposed to Bolivia in 1971 an all-important historical option.

156. Five years of fruitful government in my country have shown that only through order, unity, social peace, political stability and institutional continuity is it possible to lay the foundations for speedy and comprehensive national development.

157. The President of Bolivia, at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly, elaborated on the results and prospects of the work of his Government, which has the

backing of a broad national consensus of all Bolivia's nationals.

158. This great Assembly, which is concerned with all matters relating to the consolidation of peace and security and the removal of obstacles to growing co-operation among peoples, is well aware of the vital need of my country to be once again linked to the sea by means of free and sovereign access to the Pacific Ocean.

159. In order to attain the most fundamental objective of the Bolivian nation and in conformity with our conviction that major solutions can only be achieved through frank and constructive dialogue, last year we opened diplomatic negotiations with the Republic of Chile—negotiations which have now assumed the greatest historical significance.

160. The President of Bolivia, General Hugo Bánzer Suárez, as a statesman who wishes to make a personal and direct contribution to the establishment of harmonious international coexistence based on real justice and solidarity and bearing in mind that Bolivia's maritime cause is closely connected with the prevalence of those ideals, informed the last session of the General Assembly of the scope of the present negotiations, based on the Bolivian proposal for peace, development and integration.

161. We wish to go on record as stating that the *raison d'être* of that formula is based on Bolivia's decision to regain access to the sea in full sovereignty, contributing to the harmonious coexistence of neighbouring nations, and to this end it had chosen the instrument of dialogue and the search for a shared development in order to achieve its aim of achieving access to the southern Pacific.

162. Bolivia's land-locked position has detracted from the effectiveness of internal efforts to promote its economic, social and cultural development and limited its participation in Latin American integration processes.

163. The negotiations designed to resolve the problem of my country's geographical encirclement are going forward under the auspices of America, as was decided at Atlanta and Ayacucho. They are at the same time supported by the conviction of world public opinion that the building of a sound future must be based on a common determination to achieve equanimity and justice.

164. The perpetuation of situations that are not in keeping with these principles would mean abandoning the constant moral values of the international community.

165. For all these reasons, and because the legitimacy of Bolivia's maritime cause is clear and a spirit of broad understanding must prevail among the parties involved, we shall continue steadfastly along the path that will lead to the total solution which we are advocating. In this way, the sovereign return of Bolivia to the Pacific Ocean will, through the completion of the dialogue currently in progress, become a tangible reality.

166. Bolivia is participating with great determination in making its utmost contribution to the efforts to achieve this goal, which will be an enduring example of what can be done in the Americas through a firm and brotherly will to

reach understanding. It is also doing so because this undertaking is of such importance that it requires full support and because it will arouse the confidence of all Latin Americans in their common destiny.

167. My country and my people have high hopes of the negotiations under way, which have aroused the expectations of the whole continent and the whole world.

168. Our action is inspired by the ideals proclaimed by the world Organization and it is on this account that my Government has entrusted me with the pleasant task, which I now perform, of conveying a message of friendship and support to all the peoples represented in this forum of nations which aspire to live in a climate of peace, stability, international justice and close human solidarity.

169. Mr. GAUCI (Malta): As our Organization enters the last quarter of this century, in its thirty-first year of activity, it will at least benefit from the enlightened and experienced direction of President Amerasinghe at a critical point in international affairs. I know the President is averse to compliments, but I have no doubt that his direction will stamp its mark on our work this year, and for this we need to congratulate ourselves as much as we congratulate him. His diplomatic pragmatism, perhaps more than ever before, is essential in our work if the United Nations is to maintain its credibility which is under attack from the cynics of the contemporary world. He has already established some precedents in the way he has expeditiously disposed of normally lengthy controversy. My delegation will encourage and help him to create even more, and to identify, that common harmony which exists in our discordant voices in the Assembly so as to maximize the quality of our output at this session, and so perhaps to start a new trend in the history of our Organization.

170. The delegation of Malta wishes to place on record its appreciation of the dedicated and admirable way in which the thirtieth session of the General Assembly was led by Prime Minister Gaston Thorn of Luxembourg.

171. A sad event reminded us only recently of our frailty and our universality. We joined in paying a tribute to a teacher, leader and statesman who majestically bestrode the international stage and left behind him a lasting contribution to the course of history. Chairman Mao Tsetung's voice is now silent, but his works will continue to inspire mankind for generations to come.

172. One of the major international events of the year under review was the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo. I will be dealing with some of the specific results of that Conference later in this statement, but I would not wish to miss this opportunity to express to the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike, the gratitude and compliments of my Government for the cordial hospitality and excellent organization extended to the ever-growing community of non-aligned countries, including the delegation of Malta.

173. Mrs. Bandaranaike's moving and detailed statement [11th meeting] explaining the perspectives behind the decisions of the non-aligned summit should facilitate our

work. Taking up so many of the items debated at the United Nations, countries coming from all regions and with different preoccupations have already ironed out divergencies to make common recommendations [A/31/197]. The difficulties in arriving at such recommendations needs no stressing in this hall, and hence the recommendations cannot be lightly dismissed, for the reasons so eloquently advanced in Mrs. Bandaranaike's statement.

174. The hectic pace of conference diplomacy rarely affords us the opportunity to collect our thoughts; however, every major organization needs to look introspectively to measure its performance at regular intervals. It is particularly appropriate for the United Nations to do so, since it represents nothing less than the aspirations of the international community in a period of change taking place with disconcerting rapidity. But our review should not be a mere ritual in which we pay a token tribute to the principles that inspire us. We have to look critically at our past performance and to see where we are going, and whether we cannot improve.

175. Among the substantive issues, the most pressing problems, and the least encouraging results, are in the field of disarmament. Few will deny that our past approaches on this question call for reassessment. The shocking totals of wasted resources and destructive potential have been repeated so often that our senses are numbed. A dangerous fatalism seems to be creeping in. Technological advances outpace the static negotiating process; the strategist overwhelms the negotiator; fear prevails over reason. The finest rhetoric cannot obscure the grim realities. The super-Powers seem to be mesmerized, unable to move away from the brink of the precipice. We find ourselves much worse off than we were when disarmament became a priority item. It is enough to mention that the conditions under which these admittedly complex negotiations are being held are such as to be considered unsatisfactory by two of the existing nuclear-weapon States. There appears to be no positive future in our present endeavours unless we broaden our approach and come to grips with the heart of the matter, rather than discuss numbers and the megatonnage of missiles. This might well be our last chance before a flash-point is reached.

176. Malta in the past devoted much effort in trying to advance constructive approaches for promoting progress in global disarmament. For instance, my delegation suggested to the members of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament that it might be advisable to consider the implications of the potential use of lasers for military purposes. The suggestion met with the usual disdainful delaying tactics and scepticism of the super-Powers. Yesterday it was reported that for the first time a laser beam was used experimentally to shoot down aircraft. Further implications are under consideration. I have no doubt the eventual weapons system will initially be labelled "bargaining chip". I have no doubt it will be deployed, developed and further refined. What I do doubt is whether, under present approaches, this and similar deadly products will become showpieces in a military museum when the proposed convention for the non-use of force sees the light of day in the age of détente.

177. We remain attached to the goal of global disarmament, but we feel that the evident lack of progress indicates

that we should concentrate more on pragmatic action, on concerted political approaches, in different regions of the world, designed to remove mistrust and eliminate pockets of tension and so gradually to reduce the perceived need for military confrontation by opposing forces.

