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

**Address by Colonel Maphevu Dlamini, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Swaziland**

1. The PRESIDENT: This afternoon the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Swaziland. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency the Right Honourable Colonel Maphevu Dlamini and inviting him to address the Assembly.

2. Colonel MAPHEVU DLAMINI (Swaziland): Mr. President, I wish to express my sincere congratulations to you on your election to the presidency of this historic thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. With my congratulations I bring the brotherly greetings of His Majesty King Sobhuza the Second, and of the Government and the people of the Kingdom of Swaziland. We have complete confidence that a man of your calibre, who has already proven his leadership qualities and skills as a diplomat, a statesman and a symbol of his country's commitment to non-alignment, will successfully guide our deliberations.

3. In congratulating you, Mr. President, we wish also to express our heartfelt gratitude to the outgoing President, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for the efficient and brilliant leadership which he demonstrated throughout last year's session of this Assembly.

4. My delegation warmly welcomes the admission of Seychelles to an Organization founded to harmonize the actions of nations, and is confident that as a non-aligned nation Seychelles will always prove a worth-while ally of peace. But peace and harmony in the world can be attained only by harnessing the collective will and co-operation of all nations, large and small.

5. My delegation has confidence, hope and faith that in such an august gathering of peace-loving, peace-seeking and peace-motivated Member States substantial progress towards removing the obstacles that lie in the way of freedom, peace, justice, progress and the pursuit of happiness and international understanding can be achieved.

6. I should like to express my country's condolences to the People's Republic of China, a Member State of our world community, on the death of its great leader, the late Chairman Mao Tsetung. His great achievements are admired and respected by us all. It is now our hope and prayer that the Chinese people will continue to prosper in an atmosphere of peace and stability.

7. An unfortunate problem concerning our Organization is that some Member States do not seem to take it seriously. Over the last 30 years we have discussed world peace, justice and progress as pillars of a new generation that should "learn war no more", but our world is constantly being racked by war, including local wars, and by division, oppression, poverty, hunger, disease, inflation, unemployment and financial crises. So, at the fifth non-aligned Conference, held in Colombo,<sup>1</sup> a majority of the nations of the world once again clearly called for a more equitable world order. It is time that call was taken seriously.

8. Our experience over the last eight years since we regained our independence has been that every major social or economic problem is also a political problem, and that the central political problem of mankind is how a balanced mixture of economic growth, social justice and democracy can be achieved.

9. It is in that context that His Majesty's Government has continued to support and to work for the achievement of a new international economic order, in which power and wealth would be more equitably distributed around the world. Here we should spare no effort to accelerate the balanced transfer of resources from the developed to the developing world.

10. The past year has taught us that rhetoric is not enough. At present world trade and development is controlled and financed mainly by a small group of privileged countries. The economic fortunes of these nations determine the fortunes of the rest of the world. The past year has been no exception to that rule; growth prospects for the non-oil-producing developing world have worsened, *per capita* incomes have fallen in real terms, and the gap between rich and poor has widened.

<sup>1</sup> Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

11. It is for those reasons that the Government has taken special note of the failure of the dialogue between the rich and poor nations in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD] and in other bodies. Concrete results have yet to be achieved, and until such time as the developing world can be united in common action to achieve a common goal, the meetings and talks will have little effect. Until such time as it is possible for the developing world to confront the developed world on more nearly equal terms the Government of the Kingdom of Swaziland will continue to work relentlessly for vital reforms of the international economic and financial systems. Trade flows must be increased; international purchasing power must be created for the use of the poorer nations; debt must be rescheduled; and schemes must be introduced to stabilize commodity prices. We shall strive to achieve these ends through the years ahead.

12. It is the opinion of my delegation that the third world could normally and more effectively achieve development by the sale of their processed products, in addition to receiving assistance. This would mean that developing countries would increase their exports and rely more on stable and equitable remunerative prices in world markets. It would also mean that collective action would be an indispensable factor in complementing national efforts and bilateral assistance.

