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*President: Mr. Lazar MOJSOV (Yugoslavia).*

**AGENDA ITEM 9**

**General debate (*continued*)**

1. Mr. HEIDWEILLER (Surinam): Due to circumstances of national importance, the Prime Minister and Minister for General and Foreign Affairs, Mr. Henck Arron, has been prevented from personally attending this session of the General Assembly. On his behalf, however, and on behalf of my delegation, I wish to congratulate you, Mr. President, on your election to preside over this session. Your election is not only a personal tribute, in view of your excellent record in the thorny field of international affairs, but it also reflects the high esteem in which your country is held by developing as well as developed nations. The outstanding role played by your country, Sir, and certainly by your President, Josip Broz Tito, in charting the course of the third world is and will always be a shining example for all of us.

2. I should also like to express our deep appreciation for the work of the outgoing President, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, one of the senior statesmen in our midst who, with his lucid and profound understanding of international affairs, excelled once again in guiding the debates of the last session of the General Assembly.

3. I also extend the praise of my delegation to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whose relentless efforts and initiatives have contributed so much to increase the viability and international prestige of the United Nations.

4. My delegation wishes to convey its deeply felt sympathy and condolences to the people and the Government of Yemen on the tragic death of Lieutenant-Colonel Ibrahim Mohamed Al-Hamdi, President of the Supreme Command Council and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Yemen Arab Republic.

5. I have already, in another capacity, welcomed the Republic of Djibouti and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to the United Nations family. As the representative of

Surinam, however, I wish to state once again our deep conviction that the admission of these nations to membership in the United Nations will further the cause of peace and strengthen the universal role of the United Nations.

6. The Republic of Surinam is committed to the principles on which the United Nations was founded, and we see the world Organization as the main hope for mankind to achieve international peace, the protection of human rights and dignity and the furthering of the material well-being of all men, regardless of race, religion or political ideologies or governmental structures.

7. It nevertheless remains a fact of life that the results of the work of an organization, whatever its individual nature, depend on the manner in which it endeavours to realize its goals. It is a matter of growing concern—and I think that in this respect I am speaking for many of us—that the actual operations of the United Nations, and of its subsidiary and affiliated bodies, whose activities, admittedly, have become much more complicated since their inception, do not adequately meet today's requirements. The proliferation of committees and subcommittees, the adoption of a multiplicity of resolutions, the repetitions of statements made in general debates in subsequent conferences on the same subject and the consequent abridgement of the time left for meaningful negotiations, the initiating of over-ambitious programmes—all these are facts well-known to all of us.

8. The consequences of these phenomena are particularly felt by smaller developing countries like my own that are faced with the difficult task of taking part in relevant actions and of complying with the resolutions and decisions adopted by the United Nations and the aforementioned institutions. In many cases, high costs and a lack of manpower make participation in relevant conferences or meetings of committees and subcommittees almost prohibitive.

9. The adoption of over-zealous programmes and the establishment of an ever-growing number of committees and subcommittees—which are, ironically, often initiated or endorsed by developing nations—are aggravating the already heavy burden on the smaller Member nations. Furthermore, the adoption of a series of resolutions often involving the same subject matter, which such nations find it increasingly difficult to implement, could eventually, in case of non-compliance, seriously damage the prestige and credibility of those nations and that of the United Nations and its subsidiaries and affiliated organs.

10. The recent turn of events in the dispute between Panama and the United States over the Panama Canal, which resulted in the signing of the treaties between the two countries, indeed augurs well for future inter-American

relations. On the occasion of the signing of those treaties the Government of the Republic of Surinam issued the following statement:

"The Government of the Republic of Surinam expresses its satisfaction at the fact that an agreement concerning the Panama Canal has been reached between the Governments of the Republic of Panama and the United States of America. The Government of the Republic of Surinam has repeatedly called for the conclusion of a new arrangement concerning the Panama Canal that safeguards the sovereign rights of the people of Panama, and now congratulates the Governments of the Republic of Panama and the United States of America upon the successful outcome of their negotiations on this matter.

"The agreement contained in the treaties to be signed by the two Governments involved constitutes a fact of historic significance. It will have an important influence on the development of relations between the American States, while at the same time setting an example to the world with regard to the peaceful settlement of disputes between States."

My delegation expresses its hope that these treaties will enter into force as soon as possible.

11. The recent decision of the Government of Israel regarding the establishment of settlements in territories captured in the 1967 war and the statement of the Israeli Minister of Agriculture that Israel is planning to settle about 2 million Israelis in a so-called security belt over the next 20 years, as well as its move to extend social services to Arab inhabitants of the occupied West Bank and the Gaza Strip, are certainly not encouraging for a peaceful solution of the Middle East conflict.

12. In view of the explosive situation, we do hope that the ongoing consultations will enable the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East before the end of this year. The Surinam Government holds that any solution of the conflict should meet the following basic requirements: first, recognition of the right of Israel to exist as a State within agreed and secured boundaries; secondly, recognition of the right of the Palestinians to their own homeland; and thirdly, the withdrawal of all Israeli occupying forces from the territories captured in the 1967 war.

13. My delegation has in the past on several occasions expressed its hope for a peaceful solution of the conflict in the Korean peninsula. We are convinced that the efforts to reach a peaceful settlement will not be furthered by fruitless debates in the General Assembly and we are, therefore, very pleased that this question will not be dealt with during this Assembly. The Korean question, however, still contains all the elements for a serious threat to the maintenance of peace and security, not only in the area but indeed in the whole world. We would, consequently, welcome the resumption of the now suspended direct negotiations between South and North Korea, which could eventually lead to a peaceful reunification of Korea. Pending the fulfilment of that goal, my Government will support any proposal aimed at the admission of the Republic of South Korea and the Democratic People's

Republic of Korea to membership in our world Organization.

14. The Government of Surinam is deeply concerned about the situation in southern Africa. Peace in that region cannot prevail as long as the majority of the people in Rhodesia, Namibia and South Africa are deprived of their legitimate and fundamental rights. As long as the white minority régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa resort to a policy of *apartheid* in defiance of universal condemnation, we can only expect turmoil and war in that area.

15. The situation in Rhodesia has worsened since the break-down of the constitutional talks in November 1976. Though the prospects for a solution along the lines of the recent Anglo-American plan are, admittedly, rather dim, we still hope that it may prove to be a basis for realistic negotiations.

16. With regard to Namibia, my Government firmly believes that no real solution of this problem can be found without the agreement of the South West African People's Organization [SWAPO] which plays a foremost role in the struggle for the liberation of the Namibian people.

17. The proposals of the Turnhalle Constitutional Conference, in which SWAPO was not even represented and which is based on the system of tribal homelands and so-called white areas, cannot solve the problem. A *conditio sine qua non* for a peaceful solution is the immediate withdrawal of the South African armed forces from the Territory and the subsequent holding of general elections under the auspices of the United Nations.

18. In the meantime, my delegation is following with keen interest the ongoing consultations of the Western members of the Security Council with the South African Government on this matter. It goes without saying that my delegation would welcome any progress resulting from those consultations.

19. The continuation of the uprising of the non-white population in South Africa is a clear sign that the decaying process of the *apartheid* policy has started and that it will undoubtedly accelerate in the future.

20. The fact that the South African authorities reacted by intensifying their oppressive actions reminds us of the old saying that those whom the gods would destroy they first make mad. The only question now is, how can we, as States Members of the world Organization sharing a special responsibility towards the persecuted South African population, strengthen and shorten their struggle for human dignity and equality?

21. We all, of course, bear some of the responsibility, but the main burden rests squarely on those who, by maintaining economic links with South Africa, enable the South African Government to increase the means to continue and even intensify its racist policy. We agree with those who have always maintained that a stronger South African economy strengthens the Government of South Africa and not the victims of *apartheid*. It is imperative, therefore, that we isolate South Africa economically and politically from the world community until the struggle of its oppressed people has finally come to a successful end.

22. While the *apartheid* policy rightly deserves our most severe condemnation, being a blatant form of institutionalized racial discrimination, we are, however, painfully aware that racism is not confined to the Republic of South Africa. Throughout history, mankind has been plagued by the vicious sin of racism, the ugly consequences of which are, if possible, even more devastating than those caused by religious or ideological fanaticism. One is, indeed, inclined to conclude that the cancer of racism is even more terminal and dangerous than religious or ideological antagonisms, inasmuch as racism is perhaps an easier tool for power-thirsty politicians to use in inflaming the passions of innocent or naive people.

23. It is the considered opinion of the delegation of Surinam that the United Nations family, and in particular those organs charged with the investigation of discriminatory policies and actions, should closely watch racist actions wherever they may occur. It would indeed be very saddening for the moral values that we profess to uphold if we were to concentrate selectively on racial crimes perpetrated in certain specific areas while turning a blind eye to similar despicable and criminal acts in other countries.

24. I should like to underline once again the firm conviction of my Government that the unabated arms race not only menaces international peace and security, but should also be regarded as a regrettable waste of time, energy and resources in a world where poverty and hunger are still prevalent.

25. My Government has not only ratified the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America—the Treaty of Tlatelolco—and the Additional Protocol II relating to it, but will support all proposals aimed at the establishment of other denuclearized zones in the world.

26. It goes without saying that the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones, however useful they may be, is not an end in itself but only a step in the direction that my Government considers to be the only right one for the survival of mankind. The forthcoming special session of the General Assembly on disarmament is another step towards that goal, but it has to be made clear that the success of that special session will depend largely on the adoption of binding measures that will bring the arms race under effective international control.

27. The energy and the financial resources freed as a result of a slow-down in the arms race can be used very fruitfully for the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*].

28. As regards human rights, my Government notes with satisfaction that the Human Rights Committee started its work in March of this year by examining reports of States on the implementation of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. My Government has ratified both the Covenant, its Optional Protocol, and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights [*see resolution 2200 (XXI)*]. Furthermore, Surinam has participated actively in the seminar on human rights and their promotion in the Caribbean area that was organized by the

International Commission of Jurists and the Organization of Commonwealth Caribbean Bar Associations.

29. We regret that no satisfactory agreement could be reached at the final meetings of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly between the developed and the developing countries on the assessment of the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

30. Global economic growth and expanding populations have placed severe strains on the political institutions that were created after the Second World War and contributed so greatly to growth and progress. Output per person in the developing countries has doubled in both the agricultural and industrial sectors. However, many of those involved in the problems of the developing countries are still dissatisfied with their past performance and gloomy about the future. Their concern centres on the question as to why the indisputable relative growth and development has not resulted in a tangible rise in the living standards of their peoples. It is therefore encouraging to note that there is in the making an intensive rethinking of new development strategies that could be effective in alleviating poverty in the developing countries.

31. In the most seriously affected countries, the growth in food production continued to be disturbingly slow, and resulted in a decline in their *per capita* food production. We therefore support the resolution adopted recently by the Economic and Social Council in Geneva to convene a pledging conference in 1978 to support the World Food Programme's activities in 1979 and 1980 [*see A/32/444, paras. 19-20*].

32. The economic pattern of the developing countries, which, as we know, are mainly dependent on the production and export of primary goods and raw materials, is responsible to a great extent for their disadvantageous position in the world economy. The restructuring of the world economic order, by consolidating the position of countries producing raw materials and primary goods, was the main subject of the fourth session of UNCTAD, held in Nairobi last year. The Nairobi session indeed took a major step forward in the field of international economic policy by endorsing the concept of an Integrated Programme for Commodities<sup>1</sup> and by establishing an extensive framework of negotiations with regard to the problem of commodities. We are pleased to note that the negotiations are taking place, not on an isolated, fragmented or piecemeal basis as was the case in the past, but as part of a single exercise, subject to a well-defined time frame.

33. The negotiations that took place in Geneva last March on a common fund under the Integrated Programme for Commodities proved, however, to be inconclusive. Some of the major developed countries, which expressed reservations about the concept of the fund, have since indicated new and more positive approaches and attitudes. It is of the utmost importance that an agreement be achieved regarding the set-up and objectives of the common fund.

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

34. Issues such as whether the fund should be the central source for financing stocking arrangements and other measures under the Integrated Programme or whether it should be only one among many means for achieving the objectives of the Integrated Programme must be agreed upon. There is also the question of the financing of the fund and the role of the developing countries in the process of decision-making. These and other issues will be discussed during the forthcoming negotiations in Geneva, and we sincerely hope that they will be successfully concluded.

35. My Government is eager to strengthen the work of the Commission on Transnational Corporations. We feel that such corporations must, without harming their effectiveness, be integrated into the economic and social framework of their host countries so that the development potential of their technology, capital and access to markets can be maximized and harnessed to the local economy.

36. In general, the various discussions set in motion in the past reflect the desire of developing countries to improve not only the external environment in which their economies operate but also their status as participants in the process of international decision-making.