178. Malta's geographic situation in the centre of the Mediterranean makes us particularly susceptible to the prevailing influences in our region. Our history is a microcosm of the major events that left an indelible mark in moulding the region. We have taken a hard look at the past, and we are trying to penetrate the future. We have seen in the past the fratricidal division that gradually led to supremacy in the Euro-Mediterranean region passing into the hands of outside Powers. The majority of the countries in our region were drawn into the orbit of one or the other of the two dominant military blocs. Our most recent experience has been a number of smaller conflicts and the persistence of tense situations, together with a massive accumulation of armaments, which carry with them the danger of escalation into a world-wide conflict. I need hardly recall that a recent episode led to a world-wide nuclear alert. The super-Powers, engrossed in their unrelenting competition, seem to be too preoccupied to innovate, and are suspicious of change. Unfortunately, the best we can expect from them in future is more of the same, perhaps in more limited doses, or else one-sided initiatives which are foredoomed to failure.

179. The present situation has been described starkly, as recently as 19 September, by the weekly *German Tribune*, which saw Europe as a pawn and bugbear in the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks between the two super-Powers. The relations between the two super-Powers fluctuate unpredictably; a decade of peaceful coexistence has not lessened military confrontation, and the Euro-Mediterranean countries are caught in this vicious circle. But this is neither the role nor the destiny of the region. Its restless genius chafes in this situation. The imagination of youth can neither understand its necessity nor condone its continuance. The politics of perpetual rivalry are obsolete. Movements for regional unity are gaining strength and are reaching out for one another. It is time for change; it is time to broaden our horizons. Change must come from within the region, and in a concerted manner, so as to provide a credible alternative.

180. Against this background, Malta has been a foremost advocate of, and is striving actively to bring about, this change, and to stress new dimensions in the politics of our region—based on convergence of interests in the pursuit of a cause which all recognize as desirable: the cause of expanding regional co-operation, with economic progress, stability and peace as the objective. At every opportunity, against initial hesitation, we have made strenuous efforts to promote understanding between the countries on both shores of the Mediterranean. We are convinced that our region can have no lasting peace and can make no worth-while social and economic progress without first affirming its own identity, its own integrity and its real independence of the super-Powers. The potential in skill, technology and human and natural resources is immense and mutually complementary, and it can be merged into a powerful combination for peace and prosperity.

181. A concerted approach has been lacking in the past, but a start has been made. In Malta's immediate subregion

the natural affinities between us and neighbouring countries have been placed on a more enduring basis. Other countries are showing interest in a collective approach, and our new role in serving as a bridge for peace and progress among the peoples of the Mediterranean is gaining momentum.

182. The Conference on Security and co-operation in Europe was a unique opportunity to focus attention on the problems of the region, of which the Mediterranean is an essential component. The broad outlines of the potential for Euro-Mediterranean co-operation, supported by historical and statistical evidence, was the clarion call contributed by Malta to that Conference. We wanted to strengthen the muted dialogue initiated in such a way as to increase mutual confidence and promote contacts at all levels and in all fields. Despite initial doubts and, at times, outright opposition, we persisted in our approach. The eventual result was the adoption of the Mediterranean declaration as part of the Helsinki Final Act. The declaration spelled out the intentions of the participating States "of maintaining and amplifying the contacts and dialogue as initiated by the [Conference] with the non-participating Mediterranean States to include all the States of the Mediterranean, with the purpose of contributing to peace, reducing armed forces in the region, strengthening security, lessening tensions in the region, and widening the scope of co-operation, ends in which all share a common interest, as well as with the purpose of defining further common objectives".⁹

183. The results of the Conference were hailed in this hall as a triumph of common sense and reason. That observation would apply if all the provisions of the Helsinki Final Act are put into practice. Malta naturally attaches particular importance to the provisions of the Mediterranean document. While we appreciate that time is required for its full implementation, we also recognize that it is incumbent on us to promote action. We shall therefore seek common action with our friends to monitor implementation and ensure progress. In one sector, Mediterranean States have already acted in concert. In order to protect the Mediterranean from pollution, Mediterranean States have accepted a regional convention¹⁰ and two protocols, and have established a regional centre in Malta to combat oil-pollution effectively. But much more remains to be done, and the scope for co-operation is unlimited.

184. This stirring of inquietude, this yearning for change, is as natural as it is inevitable. It is also in the interests of international peace and security. It would be universally beneficial to harness the rich potential of a spontaneous, outward-looking, free association of Euro-Mediterranean States acting independently of and in friendly relations with the two super-Powers and making its own contribution to world economic advancement and political stability. The benefits would be truly incalculable. It would at the very least eliminate the possibility of direct confrontation between the super-Powers in the most sensitive area of the world; it would relieve the super-Powers of burdens they

may have felt it necessary to assume in the past, and thus perhaps enable them to make a more significant peaceful contribution in the transfer of technology and skill to developing countries. The possibility of a more lasting and genuine rapprochement between the super-Powers would also be greatly enhanced.

185. We are pleased that at Colombo the non-aligned countries recognized this potential and therefore took up the matter. The Conference "urged the States Parties to the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe to proceed without delay to the full implementation of the Mediterranean document of the Helsinki Final Act" [see A/31/197, annex 1, para. 26 (b)]. It also called on the non-aligned countries of the Mediterranean to "act in concert in accordance with the decisions and resolutions of the Non-Aligned Conferences, in order to remove all obstacles that prevent the conversion of the Mediterranean into a zone of peace and co-operation for the benefit of the countries concerned and in the interests of international peace and security" [ibid].

186. Malta does not overlook or underestimate these obstacles. It is becoming increasingly urgent to tackle them collectively with vision and with vigour. In the Mediterranean, the lack of progress in Cyprus has maintained it as one area of insecurity. Malta has lent its support—at Commonwealth meetings, at the Council of Europe and at non-aligned conferences—to each and every effort that was made in an attempt to promote progress. Passion and resentment apparently have not yet sufficiently subsided. We stress once again that there are legitimate and peaceful means whereby the protection of human rights can be guaranteed. It is now a time for healing; division runs contrary to the interests of all the parties concerned and of the region; and the preoccupations of the two communities can be safeguarded in a peaceful solution which guarantees the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of Cyprus. The resolutions adopted by this Assembly and by the Security Council provide the basis for implementation, and procedural devices should not retard their implementation.

187. A second enduring area of tension in the region, and one of the greatest single contributors to the turbulence in the Mediterranean, is the uneasy situation in the Middle East, now further inflamed by disturbances in Lebanon. The involvement of the major Powers in this issue, aggravated by the concentration of their naval forces in the Mediterranean is such that, despite their best intentions, the military and political confrontation has never decreased and remains a threat to international peace. The time has come, and is in fact long overdue, for a pragmatic and just approach which will lead to comprehensive progress. Here again my delegation has made its contribution in an attempt to identify the root-cause of the trouble, and to support a programme of action to remedy the situation in an equitable manner, by peaceful means, in progressive stages, and at all times under the auspices of the United Nations. We recognize the right of all States in the region to exist within safe and recognized boundaries, internationally guaranteed if necessary. But we also realize that, against all obstacles, the Palestinian people are rightfully determined to change their present plight. The humiliation and suffering of the disinherited Palestinians can no longer remain on

⁹ See document entitled "Questions relating to Security and Co-operation in the Mediterranean" in the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

¹⁰ Convention for the Protection of the Mediterranean Sea against Pollution, done at Barcelona on 16 February 1976.

our conscience. We have to recognize their legitimate rights as a people to a homeland; only then can peace reign in that historic region.

188. Further away from Malta's immediate vicinity—but none the less urgent after years of neglect—comes the anguished cry of people unjustly oppressed by racist minorities. We have as consistently condemned *apartheid* as we have maintained support for the principle of majority rule. We note with appreciation that finally a political will to change the intolerable situation has apparently found expression. We will await with interest the reaction of the people most directly concerned. Nevertheless, we express the fervent hope that the required progress will be brought about without bloodshed and destruction, and that the horrors of Sharpeville and Soweto will not be repeated.