13. In this regard natural resources and permanent sovereignty over those resources are considered to be the highest exponents for development, and Swazi national participation in the development of industries emphasizes this aspect.

14. Since natural resources are not only scarce but also non-renewable, the development of natural resources is based on certain strategies in order to obtain maximum financial and social benefits for the nation.

15. A few weeks ago, when the Swazi nation celebrated its eighth anniversary of independence, my Head of State said:

"A new and vigorous approach to the problem of peace and war is needed. The time has come when the destiny of mankind should cease to hang so dangerously on the aims and ambitions of great Powers."

16. Swaziland believes that if people have no stake in a society they can become a threat to that society. Peace and stability are threatened by divided societies, yet all of us are very much aware that this division continues to introduce into the modern world unnecessary disharmony and conflicts of interest which disastrously divide mankind at a time when unity of purpose and action are so vital for peace, justice, order and progress in the service of man.

17. Swaziland's policy remains strongly that of non-racialist democracy, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, good neighbourliness, non-alignment and respect for peace, justice and equality. We practise and cherish these concepts as principles enshrined in both the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. These are principles clearly irreconcilable with any form of denial of the fundamental human rights and degradation of the human person.

18. In this regard my country is greatly distressed and perturbed about the situation across our border in the Republic of South Africa, where recent events have resulted in the tragic deaths of innocent people including children.

19. We remain more convinced than ever before that racial and discriminatory policies militate against the essential dignity and quality of all human beings, and we hope that efforts to find a peaceful solution to the problem of racial discrimination in South Africa will be fruitful.

20. The people of Namibia, like any other people, are entitled to self-determination to lead them rapidly to complete independence and majority rule so that justice and human dignity can be the elements of peace in that international Territory.

21. At different conferences the "homeland" policy of the Government of South Africa has been a subject of great concern and debate. Swaziland remains deeply committed, as it must, to the resolutions of OAU and of the United Nations on a matter such as this.

22. In April of this year my Government, acting as a loyal Member of the United Nations, fought and won a case in the High Court of Swaziland in which an effort was made by a South African firm to obtain an order against the Government of Swaziland and its Commissioner of Police for the return of a consignment of arms which the South African firm had unsuccessfully tried to import into the Republic of South Africa by using Swaziland as an address. My Government took the line that no court of Swaziland would issue an order which would result in Swaziland's being a party, even if indirectly, to a breach of the arms embargo against South Africa imposed by the Security Council of the United Nations. My Government has also passed a law known as The Prevention of the Violation of International Obligations Order, which imposes heavy penalties against any person who in any manner whatsoever, inside or outside Swaziland, breaches or is a party to a breach of a resolution adopted by the General Assembly or Security Council of the United Nations.

23. Speaking from this very podium two years ago,<sup>2</sup> my delegation expressed the view that so long as the privileged white minority in Rhodesia was allowed the monopoly of political power it would not voluntarily give it away.

24. It is the desire for peace and justice that we once again observe in the constructive role being played with regard to a peaceful settlement of the Rhodesian problem. We have not been proved wrong on the inevitability of majority rule there, and we shall not be wrong in our conviction that it is the authentic people of Zimbabwe themselves who must together work out their salvation and shape their destiny in an atmosphere of dedication, unity and reverence.

25. Rhodesia must return to legality forthwith. It is with regard to that act that Britain is urged to convene a conference on Rhodesia to deal with the immediate problems of an interim Government and to plan for a constitutional conference.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2265th meeting.*

26. The maintenance of international peace and security is one of the principal aims of the Charter. My delegation believes in man's vigorous quest for the common ground of unity and peace. Deliberations of this Assembly with that ultimate objective in mind will make compromises possible and so prevent the involved Member State from transferring problems and disputes from the table of détente to the battlefield of despair.

27. An uneasy calm still reigns over the panorama of the Middle East as an attempt to secure lasting peace in the region is being frustrated by intransigence and narrow vested interests.