37. Parallel to these discussions with the developed countries, there have been intensive efforts to extend and intensify the degree of economic and technical co-operation among the developing countries themselves. Of course, not all the developing countries are at the same stage of progress, and there are, in specific fields, obvious differences and gaps among them. These are precisely the differences which give rise to the possibility of complementarity in the fields, *inter alia*, of trade, finance, technology and know-how. It is with great interest that we are looking forward to the forthcoming Conference on Technical Co-operation among Developing Countries, which will be held in Buenos Aires next year.

38. Surinam regards it of the utmost importance that the efforts to conclude a comprehensive and universally acceptable convention on the law of the sea be pursued energetically. However, the avalanche of recent unilateral measures regarding coastal waters already proclaimed by other nations makes the proclamation of similar measures for the sea off our coast an unavoidable and urgent matter for Surinam with a view to protecting our interests in those waters. Legal measures to that effect have been submitted to Parliament and are awaiting the necessary adoption.

39. This certainly does not affect our political will to continue to contribute to and participate in the drafting of a convention on the law of the sea which will deal with the interests of the nations of the world on an equitable basis. On the contrary, the many unilateral measures have strengthened Surinam's conviction that rapid progress towards the conclusion of an acceptable convention is essential to prevent total chaos in the oceans. My delegation is deeply concerned that the absence of a strong and unified position among the smaller countries gives an open invitation to a small group of technically and financially privileged countries and to multinational corporations to establish a régime in the high seas even more rapacious than the colonial systems of the past.

40. This is the third time that my country has participated in the work of this Assembly. For Surinam the past two years have been marked by sustained efforts to broaden our economic base, by our steadfast belief in individual freedom, by our strict adherence to the rule of law, by our strong commitment to the basic principles of human rights and equality, and by our traditional sense of social justice. Our Government is determined to continue to follow this course, which has been the foundation upon which our country has been built.

41. Finally, Surinam will preserve and strengthen its friendship with the world community of nations, and I should like to take this opportunity to reaffirm the unswerving faith of the Government and people of Surinam in the United Nations.

42. Mr. JORGE (Angola):<sup>2</sup> Almost one year ago, the young People's Republic of Angola was historically and officially admitted as a full Member to the United Nations. The time that has since elapsed has not yet been sufficient to efface from the Angolan people's memory the struggle waged by their revolutionary vanguard against the anachronistic, anti-democratic and hostile attitude taken by the United States of America in the Security Council when it delayed and vetoed the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Angola.

43. On 1 December 1976, when the People's Republic of Angola for the first time made its voice heard from this rostrum,<sup>3</sup> it was stated that our admission to this world body was not just a victory for the Angolan people: it was a victory for all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples; a victory for all the progressive forces and countries which supported our long and hard national liberation struggle. But it was an incomplete victory, because we were not at the same time celebrating the admission of the glorious Socialist Republic of Viet Nam. Today, however, the picture of that victory is complete, and tomorrow it will assume even greater proportions with the inevitable admission of other independent countries.

44. Permit us now, Sir, on behalf of the delegation of the People's Republic of Angola, to extend our warmest congratulations on your election to the presidency of the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly and to wish you every success in the fulfilment of your arduous task.

45. We should like to convey to the President of the thirty-first session our appreciation of the outstanding services he rendered during the period in which he was invested with the same high responsibilities, and also to express to the Secretary-General of the United Nations our deep gratitude for the great dedication he has brought to the solution of various grave problems with which both the People's Republic of Angola and the international community have had to deal.

46. The foreign policy of the People's Republic of Angola is governed by unequivocal guiding principles, which we

<sup>2</sup> Mr. Jorge spoke in Portuguese. The English text of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

<sup>3</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirty-first Session, Plenary Meetings*, 84th meeting, paras. 145-222.

should like to recall and indeed to reaffirm: the establishment and maintenance of diplomatic relations with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs, equal and reciprocal advantage, peaceful coexistence and non-alignment; respect for the principles of the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU]; the intransigent safeguarding of our complete national independence and of our socialist option; the diversification of relations of co-operation in the most varied fields; militant solidarity with the national liberation movements, with oppressed peoples and with the struggle of the workers of the whole world, on the basis of proletarian internationalism; and the progressive strengthening of bonds of friendship and co-operation with the socialist community and anti-imperialist communities of every continent.

47. However, despite the clarity and indeed the universality of most of the principles enunciated, the People's Republic of Angola and hence the Angolan people are still faced with a lack of any kind of understanding, with accusations and labels with biased press campaigns, with divisive manoeuvring and multiform offensives orchestrated by the imperialist Powers with the connivance of external and internal agents, all aimed at the annihilation of the revolutionary process now in progress, the establishment of neo-colonialism and the consequent paralysis of the liberation struggle of the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, with grave consequences for the other front-line States.

48. The Government of the People's Republic of Angola will not fail therefore to speak out in accordance with the principles that guide it, or to act with the authority and responsibility vested in it so as duly to comply with the duties and obligations it has assumed vis-à-vis the Angolan people and the progressive international community. By this we mean that we intend to face problems objectively and not to resort to compromise merely as a way of finding provisional solutions or of concealing a lack of political courage in the face of the complexity or delicate nature of some situation or another. This implies that we shall clearly, honestly and courageously assume the responsibilities of our positions and options.

49. The present state of international political affairs is essentially characterized by a multiplicity of conflicts of different types. No one in this Assembly can or should be unaware that the growing contradiction between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp has shifted the scene of military confrontation from South-East Asia to the African continent, where, as a result of the resounding defeat of North American imperialism in Viet Nam and the collapse of the Portuguese colonial empire, an offensive is being mounted by certain imperialist Powers in the form of indirect intervention, the immediate effect of which is the destabilization of progressive African régimes.

50. A brief analysis of the international panorama shows that the direct confrontation of the peoples with imperialism, neo-colonialism, colonialism, zionism, *apartheid* and the exploitation of man by man is still an incontestable reality in the present era. Peace is therefore far from being

assured in all parts of the world, because we are still witnessing a frenzied arms race, the perpetuation of colonial wars, all manner of aggression against independent States, foreign domination and occupation, economic plunder and a proliferation of plots by the imperialist Powers against the national sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of States.

51. At the same time, and in particular, the shameful armed aggression against Benin; the heinous assassination of the President of the People's Republic of the Congo, Marien Ngouabi; the criminal attempted coup d'état in Angola organized by a group of factionalists serving foreign interests; the armed aggression and incursions carried out by the racist and Fascist régimes of so-called Rhodesia and South Africa against Mozambique, Zambia, Botswana and Angola; the military conflicts between contiguous African countries; the fostering of subversion and counter-revolution in certain African countries; the troop movements north and south of Angola's borders; the financial, material and even logistic support given to Angolan puppet organizations, and so forth—all this is a very clear indication of the aggressive designs of international imperialism on the African continent.

52. In view of this somewhat gloomy picture, and in order better to face up to imperialist manoeuvres, it seems to us essential that there should be joint action, particularly within the framework of the movement of non-aligned countries, whereby each nation would ensure its complete national independence by taking national resources into its own hands and exploiting them for the benefit of its people; reject any form of subordination and dependence and any interference or pressure whatsoever, whether of a political, an economic or a military nature; prohibit the establishment of foreign military bases on its national territory and support all those fighting for the dismantling of such bases, which are generally imposed or maintained against the will of the people; seriously devote every effort to a necessary and effective international détente, to general and complete disarmament, and to the implementation of measures designed to strengthen international security and to ensure a total ban on the production and use of any kind of chemical, bacteriological or nuclear weapons, including the neutron bomb; prevent by every means the Indian Ocean from becoming the scene of any military confrontation and contribute decisively to its maintenance as a zone of peace; put into effect, as far as possible, development programmes which can be defended against economic blocs; and firmly support genuine national liberation movements in every possible way.

53. However, one of the most serious problems to be faced over the coming years, especially for under-developed countries, will undoubtedly be the economic crisis in the capitalist world, essentially characterized by rising inflation and growing unemployment, by the diminished level of real profits from the export of commodities from under-developed countries and the growing indebtedness of those same countries.

54. In the face of this situation, which basically affects the countries of the so-called third world, practical ways must be devised of applying the oft-repeated principles concerning the establishment of a new world economic order



founded essentially on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation between States.

55. It has therefore become necessary to act in such a way as effectively to create a new equilibrium in international economic relations based on social justice, human dignity and the inalienable right of peoples to exercise total and permanent sovereignty over their national resources and freely to use and dispose of those resources.

56. In the course of two years of independence, the Angolan people and the Government of the People's Republic of Angola, under the leadership of the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola [MPLA] and of their far-sighted leader, Mr. Agostinho Neto, have managed to overcome a series of difficulties and obstacles. With each passing day and month, they become ever more involved in the great and inspiring battle for national reconstruction in order to respond more adequately to the interests of the most exploited strata and to build a truly socialist society. At the same time they are preparing for an event of great historical significance: the holding of the first Congress of the MPLA and the creation of the party of the working class.

57. Despite the invasions from the north and the south by the regular armies of Zaire and South Africa, together with bands of puppets and mercenaries supported by certain Western Powers and certain French-speaking African countries; despite the destruction and plunder carried out by those same forces, with material damages estimated at \$6,700 million, for which compensation has not yet been paid; and despite the flight and departure of technical cadres, most of them Portuguese—all factors which caused the paralysis of internal trade and of industrial and agricultural units and the consequent sudden sharp decline in production—it is absolutely undeniable that quite positive and encouraging results have already been achieved, especially in the fields of education, health, agriculture, industry, fisheries, construction, the economy, internal and external trade, and national defence.

58. In this respect, there is still a state of emergency in the People's Republic of Angola, and the tremendous efforts made in the task of national reconstruction have not as yet made it possible to attain the production levels reached in 1973, the last year of Portuguese colonial domination.

59. For all the foregoing reasons, the so-called gross national product in the People's Republic of Angola is today very much lower than \$300—that is, \$250 *per capita*. Hence, we have good reason to regard ourselves as being among the least developed countries, and we are justified in our appeals for assistance to many types of international bodies and, in particular, to the specialized agencies of the United Nations.

60. For the activity already carried out in the People's Republic of Angola by those specialized agencies, we must express our most sincere gratitude, particularly to UNDP and the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, for the volume of assistance rendered and for the projects carried out or now in progress. We express the same feelings of gratitude to all the countries and organizations which in

this respect have, directly or indirectly, contributed to lessening the sufferings and the sacrifices of the Angolan people.

61. Because it is our understanding that the consolidation of the independence of the People's Republic of Angola should now lead to a more substantial contribution to the national liberation struggle of peoples still subject to colonial domination, and because we consider that the armed struggle waged by the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe, South Africa, the so-called Western Sahara and East Timor is still the most valid way for them to achieve their inalienable right to independence, we have, out of the most elementary spirit of militant solidarity and internationalist duty, assumed the responsibility of giving our support, in every possible way and in accordance with our modest possibilities, to their legitimate representatives, namely, SWAPO, the Patriotic Front, the African National Congress, the Frente POLISARIO and the Frente Revolucionária de Timor Leste Independente [FRETILIN].

62. However, there are certain considerations which come to our mind. In the first place, the various forms of support given to the Fascist and racist Pretoria and Salisbury régimes by the imperialist and neo-colonialist Powers, in particular the United States of America, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the United Kingdom, such as the sale or supply of arms or military equipment, financial investment, the refusal to observe the embargo on arms and oil supplies and other decreed sanctions, and the provision of nuclear technology and the requisite equipment, constitute clear acts of aggression against the peoples of southern Africa and against the United Nations itself.

63. While it is true that we do not reject *a priori* the possibility of creating favourable conditions in Namibia and Zimbabwe for a negotiated settlement on the independence of those territories, it is no less true that we do not yet believe that a just solution to the existing antagonism can be found merely through talks between the so-called "group of five" and the Vorster régime—in the case of Namibia—or through the already rejected Anglo-American plan, in the case of Zimbabwe. Moreover, we still cannot conceive of the supporters of such régime really being able to convert themselves into sincere champions of the aspirations of the Namibian and Zimbabwean peoples.

64. In this connexion, we should like to recall that, as clearly stated by the President of the MPLA and of the People's Republic of Angola:

"... only through armed struggle is it possible to defeat the oppressive forces in the world. It is not through negotiations, through conferences or councils, that the peoples will determine their own future, because there is a struggle of interests, a struggle between classes now developed through imperialism and through the desire of one social group to dominate all the others. It was armed struggle that led to the talks in Switzerland and it was armed struggle which brought the problems of Zimbabwe and Namibia to the forefront. Without armed struggle, the national liberation struggles would have no vigour. It must therefore be intensified."

65. What will be decisive for the People's Republic of Angola, however, will be the positions or decisions taken in the near future by SWAPO and the Patriotic Front.