189. The people of Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea have secured peace after their great sacrifices. It is regrettable, however, to note that, in the same area, a divided country, Korea, which yearns for peaceful unification and freedom from foreign interference, still has its objectives frustrated; attempts continue to be made to perpetuate the division of the country, and this to put further obstacles in the path of national unity. We reaffirm our position: the reunification of Korea should be achieved independently by the Korean people themselves, free from outside interference, by peaceful and democratic means.

190. What I have stated above relates to some of the major political problems that this Organization has inherited from the past and for which solutions elude us because of big-Power involvement, complicated by lavish arms supplies to client States.

191. Yet we cannot but stress that where enlightened co-operation prevails, progress is recorded. Therefore, we express double satisfaction that one more country has joined the community of independent nations, whose membership in this Organization we were happy to co-sponsor. I extend a warm welcome to the delegation of the Republic of Seychelles and congratulations to the United Kingdom. I also express the hope that others waiting in the wings will not be denied, by arbitrary decisions, their proper place in the family of nations.

192. As our President is well aware, since he shared the labour with us almost from the day the sea-bed item was introduced by the delegation of Malta in 1967,¹¹ the far-reaching proposals which we then suggested are slowly but surely reaching a stage of maturity, and we now cannot delay much longer the crucial moment of decision: deliberately, and in full knowledge of its magnificent potential, we have to agree on the rules of conduct which will govern the activities of States in the marine environment including its subsoil beyond national jurisdiction.

193. The fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea ended without the conclusions to which we have been aspiring for a number of years. It is understandable, in the circumstances, to give way to a mood of pessimism or, worse still, to resort to

unilateral action. But we are embarked upon a Herculean effort from which there can be no turning back. The Conference must end successfully, since the alternative to agreement is too bleak to contemplate. It is with this faith in the work of the Conference, and in accordance with our foreign-policy objectives of becoming a centre for harmony among nations that my Government has offered Malta as the site of the proposed international sea-bed authority when it is established by the Conference. This would be a fitting climax to our efforts, and a living symbol to the people of Malta, and to the world, that the idealism of a small country is seeking to promote international co-operation in a newly-emergent area of human endeavour was eventually crowned with success for the benefit of all, in accordance with the concept of the common heritage of mankind, to which my delegation gave birth and sustenance.

194. The same universalist vision inspires my country as we consider the economic field. The existing international economic imbalance has increasingly become a subject of major concern both within the United Nations system and outside it. The problems concerning economic relations among States have now properly assumed their primary role in our discussions. Unfortunately, however, an appreciation of the hazards historically associated with the failure of established politico-economic forces to respect the legitimate demands of newly-emergent forces has not yet become a consciously recognized characteristic of the debate on the establishment of a new international economic order.

195. The difficulties that industrially advanced societies are experiencing in promoting efficiency, in reducing unemployment and inflation, and in the acquisition of raw materials are not, and cannot be, disassociated from the insistence of developing countries on a sustained but accelerated growth in their lagging development processes. There is an interdependence in these modern phenomena that requires global solutions and mutual understanding.

196. But this understanding, this deeper awareness, is still lacking in a majority of developed countries, and perhaps even in some developing countries. A different order of progress is required both in the dialogue between rich and poor and in the co-operative undertakings among the nations of the third world.

197. The dialogue between rich and poor has suffered serious setbacks in the past 12 months. The minute achievement of the fourth session of UNCTAD cannot erase the realization that most of the initial expectations aroused by the seventh special session of the General Assembly have not been fulfilled. The stalemate at the Paris dialogue¹² is a further indication of dwindling hopes. On other fronts the results have been similarly disappointing. I will not give further details except to mention that the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System has, ironically, almost transfigured itself into an appendage to the plethora of committees and sub-committees it was originally set up to restructure.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-second Session, Annexes*, agenda item 92, document A/6695.

¹² Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

198. Of course, if we strain the imagination, we can claim to identify microscopic signs of progress. We can—indeed we must—derive some hope that the present dark clouds of hesitation are only temporarily obscuring the dawn of enlightenment and progress. This escapist tendency of squeezing optimism out of recalcitrant facts is, however, in itself an indication of the lack of deeper awareness of the nature of the problem confronting us. The needs of the present cannot be satisfied by vague consensus texts; they cannot be advanced by half-baked schemes arbitrarily injected in the middle of difficult negotiations; they cannot be suppressed by the imposition of negative attitudes, nor can they be deflected by the deployment of delaying or divisive tactics.

199. The necessary progress can be achieved only when all nations approach the dialogue well prepared, when attitudes become more open and sincere, and when the issues debated are more specific.

200. The needs and demands of a majority of mankind have today converged on a common platform, based on justice and equity, which has certainly no parallel in the past. Hasty criticism of the iron-clad demands of the so-called automatic majority is therefore simply a further indication of a lack of awareness of the problem. The majority exists; it will continue its clamour for its legitimate claims to be satisfied. Any attempt to stem the tide of time or to diffuse its impact will only compound difficulties and prolong appalling inequity.

201. Apart from the dialogue between rich and poor we recognize the parallel need for a greater effort at collective self-reliance among the developing countries themselves. We have before us eloquent appeals by several leading statesmen from developing countries, including the most recent by the Prime Minister of Pakistan [see A/31/208], that call on the third world to develop a personality of its own, to devise a strategy for the future, and to mould appropriate institutions to support this strategy. Malta supports this call for action. We have applied it in the past and will continue to do so. We have entered into agreements with several other developing countries on joint ventures in light industry and even in more sophisticated enterprises such as ship-building and civil aviation. We share the feeling that the latent energies which exist in the developing world, which have already manifested themselves on various fronts, should not be allowed to dissipate in unco-ordinated and haphazard initiatives.

202. Malta's support for the concepts and objectives of the new international economic order is unqualified. As a small island economy totally lacking in conventional natural resources, we uphold objectives which ensure respect for the rights of all States while acknowledging the special needs of particular categories of disadvantaged economies. For us the new economic order does not mean a simple reshuffle among the oligarchy of the powerful, but a new and durable structure based on justice and mutual respect.

203. As we face one conference after another, and the pressure of all that needs to be done on the meagre resources we have available to deal with them, our spirits are bound to falter. Yet Malta, among the smallest

countries in the world, has never flinched in the face of adversity. In the last few years we have done much in our region which constituted a veritable transformation of our former role. We also believe firmly in the potential of this Organization. We know we can rely on the enthusiastic service of our distinguished Secretary-General and his staff, who are dedicated to promoting the ideals of this Organization. We seek only to move forward in peace. It is a simple, demanding and compelling task. It is also the common ideal of all peoples. We can have no other choice but to redouble our efforts with vision and determination, avoiding the errors of the past and searching for new avenues to peace.

204. Mr. FORTES (Cape Verde) (*interpretation from French*).¹³ Allow me through you Sir, to express to Mr. Amerasinghe our most sincere and warm congratulations upon his election to the presidency of this thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are convinced that his outstanding qualities as a diplomat, well known to all, the wide experience he has acquired at the service of the international community and the historic commitment of his country to the defence of the principles of peace, international co-operation and independence of peoples are a certain guarantee of the full accomplishment of the lofty and honourable mission entrusted to him.

205. It is also with great respect that we pay a tribute to the outgoing President, the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, whose intelligence, equilibrium and competence lived up to the expectations that we had placed in him last year at the time of his election.

206. May we also extend to Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General of the United Nations, our gratitude and our most sincere appreciation of the admirable work he has been carrying out in the faithful fulfilment of the principles enshrined in the United Nations Charter and, in particular, in the framework of the struggle against colonialism, racism and *apartheid* in Africa.