28. The absence of peace in the Middle East means the absence of peace in the world, as the stability of our society is based on reciprocity and interdependence. It is in this spirit that my delegation would like once again to express appreciation and admiration to all the parties concerned in the Middle East conflict for showing restraint and human understanding and for seeking a solution through negotiation. It is the view of my delegation that a peaceful solution in that region will continue to demand political will and commitment and can endure only if the principles of justice, territorial integrity, sovereignty and the right of each State to exist are scrupulously observed.

29. In the spirit of non-alignment, my delegation applauds the processes whereby the fabric of national unity is being woven and a pattern of national existence developed, though not with ease, in countries still divided and torn by conflicts. In such circumstances my delegation will not take any action that may be seen to prejudice the fuller development of these objectives.

30. Past history reveals that Africa has been a continent of drama and tragedy. The scars of slavery, the wounds of imperialism and exploitation are but too fresh to have been forgotten. But the future is different. It is a future of hope; a future of a socio-political evolution towards a larger community of a united Africa; a future that will ultimately banish big-Power patronage in a continent that is being rebuilt from the ashes of colonialism; a future without the indefensible *status quo* and white domination; and indeed a future of inspiration that we shall, for certain, triumph at the end of it all and regain our glory as a free continent.

31. It is for these reasons of hope that my country, together with the non-aligned countries of the third world, has consistently demanded the withdrawal of any naval or military presence from the Indian Ocean by the great Powers because we, who rightly regard the Indian Ocean as being on our doorstep, also regard it as a zone of peace.

32. Turning now to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea—a Conference which has benefited greatly from your able and wise guidance, Mr. President—it is our conviction that members of the international community must eschew narrow national interests and exert the necessary political will to utilize this unique opportunity to establish international norms to regulate 70 per cent of the earth's surface. We believe that at the last session of that all-important Conference there was some progress in ensuring that land-locked States like Swaziland were granted the right of access to and from the sea and

that, together with other developing, geographically disadvantaged States, they would have the right to exploit the living resources of the economic zones of coastal States in the same region or subregion on an equitable basis.

33. Much, however, remains to be achieved at the next crucial session in May 1977. This is especially so with regard to the establishment of an effective international sea-bed authority to give practical effect to the concept of the common heritage of mankind and the establishment of a comprehensive system for the settlement of disputes. Compromise and a pragmatic approach are essential if a new convention is to be acceptable—as it must be to all segments of the international community.

34. The problems of war and peace are not an adventure. War is our destruction. Peace is our salvation. Let us strive to create a climate of peace in our world, and not of war. Let us build bridges to span the gulfs created by diverse and conflicting interests so that freedom, unity and equality can provide the promise for future prosperity, democracy and justice. Let this Assembly lay emphasis on deeds rather than mere words—deeds that are calculated to further the objectives of a durable peace in our time.

35. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf, I thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Swaziland, His Excellency the Right Honourable Colonel Maphevu Dlamini, for the important address we have just heard.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

36. Mr. OULD MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Sir, I could not go to the substance of my statement without first expressing to you my sincerest congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. Over and above the tribute paid to your eminent personal qualities, this election also bears witness to the confidence and esteem we feel for your country, which I am pleased to praise here for its constant efforts to establish a more just and more equitable international order. My country enjoys the best relations of friendship and solidarity with yours.

37. Your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, also deserves our congratulations and gratitude for the tact and patience with which he guided our work throughout the past session.

38. The admission of the Republic of Seychelles as a Member of our Organization is another source of real satisfaction for my country. We extend to the Government and people of Seychelles our sincere congratulations and our wishes for success. We would have wished to be able to extend similar congratulations to the People's Republic of Angola and to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which should normally have been occupying their lawful seats within our Organization.

39. The opening of our session this year coincides with a particularly sorrowful event which has profoundly afflicted the people and Government of Mauritania: the passing of one of the most eminent men in politics and one of the

greatest thinkers of our times, Mao Tsetung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the People's Republic of China. History will record the name of that extraordinary guide of the Chinese people and great friend of our people as that of the architect of modern China, an indefatigable defender of all just causes, and in particular that of oppressed peoples. To the great Chinese people and to the Government of the People's Republic of China, which are today cruelly stricken by his passing, we extend our most sorrowful condolences and assure them of our support and sympathy in these difficult hours.