66. Within the context of support for the armed struggle for national liberation, we consider that the democratic and progressive forces in the international community cannot remain indifferent or sit by with folded arms, as we have already openly stated, either with regard to the difficult and legitimate struggle of the Saharan people under the leadership of the Frente POLISARIO, or with regard to the equally hard and legitimate struggle of the people of East Timor, led by FRETILIN, for their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. After the withdrawal of the former colonial Powers and in the light of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, it is inconceivable that, in the face of a certain conniving passivity, those two liberation movements should find themselves obliged to fight, weapons in hand, against foreign armed forces belonging to certain countries which are members of the non-aligned movement and which did not take up arms during the period of Spanish and Portuguese occupation. It seems to us indispensable that the State members of OAU and of the United Nations Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples should assume, with urgency, their responsibilities.

67. In the context of solidarity with other struggling peoples, we should like once again to reaffirm our unconditional support for the Arab people of Palestine and their legitimate representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization, in their struggle against Zionism to recover their national rights and their homeland, which has been usurped by Israel. At the same time we support the full right of the Palestine Liberation Organization to take part in all negotiations concerning the solution of the situation in the Middle East. The absence of that Organization and the attempt to push it aside will make it impossible ever to halt or eliminate the conflict. We reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Korean people in their persistent efforts to reunify their country by peaceful means without any foreign interference in their internal affairs; and we again reaffirm our unreserved support for the people of Puerto Rico in their just struggle for their full right to self-determination and independence and against the annexation of the country to the territory of North America. We also reaffirm our militant solidarity with the Chilean people in their determined struggle to regain their freedom, their independence and their human dignity.

68. The Angolan people and their revolutionary vanguard, MPLA, who wish only to live in peace within their geographical boundaries, are conscious of their national and international duties, as well as of the dangers that surround them and the acts of aggression that are being prepared against the People's Republic of Angola.

69. The Angolan people and their leading bodies are not unaware of the grave threats to which they are subject, coming on the one hand from the Zairian régime, which, apart from everything else, recently concluded a contract with the Orbital Transport and Raketen Company [OTRAG] of the Federal Republic of Germany and, on the other hand, from the South African régime, which continues to train bands of puppets on Namibian territory and to infiltrate armed groups into Angolan territory to spread

death and destruction among the population on the border, while their mentors, without the slightest scruple or even the least sense of the ridiculous, proclaim in certain European, American and African capitals that such and such provinces in the country have been occupied, although no one has seen them even in a commune or municipality.

70. The consequences of these designs, which can prove disastrous, are already the full responsibility of certain Governments of Western Powers and of certain French-speaking African countries.

71. In reaffirming our profound gratitude for the militant solidarity extended to the Angolan people by the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union and Cuba, and by progressive African countries and the democratic forces in general, we wish to assure the Assembly that nothing can deflect the Angolan people from the revolutionary course they have freely chosen.

72. The struggle continues. Victory is certain.

73. Mr. TREIKI (Libyan Arab Jamahiriya) (*interpretation from Arabic*): In the name of God, the Almighty, the Merciful and the Compassionate, allow me first, on behalf of the delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, to express our condolences to our brothers in Yemen for the tragic death of their late leader, President Al-Hamdi, who was a victim of betrayal by the enemies of progress. At this time, when we present our condolences to the brotherly peoples of Yemen, we hope that this shedding of innocent blood will give those people an impetus forward for their own benefit and that of the Arab nation.

74. Mr. President, allow me to express, on behalf of the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, our pleasure on your election to preside over the thirty-second session of the United Nations General Assembly. Our pleasure is the result not only of our awareness of your personal ability and qualifications, which we are confident will be an important factor in the success of our deliberations, but also the result of the brotherly and strategic relations that bind our two friendly countries and our countries' leaders, who both struggle, side by side, within the framework of the non-aligned movement for the achievement of freedom, justice and international peace and security.

75. It is also my pleasure, Mr. President, to express the appreciation of the delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya to your predecessor, Mr. Amerasinghe, the representative of Sri Lanka, for the services he rendered to the international community during the last session.

76. We are also gratified to see the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Waldheim, continuing in his post and performing his responsibilities with the same high standards and indefatigable commitment to serving our Organization, which, we are sincerely confident, will be able to fulfil the hopes and aspirations of all peace-loving and freedom-loving peoples. We were also happy that the Secretary-General visited the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya on 23 August last. The visit provided a favourable opportunity for the exchange of views on particularly important issues, and

I should like to emphasize the support and co-operation of the Jamahiriya for his efforts in the interest of freedom and justice.

77. The delegation of my country is extremely happy that two new States, namely, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti, have joined the international community. The admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in the United Nations constitutes a victory for the forces of peace and justice—a victory for the peoples of the third world against the forces of terrorism and domination. The great people of Viet Nam have achieved the greatest victory in modern history against the largest imperialist Power. They have now again won a political victory over the very forces which tried, by illegitimate means, to obstruct their revolutionary progress. With a wealth of experience obtained over 30 years of struggle, the people of Viet Nam, in joining this international Organization, will constitute an effective force enhancing its efforts to ensure the interests of the peoples and to eliminate domination, manipulation and monopoly.

78. The delegation of my country is also happy that the Republic of Djibouti, having joined the OAU and the League of Arab States, has joined the international community. The independence of Djibouti and its admission to membership in the United Nations represents a victory for the African peoples against the forces of imperialistic domination and the liquidation of one of the bastions of colonialism on our great continent. We are confident that the presence among us of the Republic of Djibouti will enhance our efforts to fulfil the common hopes and aspirations of our peoples.

79. The United Nations has devoted considerable efforts to the cause of peace and towards achieving freedom and prosperity for the peoples of the world. Yet, despite these efforts, tension continues to prevail in some parts of the world, and the forces of injustice, colonialism, zionism and racism continue to perpetrate aggression and continue in their attempts at domination and manipulation in obstruction of the efforts of our Organization.

80. The struggling peoples of Africa, to which we are proud to belong, have been able to achieve magnificent victories against the forces of colonial domination in recent years—in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau, Sao Tome and Principe, and Djibouti. However, certain parts of the continent which are dear to us still suffer from the worst forms of racism and colonialist manipulation: namely, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia. The racist régimes there, supported by imperialism and colonialism, persist in pursuing their inhuman policies, in total disrespect of the whole world. The peoples of those areas, however, supported by progressive forces in Africa and in the world, have been able to inflict severe blows on these racist régimes despite the fact that they are supported by the forces of colonialism and imperialism.

81. The victories won by the peoples of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Namibia are also victories over colonialism and imperialism, which are the arch-enemies of the independence, freedom and aspirations of the peoples. The forces of evil and the imperialist supporters of racism were overwhelmed by the victories achieved by our peoples in

Africa. Therefore they have resorted to subterfuge—instead of opposing the liberation movement, they go along with it, seeking to divert its course to serve their interests and the interests of their racist puppets. We wonder: since when has American and British colonialism been known to support the peoples' causes? Was it not Britain, aided by America, that created the régime of Ian Smith, the racist régime in South Africa and the Zionist régime in Palestine? These colonial Powers are the ones which supply the régimes of Vorster and Smith with weapons. These colonialist Powers also extend their political support of the racist régimes, illegitimately deploying a privilege which they have accorded themselves, namely, the privilege to veto the fulfilment of the aspirations and hopes of the peoples in those areas.

82. As Africans, we are the peoples of the world most capable of appreciating peace, because we have struggled for many years, sacrificing millions of lives. We, more than others, value peace; this love of peace makes us more committed and resolute in the cause of freedom—genuine and indivisible freedom. The people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, having fought for scores of years against Italian Fascist colonialism and imperialism, for the liquidation of foreign bases in our country and for the control of foreign monopolies, have supported the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa in their struggle for freedom. Our people has extended assistance and will continue to extend assistance to these peoples in the cause of the achievement of their freedom, which is also our freedom. The leader of our great First of September Revolution, Colonel Muammar Al-Qadhafi, explained our strategic policy regarding the cause of liberation on the African continent when he said: "We do not consider ourselves independent as long as other parts of our continent suffer colonialism and racism."

83. The delegation of the Jamahiriya has described our country's position concerning the question of the people of Zimbabwe in recent days in the Security Council.<sup>4</sup> We are in favour of any initiative aiming at the elimination of the racist régime of Smith. By this we mean that we completely support and endorse the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, under the leadership of the Patriotic Front, to overthrow the racist régime. From past experience we have learned that the United Nations should be careful lest it be used as a means to obstruct the struggle of the people of Zimbabwe.

84. Some parts of our continent remain occupied. The continued occupation of the island of Mayotte, which is an indivisible part of the Comoro Islands, constitutes a violation of the sovereignty of a State Member of the United Nations and of the OAU.

85. The situation on the African continent, including the struggle against racist régimes, cannot be separated from the situation in the Arab world and the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab peoples against the racist and aggressive régime in occupied Palestine and other occupied Arab territories. The racist régimes in occupied Palestine, in South Africa and in Zimbabwe are fundamentally inter-related. That interrelation was best described in the historic

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-second Year, 2034th meeting.*



General Assembly resolution equating zionism with racism and calling it a form of racial discrimination [*resolution 3379 (XXX)*].

86. We in the Arab world, like those on the African continent, are involved in a struggle against inhuman racist régimes, representing a small alien white minority. These régimes were created by colonialism. The Smith régime and the racist régime in South Africa were created by the same colonialism as that which handed over Palestine to the racist minority now ruling it. The imperialism that supports the racist Zionists in occupied Palestine is the same imperialism as that which supports the racist régimes in southern Africa. As imperialism has tried to divert the course of revolution in Africa, it has tried to divert the course of revolution in occupied Palestine and the Arab nations.

87. What is described as the Middle East question is in fact a question of racist colonialism, a colonialism that has uprooted the people of Palestine from their homeland, has occupied Arab territories and continues to perpetrate aggression against the Arab nation.

88. We in the Arab world seek peace and we also cherish freedom. We believe that peace cannot be attained unless the nature of the racist régime in occupied Palestine is radically changed. The Arab nation as a whole, and the people of Palestine in particular are the victims of the imperialist Zionist aggression. There is an aggressor and there is a victim. If we seek a genuine peace, then it must be realized that no solution can be reached unless the aggression is eliminated and the victim is assisted.

89. Therefore, it is absurd that the imperialist forces should be attempting to trample on the rights of the people of Palestine and to undermine their resistance and their national aspirations.

90. I have stated that the Arab nation seeks peace. But what is peace? It is not the kind of peace that imperialist forces seek to impose on the Arab nation and on the people of Palestine. It is not the peace of the imperialist Powers which are seeking to pose as arbitrators. How can an aggressor be an arbitrator? How can the United States of America be an arbitrator? Israel is nothing but a fortress for colonialism, for world imperialism and for the United States of America. The organic interrelationship between the masters and their agents is deep-rooted. Without American aid and its support of the Zionist aggressors, the situation in the area would never have reached such a degree of deterioration.

91. It is rather strange, but not surprising, that colonialists should suffer from a lack of logic. Thus we note that the United States of America denounces the establishment of settlements; but who provides Israel with the financial means to establish those settlements? And who provides Israel with arms to impose those settlements by force? Regrettably this is the nature of imperialism and of aggressors. The situation poses a threat to peace in the territory. I repeat, without American imperialist support, the Zionist enemy would not have been able to flout the Charter of the United Nations and its resolutions and disregard human rights and values.

92. The desperate colonial attempts to divert the course of the Arab revolution by bestowing legitimacy on the occupier will definitely not succeed in the long run, and if they do succeed in dividing the Arab nation and obstructing its unity and solidarity, such success will only be temporary. The Arab nation is a creative force which is capable of overcoming setbacks and of achieving victories. Those who know the history of our nation will not find it difficult to understand the present circumstances in the area and what the future of the area will be.

93. Two days ago the terrorist Dayan saw fit to threaten even the United Nations. Sometimes we find him speaking in the name of the United States, saying that that country will oppose any move to change the Security Council resolution. He spoke very distinctly in the name of the United States about the legitimacy of the settlements that have been created in defiance of the United Nations. I would ask that intransigent representative of the terrorist State, the representative of Menachem Begin, that great terrorist well known in Deir Yasin: what was the fate that befell Hitler? What was the fate of nazism? What was the fate of Italian fascism?

94. We in the Arab nations went through the experience of colonialism long ago, at the time of the so-called Crusades. There can never be peace unless the nature of racist zionism, of which its representative boasts, is changed.

95. These assertions we make carry no implication that we are opposed to peace. No one is more in favour of peace than we are. But the peace that we seek is a genuine peace; not a peace based on the endorsement of injustice and the legitimization of aggression.

96. We need a humanitarian peace based on the supremacy of law over aggression. We want a genuine peace not based on racial supremacy or the legitimization of aggression.