207. We also wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to greet the representatives of the Republic of Seychelles and express to them our great satisfaction at seeing them occupy today their rightful place in this Assembly of free and sovereign nations.

208. A year ago, at a historic moment for our country, that of our admission to this the highest international body, we had occasion to outline the general principles underlying our foreign policy.¹⁴ We come here to reaffirm them because our experience in this short span of time as a sovereign State has proved the justice of those principles. They are fully in keeping with the legitimate interests of the Members of this Organization and the objective realities that we have inherited from colonialism and thus serve the sacred interests of our people.

209. Objectively, we cannot fail to note the enormous progress that has been achieved along the path leading

¹³ Mr. Fortes spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

¹⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2351st meeting.

towards the realization of the specific objectives of the United Nations Charter.

210. In fact, self-determination and independence have become established principles of international law and the peoples of the whole world are moving irreversibly towards full emancipation and sovereignty.

211. The victory of the peoples of Indo-China (Viet Nam, Laos and Kampuchea), the great march towards independence by the African peoples which dominated the decade of the 1960s, and the recent independence of the former Portuguese colonies, after a long and victorious political and armed struggle for national independence, are important milestones in the history of man's liberation.

212. We applaud in particular the great victory of the Vietnamese people, who achieved one of their fundamental objectives, namely the reunification of Viet Nam. The Socialist Republic of Viet Nam conquered with heroism and tenacity a place of honour in our Organization. The liquidation of these bastions of colonialism and racism, apart from opening new prospects of peace, progress and social justice in the world, has served to catalyze again and decisively in Africa the general struggle against the vestiges of colonialism and the shameful realities of racism and *apartheid*.

213. We witness, without the slightest shadow of a doubt, a clear effort to establish concord and co-operation among nations, which in turn help to promote initiatives towards international détente.

214. Proof of this is the progress achieved in the negotiations on disarmament and the development of relations of co-operation among countries with different social systems which entail the relaxation of the climate of confrontation between blocs and ushers in to the benefit of the peoples an era of peaceful coexistence that replaces the bleak phase of the cold war.

215. We would be remiss if we were not to highlight the important contribution made by the enlargement and gradual consolidation of the non-aligned movement and OAU.

216. While OAU, through its higher bodies, has seriously considered the crucial problems of Africa and has found an answer and solution to many of them, as borne out by the recent results obtained in Mauritius, the non-aligned movement inspired by similar principles and objectives but with a broader platform has carried out similar tasks at the third-world level. The last Conference in Colombo, Sri Lanka, adopted declarations and resolutions [see A/31/197] which bear out this assertion.

217. We can say that today, in its struggle for the creative implementation of the principles enshrined in our Charter, the African group and the broader platform of the non-aligned countries in the United Nations represent a decisive factor in the establishment of a new policy among nations.

218. Our State, as a fully fledged member of both OAU and the non-aligned group, firmly supports all the decisions

taken and resolutions adopted by these two international organizations, which meet the aspirations of the peoples of the third world.

219. However, our State, as an integral part of the international community, cannot fail to express its concern at the flagrant violations of fundamental human rights, at the attempts to perpetuate anachronistic colonialist, racist and *apartheid* régimes, at acts of aggression, interference and violation of the territorial integrity of sovereign States and at subversive manoeuvres aimed at overthrowing legitimately constituted Governments which endanger international peace and security.

220. The accession to independence of the former Portuguese colonies and the assumption of power by the national liberation movements which led to the establishment of the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and the Republic of Cape Verde—all this is not only a victory for the peoples of Africa and peace-loving and progressive forces in the world, but it is also a significant victory for the United Nations, where the fate of these peoples had been debated over a period of 20 years.

221. The beneficial consequence for Africa of the independence of these countries escapes no attentive observer. The independence of these countries has substantially changed the relations of force in the struggle against colonialism and racism in southern Africa.

222. Once *apartheid*'s protective belt, Portuguese colonialism, was destroyed, the minority régimes in southern Africa saw in these anti-colonialist, anti-racist republics of Angola and Mozambique their closest enemies. Despite the important contribution made by the struggle of these peoples to the cause of the United Nations, we still witness acts of unqualifiable aggression by the unlawful Rhodesian régime and the racist régime in South Africa against the young republics of Angola and Mozambique.

223. Those peoples which, like the Angolan people, after long years of cruel and bloody fighting, at the expense of untold suffering and sacrifices, at long last broke the shackles of slavery, exploitation, poverty and ignorance, deserve the respect and solidarity of all the nations inspired by the principles of the United Nations. For this reason we believe it is the duty of all the Members of this Organization to support whole-heartedly the application for admission of the People's Republic of Angola, which fulfils all the requirements for membership of the United Nations.

224. In Rhodesia, in Namibia, in South Africa, we continue to witness the manoeuvres of the racist and *apartheid* régimes which, in a desperate attempt to stem the tide of history, seek to perpetuate systems that the international community, irrespective of political system or ideology, regards as obsolete and inhuman.

225. In our view, the solutions proposed by OAU and supported by the non-aligned movement are valid. All these solutions unmask and condemn attempts to undermine the true liberation of those peoples. By way of flagrant example, we have the pseudo-independence of Transkei,

which is no more than one racist manoeuvre to divide the people of South Africa.

226. We are convinced that the desperate challenge launched by the racist régime of South Africa against Africa and the peace-loving and progressive forces, and which is reflected in the recrudescence of massacres against the defenceless population, that have aroused a wave of indignation throughout the world, will only strengthen, we are sure, the determination of the heroic people of South Africa to carry their struggle to final victory.

227. We associate ourselves with all those who appeal to the common sense of the Powers which obstinately insist on aiding that régime by financing means and by supplying war materials, including materials capable of being used for weapons of mass destruction.

228. In the Comoros, although that country has acceded to independence and been admitted to full membership in OAU, the non-aligned movement and the United Nations, we still witness the flagrant violation of the principle of territorial integrity, namely, the occupation of Mayotte, which has always been an integral part of that former colony.

229. With reference to Western Sahara, although this is a clear case of decolonization similar to so many others that we have witnessed on the African continent, we note an attempt by the administering Power to evade its responsibilities by concluding agreements that violate the sacred principle of self-determination and independence, and that might ultimately lead to the disappearance of Western Sahara as an entity.

230. In our view, the people of Western Sahara, like any other colonized people, are entitled to self-determination and independence. We believe that the Frente POLISARIO, which embodies the legitimate aspirations of the Saharan people, has the inalienable right to seek out the ways and means that will lead to true emancipation.

231. Another tragic situation, which has existed for so many years, still prevails in the Middle East. We reaffirm here our unconditional support of the Palestinian people in their struggle for the recovery of their usurped lands, and of the Arab countries who see a part of their territory unlawfully occupied by foreign forces. We also believe that the satisfaction of the legitimate interests of the Palestinian people is the key to the solution of the serious problem that still exists in the Middle East and dangerously threatens international peace and security.

232. Any manoeuvre or arrangement aimed at disregarding the claims of the martyred people of Palestine, represented by the Palestine Liberation Organization, will simply prolong indefinitely and aggravate the problem. Our own experience has taught us that massacres, such as those now taking place in Lebanon, will never break the will or determination of the people or destroy a just cause.

233. By way of confirmation of the threat that hangs over the small countries and of the desire nurtured by many to restore the law of the strongest, we have the case of East Timor—a classical example of a colony occupied by foreign

forces in flagrant violation, again, of the sacred principles of self-determination and independence.

234. We have come here today to reaffirm solemnly our support of every just cause, and in particular of all national liberation struggles, the purpose of which is to liberate man from all forms of subjection. May we also reaffirm our readiness to support every effort in favour of disarmament, in particular the neutralization of weapons of mass destruction, for the benefit of peaceful coexistence, concord among nations and the utilization of the conquests of science and technology for the well-being and progress of man.