40. The thirty-first session of the General Assembly opens at a time when the international community is more aware than ever of two essential requirements: on the one hand, the need to put an end to the anachronistic situations which afflict southern Africa and the Middle East and, on the other hand, the need to establish a new international economic order based on equality and justice.

41. Indeed, the persistence of these dangerous hotbeds of tension and the maintenance of economic relations of inequality between the "have" and the "have-not" countries may at any time jeopardize the entire existing international system and threaten peace and stability throughout the world. It is therefore proper that these subjects should be in the forefront of our concerns in the course of the present session of the United Nations General Assembly.

42. I shall briefly state the point of view of Mauritania on the first item, the hotbeds of tension in the world, and in the second part I shall refer to the relations between the "have" and the "have-not" countries.

43. In speaking about southern Africa, one cannot but be repelled at the fact that in this last quarter of the twentieth century, when there is a general trend towards emancipation, the peoples of that part of Africa are bent under the weight of the most backward racist and colonialist system, with its daily wake of horrors, impositions and injustices. Whether in Rhodesia, Namibia or South Africa, oppression and intimidation are the daily lot of the peoples of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania. Their rights to a majority government are flouted; their rights to independence, national unity and territorial integrity are threatened, even as their rights to racial equality are systematically ignored.

44. In Rhodesia, a handful of white settlers proclaimed unilateral independence in 1965, thus defying not only the United Kingdom, the former colonial Power, but also the international community itself and, more specifically, the United Nations. The régime which has been in existence since then in Rhodesia is an illegal, racist and minority régime. Some 270,000 Europeans, living in a state of illusion and facing an uncertain future, have imposed their will of domination and racial discrimination on more than 5 million Africans.

45. It is in the face of this situation that the people of Zimbabwe rose up as those do who are resolved to die with dignity or to live in freedom. But, enjoying the unflagging support of all of Africa and the assistance of the international community, the people of Zimbabwe sees every day that its victory is inevitable. Its struggle for freedom

and genuine democracy enters today a decisive phase, imposing on the rebel régime of Ian Smith the need to seek means of survival.

46. The international Territory of Namibia also continues to be occupied by the racist régime of Pretoria, which practices there its double policy of *apartheid* and "bantustanization", despite the opinion of the International Court of Justice,<sup>3</sup> which has been confirmed by numerous resolutions, both of the General Assembly and of the Security Council, which place that Territory under United Nations responsibility and demand its independence with national unity.

47. But that is not the only defiance by South Africa. The South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the sole genuine representative of the Namibian people recognized by OAU and by the United Nations, is not only regarded to this day by Pretoria as a "terrorist" organization to be struck down but, what is more, has so far been excluded by Vorster from any discussion regarding the future of the Territory and people of Namibia.

48. This is a short-sighted policy that can neither consolidate the illegal occupation of the Territory of the Namibian people nor break the will of SWAPO to continue the struggle until it achieves independence with unity.

49. Coming to the close of the twentieth century, when equality among peoples, races and men is a major objective for all the members of the international community, it seems to us to be inadmissible to continue to be a mere spectator to the challenge launched by the régime holding power in South Africa, which, with impunity and in broad daylight, practises its inhuman racist policy, scorning all rules of law and morality and in defiance of the irreversible trend of historic evolution.

50. The South African régime, in order to attain its objective of separate and unequal development of the races, has provided itself with the most powerful and sophisticated military arsenal and an arsenal of laws and segregationist measures which affects all aspects of life: public transport, health, education, sports, administration and so forth, and which shrinks from no horror in order to impose its racist will. Such practices are doubtless repugnant to the conscience of each of us and arouse the indignation of all. However, it will not suffice merely to be moved by a situation so degrading for mankind; the international community must take concrete measures to outlaw the régime of South Africa.