97. We do not have to look far to see the racist nature of the Zionist régime. We have recently seen the expulsion of many American blacks of the Jewish faith from Israel, which is a further proof of what we say and reminds us of the past. Peace can only be attained by allowing the people of Palestine to fulfil their aspirations for freedom in their homeland and by restoring to them their right to return to their homeland and that same right to self-determination which is enjoyed by other nations of the world. Human rights cannot be sacred in some parts of the world and ignored in other parts. No State, whether Arab or non-Arab, has the right to proclaim itself a guardian of the Palestinian people or its revolution.

98. In their efforts to divide the Arab nation, the imperialists refer to some Arab States as rejectionist and to others as non-rejectionist and moderate. But what is it that is being rejected? In our opinion, the Arab peoples are all in agreement on rejecting efforts to dictate the terms of surrender to them and to perpetuate the effects of aggression. There are no differences between the States of the Arab nation with regard to this point. We all reject the dictation of the terms of peace. It is the Zionist enemy that rejects the decisions of the United Nations and of other

international organizations. It is the Zionists who reject all efforts aimed at achieving a genuine peace. The racist-Zionist régime has best expressed its aggressive nature and its racist practices by proclaiming the occupied Arab territories as “liberated lands”. The Zionists continue to establish racist settlements in occupied Arab territories. It is not I alone who say this; this was said by the representative of the terrorist gang when he spoke here two days ago. Israel’s racist policies are based on continued expansion and aggression against the Arab nations and against the Palestinian people. Its efforts to achieve the objective of zionism—namely, of establishing a Zionist entity encompassing the entire area between the Nile and the Euphrates—is becoming more obvious every day. Up to now there has been no official map for what is called the State of Israel, as there is for every other State in the world. The map of Israel, according to the expansionist plans of international zionism that were endorsed several decades ago, extends from the Nile to the Euphrates.

99. The lesson learned from the struggle of peoples has proved the truth of the views of the late leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, namely, that what was taken by force can only be restored by force. We in the Arab world hate war more than do any other peoples, but when war is in the cause of liberation and in the cause of human dignity, it is legitimate. The Holy Koran says: “Warfare is incumbent upon you, yet it is hateful to you.” The solution of the so-called Middle East problem cannot be reached by communiqués and conferences. It can only be attained by the restoration of what has been usurped, by preventing the usurper from continuing in his criminal acts, by enforcing justice, by recognizing rights and by opposing aggression. Such a solution lies in the solidarity and unity of the Arab nation, for in the final analysis that nation is on the side of justice.

100. The events that have taken place in New York in recent days in connexion with what has been called a solution are somewhat comical when evaluated in terms of the actual state of affairs regarding such a solution. The Soviet-American statement issued on 1 October 1977, which some considered contained positive elements, mentioned for the first time the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people. But the ink had hardly dried on that document when an American communiqué was issued stating that the words “national rights” had not been mentioned because that would imply the right to self-determination and statehood. Mention of that was deliberately omitted because the Americans do not endorse the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination. Then came the American-Israeli statement of 5 October 1977, which cancelled and completely nullified the intention and meaning of the Soviet-American statement. That was after the statement by President Carter himself in which the solidarity and the alliance of the United States with the enemy was revealed. It also became perfectly clear that America could under no circumstances act as an intermediary and that America and Israel were one party in a colonialist campaign against the Arab nation and the Palestinian people. The events of the last few days in New York have revealed the bitter truth and illustrated the Zionist domination even of the American people itself. This great people is suffering from zionism just as we suffer from zionism in our part of the world. That reminds us of the

remarks of a loyal diplomat representing his country in Cairo—I think his name was Ness—who said that the bonds linking Washington and Tel Aviv were stronger than those between Washington and Hawaii or Alaska. *Time* magazine has mentioned that every Israeli obtains \$600 from the United States of America annually. Is that the logic of those who wish to be mediators? The journalist Joseph Hartsch referred to these vested interests in an article published in the *Christian Science Monitor* in its issue of 6 October 1977, saying that:

“Mr. Carter intervened with the utmost reluctance. Only two years ago President Gerald Ford and his Secretary of State Henry Kissinger decided that it was necessary to use American leverage on Israel. They delayed the delivery of some American weapons to Israel. The Israeli lobby in Washington obtained the signatures of 76 senators to a letter calling on the President ‘to be responsive to Israel’s urgent military and economic needs’. The Israelis got what they wanted.

“Mr. Carter has picked up the challenge which Prime Minister Begin offered by his annexation policy. The question is posed whether the State of Israel can control more votes in the Senate of the United States than can the President of the United States. The Israeli lobby is the most powerful possessed by any foreign Government in Washington; even Mr. Carter cannot be sure that he actually can swing more votes in the Senate than can Mr. Begin.”<sup>5</sup>

That is what was reported by an eyewitness.

101. It is absurd and regrettable that freedom fighters in Palestine and in Africa should be branded terrorists. This poses the question, Who are the terrorists: are they the freedom fighters or those who perpetrate acts of aggression against peace-loving peoples? According to the logic of imperialism, the terrorists are the freedom fighters, those who support the cause of freedom and humanity. It is important to differentiate between terrorism and fighting for freedom. The Socialist People’s Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, inspired by the Islamic religion, which is the faith of our people and whose provisions are strictly observed, is opposed to terrorism. It condemns the hijacking of aircraft, the taking of hostages and the killing of innocent people. As the Holy Koran says:

“On that account: We ordained  
For the Children of Israel  
That if any one slew  
A person—unless it be  
For murder or for spreading  
Mischief in the land—  
It would be as if  
He slew the whole people:  
And if any one saved a life,  
It would be as if he saved  
the life of the whole people.”  
[*V Maida: 35.*]

102. The revolutionary forces of the world, which support the just causes of peoples and the cause of human rights,

<sup>5</sup> Quoted in English by the speaker.

have been the target of a hostile campaign waged by the colonialist-imperialist Powers to slander them by calling them terrorists. Yet, what the colonialists say will not deceive anyone because everyone knows the facts and everyone knows who the terrorists are. Everyone knows that they are the international terrorists who dominate other peoples, monopolize other peoples' resources and commit acts of military aggression against them. Was not the killing of millions of persons in Viet Nam an act of terrorism? And is not the killing of the people of Palestine and of the peoples of Zimbabwe and South Africa also terrorism? What offences have the peoples of Viet Nam, Palestine and Africa committed? Of course, what happened was not the fault of the great American people, which was forced into involvement in a terrorist, imperialist war in support of Menachem Begin, the terrorist of Deir Yasin. Nor was it the fault of the tens of thousands of innocent American individuals who were killed in a war which served only colonialist and imperialist interests.

103. In considering this question the United Nations should define the term "terrorism". Terrorism is an act perpetrated by major colonialist Powers with a view to imposing their political terms and solutions while refusing to engage in a dialogue with smaller States.

104. I should like to assure the Assembly that the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will persevere in its Islamic and humanitarian policies in opposition to terrorism and to the murder of innocent persons. It will continue to support the just causes of struggling peoples. Our objective is to contribute to the elimination of the forces of evil, injustice, zionism and racism, to the attainment of prosperity and justice and to the protection of human dignity.

105. Tension is widespread in many other parts of the world. Some issues have been taken up by the United Nations while others have been forced upon it. As a Mediterranean State we cannot be isolated from events in that area. Together with other peoples in the area, my country is contributing to the efforts to rid the area of the dangers of war and international conflicts. That can be achieved only by the elimination of foreign bases and naval fleets which pose a direct threat to the freedom and security of the peoples of the area. As long as such bases and naval fleets remain in the area, the Mediterranean cannot become a sea of peace and harmony.

106. In discussing the situation in the Mediterranean, one cannot but refer to an important issue, namely, the Cyprus question. The situation in Cyprus is one of the causes for our concern. We support the efforts of the United Nations to solve this problem. The solution should, in our view, be based on an agreement between the Greek and Turkish communities reconciling them both within the framework of the unity, sovereignty and non-alignment of Cyprus. The withdrawal of British colonialist bases from Cyprus would be one factor contributing to the solution of this question, for those bases pose a threat not only to the independence of Cyprus but also to that of the neighbouring peoples.

107. The situation in Korea continues to pose a threat to international peace and security. The presence of foreign forces there impedes the unification of its two parts. The presence of those forces under the United Nations flag is in

itself a violation of the basic principles of the United Nations Charter and the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of States. The presence of those forces has undermined the efforts of the Korean people to reunify their country and has weakened the prestige and role of the United Nations whose name and flag have been used in the perpetration of aggression against the struggling people of Korea.

108. The time has come to put an end to this flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter and to the abuse of the Organization to achieve the objectives of certain Powers in their attempts to widen their spheres of interest. No longer should the international Organization, whose sole *raison d'être* is to achieve peace and prosperity, be used as a tool of division and aggression.

109. Strongly committed to the principles of unity, the people of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya fully support the legitimate struggle of the Korean people for the restoration of national unity and for the elimination of the artificial division imposed on them by force for over a quarter of a century.

110. It is the view of my delegation that the first and imperatively important step to be taken in this direction is the immediate withdrawal of all foreign forces stationed in South Korea, since those forces constitute, in our opinion, the main obstacle in the path of a settlement.

111. The issues taken up by our Organization are, without a doubt, important and serious. Their solution requires the concerted efforts of its peace-loving Member States and the necessary impetus in the Organization to enable it to achieve solutions to these issues. No one can deny the significance of the efforts made by the United Nations, nor, on the other hand, can anyone ignore the difficulties faced by the United Nations. The most important of these difficulties is inequality of Member States within the Organization, which is contrary to the spirit of the Charter. The time has come for the Charter of the United Nations to be reviewed with a view to guaranteeing equality for all States regardless of their populations and military and economic might. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya has raised this question in the OAU, in the Islamic Conference, and in Conferences of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries. All those conferences have adopted unanimous resolutions requesting a re-examination of the United Nations Charter with a view to achieving equality among Member States. Equality cannot be attained as long as a very small number of States, a handful, enjoy the right to veto the decisions of the majority of the members of the international community, a right which has been abused in obstructing the cause of freedom for peoples. There is no justification for the existence of this baseless right. A small number of States bestowed it upon themselves against the will of the majority of the peoples of the world. The situation today is very different, and the will of the overwhelming majority of States can no longer be ignored.

112. The commitment of the small States to peace is no less than that of the so-called big Powers. The use of the veto obstructs the efforts of the international Organization.

113. We in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believe in the role of the United Nations and support it fully. The United

Nations role in the preservation of peace is the hope of the peoples and the guardian of smaller States. If every State, especially the big Powers, can work in isolation without the United Nations, then what is the use of the United Nations? There are some countries, Members of this Organization, which take unilateral action and apply the law of the jungle, and think they can dictate their own terms and solve their problems by the use of force, as has been happening in many parts of the world, and which happened in Jamahiriya lately; for how long can we permit those big Powers to work in isolation outside the United Nations, or to use mercenaries to invade the countries of peoples and destroy their independence? The use of mercenaries is a practice that warrants our attention and consideration. What happened in the sister Republic of Benin a few months ago is alerting small States to the seriousness of this matter. The independence of smaller countries is threatened as a result of this neo-colonialist practice. The United Nations should investigate and put an end to this practice.

114. Adherence to United Nations objectives and principles and compliance with its resolutions are now more important than ever before. It is imperative that the United Nations should exercise deterrent measures and enforce the penalties provided for in the Charter against whoever violates the Charter, follows the law of the jungle, and disregards the resolutions of this Organization. As long as there is the right of veto, and as long as there are some countries which are trying to impose their will on this Organization, we can do nothing about it.

115. Mr. President, the non-aligned movement, whose foundations your country, under the leadership of President Tito, helped to establish, is playing an important role in international affairs. The Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, which is proud to be playing an active role as a member of this movement, reaffirms its adherence to the policies of non-alignment. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya takes this occasion to express its support of this movement and of its role in the preservation of international peace and security. We are opposed to military alliances, armed camps and blocs. Our country has freed its economy and liberated its territory from foreign colonialist bases and has joined this group in order to participate, within its framework, in the elimination of spheres of influence and domination, and in order to uphold the right of nations to liberate their homelands. The presence of foreign bases in the territories of small nations poses a threat, not only to their own independence, but also to the independence of neighbouring countries and to international security. We welcome any co-operation on the basis of equality. We oppose interference in the internal affairs of States and do not allow others to interfere in our own affairs. We are willing to co-operate with any State along the lines of these independent, non-aligned policies. We reject any terms dictated by any Power. In spite of the small size of our country and its limited resources, we are staunch in our principles and strong in the support we get from peace-loving peoples. We do not wish to align ourselves with any side, and we deal with States irrespective of their military or economic power or their size, but rather on the basis of their respect for the sovereignty of other States and of their support for just causes.