235. We shall continue to adhere to the principles of non-alignment, which advocate independence of action and thinking; the practice of a policy which serves peoples; the constant upholding of equality and fraternity among nations; non-aggression and non-interference; the inviolability of territorial integrity; and the consistent implementation of the principle of peaceful coexistence, which guarantees to all States the right to devote themselves to primary tasks so as to achieve their economic independence by establishing the bases for progress. Thus, we shall always be open to frank co-operation with all the peoples and Governments of the world on the basis of mutual advantage and non-interference in internal affairs.

236. This determination will be our modest contribution to the process of instituting a new and more just and equitable economic and social order so that together, in the service of our respective peoples, we may be able to face the disasters still afflicting many parts of the world: poverty, hunger, ignorance, and social, cultural, scientific and technological backwardness.

237. In referring to these disasters, and having defined the position of the Republic of Cape Verde on the fundamental problems that concern our Organization, allow me to draw the attention of this Assembly to the difficult, not to say dramatic, economic and social situation besetting the people of Cape Verde at the present time, to which we shall be referring in greater detail in due time in the Second Committee.

238. The Cape Verde archipelago, which is situated in the well-known desert zone of the Sahel and which conquered its national independence a little more than one year ago, inherited from its long colonial past a precarious economic and social situation characterized fundamentally by a total lack of productive infrastructure.

239. Periodically, our country, subject to the whims of the weather and to haphazard and scarce rainfall, must face long periods of devastating drought, which bring famine and unemployment and sow consternation among the population. During the last two centuries of colonial domination—or, rather, between 1744 and 1974—Cape Verde had over half a century of acute famine, which took a toll estimated at more than 200,000 lives.

240. Since 1968, Cape Verde has had eight consecutive years of drought, aggravated by the mass return of immigrants—in particular, from Angola.

241. Although subject to the uncertainties of the weather, agriculture has always been the main productive sector of the Cape Verde economy and the one providing the largest amount of employment for the active population.

242. As for industry, it is in the artisan stage and thus very shaky, being limited essentially to the mining of salt, the extraction of pozzolana and the small-scale processing of a small number of foodstuffs, especially those derived from fishing. According to provisional estimates for 1973 prepared by a mission of the Economic Commission for Africa, the industrial sector accounts for barely 6.47 per cent of gross domestic product.

243. An analysis of foreign trade reveals the precariousness and degree of dependency of the Cape Verde economy. It shows a substantial deficit, which has been exacerbated between 1966 and 1974 by the prolonged drought, leading to a heavy increase in imports of agricultural produce and the stagnation, or even decline, of exports.

244. Thus, in 1974, exports covered only 3.3 per cent of imports. It may reasonably be supposed that this percentage is currently of the same order of magnitude.

245. It should, further, be pointed out that imports of food-stuffs account for approximately 55 per cent of total imports.

246. *Per capita* gross domestic product in 1973 was \$US 127, according to the estimates of the Economic Commission for Africa. Today, this figure can reasonably be estimated to be substantially lower, because of the prolonged drought, the increase in population brought about by strong demographic pressure and, especially, the mass return of emigrants.

247. As for public finance, the regular budget for 1976 shows a deficit representing 45 per cent of total expenditures. The investment budget is almost non-existent.

248. As a result of this especially difficult economic situation, the social situation is characterized by chronic unemployment affecting a sizeable segment of the active population. Of the active population employed in 1970, 57,000 persons were doing assistance work for the victims of the drought, financed by the colonial authorities which were concerned by the possible repercussions on world public opinion of the announcement of drought victims. This kind of work, which had no precise national development objective, was suppressed when Cape Verde achieved independence, with gradual reconversion to more useful work such as the construction of dykes to channel water, the construction of infrastructure and the stockpiling of food-stuffs. The source of financing having been removed, the Government is in fact having great difficulty in implementing this policy. As a result, the present unemployment rate (jobless and underemployed) is much higher, and must amount to about 75 per cent of the active population.

249. With the prospect of a bad harvest as a result of insufficient rainfall for 1976, the number of unemployed will increase considerably.

250. Confronted with this situation, the President of the Republic, Aristides Pereira, spoke on national radio asking the people to prepare themselves to face vigorously a new crisis situation. Noting that as at 15 September, rainfall was almost nil in all the islands, President Pereira confirmed that the harvest for this year would be almost totally lost.

251. President Pereira, a few days prior to the twentieth anniversary of the founding of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], observed that, in fighting for independence, the PAIGC had been aware of the difficulties that the people of Cape Verde would have to face, deriving from the inclement natural elements and the consequences of the virtually complete abandonment of the islands by the colonial Power.

252. Despite this initial handicap, President Aristides Pereira expressed his conviction that the people which, through its Party, the PAIGC, had already accepted 20 years of sacrifice, would take up the challenge of nature and create a prosperous Cape Verde no longer at the mercy of rainfall.

253. President Aristides Pereira concluded his address by launching an appeal to the entire people of Cape Verde—workers, technicians, civil servants, peasants, emigrants and Party activists—to carry out the emergency measures to be taken by the Government, so as once again to show world public opinion their capacity to work and accept sacrifice, which are the necessary conditions for the mobilization of international solidarity—a solidarity which, it is fully confident, will assist the people of Cape Verde to surmount this difficult emergency situation, which calls for a rapid and effective response by this august Assembly.

254. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Somalia has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply. The members of the Assembly will recall that the General Assembly, at its 4th plenary meeting, decided that interventions made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

255. Mr. WARSAMA (Somalia): My delegation has requested the floor to exercise its right of reply on certain misleading and inaccurate remarks made yesterday by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia pertaining to the issue of French Somaliland in his statement at the 28th meeting. First, the Ethiopian Minister stated in his opening remark on the question that French colonialism in Djibouti is "a spent force without much will to linger on". As the members of this Assembly will recall, our Minister for Mineral Resources and Water Development in his statement had expressed the position of my Government as follows:

"...the long-drawn out and intricate processes leading to independence unfortunately indicate the lack of concrete progress being made by the colonial Power in the decolonization of the Territory." [22nd meeting, para. 196].

That the Territory of French Somaliland is still under colonial rule is a well-known fact which calls for no further comment. We wish that we could share the optimism of Ethiopia that French colonialism in Djibouti is a spent force.

256. Secondly the Ethiopian Minister has stated that the recent OAU Assembly held in Mauritius¹⁵ called upon Somalia and Ethiopia to renounce any and all territorial claims to Djibouti and give an undertaking to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of Djibouti after its accession to independence. Since almost all the subsequent remarks of the Minister on the issue hinge on this misleading interpretation of the OAU resolution on French Somaliland, it is necessary for me, for the benefit of this august Assembly, to clarify certain inaccuracies and omissions deliberately put forward by the Minister in an effort to distort the letter and the spirit of the resolution and misguide the Assembly. Resolution CM/480/XXVII of the Council of Ministers [see A/31/196 and Corr.1, annex], as subsequently adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government, while demanding immediate and unconditional independence for the people of the Territory and deploring the manoeuvres which have hereto hindered its independence, does not in any of its paragraphs call upon Somalia and Ethiopia to give an undertaking. The only mention of Somalia and Ethiopia in the resolution is of a preambular nature and merely registers a declaration of the leaders of the two delegations affirming their Governments' respect for the independence and the sovereignty of the so-called French Somaliland. Admittedly Ethiopia did present these issues of guarantee and renunciation of claims to OAU in Mauritius. This position which the Minister has misleadingly presented before this Assembly as that of OAU was no more than his Government's idea, which it suddenly tried to sell to the OAU Council of Ministers. As many of the delegations of OAU member States will recall, these questions of guarantee and claim renunciation were summarily dismissed by the OAU Council of Ministers and were not conceded by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government. They were totally rejected by the Council on the following grounds. First, as a matter of principle, the fundamental issue at stake was purely and simply one of decolonization and any extraneous issues which could hinder the independence process should not be brought in. The representatives of the vast majority of the people in the Territory expressed strong opposition to the Ethiopian move, which they totally rejected as a new colonialist manoeuvre to compromise their future independence. Secondly, there is no precedent in the history of countries coming to statehood according to which the attainment of independence was previously conditioned on future guarantees of such independence by a neighbouring country, and there is no special peculiarity justifying it in this particular case. Thirdly, the question of guarantees is inconsistent with the principles and purposes of the Charter of OAU and that of the United Nations, particularly with respect to the principles of self-determination and the sovereign rights of States. Lastly, these Charters offer the best and most appropriate forms of guarantees for new States. The motivation behind Ethiopia's search for guarantees is clear and explicit, no matter how Ethiopia may try to confuse the issue. The primary objective underlying this manoeuvre is, on the one hand, to retard the process of independence of a territory and, on the other, to create a pretext for future intervention.