51. The whites of South Africa do not appear to wish to preserve their future as Africans or to avoid for the people of South Africa as a whole the tragedy of a generalized racial war with unforeseeable consequences. Yet, it would suffice if they clearly and at once renounced their abhorrent and inhuman policy of *apartheid*, so that new perspectives could open up before them and all of Africa and so that hope might be reborn.

<sup>3</sup> *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council Resolution 276 (1970), Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1971, p. 16.*

52. Possibly it is already too late for the racist régime of South Africa to take the course of reason. The events at Soweto of the month of June last and those which have occurred a few days ago in the city of Johannesburg patently prove that the racial tension in South Africa has practically reached the point of no return.

53. The liberation movements in Rhodesia, in Namibia and in South Africa, with the strong material and moral support of OAU and of all freedom- and justice-loving peoples, are more than ever determined to win by battle that which they have not been able to achieve through moderation, dialogue and negotiations. Their struggle, the sacrifices that they have accepted and the price that they must pay have already shaken the oppressive system in southern Africa, daily bringing closer the end of humiliation, racism and colonial domination in that part of Africa. The situation, in spite of its explosive character and the threat which it poses to peace in Africa, is more than ever favourable to them today because of their sense of sacrifice and their determination.

54. However, it is true that the sacrifice of the peoples of southern Africa is not an end in itself. It is made, accepted and sustained in order to serve specific objectives: complete racial equality in South Africa; independence for Namibia with national unity and territorial integrity; and the rapid establishment of a majority government in Rhodesia. If these objectives can sincerely be achieved through a peaceful approach and in accordance with the aspirations of the peoples concerned, it is obvious that we would be the first to rejoice.

55. But if, on the contrary, such an approach were intended to demobilize militarily and morally the oppressed peoples of southern Africa so as more subtly to perpetuate domination, racism and *apartheid*, we could not subscribe to it.

56. It is in this spirit that we welcome the initiative taken in southern Africa by the Government of the United States of America. We are happy to see that at last the United States is more directly and more positively interested in the problems of Africa, and we are certain that if it succeeds in bringing the white minorities of southern Africa to see the light of reason, the United States would gain respect and prestige throughout the entire African continent.

57. In the opinion of my country, what ultimately matters is not the national motives which may lead a given super-Power to become interested in the concerns of Africa but the results it can obtain in the solution of our problems in accordance with the aspirations of our peoples. Therefore we express the hope that this United States initiative may finally lead to a quick, just and lasting solution to those problems, in the properly understood interest of the African peoples of the region. In the last analysis, the position of Mauritania is that of its brother countries on the front lines and of the liberation movements concerned. Whatever is the position of those countries or those movements, that is the position which Mauritania will defend.

58. While these problems of southern Africa constitute hotbeds of tension which are undeniably active, other

hotbeds of tension which are no less important and cause no less anxiety to my Government continue dangerously to threaten peace and security in the world, and foremost among those is the Middle East situation.

59. For nearly 30 years the Palestine question and its corollary, the Middle East crisis, have been in the forefront of the concerns of the international community.

60. This question has been the origin of four successive wars in the region, each time endangering international peace. I believe there is no need to recall the genesis of this problem, which is sufficiently well known here at the United Nations.

61. Yet it seems to me to be timely to recall an essential element which at present characterizes the facts of this question, that is to say, the quasi-unanimous recognition by the international community of the existence of Palestine and of the national rights of the Palestinian people.

62. The welcome accorded here in 1974 to the Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization, brother Yasser Arafat,<sup>4</sup> the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization not only in the debates of the General Assembly as an observer but also in the debates of the Security Council, the recognition of the right of the Palestinian people to an independent existence, to a country and to a sovereignty are a perfect illustration. All these elements now constitute tangible proof that any solution of the problem of the Middle East must of necessity and first and foremost include a solution of the tragedy of the brother people of Palestine.