116. The Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya believes that regional organizations such as the OAU, the League of Arab States and the Islamic Conference, play a significant role in supporting United Nations efforts for peace and freedom. Experience has shown, in recent years, that these organizations have played a significant role in the support of the work of our Organization, both in the context of their contributions within the United Nations, and in the context of the meetings they have held in their respective regions. My country had the honour to host the Eighth Islamic Conference of Foreign Ministers from 27 Jumad Al Awal to 3 Jumad Al-Thani 1397H, corresponding to 16 to 22 May 1977.

117. At that Conference the Foreign Ministers dealt with important matters having far-reaching implications at the regional and international levels, and they adopted important resolutions and recommendations concerning those matters. One of the topics of discussion was *apartheid*. The Foreign Ministers reaffirmed the commitment of the Islamic States to the struggle against racist practices in South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and occupied Palestine. They stressed the need for the elimination of those abhorrent practices, which seek to humiliate man on the grounds of colour, creed, race and religion. The Ministers also discussed the situation in the Middle East, noting with regret that the Zionist entity continued to follow a policy of aggression in the form of occupation, expansion, annexation and the mistreatment of the Arab population in the occupied territories. The Conference expressed its deep concern in regard to the dangerous situation resulting from the continued Zionist violations of the United Nations Charter, the principles and provisions of international law and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The Conference pointed out that this situation would lead the world to the brink of new armed hostilities.

118. The Conference paid a tribute to the struggle of the Arab people of Palestine and of the other occupied Arab territories, and reaffirmed its support for their legitimate struggle to liberate the occupied territories and to end the Zionist occupation, restoring their inalienable national rights and protecting the Islamic, Arab and spiritual status of Jerusalem. The Conference emphasized that the Palestine question is the crux of the Middle East problem and that a just and durable peace can be attained only by the complete and unconditional withdrawal of Zionists from all occupied Arab territories and the restoration to the people of Palestine of their right to self-determination, and by the creation of an independent State in Palestine.

119. The Conference reiterated its pledge to support fully the struggle of the people of South Africa and the liberation movements in southern Africa, and to continue the provision of moral and material assistance to those movements to enable them to persevere in their struggle for freedom and independence.

120. In the economic field, the Conference urged the developed States to take a positive attitude on international economic co-operation, emphasizing the importance of the implementation of decisions related to the Integrated Programme on Commodities and the commitment of the developing countries to the establishment of a common fund at the earliest time possible. The final communiqué was circulated as document A/32/133.



121. As a third-world developing country, the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will work with other delegations, directly or through collective arrangements, in resolving third-world issues. On that basis and in the cause of third world solidarity and mutual co-operation, the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya and the Islamic Conference have helped the Government and the people of the Philippines to resolve a domestic problem that had caused the death of many innocent people. As a result of the Tripoli Agreement, peace has been restored to the southern Philippines for the first time in many years. We are confident that the response and positive attitude demonstrated by the parties concerned, and particularly the Philippine Government, will encourage the Islamic Conference to continue its work in resolving this issue, with the aim not of interfering in the internal affairs of another State but rather of promoting solidarity among the third world peoples, of which the peoples of the members of the Islamic Conference and the Philippines are a part. The Islamic Conference also participates in reducing tensions in whatever part of the world they may arise.

122. Humanity cannot enjoy lasting peace so long as a terrible arms race continues both quantitatively and qualitatively. Despite numerous endeavours since the end of the Second World War, during which the world witnessed the worst horrors and pains inflicted on nations by war, the world still witnesses an increase in the production of destructive weaponry and in their sophisticated use. The race for the acquisition of such weapons is tremendous, and the budgets of many States have been exhausted for that purpose. The arms industry not only has absorbed funds that are supposed to be spent on food, education and medical treatment, but has also diverted the ingenuity of mankind and moved it as if spellbound towards the course of taking the shortest and quickest route to the pollution of the environment and the contamination of even what is left for human life.

123. While almost \$400 billion have been spent on the production and purchase of weapons, over half a billion human beings are the victims of hunger and malnutrition and threatened by starvation, about half of the world's children of school age are without education, and half of the world's population have no medical treatment or care.

124. This proves the seriousness of the situation and calls for speedy and effective international measures to end this terrible arms race, and for the allocation of funds to the welfare of man.

125. The non-aligned States have realized the seriousness of the situation, and at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government held in Colombo in 1976 they called for a special session of the General Assembly to consider this serious matter.<sup>6</sup> At its thirty-first session the General Assembly endorsed that recommendation [*resolution 31/189 B*]. We wish the special session to be held next year every success. We hope that the representatives of the peoples of the world will agree on a declaration on the dangers of weapons that embodies specific principles prohibiting the production and use of arms, and on a programme of action to ensure the implementation of the principles and effective measures provided for in the declaration. That programme of action should envision a

time framework that takes into account the dangerous realities of the situation and the fact that no time can be lost.

126. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya will make every effort to contribute to the success of this session and to promote the role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament so that it can fulfil its responsibilities in the cause of international peace and security.

127. The production by certain States of destructive weapons does not serve the cause of international peace and security. It was announced recently that the United States has produced the neutron bomb. The United Nations should make every effort to dissuade the United States from continuing the production of this destructive weapon and to prohibit its production and proliferation.

128. The period after the Second World War has witnessed an important development in international economic relations, namely, the emergence of multilateral economic co-operation. Experience over the last three decades has shown the potential and significance of such co-operation in relation to the promotion of economic and social progress for all peoples as a primary step towards international peace and security.

129. Thus, it can be rightly said that the sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly represented a turning point in the history of international economic relations and of the Organization.

130. At those sessions a set of measures was recommended with a view to restructuring international economic relations, eliminating the injustice to which many human sectors have been subjected, correcting the imbalance in various sectors of the United Nations system and establishing a new system that would be more responsive to the provisions of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*] and of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*], which set the foundations for the new international economic order.

131. The spirit of co-operation which prevailed at the discussions of the seventh special session represented significant progress towards international economic co-operation. My delegation had hoped that a similar spirit would prevail in the discussions of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation, the so-called North-South dialogue. Yet the outcome of the Paris Conference was disappointing as far as the developing countries were concerned: the Conference was unable to tackle the major issues. The question of protecting the purchasing power of the products and exports of the developing countries, the question of debts and the question of the transfer of technology are all basic matters on which a lack of agreement has impeded the establishment of a new international economic order.

132. We do not expect that the new international economic order can be established overnight. Yet it is regrettable that the consultations and discussions regarding the principal foundations of this order are not going forward at an appropriate pace. Sometimes we even witness

<sup>6</sup> See document A/31/197, annex IV, sect. A, resolution 12.

a change in the position of some States, which poses a threat to the principle of international economic co-operation. It is important that serious efforts should continue so as to achieve the objectives envisaged in General Assembly resolutions; otherwise, the results will be detrimental—and not only to the peoples of the developing countries.

133. The proposal of the Secretary-General concerning the establishment of an international energy institute [*see A/32/1, sect. VII*] is worthy of consideration. Yet we should not treat energy independently of other questions pertaining to raw materials, development and finance; for all these questions form together the foundations of the new international economic order, and none of them can be treated separately from the others in the interest of a specific group of States. The Secretary-General's proposal requires an international study so that we can determine the best means to achieve its objectives.

134. The achievement of international peace and security depends on the attainment of economic equity and the prevention of manipulation and monopoly. The peace to which the world aspires cannot be reached as long as part of the world is becoming poorer day after day while the other part is growing rich at the expense of the poor. The achievement of economic equity and prosperity is the responsibility of all peoples and not only those of the third world. This includes the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries, whose members exercise their legitimate rights over their own natural resources. World inflation is not caused by the exploitation by the peoples of the third world of their own natural resources for their own benefit, but rather by foreign monopolies and by the capitalist system itself.

135. The responsibility for the achievement of world economic prosperity should be borne by all, and particularly by the capitalist industrial nations, which should give up some of the privileges they enjoy and should participate with other nations in attaining international economic prosperity. These nations should assist the poor countries of the third world, whose natural resources they regrettably continue to exploit.

136. The nations of the third world have realized the importance of co-operation within their own ranks. Perhaps Arab-African co-operation represents the corner-stone of this new development policy. The Arab nation and Africa constitute one historical, geographical, political and social region. They are bound by a common destiny and common hopes. On this basis, therefore, Arab-African co-operation has become a reality: a political reality in the joint struggle against racism in Africa and in the Arab nation; an economic reality in the bilateral and multilateral context. The Cairo Declaration [*see A/32/61*] represents an important, historic turning-point in the history of Africa and of the Arab nation—indeed, in the history of all mankind. I must also take this opportunity to refer to the Arab-European dialogue, which has begun to make positive progress in the common interest of the peoples of Europe and of the Arab nation. We attach great importance to this kind of co-operation between those two groups.

137. The proposal of my delegation at the thirtieth session of the General Assembly regarding the mines planted in

some countries,<sup>7</sup> including my own, by the belligerents in the Second World War, has raised many important facts in relation to the adverse effects of the material remnants of war, particularly that may have harmful and lasting effects on people and on the animal population, create a danger to the environment and disrupt the economic and social development of many developing countries.

138. The report of the Secretary-General prepared in accordance with General Assembly resolution 3435 (XXX) of 9 December 1975 and resolution 31/111 of 16 December 1976 [*A/32/137*] contains important facts stressing the danger of the material remnants of war, particularly mines, on the international community and the need for measures to solve this problem and to prevent its recurrence in the future. In chapter II, the report deals with the dangers of remnants of war for the environment, human beings, animals and marine life and describes how the presence of this debris has impeded certain essential activities in a number of countries, particularly in the area of the exploration for and the utilization of mineral resources and the implementation of agricultural development plans.

139. The responses of States to the questionnaire on this problem sent out by the Secretary-General clearly indicate that this problem is not the problem of one specific country, as some have insisted, but a problem faced by many countries; hence, the recommendation made in the report of the Executive Director of UNEP that the States responsible for the existence of material remnants of war should make available to the affected countries, through bilateral or collective arrangements, all information that might be of use in the treatment of the problem [*see A/32/137, annex, paras. 11-16*]. He also pointed to the necessity of providing technical assistance, through UNEP, to the affected countries in order to assist them in the preparation of programmes for the removal of the mines and in making further studies of the problem.

140. While we welcome the report prepared by the Secretary-General in pursuance of General Assembly resolution 3435 (XXX), we feel there is an urgent need for an intergovernmental conference to consider the various aspects of this problem and to reach specific conclusions with regard to its solution. Therefore, my delegation requests the Executive Director of UNEP to continue consultations with various States on the possibility of convening such a conference.

141. Our commitment to human rights stems from our religion, which provides that all peoples should enjoy prosperity and well-being on an equal footing, and that they all have equal rights and duties, because man is the supreme creation of God. As the Holy Koran says:

“We have honoured the sons  
Of Adam; provided them  
With transport on land and sea;  
Given them for sustenance things  
Good and pure; and conferred  
On them special favours,  
Above a great part  
Of our Creation.”

[*XVII Bani Israil: 70.*]

<sup>7</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 59, document A/10412, para. 8.

142. Our commitment to political and social human rights stems also from our commitment to the principles of the United Nations, as well as from our deep faith in the principles of our Sharia, the sublime law of Islam, which provides a firm basis for the various freedoms. To those rights we direct our careful attention because they are the primary preoccupation of the present age. Consequently, we deplore any infringement of them, particularly imprisonment without trial, suppression of free speech, and torture in all its forms. As the Prophet of Islam—peace be upon him!—said: “Allah will torture in the hereafter those who torture others in this world.”

143. Our interest in human rights extends to a concern for a sector of the population which, because of mental or physical disability, is unable to provide for itself, either socially or individually. I refer to the disabled.

144. The delegation of the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya welcomes the attention attracted by the proposal which it put forward during the last session and which bore fruit in resolution 31/123 of 16 December 1976, in which the General Assembly proclaimed 1981 International Year for Disabled Persons. That proves the importance of this humanitarian question.

145. The question of human rights is a moral issue that is indivisible. It is unacceptable that mankind can have rights in one country and no rights in another. We in the Libyan Arab Jamahiriya were therefore very pleased by the initiative taken by the President of the United States, Mr. Carter, on the question of human rights, because it was in complete agreement with fundamental humanitarian and Islamic principles. Later, however, we realized that the purpose of the President's initiative in regard to human rights was solely political, for after he had stated his support for human rights everywhere, it became apparent that he was making exceptions in the case of certain areas that are bound to the United States by strategic ties. Human rights in Palestine, Zimbabwe and Namibia are no different from those in any other place—in Europe, the United States or elsewhere—unless the imperialists consider that African and Arab human beings are subhuman. That is something totally different.

146. The delegation of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya reaffirms its adherence to the spirit and objectives of the Charter of the United Nations and its commitment to contribute to the elimination of tensions, the preservation of peace and the achievement of liberty. We are confident that this session will represent another step towards that end. We shall participate with all delegations in the cause of achieving success, with God's help, in the service of all humanity and in the cause of achieving peace, prosperity, justice, freedom, dignity, and the elimination of zionism, racism and colonialism.