257. The decision of Somalia regarding the future of the Territory has remained clear, consistent and unequivocal in the call for the immediate and unconditional independence of its people. We have no annexationist ambitions on the Territory. This was made very clear by my President, Mohamed Siad Barre, at the OAU Assembly in Kampala,¹⁶ in the following terms:

"The Somali Democratic Republic harbours no ambition to annex the Territory and desires only its full and unconditional independence. Its sole interest is in the liquidation of colonialism from French Somaliland and the restoration of the legitimate and inviolable rights of the peoples of that Territory to decide their ultimate destiny independently, in a free and democratic manner, devoid of any pressure of interference from any quarter or from any Government, no matter what vital interests their country may claim to have in shaping the future of French Somaliland."

258. Ethiopia, on the other hand, has until last year, when it realized the inevitability of independence, actively pursued a policy aimed at the preservation of the colonial *status quo*. Its search for guarantees should be therefore viewed in that light.

259. A third observation regarding the Minister's statement is that it contains deliberate distortions of fact. We again see an inaccurate presentation of the OAU decision in Mauritius, which according to the statement, called for a conference of all parties with a view to creating a transitional government—another serious misrepresentation of the relevant decision of the OAU Council of Ministers. In fact the paragraph in question reads as follows:

"Urges all the political parties and groups and the two liberation movements recognized by the OAU... to accept a round-table conference on neutral grounds and under the auspices of the OAU to agree on a common political platform before the referendum".

Where is the call for the creation of a transitional government?

260. To conclude, we support the proposal that this Assembly lend its support to the OAU resolution adopted in Mauritius concerning French Somaliland on the basis of its spirit and letter and not, as the Ethiopian Minister would want this Assembly to believe. Our hope is that our detractors will not be afforded the opportunity to generate unnecessary debate by introducing extraneous issues which have no relevance to the question at hand, namely that of decolonization. OAU has already rejected this manoeuvre and the General Assembly will no doubt, in its wisdom, follow a similar course of action.

261. The President (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Turkey, who wishes to exercise the right of reply.

¹⁵ Thirteenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 2 to 6 July 1976.

¹⁶ Twelfth ordinary session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Kampala from 28 July to 1 August 1975.

262. Mr. TÜRKMEN (Turkey): I should like to make some brief remarks in connexion with the statement of the representative of the Greek Cypriot community, Mr. Christophides, this afternoon. The Greek Cypriot representative purported to speak on behalf of the so-called Government of Cyprus. I have to repeat that this claim is in utter contradiction to the prevailing realities in Cyprus. It certainly does not require any vision or insight to recognize that today in Cyprus, in the absence of a settlement, there exist two distinct administrations, one in the north and the other in the south, representing the two national communities.

263. The dispute in Cyprus is between these two administrations. The negotiating forces involve them as the only parties. All the United Nations resolutions address themselves to both of them. It is therefore clear that whatever Mr. Christophides has said reflects simply and exclusively the views of one of the parties to the dispute.

264. The Turkish community—the other party to the dispute—does not have the possibility of having its voice heard in this hall. This situation might be an advantage to the Greek Cypriots as far as propaganda is concerned. However, they should be aware by now of the fact that their efforts to deprive the Turkish community of its inherent right to present its position constitutes only a serious obstacle to a negotiated settlement. The day will come, we hope, when they will prefer solving the question to futile rhetoric and sad illusion.

265. In an effort to confuse the Assembly and to divert its attention from the imperative to consider equally the views of the Turkish community, the Greek Cypriot representative has attempted to present the Cyprus conflict as a dispute, not between the two Cypriot communities, but between the Greek Cypriot community and Turkey. Consequently my country became the target of the usual false and pernicious accusations. We will have ample time in the future when the Cyprus question will be discussed to refute all those slanders proffered against Turkey today. It will suffice at this juncture to reaffirm our basic position vis-à-vis the Cyprus question: the Turkish Government has no interest in Cyprus other than the independence of the island, its non-involvement in any strategic arrangement or power politics, and the well-being and security of the Turkish community.

266. Any settlement acceptable to the Turkish community is unquestionably acceptable to Turkey as well. Therefore it is most advisable for the Greek Cypriot leadership to seek a solution with the Turkish community through intercommunal talks rather than engaging in sterile rhetoric in international forums. This clearly reflects a universal consensus. Indeed, the common denominator of all the statements made during the general debate in connexion with the Cyprus question is the desire expressed for the attainment of a settlement between the two communities.

267. There is a point which I would like to underline at the specific request of the representative of the Turkish community, who is unable to appear before the Assembly. He asked me to inform the Assembly that the assertion by

Mr. Christophides to the effect that the Turkish community is suffering along with the Greek Cypriots as a result of the policies of Turkey is grotesque. He rejects this wicked solicitude. He points out that the democratic structure of the Turkish community undoubtedly testifies to the fact that only its freely elected leadership can speak on its behalf and voice its view. He underlines that for the same reason the leadership of the Turkish community is conducting the intercommunal talks without any interference from Ankara or elsewhere and in accordance with the mandate it has been given by its own people. May I repeat, in the light of what the representative of the Turkish community has just conveyed, that the Turkish Government is unequivocally prepared to abide by any agreement which will be arrived at by the two communities.

268. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Ethiopia to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

269. Mr. BEKELE (Ethiopia): In his reply to the statement on Djibouti made by the Foreign Minister of Ethiopia at the 28th meeting, the representative of Somalia endeavoured to make among other things the following points: one, that OAU has not specifically called on Somalia, as my Foreign Minister suggested, to make a commitment to respect the territorial integrity of Djibouti and that the Ethiopian proposal to that effect had been rejected; two, that the representatives of the principal political group of Djibouti have rejected any offer of an undertaking by Somalia and Ethiopia to respect their territorial integrity; and three, that Somalia does not have any claim to Djibouti.

270. I would like to respond to each of these points raised by the representative of Somalia. As regards the first point, suffice it to refer to OAU resolution CM/Res.480 (XXVII) now available as United Nations document A/31/196 and Corr.1. In its operative paragraph 3, resolution CM/Res.480 (XXVII) affirms the resolution adopted at Kampala, which the Somali representative conveniently forgot to mention. The Kampala resolution, resolution CM/Res.431/Rev.1 (XXV)¹⁷ called upon Somalia and Ethiopia to renounce any claims they might have to the territory. Resolution CM/Res.480 (XXVII) also approves the recommendations of the fact-finding mission and that of the twenty-seventh session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa, which declared "that the OAU Member States, in particular Ethiopia and Somalia, had committed themselves to guarantee and respect the independence and territorial integrity of Djibouti". It is pertinent to point out the fact that the delegation of the Somali Democratic Republic at the above-mentioned session of the Liberation Committee reserved its position with respect to the phrase "in particular Ethiopia and Somalia have committed themselves".

271. Contrary to the assertion made by the representative of Somalia that Ethiopia's proposal was rejected by OAU, the quotation I just read reflects complete approval and acceptance by OAU of Ethiopia's proposal and the purpose

¹⁷ See document A/10297.

of its presentation and I would add here that when my Minister made the statement yesterday, what he said was:

"As a further demonstration of its good faith and as a contribution to the acceleration of the independence of the territory, and in the interests of peace and stability in the region, Ethiopia submitted at the last African summit meeting a declaration to be jointly subscribed to by Ethiopia and Somalia that would commit the two countries to renounce any territorial claim they might have and to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of an independent Djibouti." [28th meeting, para. 130.]

272. Unless the Somali representative has a serious objection to stability in the region and to seeing territorial claim renounced, I cannot understand how he could have twisted that statement of the Foreign Minister yesterday.

273. Regarding the claim of the representative of Somalia that the principal political movements of Djibouti have not endorsed the OAU request for assurances of respect for the territorial integrity of Djibouti after independence, I wish simply to point out that all the genuine representatives of the people have demanded such assurances. The representatives of UNI¹⁸ and MPL¹⁹ for example, in their respective statements made to the OAU Council of Ministers in Mauritius, have demanded that all those countries that claim territorial rights in Djibouti should renounce all such rights and should give an undertaking to respect the territorial integrity of an independent Djibouti. LPAI, the Ligue populaire africaine pour l'indépendance, the party to which the representative of Somalia referred in passing, has made a similar request. Mr. Hassan Gouled, the President of LPAI, accompanied by five members of his executive committee, paid a visit to Ethiopia last June, and in a joint communiqué signed between him and my Foreign Minister the views of LPAI on the subject-matter were set forth as follows:

"That all States, in particular Ethiopia and Somalia, must recognize and commit themselves to respect the territorial integrity and the independent status of the Territory in accordance with the declaration of the twenty-seventh ordinary session of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa."

274. The representative of Somalia has also made reference in this context to the parliamentary opposition—for instance, the group that was heard in Djibouti by the recent OAU fact-finding mission—and what they said was also contained in the report of that mission. This group indeed felt that there was a need for guaranteeing the territorial integrity of Djibouti after its accession to independence, and to that end, strange as it may sound, suggested that perhaps French military force could stay.

275. We do not find the view attributed to FLCS²⁰ which, I may add, has its base in Mogadishu—has any validity. Dr. Salah Nour, the President of that movement up to a

few weeks ago, had left Somalia in protest against Somalia's action in making his movement an instrument of its policy. I would like to make a reference to what he said as quoted in the *Nouvel Observateur* and other newspapers. Asked how he saw the future of FLCS, he replied that it had no future because, according to him, its commitment to liberate Djibouti had ceased. If it still exists, he said, it is because the Somali Government needs to use it to realize its expansionist policy. This is the President of FLCS speaking, a man who had noticed all the manoeuvres of the Somali Republic.

276. Now, about the assertion of the representative of Somalia that his country does not have any claim to Djibouti. Frankly, I should like to be wrong on this score, but the fact is that the legal document which now provides guidance to the Somali state—usually referred to as the charter of the revolution—reaffirms article 6 as having continued validity. This article, which was contained in the first constitution of Somalia—now abolished by the present Government—reaffirms the goal of the unification of all Somali territories. There are continuing references today in official statements to Djibouti being part of the Somali national territory "now under foreign occupation". Recent official maps of Somalia, a copy of which I have in my hand, show Djibouti as being one of the national territories of Somalia which remain to be recovered. They are shown here in red. The map is compiled by the Committee of the Supreme Revolutionary Council which is the ruling organ of the Somali Republic.

277. If, however, despite the evidence, the Somali representative would want to go beyond the limits of past Somali statements accepting self-determination without renouncing claim, I would welcome such a statement and even consider it as a contribution on the part of Somalia. I do not, however, believe that, except perhaps for some change in the phraseology, the Somali representative has gone beyond the usual parameter.

278. Finally, the Somali representative has suggested that any assurances the neighbouring countries of Djibouti would give to respect the integrity of an independent Djibouti would impose a limitation on the new State and might even conveniently create a right for the two neighbours to intervene in the domestic affairs of Djibouti. I thought the Foreign Minister had adequately responded to this flimsy objection. The search for such assurances is to pre-empt any and all claims of rights, such as territorial rights, that can be used for intervention rather than to create grounds for new rights. What does the declaration that we submitted to OAU provide for? To quote from that declaration, the two states were to agree:

"1. To recognize the sovereignty, territorial integrity and independent existence of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) upon its accession to independence within its present political boundaries;

"2. To renounce any and all claims to the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) or any part thereof on ethnic, economic security and other grounds and to declare null and void any legal act or symbol asserting or reflecting such claims;

18 Union nationale pour l'indépendance.

19 Mouvement populaire de libération.

20 Front de libération de la Côte des Somalis.

"3. (a) To refrain from interfering in the internal affairs of the so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti) before and after its independence, particularly from any attempt to change its demographic composition.

"(b) To refrain from any and all acts designed to alter the independent existence of French Somaliland -".

279. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I am very sorry to interrupt the speaker, but I should like to remind him that, according to the decision taken by the General Assembly, interventions made in exercise of the right of reply must be limited to 10 minutes. I should be grateful to him, then, if he would be good enough to conclude his statement.

280. Mr. BEKELE (Ethiopia): I think I can conclude it in under one minute. As I was saying "...to refrain from any and all acts designed to alter the independent existence of French Somaliland (Djibouti) after its accession to independence".²¹

281. Regarding some of the gratuitous comments that the representative of Somalia made in attempting to cast as negative a light as possible, I would simply say that actions speak louder than words. The policy of my Government in the actions it has taken is a matter of record. We are proud of them. I do not, therefore, want to engage in any verbal battle with the representative of Somalia.

282. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call on the representative of Cyprus, who wishes to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

283. Mr. ROSSIDES (Cyprus): The representative of Turkey began his reply by disputing the status of my Government, the Government of a State Member of the United Nations, recognized by all its membership, except perhaps—and I do say "perhaps"—by Turkey. He took as grounds for not accepting my Government as a recognized authority the prevailing reality in Cyprus, namely, that there now exist two distinct administrations representing the two Cypriot communities. And what made them two distinct administrations representing the two communities? The aggression against and invasion of Cyprus. Those facts are well known to all Members here, and we need hardly repeat them, but I suppose Ambassador Türkmen would like to hear them again. And how was that aggression carried out? By napalm bombing, which was called a peace operation. By napalm bombing, followed by invasion and cold-blooded executions of civilians. And then, what was worse, by the expulsion, through terror and genocidal means, of the majority population of the invaded area, the area which the representative of Turkey now says is under a separate Turkish-Cypriot administration, although before the invasion 80 per cent of its inhabitants were Greek Cypriots and only 20 per cent Turkish Cypriots. But the 80 per cent of Greek Cypriots were expelled by force—by blood and iron—and this created 200,000 refugees and a refugee problem that is well known. The resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council called upon Turkey to withdraw its forces and to allow the Greek

Cypriot refugees to return to their homes, and therefore, if the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council were to be implemented—as they should be in that territory which the representative of Turkey says is now under separate administration—there would again be an 80 per cent majority of Greek Cypriots. Hence, what he is seeking to say is that, after an aggression and invasion and the violation of all resolutions, you have new realities and that therefore the Cyprus Government does not represent that area and does not indeed represent anything because it has been mutilated by aggression and invasion.