147. May God bless our endeavours, in the interest of all humanity.

148. Mr. VUNIBOBO (Fiji): Mr. President, though the general debate is drawing to a close, it is still appropriate for me to associate myself with previous speakers who have congratulated you most warmly on your election to preside over this session.

149. In congratulating you, Sir, I am most mindful of the outstanding manner in which your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, presided over the deliberations of last year's session. It is appropriate, too, to pay a tribute to his contributions to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, where his expertise and diplomatic skill have been invaluable.

150. It is always a pleasure and a source of great satisfaction to welcome new Members. On this occasion I welcome to our membership the Republic of Djibouti. We also welcome the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to our midst, and we are hopeful that their membership will enrich the United Nations.

151. On a sadder note, we should like to be associated with the expressions of condolence to the people and Government of Yemen on the untimely death of President Ibrahim Al-Hamdi.

152. When we met last year there was an atmosphere of optimism and expectation. The Middle East situation, Cyprus, southern Africa and the North-South dialogue were but four of the major issues on which there were hopes that solutions would be found. Yet in retrospect it was perhaps too early and premature to be so optimistic. For, after all, those problems have exercised the minds and the attention of the international community for a number of years, and it is apparent, on reflection, that to expect settlement overnight would have been unrealistic. Yet the world, and especially the developing world, is not to be blamed for its optimism, for in our view a settlement of these outstanding world problems would, we hope, release energies and resources for the solution of important and pressing problems, problems which beset every developing country, namely, how to improve the living conditions of our people, who for years have been condemned to an existence characterized by hunger, malnutrition, diseases, poor water supply, poor housing and illiteracy.

153. Despite continuing efforts to achieve a just and durable peace in the Middle East, the situation had remained stalled and uncertain until very recently. Much has been done since the Assembly met last, and the prospect of an early reconvening of the Geneva Conference augurs well for the settlement of this explosive situation. Yet these efforts have been marred by what appears to be inflexibility of attitudes. Moreover, the legalization of settlements in lands occupied since 1967 has merely added more fuel to the fire.

154. We, for our part, maintain our position that Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) provide the over-all framework for further negotiations. In this regard, the right of all the States of the region, including Israel, to exist in peace within secure and recognized boundaries must be emphasized along with the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to a homeland. In our view, these constitute important elements the recognition of which should, we hope, greatly enhance the prospects for lasting peace and security in that region.

155. In the case of Cyprus, we also find that the continuing efforts being made towards resolving the communal difficulties, regrettably, have not as yet yielded any

positive results. We are very conscious of the important role undertaken by the United Nations in an effort to encourage an early resolution of this problem. We should like to express the hope that continuing consultations and negotiations will lead to a solution that will be in harmony and will be consistent with the wishes of the people of Cyprus.

156. The United Nations since its inception has played a vital and active role in the field of decolonization. The near universality of membership of this Organization is testimony enough of this Organization's efforts and contributions in this field. However, despite this unprecedented effort some 12 million people remain in bondage, including those of southern Africa. Zimbabwe and Namibia remain under colonial domination, and despite the best efforts of the international community progress towards a just and equitable solution remains slow and painful. We hope though that the recent Anglo-American initiative will bear fruit by enabling the people of Zimbabwe to achieve majority rule as soon as possible.

157. As if those two territories are not enough to tax the efforts of this Organization, the scourge of *apartheid* continues to dominate and permeate the entire life of South Africa. It is difficult to comprehend the mentality of those who espouse this particular philosophy. Men who otherwise are rational seem completely immune and insensitive to any feeling of realism and balance in their espousal of the cause of *apartheid*. We continue to hope that the South African régime will mend its ways before the world witnesses another holocaust of frightening proportions.

158. But, while the international community has devoted time and efforts to southern Africa, we believe the Assembly needs to be reminded that there continue to be remnants of colonialism in other parts of the world, notably in the South Pacific. While some of the colonial Territories are moving towards full internal self-government and independence, others remain tightly in the grip of their metropolitan masters. There is very little indication as yet of willingness, let alone readiness, on the part of the metropolitan Powers concerned to prepare these Territories for independence should they so wish it. There appears to be a conscious and deliberate effort to wean these Territories away from ever thinking about independence, and any movement towards self-determination is discouraged if not suppressed. On the other hand, some dependent Territories have been so inundated with help from their colonial Powers that the people of those Territories have not been encouraged to be self-reliant and thereby realize their full potential. A dependency syndrome has become so deeply embedded that these people know of no other choice but perpetual dependency. Moreover, the presence of military troops ostensibly for internal security purposes appears to be out of proportion to real needs.

159. If this is not enough, some of those Territories have been and are continuing to be used for the testing of nuclear devices, despite repeated protests by the countries of the south Pacific for the cessation of those tests. It is a matter of regret and a great disappointment to us that to date there does not appear to be any significant change in the attitude of those conducting such tests. At the same time, we hope that our differences on this issue, which to us is a matter of principle, will not be a constraint on the

development of mutual co-operation on matters of common interest.

160. Colonialism does not express itself merely in the acquisition of overseas territories. That type of colonialism is fast dying out. It would be naive though to think that colonialism is completely dead. It has merely taken on new forms, new manifestations, which in some instances are more pernicious and more pervasive in their effects than territorial acquisition. A new form of colonialism has of late reared its head and we in the south Pacific, and more particularly my own country, have experienced with some concern this new phenomenon. I refer to the deliberate and calculated interference by foreign trade unions in the internal affairs of my own country. Speaking about this phenomenon, my Prime Minister, the Right Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara said:

“No nation can long preserve its democratic ideals, or pursue economic progress, where the law of the land is flouted and the law of the jungle takes its place. No sovereign independent country, however small, can retain its national pride if it does not resist to the uttermost all attempts to encroach on its own internal affairs by foreign interests. It will be a sad day if we have achieved independence from political colonialism, if we are beginning to free ourselves from commercial colonialism, only to suffer from the colonialism of foreign trade unions: a colonialism of trade unions, moreover, which expected the Government to interfere with the process of law against those who had unlawfully obstructed our officials and police”.

161. But let me add that the Governments from which these trade unions operate dissociate themselves from these acts of interference. What is frightening, though, is the arrogance which they allow these trade unions to act with impunity. We fear that if this type of behaviour is not curbed, small countries, especially those of us who are dependent on trade by sea, can be subjected to victimization of the most deplorable type. The question we should like to pose is, Is there no limit to the freedom in which individuals or groups of individuals can or are allowed to take action which is or may be detrimental to the welfare of others? We reiterate our concern in this matter, having particular regard to the importance of observing the principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of a country and to the respect due to the sovereign independence of a State.

162. Fiji looks forward to next year's special session on disarmament. We are hopeful that the special session will eventually lead to curbs in the development, manufacture and sale of arms. We share the view and expectation that this will lead to the release of resources which will be made available to improve the lives of the world's poor and the deprived. Small countries have little influence on this matter. All we can do is to add our voice to the collective voice of mankind in expressing our concern that resources which could and should be put to better uses continue to be used for the production of instruments of war and mass destruction. We believe that whatever resources are released from the development and production of arms should be added to what is already being made available for development purposes. Our concern for disarmament is made the



more urgent because of the continued use of the south Pacific for the testing of nuclear devices. In this regard, we welcome the current initiative by the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union to reach agreement to ban underground testing. We also express the hope that other nuclear Powers will join this initiative. We hope too that agreement will be reached on a comprehensive test-ban treaty in the near future.

163. We are of the view that a just and beneficial régime for the oceans is essential to world peace. Failure would seriously impair confidence in global treaty-making and in the very process of multilateral accommodation. However, a comprehensive treaty on the law of the sea would mark a major step forward in the equitable exploitation of the resources of the sea. A co-operative and equitable solution can lead to new patterns of accommodation between the developing and the industrialized countries. It could give added momentum to the dialogue between the industrial and developing countries. We appreciate, of course, that each nation has its own vital interests to protect in the negotiations on the law of the sea.

164. For us in Fiji, and indeed in the south Pacific, the successful conclusion of the current Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea is urgent and vital. We are not blessed by nature with any great land mass, nor with very many natural resources. We are a sea-going people. Our lives, our livelihood and our culture are intimately woven and mingled with the sea. We live by and with the sea. Most of our proteins are derived from the sea. In terms of economic development we see our future in the continued exploitation of our marine resources. No country, however, can hope to develop its sea resources in isolation. Indeed, for many countries represented here it is the sea which provides the direct links between us. As a member of the international community, we are committed to work towards a total package for the law of the sea and the conclusion of a comprehensive treaty. Consequently, we have followed and will continue to follow the proceedings of the Conference on the Law of the Sea with great care and attention. Within the south Pacific, the countries in the area have, through the South Pacific Forum, decided to establish a regional fisheries agency to help us in the management of our sea resources. In this regard, Fiji expresses the hope that the countries which now exploit the marine resources of the south Pacific will recognize this agency and support it, thereby ensuring that the people of the south Pacific will derive the maximum benefit from the exploitation of the marine resources around them. The returns of such exploitation to the people of the south Pacific have to date been minimal.

165. Our concern for the successful conclusion of the Conference on the Law of the Sea is also a reflection of our concern for a genuine restructuring of the international economic order to ensure that developing countries are not perpetually condemned to a hand-to-mouth existence. We continue to be amazed at the reluctance of the industrialized countries to accommodate the wishes of the developing countries. While we recognize that there are difficulties, what is painfully obvious at the same time is the frightening wastage of resources by the industrialized countries. Demands are induced, and only too often most of what is produced is allowed to go to waste. Yet if

agreement is to be reached, we believe that dialogue must continue. Although the North-South dialogue came to an inconclusive end, it is our feeling that only by continued dialogue will we ever hope to reach agreement. We know that this demands patience. We know that this requires skill and dedication on the part of those involved.

166. While there have been difficulties in the North-South dialogue, there has, however, been some movement in the relations between some industrialized and some developing countries, notably the European Economic Community and the African-Caribbean-Pacific countries. We believe, with all its limitations, the Lomé Convention<sup>8</sup> is indicative of what can be done.

167. The mounting cost of imports of both manufactured goods and petroleum products has stretched the meagre resources of most developing countries to the breaking-point. In this regard, the small island countries of the Pacific have been among those worst hit by this problem. We are bereft of natural resources. We have small land areas. We are far from our markets. Our agricultural commodities are subject to wild fluctuations in price. We are vulnerable to natural disasters such as hurricanes and floods, which appear to occur with monotonous regularity. We have received considerable help from both multilateral and bilateral sources. We are particularly grateful to the various organs of the United Nations system and to our near neighbours, New Zealand and Australia. However, we have the feeling that our part of the world is the forgotten part, and that whatever help we receive tends to be given with reluctance.

168. It is our view that the needs of island communities deserve greater attention than that given to date. We do not believe that these islands want help in the form of charity. We are not beggars or parasites. What we would like is help to assist us in developing whatever resources we have so that we could live with dignity.

169. We feel, too, that the criteria designating countries to be classified as least developed need to be re-examined and that island territories should be or ought to be automatically classified as such unless they have extraordinary resources. Again there is a lack of balance in this regard and the classification of least developed countries has been heavily weighted in favour of certain countries. At the same time, developing island countries which have been able to improve their standard of living through careful management have been unduly penalized because their *per capita* income is high. It is our view that assessing a country's need for help purely on the basis of *per capita* income can be grossly misleading. Only too often a very distorted picture emerges which does not in any way conform to reality. Nowhere else has such a distorted picture been so damaging as in the case of island communities. We would hope that specialized agencies and others would take another look at this issue. We can only invite the attention of other island communities, particularly those of the Caribbean, to work with us on this matter.

170. In concluding this statement, I am conscious of the heavy burden which this Organization carries. My delega-

<sup>8</sup> ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February at Lomé. The text was circulated as document A/AC.176/7.

tion expresses the hope that this session, under your distinguished leadership, will mark a turning-point in the work of the United Nations for world peace, security and justice. The late President John F. Kennedy, in addressing the United Nations on 25 September 1961, summed up the hope of this Organization with optimism when he said:

“... however close we sometimes seem to that dark and final abyss, let no man of peace and freedom despair. For he does not stand alone. If we all can persevere, if we can in every land and office look beyond our own shores and ambitions, then surely the age will dawn in which the strong are just and the weak secure, and the peace preserved.”<sup>9</sup>

171. Mr. D'ALVA (Sao Tome and Principe) (*interpretation from French*):<sup>10</sup> Once again we are afforded an opportunity to express the views of our Government before this Assembly of the United Nations.

172. This is an appropriate time to pay a deserved tribute to those who have more directly contributed, untiringly and with dedication, to the realization of the noble objectives of our Organization.

173. In fact, the struggle for peace, for justice, for security, for the exercise of the right of self-determination of peoples and for the development of international relations based on the principle of the equality of sovereign rights of nations, large and small, gives this Organization a universal dimension. That struggle also prompts the peoples of the world to place in the United Nations their hopes for the building of a better world for the whole of mankind.

174. In this context, we cannot therefore fail to express our profound satisfaction at the fact that the presidency of the thirty-second session of the General Assembly is held by a distinguished personality whose actions in support of the realization of the objectives of the United Nations Charter are well known and highly appreciated by all its Members.

175. The commitment of his country, Yugoslavia, side by side with peoples and nations aspiring to a world not divided into military blocs, is one of the pillars of the movement of non-aligned countries, and it undoubtedly plays a preponderant role in the area of détente in international relations.

176. The choice of Belgrade for the continuation of the Conference on Co-operation and Security in Europe is added proof of the positive role played by his country in the consolidation of relations between peoples. My delegation therefore pays him a sincere tribute, and is gratified to see him presiding over this session of the General Assembly.

177. May we also express our appreciation to Mr. Amerasinghe, the outgoing President, for the zeal and dedication that he showed throughout the last session.

178. We are convinced of the success of the work of the current session because we know that the President we have

elected will find in the person of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, a collaborator who has given practical proof of his effectiveness and his dedication to the task of realizing the objectives of our Charter, in the form of efforts which are widely recognized. The work accomplished during his first term of office has made it possible to judge his merits and to entrust to him once again this high responsibility. On behalf of the Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, we reaffirm our confidence in him and in his exercise of the high functions entrusted to him and we wish him every success during his second term.

179. The presence of two new Members, the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam and the Republic of Djibouti, has brought added strength to our Organization and has contributed to bringing it closer to universality and to giving it the character of a champion of just causes, which is in fact its vocation. We welcome most warmly the delegations of those two new Members and we reiterate our firm intention to strengthen our ties of friendship and co-operation, forged long ago during the hard days of our struggle for the right to be free and independent nations. The presence of a united Viet Nam symbolizes the efforts of that heroic people in its long and arduous struggle waged for the realization of the just and noble objectives of independence and national unification.

180. The people and Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe have followed carefully the countless efforts undertaken by the United Nations to endow mankind with a political and economic international framework in which the feelings of solidarity and justice and the combined efforts of all nations and countries aimed at a solution of problems capable of bringing man a better world and a better life should be the alternative to the policy of the strongest.

181. We acknowledge that the United Nations has already played a preponderant role in the solution of some problems affecting the world community, such as averting the risk of a generalized war, the consequences of which could well endanger the very existence of man on our planet. Its role was no less important in the realm of decolonization by reason of the support that our Organization gave to peoples struggling for their freedom. However, we must recognize that there is a yawning gulf between the realization of the objectives enshrined in the United Nations Charter and the results achieved to date.

182. The victories won in these past years by oppressed peoples are undeniable. Those victories are the fruits of the efforts of such peoples combined with the democratic and progressive forces of countries and the political and humanitarian institutions which understand and act to fulfil the aspirations of all men to live a life of justice.

183. The affirmation by our Organization of the rights of peoples to self-determination, and the efforts aimed at the progressive implementation of those rights and duties, the adoption of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the Declaration and Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order are important steps towards the liberation of peoples and the creation of conditions conducive to ensuring the progress of all countries.

<sup>9</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1013th meeting, para. 98.

<sup>10</sup> Mr. d'Alva spoke in Portuguese. The French version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

184. However, there still exist, both in Africa and in other regions of the earth, situations of flagrant injustice which are a permanent affront to the objectives pursued by the United Nations.

185. I shall begin by speaking more particularly of the situation in southern Africa, which is to date the most flagrant example of oppression and injustice. The statements by the representatives of the Member States at the two international conferences held in Maputo and Lagos respectively, like the statements by delegations that have spoken at this Assembly, reflect the unanimous condemnation of our international community of these hateful régimes based on racism and *apartheid* in Rhodesia and South Africa.

186. The two aforementioned international conferences—Maputo and Lagos—which were organized respectively in support of the peoples of Namibia and Zimbabwe and against *apartheid* in South Africa, helped to enlighten world public opinion about the situation prevailing in the southern part of the African continent.

187. We are gratified to note this human solidarity with the peoples of southern Africa fighting to conquer their just and inalienable rights but we hope that concrete action can be taken to put an end to this unjust and oppressive situation. We reiterate here the appeal formulated in this regard during the Conferences of Maputo and Lagos.

188. That expression of solidarity should be translated into support for and specific implementation of the measures advocated in the Maputo and Lagos Declarations,<sup>11</sup> so long as the rebels and racists of southern Africa persist in maintaining their systems of exploitation and domination of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and South Africa.

189. We profoundly regret the death of yet another South African patriot, Steven Biko, who, having chosen the path of non-violence as a means of ensuring respect for the sacred rights of the people of South Africa to a free life without racial discrimination, was nevertheless the victim of the barbarous repression unleashed and pursued by the racists who have institutionalized violence. It is worth recalling on this occasion that thousands of patriots crowd the South African prisons, where they are tortured and murdered with impunity. Despite racist oppression in South Africa and the fact that the Sharpeville and Soweto petitions were put down with violence, they will go down in history as a torch of freedom which little by little will reach the whole of South Africa and will stop only when the injustices and exploitation committed by the South African régime disappear.

190. The Maputo and Lagos Declarations draw attention to the danger posed to world peace by the situation in southern Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and South Africa, which hinders the development of harmonious relations

between the States comprising the United Nations. For this reason it is important that our actions should not be confined to mere verbal declarations condemning *apartheid*. Rather we should combine our efforts in order that specific measures may be taken to put an end to the illegal régime instituted by Ian Smith and his followers in Southern Rhodesia and to the system of *apartheid* and colonial domination of which the peoples of South Africa and Namibia are the victims.

191. Therefore it is essential that the States Members of our Organization apply rigorously the resolutions that have been adopted and that they do not supply any more weapons and other military equipment to the minority racist régimes in southern Africa.

192. In addition, the sanctions already adopted by the international community should be implemented rigorously against those oppressive régimes. The Government of the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe, immediately after the proclamation of its independence, took the necessary measures to prohibit South African aircraft from flying over or landing on our territory, as they were allowed to do during the colonial régime:

193. It is in this context that we regret that, despite the United Nations resolutions and those of other bodies which love peace and freedom, certain Member States of our Organization continue to supply weapons—sometimes the most modern weapons—to the minority régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

194. While we recognize that the legislation of each country may have more or less liberal aspects as regards the activities of its enterprises, we fail to understand that Member States should co-operate with the racist régimes to the extent of allowing some of their enterprises to operate in South Africa and to provide that country with the material, technical and scientific means for the manufacture of nuclear bombs.

195. It is undeniable that such a situation is a flagrant threat to the security of the African continent and endangers world peace and the development of friendly relations among States.

196. Our Government is following with keen interest the *démarches* undertaken just recently by the United Kingdom and the United States with a view to speeding up the decolonization of Southern Rhodesia. However, we hope that their actions will be guided by the principle of respect for the legitimate and just aspirations of a free and independent Zimbabwe, enjoying all the sovereign rights for which its people is fighting under the leadership of the Patriotic Front.

197. Namibia must accede to independence and its people must be able to exercise its sovereign rights to the full. Its territorial integrity must be respected, and that is why we condemn the steps taken by South Africa designed to separate from independent Namibia the territory of Walvis Bay, which is an integral part of that country.

198. The situation in the Middle East is a constant source of concern to us because, to date, the Palestinian people has

<sup>11</sup> For the Maputo Declaration in Support of the Peoples of Zimbabwe and Namibia, see document A/32/109/Rev.1-S/12344/Rev.1, annex V. For the Lagos Declaration for Action against *Apartheid*, see *Report of the World Conference for Action against Apartheid* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.77.XIV.2), chap. X.

been kept out of the land of its birth. On the other hand, part of the Arab territories is still under Israeli domination. It is obvious that neither peace nor stability can be established in the region as long as such an unjust situation persists. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which symbolizes the courageous struggle of that people to realize its aspirations to a free and sovereign homeland, can under no circumstances be dissociated from negotiations aimed at resolving the grave situation in the Middle East. It is with satisfaction that we follow the many *démarches* made by the Secretary-General of our Organization as well as those made by some Member States in order to bring the conflicting parties to the negotiating table. We believe, however, that it will not be possible to restore peace in the Middle East until the right of the Palestinian people to return to its homeland and to constitute a free, independent and sovereign State is clearly recognized. Israel must withdraw from all the Arab territories forcibly occupied since 1967. The efforts of the Arab countries in the search for a peaceful and negotiated solution of that problem and their will to achieve it are known to all. However, we note that Israel's attitude, threatening the sovereignty and integrity of Lebanon, refusing to accept participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization in negotiations, and, finally, establishing settlements in the occupied Arab territories, constitutes a major obstacle on the road to peace.

199. The presence of Viet Nam in the United Nations brings an added ray of hope to all peoples struggling for the achievement of their unity.

200. We hope that the Korean people, after long years of struggle to achieve its national unity, will soon see its ideal of peaceful reunification realized. We hope also that all foreign military forces will be withdrawn from its territory in order that the conditions may be created which will enable the people to attain peacefully and through negotiation its aspirations to unity.

201. The separation of the island of Mayotte, an integral part of the Republic of the Comoros, constitutes a violation of the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of Member States. That act serves merely to engender mistrust in relations between States, especially between the large and the small States. The island of Mayotte is part of the territory of the Comoros and was separated from it through dilatory tactics. That practice runs counter to the objectives of the OAU, which is struggling for the complete decolonization of our continent, and it is also in contradiction with the principles of the United Nations. This Organization, therefore, should take all the necessary measures to support the Comoros in its just claims and its aspirations to territorial integrity and national unity.

202. With respect to the problem of Cyprus, my Government hopes that the United Nations will continue all the necessary efforts to promote negotiations between the two communities in order to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the Cypriot people to territorial integrity and national unity.

203. East Timor and Western Sahara continue to be unjustly occupied by foreign forces which seek to deprive the two peoples of their right to self-determination. The

United Nations must take all the necessary measures to enable the peoples of East Timor and Western Sahara to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. The forces which symbolize the struggle of those two peoples, FRETILIN and the Frente POLISARIO respectively, should be supported in their just struggle aimed at the realization of the legitimate rights of those peoples.

204. It is with great joy that we have taken note of the conclusion of the agreements between Panama and the United States on the Panama Canal situation. The settlement of that dispute between the two parties by peaceful means and through fruitful negotiations is undoubtedly an important step forward towards the solution of international disputes and the recognition of the legitimate rights of peoples. We hope that the results arrived at by those two countries may serve as an example for the settlement of similar conflicts affecting relations between States.

205. As regards international economic relations, no one will question the need for trade in goods and services between the nations and States making up our international community.

206. We therefore believe that commercial, financial, technical and technological exchanges in different fields are forms of useful co-operation of interest to the international community and essential factors for progress.

207. However, what we call into question are the framework and the rules governing these international economic relations, which allow some to enjoy great advantages whereas for others the exchange of goods and services at the world level are so many factors giving rise to poverty for the masses of the population, economic stagnation and the perpetuation of economic under-development.

208. It is true that those relations were forged at a time when the peoples of countries that today benefit little or not at all from international economic relations were not able to defend their legitimate economic interests.

209. In a constructive spirit, we would say that it is not necessary to proceed to a historical investigation which would enable us to highlight the interests, forces and concerns that served as the basis for those relations that were established at a time when force was the preponderant element in the law governing international relations.

210. We are gratified to note that almost all the Members of our Organization, including those which are better able to create conditions for the rapid implementation of a new international economic order, have come out in its favour. That gives us reason to hope, but although we do not deny that the North-South dialogue produced some positive results, we cannot fail to emphasize that those results are in no way capable of freeing the economies of the developing countries from the deadlock in which they find themselves.

211. We regard as highly positive the conclusion that the debates and the negotiations for the establishment of a new international economic order would be more productive if they were held in a framework in which all States could participate on democratic bases.



212. Economic relations and the general rules which should govern international trade, in particular in the field of primary commodities, trade in manufactures, the supply of energy in conditions offering guarantees of security to all, the transfer of techniques and technology, co-operation in the field of communications and the financial and monetary sectors, and, especially, the establishment of more suitable methods of payment and the maintenance of resources in the countries of origin—all these are problems to which a satisfactory solution cannot be found if they are confined within the limits of North-South relations.

213. In fact, it is necessary to create a new framework for international economic relations based on the principles of justice, efficiency and equality and on the recognition of the fact that in economic relations between States there are situations where one side or the other is at a disadvantage. That could serve as a basis for the creation of a framework for development and growth at the international level likely to eliminate, *inter alia*, poverty and insecurity on earth.