284. Well, really, we have reached an age of no reason, because if what Mr. Türkmen has said is representative of our age and time, then the world is going to be destroyed. But I hope that perhaps this is an exception in the attitude of Turkey, as its attitude before has been an exception in many matters which are on the record of history. And here I refer to cases which I really do not want to mention in detail because they are a stigma on civilization and I shall not go into them now. So therefore that goes by the board, and what we want here is precisely to remedy these realities of force and aggression. Otherwise, we accept aggression.

285. The second point that Mr. Türkmen has raised is that it is not Turkey that is involved as a party in this problem, but the two Cypriot communities, the Greek and the Turkish Cypriots. The Constitutional problem, certainly, is for the two communities, but we have now the burning problem of the invasion and aggression and the continuing—and I repeat "continuing"—expulsions of the Greek Cypriot population, and, what is worse, the colonization of the area, as stated by my Foreign Minister here, by population from Turkey forcibly imposed not only on the Greek Cypriots but on the Turkish Cypriots. And what my Foreign Minister said was quite true. The Turkish newspapers in Cyprus write continually about the oppression of the Turkish Cypriots by the colonizing population, of the degree of criminality of that population, and of the sufferings of the Turkish Cypriots. And there has been a continued upheaval. Those who pretend to speak for the Turkish Cypriot community are merely the puppet instruments of the invader, and they speak first because they could not do otherwise, but also because they are in league with him—in their own interests but not in the interests of the Turkish Cypriot community—and this is obvious and well known.

286. Therefore, the problem before the General Assembly is not the constitutional problem between the Greek and Turkish Cypriots. It is the question of invasion, and the Turkish Cypriot leadership has nothing to say in this matter. To try, by this wholesale expulsion of populations and wholesale importation of population from Turkey, to change the demographic character of Cyprus is, according to international law that is about to come into force, an international crime, and to use that international crime here as a reason for saying that the Government of Cyprus is not entitled to speak in the General Assembly about this crime is, to say the least, ludicrous, and therefore I do not think I need to continue further.

287. But there is another aspect. Mr. Türkmen said that the basic position of his Government and of Turkey is nothing other than independence and territorial integrity of

²¹ See *Djibouti: United Nations and OAU Decisions—Djibouti and Ethiopia* (Addis Ababa, August 1976), chap. VIII.

Cyprus. And of course in pursuance of this purpose there is now in progress the dismemberment of the island, the expulsion of populations and the importation of other population to change the demographic character of the country. For what reason? For partition. And this is not a recent occurrence because of the appetite arising from invasion. It was a pre-planned scheme. Already in 1964 Turkey was attempting to invade Cyprus. On two occasions it was stopped from doing so by the Security Council, and on the third occasion, on 5 June, it was stopped by a letter from none other than the President of the United States, President Johnson, who in his letter to Prime Minister İnönü told him—I cannot repeat the exact words, but the quotation has been given—"You wish to represent that the purpose of your invasion is to protect the interests of the Turkish Cypriot community, but we know very well that the purpose of the prospective invasion is to partition Cyprus, and we remind you that you are guarantors of the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus and that therefore you are violating your own guarantee". This is what Turkey wants today, and it wants to present it as "new realities". The resolutions speak about negotiations. Yes, but in which order? They call for the withdrawal of the troops without further delay, the return of the refugees and the cessation of intervention, and then—after all those things—the situation in Cyprus will be clear of invasion and oppression, and negotiations can be freely conducted. The resolutions say that negotiations must be freely conducted, but they cannot be freely conducted when the island is under the oppressive rule of the invader. Therefore, negotiations with the Turkish Cypriots are certainly necessary for the constitutional issue, but the constitutional issue cannot be discussed without first freeing Cyprus from invasion.

288. The statement of my Foreign Minister fully explains this situation and need not be repeated, but I had to point out the ridiculous purpose of the Turkish representative.

289. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of Somalia has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply, and I now call on him.

290. Mr. WARSAMA (Somalia): Mr. President, I would not wish to abuse the patience of the house, or to enter into a lengthy debate, but I think that certain clarification on my part is again called for.

291. The representative of Ethiopia, in anticipation of what I could or would have said, read a prepared statement which did not have any relevance to what I have said in response to his Minister's statement.

292. In the first place I should like to quote what the Ethiopian Minister said:

"French colonialism in Djibouti is a spent force without much will to linger on. The only way it can stay on in one guise or another is by taking advantage of circumstances that outside forces may create for it. African countries should, therefore, continue their vigilance and should make sure that the call they have especially made to the two neighbouring countries of Djibouti, Ethiopia and Somalia, at the last summit meeting of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], held recently in Mauritius,

should be completely adhered to and implemented. That call consists of a request that Ethiopia and Somalia should renounce any and all territorial claims to Djibouti and that they give an undertaking..." and so on. [28th meeting, para. 128.]

293. The representative of Ethiopia has harked back to resolutions of past OAU Assemblies such as the one in Kampala. Not only that, but he has read extracts from the many statements made on this issue. Why is Ethiopia taking this stand, at this late hour, when even the colonial Power has accepted the principle of granting independence to the Territory? The crux of the matter is that Ethiopia has persistently sabotaged and put all obstacles in the way of the process of decolonization in the Territory and has refused to accept it. Ethiopia has always openly or covertly—in public forums and in secret deals—maintained the position that France should stay in the Territory, whereas Somalia, all alone, from the day of its independence, from the assumption of independence by the Government of my State, has called for the unconditional decolonization of the Territory.

294. Why is Ethiopia now bringing up this question of the guarantee? What should be guaranteed? Is there any Member of the United Nations sitting here—and there are many that have come to independence since the creation of this Organization—that has ever been guaranteed by other neighbouring States? These rights are enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. The people themselves guarantee their rights to sovereignty—the Charter of the United Nations, the world community. What can Somalia and Ethiopia now sign? What undertaking can we give? What interference can we expect? Certainly, Somalia will not commit any aggression against the Territory. This has been said in many forums, and I should like to repeat it. This people must attain their independence by the most democratic process, without any interference. Once they attain their independence and take their place in the world community, let them by all means do what they want to do.

295. Are we now going to talk about and dictate what the new State will do? Is this what we are discussing? Is that what the representative of Ethiopia wants us to bring here? Certainly, this cannot be accepted. It is against the right of the people. It jeopardizes their dignity, their future independence.

296. I wish to reiterate again that the Somali Government, and indeed the majority of the members of OAU, did not see any reason whatsoever for such an undertaking, and I am quite sure that the Assembly would dismiss it.

297. I do not intend to dwell on all this matter again, but I wish to touch upon some other problems. The representative of Ethiopia has brought a map here. Yes, that map shows the areas the Somali nation inhabits, and indeed there are areas that it inhabits. But that has no particular bearing on the question of French Somaliland. How can you ask the Somali Government at this time to respect the sovereignty of that State-to-be when all along we have been working for that very goal? The real motives of the Ethiopian attempt at this moment is to create for Ethiopia a pretext to commit an aggression, to intervene in the

affairs of the Territory when it becomes independent, and this is precisely in line with the position upheld by imperialist Ethiopia. The policy has not changed. Of course the emperor is gone, but the empire is there, the aim and the policy of expansion is there, and that is precisely the underlying cause of these late manoeuvres.

298. I am quite sure that the Assembly will not lose much time on this and will not do injustice to the people of

French Somaliland whose decolonization and attainment of independence is a "must". This Assembly, I am sure, will address itself to the question of decolonization and not to any other issue which my Government or the Ethiopian Government or any other Government may raise. This has no relevance whatsoever to the independence of the Territory.

The meeting rose at 7.10 p.m.