214. Thus we support the idea of convening a special session of the General Assembly in order to consider all questions relating to conditions of development at the international level, while taking the particular circumstances of individual countries into account, with a view to the establishment of a new international economic order acceptable to all.

215. On 12 July this year the Democratic Republic of Sao Tome and Principe commemorated the second anniversary of its independence. During those two years of free and independent life, all our efforts have been directed, on the one hand, towards giving our population the political, economic, social, cultural and material foundation and system that will enable all our citizens to enjoy a life of dignity. In this context constructive work is being done to enable our people democratically to elect and to depose its representatives in our political institutions both at the regional and central levels. First of all, elections were held for a constituent Assembly with the participation of the entire population, democratically and on the basis of universal suffrage. That Constituent Assembly drafted and adopted the first political Constitution of our country, which laid down the principles for the functioning of our State and the rights and duties of its citizens, as well as the means and mechanisms which should be placed at their disposal to allow them to fulfil their duties towards their homeland and towards the international and the national communities.

216. Furthermore, a National People's Assembly was established in accordance with the provisions of our Constitution. That People's Assembly, which comprises representatives from all the localities of our country, was elected democratically and is the sovereign power in our State.

217. Our struggle to eliminate under-development continues. It is manifest in the actions we have undertaken to increase the strength and capacity of our country by intensifying economic activity and mobilizing our population in women's, workers', children's and youth groups for purposes of development and, hence, for its welfare.

218. Although we do not deny that international problems both of a political and an economic type have rather marked effects on our life, we rely above all for our national reconstruction on the work of our people and the sacrifices which it is ready to make to eliminate poverty, malnutrition, and economic stagnation inherited from the colonial régime.

219. To achieve these objectives, important internal changes and new international economic relations are needed. For that reason, when we tackled questions relating to present international economic relations, we expressed the hope that they would evolve towards the establishment of a new international economic order.

220. Indeed, fluctuations in the price of agricultural raw materials have repercussions on the value of the agricultural products of our country, which are the basis of our economy. Those repercussions are of great importance for the work and the very livelihood of our people.

221. During the two years of our independence our domestic efforts have been oriented towards the improvement of our productive machinery and the creation of better social and cultural conditions.

222. In the cultural and social spheres, our activity during those two years has been geared towards increasing the school enrolment of our population at every level and towards an intensive campaign to increase adult literacy.

223. We do not regard our work in the field of literacy and education as a simple matter of teaching people to read and write but, rather, as a way of enabling them to participate more and more intensively in the process of the material and spiritual transformation of their life.

224. Given the high infant mortality and the short life-expectancy of the population during the colonial period, my Government has been given special attention since independence to the improvement of health conditions and, in particular, to mother and child protection.

225. In the economic field, agriculture was selected as a priority factor for our development. For this reason, land and tax reform are under way essentially in order to increase the production of food, which our population lacks.

226. These reforms are also aimed at enhancing our country's export capacity through the treatment of plants, and the introduction of new agricultural techniques and new crops. We also recognize that in this sector our difficulties are enormous because the means available to us are insufficient to cover the intrinsic costs of such changes.

227. However, we are aware of the dynamism of our people and its will to agree to the necessary sacrifices in order to do away with our present poverty. We are also aware of the solidarity of the international community, whose effects are felt through the understanding and assistance that some members of our community have given us in order to help us to face some of our more immediate difficulties in these first years of our independence. We take this opportunity to express our gratitude to all those countries that have given us their support and assistance.

228. We are convinced that the support of the international community and of friendly countries is important because the problems we are struggling with are varied and in many cases exceed our material and human capacity, in particular in the agricultural, communications and telecommunications sectors.

229. We would not wish to conclude this statement without mentioning the question of armaments and military disarmament, which represent one of the fundamental preoccupations of the international community.

230. The importance of this question undoubtedly derives from the effects and repercussions that armaments and disarmament have on the relations between States on our planet, at both the political and economic level. In fact, actions aimed at the acquisition of weapons can only be an expression of the will for domination, political or economic, which rouses a defensive reaction on the part of other States, which then feel the need to arm themselves to ensure respect for the just aspirations of their peoples.

231. The holding of military arsenals dates from a period when international relations were essentially based on force, to the detriment of the legitimate rights of all peoples and countries, and we must therefore give pride of place to the problem of disarmament at this time, when peoples and nations are joining to establish a new political and international economic framework based on respect for the principles of justice, equality, peace and solidarity.

232. The disarmament question is, therefore, linked to international détente and to the implementation of resolutions already adopted concerning the right of all peoples to self-determination and independence, and the practical implementation of the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States and the declarations of principle relating to the establishment of a new international economic order and to the non-use of the threat or use of force in international relations.

233. It is inconceivable that, while the greater part of mankind lives in abject poverty deprived of the minimum necessary for existence, enormous sums amounting to \$300 billion a year are used to create the means of man's destruction.

234. We hope that the special session of the General Assembly on disarmament will mark a decisive stage for the future of mankind.

235. We have examined the most important problems and those with the most direct effects on the development of relations of co-operation and friendship among the peoples and States composing our world.

236. Some of those problems, such as those questions relating to southern Africa, the Middle East and other colonial situations, urgently require just solutions.

237. Others, equally important, are more complex and, for this reason, their solution requires that persevering efforts must be made both within each country and in the relations between States.

238. We hope, therefore, that the two future international conferences on disarmament and on the question of the establishment of a new international economic order will

help to create new relations between men in which the spirit of co-operation and solidarity at the international level will be the alternative to the rule of the mighty and of those who possess military arsenals, especially nuclear arsenals, that are daily becoming more sophisticated and destructive.

239. The PRESIDENT: I shall now call on the representative of Chad, who wishes to speak in exercise of his right of reply.

240. Mr. KAMOUGUE (Chad) (*interpretation from French*): In exercise of my right of reply to the statements made at the 25th plenary meeting on 7 October 1977 by Mr. Ali Abdussalam-Treiki, former General Director of Information of King Idris, today Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Libya, my delegation does not wish to reply to Libya's insults, slanders and provocations by sterile insults or gratuitous accusations.

241. The representative of Libya indulged in a smoke-screen of words, confused assertions and distortions, which reminds me of the way in which he and his colleagues meddle in the internal affairs of neighbouring countries, even of countries separated from Libya by thousands of kilometres.

242. Accordingly I feel that a clarification is called for, because already at Libreville the same Treiki had introduced a defence plan in an attempt to distract the attention of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU from the subject of our complaint against his country, namely, the military occupation of Aozou by Libya and the substantial aid given by it to the rebellion in Chad, which is a purely internal affair of my country.

243. The representative of the Government of Libya stated that the régime of Chad is confined to the Elsara tribe, which represents only 2.5 per cent of the population, and that the current Minister for Foreign Affairs of Chad was a police officer. Mr. Treiki has thus revealed his total ignorance of the geography of Chad and of the men who lead it. I should like to know where he got that fantastic figure, which completely distorts the state of affairs in Chad. For his information, I should like to tell him that Lieutenant-Colonel Kamougué, who is still in office as the Minister for Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation of Chad, is in no way a police officer as he alleged, but rather graduated from a French military academy, the Officers' School of St. Cyr Coëtquidan, in July 1964.

244. We know that tribes exist in Libya and that the current régime in Libya in no way represents the majority tribe. It is a régime that has been established through a military coup d'état which took place in circumstances that are known to us. Before giving lessons I believe that Tripoli should learn, and begin by knowing itself.

245. The representative of Libya said that thousands of Chad citizens live abroad—in particular in Libya and in the Sudan—as refugees. Is he unaware that for quite a long time the movement of people throughout the African countries has been a natural phenomenon? Unless he is speaking of the Chad adventurers recruited abroad by Libyan embassies and special services and trained militarily in Libya in order to satisfy the expansionist aims of Al-Qadhafi?

246. Obviously I did not go to Tripoli for the purpose of bringing back these citizens of Chad who had been recruited. I went there in order to obtain the repatriation of Der Dey, the spiritual chief of the Toubous, a citizen of Chad in exile under the former régime, who had manifested his desire to return to our country after the collapse of that régime. The Tripoli authorities, with Ali Treiki at their head, have created numerous difficulties to prevent that sexagenarian's leaving the country, and I still remember their hypocritical attitude.

247. The representative of Libya quoted a sentence from the President of the Republic of the Ivory Coast to support the thesis that Chad is looking beyond its frontiers because of its own internal difficulties. We are aware of those difficulties, which might have been less serious had Libya not been actively interested in Chad's resources, interfered in its internal affairs, and fomented all kinds of rebellion there.

248. Inasmuch as the representative of Libya quoted from a statement made by President Houphouët-Boigny at the Assembly of the OAU held at Libreville, I, too, shall quote a passage from that statement so that the members of this Assembly may not be deluded as to the thinking of that wise African. In the 8 October 1977 issue of *Le Monde*, No. 10168, we can read the following statement made by the Head of State of the Ivory Coast in an interview with the journalist Philippe Decraene:

"We cannot prevent a child from crying when he is beaten. It is clear that Libya has expansionist aims in Chad. The fact that France is extending military assistance to that country no doubt explains the irritation of the Libyans, whose ambitions are thus being thwarted."

249. The representative of Libya said, "Chad is the poorest country in the world..." [25th meeting, para. 236]. Does he recall that Libya itself experienced a similar situation in the recent past and is alive now thanks to international subsidies? Today Libya is very rich, perhaps too rich. So what attracts it to Aozou?

250. Chad, which respects the principles that are dear to the United Nations and the OAU, as well as those of the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations,<sup>12</sup> has taken all necessary measures to protect diplomats. In Chad all Libyan diplomats can move about freely, going wherever they wish, including to night-clubs. No property of the Libyan Embassy has been confiscated. My Government has not nationalized the Libyan bank in N'Djamena, even though it has a right to do so, just as Libya has nationalized the foreign sectors and continues to do. We have not gone that far. The measures taken comprise the suspension until further orders of the activities of that bank, which began engaging in operations that were incompatible with its statute, and the activities of the Libyan Cultural Centre, which had been transformed into a veritable hotbed of subversion where films were shown of military parades in Tripoli and of Libyan military potential—all this with a view to intimidating the people of Chad.

251. I do not wish to enter here into the details of all the unspeakable actions of the Libyan régime with regard to my country, or to express the feelings of the people of

Chad, which is almost at the end of its patience. I would prefer to convey to members of the Assembly a reflection of the Libyan colony in Chad in a letter addressed to the Libyan Ambassador at N'Djamena on 25 September last, and saying:

"We should like to stress our recognition and gratitude to the brother Government of Chad, which has provided and continues to provide for our protection and security. We note that the Government of Chad is doing everything it can to resolve in a brotherly fashion the problems between it and the sister Republic of Libya. We hope that this letter will be received favourably.

"We ask the All-Powerful for the resumption of good relations between the two fraternal countries in the interest of everyone."

252. The representative of the Government of Libya has always said that Chad is engaging in a campaign of slander unleashed by imperialism, colonialism and zionism, which is the number one enemy of the September Revolution. Today he no longer speaks of colonialism or zionism. Everyone knows why. But he clings to references to imperialism so as to conceal the true role that his country is playing in Chad. The word "imperialism" means, according to *Petit Larousse*, "expansionist designs of one State in the continental... field." Who then is the imperialist? Is it Chad or is it, on the other hand, Libya, which is jeopardizing our sovereignty and territorial integrity?

253. I should like to ask the representative of Libya whether, yes or no, his country occupies the Aozou Strip? The desire greatly to extend its borders has driven Libya to draw a new map that infringes considerably the territories of Chad, Niger, Algeria, Tunisia and the Sudan, and who knows what else? But it was with Chad that this policy of expansionism began, in particular at Aozou. And the representative of the Government of Libya justifies this by resorting to a United Nations map, thus showing contempt for the recommendation contained in General Assembly resolution 392 (V) adopted 15 December 1950, entitled "Procedure to be adopted to delimit the boundaries of the former Italian colonies in so far as they are not already fixed by international agreement". This resolution says so much there is no need for me to dwell upon it.

254. I would ask the representative of the Government of Libya to retain a minimum of lucidity, and to be consistent both with himself and with the history we are now in the process of writing. Yesterday he spoke to us of the Laval-Mussolini Treaty, today he speaks of a United Nations map: what will he tell us tomorrow? If, like Libya, we adopted as criteria for defining frontiers tribal, religious, racial and wealth factors, then many countries would disappear from the world atlas.

255. In conclusion, I wish to recall that this matter was brought before the OAU, the great pan-African organization in which we have full confidence, and we are awaiting the results of the moves it has made.

256. I should like to emphasize that Libya must assume full responsibility for the current crisis and all its consequences.

<sup>12</sup> United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 500, No. 7310, p. 95.