63. While for far too long imposing this tragic situation on the brother people of Palestine, driving them from their homes and dispossessing them of their goods, the Zionist aggressors have since 1967 extended their misdeeds to the territories of the neighbouring Arab States. Those territories have been occupied by force and are still occupied, and the composition of their population has been changed because of an active policy of settling new populations.

64. It is time for the international community to assume its full responsibility and all its responsibilities in regard to this grave situation. As long as the Palestinian and other Arab peoples of the region do not recover their legitimate rights, there will be neither peace nor stability in the Middle East.

65. The conditions for a just and lasting peace in that region, as we have always stated, are: first, the restoration of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, which are recognized by the entire international community; and, secondly, withdrawal by Israel from all the occupied Arab territories.

66. I could not end my remarks on this question of the Middle East without recalling with deep bitterness the fratricidal laceration which our brother country of Lebanon has been undergoing for more than a year. We sincerely regret what is happening in that brother country with

<sup>4</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings, 2282nd meeting.*

which we have many links and we hope that this painful trial will strengthen Lebanon and that it will be able to play the role it has always played in the Arab world on the three levels of culture, politics and economics.

67. There are many other important problems which normally require our attention and on which my country has a clearly defined position. Among the items on our agenda we might mention the question of Mayotte [item 122], Djibouti [item 25] and Cyprus [item 118], which must respectively be settled on the basis of national unity and territorial integrity for the Comoros, independence in accordance with the aspirations of the people of Djibouti and a solution for Cyprus taking into account the interest of all the Cypriot people and preserving the independence and non-alignment of Cyprus. There are other items on our agenda the importance of which we certainly do not underrate, but it is impossible to go into a detailed review of all of them. However, I could not fail to mention a major preoccupation of our times: international economic relations and the law of the sea.

68. The frequency of the international gatherings which have taken place since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly on problems of development and international economic co-operation emphasizes the need for and also the urgency of a fundamental reform of the world economic system, which has so far generated injustices because it was built on inequality and exploitation.

69. Whether in Paris, where the Conference on International Economic Co-operation was held, at Nairobi, where the fourth session of UNCTAD dealt with essential and controversial problems, or quite recently in New York, where, under your distinguished guidance, Mr. President, the fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has just ended, the international community as a whole has been given an opportunity to explore, within the framework of a dialogue that has been direct, frank and, above all, exempt from any prejudices, the possibilities of the establishment of a new international economic order.

70. One of the most significant manifestations of the spirit of conciliation which must of necessity prevail in conceiving and carrying out a historic enterprise of this kind is, no doubt, what has been called the "North-South dialogue", which was started only three months after the completion of the work of the seventh special session of the General Assembly on the happy initiative of the President of the French Republic, Mr. Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, to whom I wish here to pay a tribute.

71. The vital importance for development in my country of the problems of raw materials and energy, not to mention other problems, is sufficient to justify the keen interest we have had in the work of that Conference throughout the various stages of its progress. While it may be premature to pronounce any judgement on the progress achieved so far, it is to be hoped nevertheless that the basic problems will finally be debated and that before the end of this year, or in 1977 at the latest, it will be possible to find concrete solutions.

72. Be that as it may, we remain profoundly convinced, for our part, that, more than the institutional framework

adopted and more than the complexity of the problems to be studied, it is the sincere will of all States without exception to further the "North-South dialogue" that will determine the success or failure of the Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

73. Once again this political will has been tested within the framework of the fourth session of UNCTAD, which met in May last in Nairobi. The developing countries carefully prepared for it by devoting to it practically the whole of the Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held in Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976, and, in the opinion of those countries, the fourth session of UNCTAD was to be a decisive stage in the history of a new economic order. It was to offer an opportunity for both the developed and the developing countries to define the commitments they had undertaken at the seventh special session of the General Assembly, commitments covering such key issues as commodities, the transfer of technology, the international monetary system and economic co-operation among developing countries.

*Mr. Kamougué (Chad), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

74. All those problems, to which my country attaches special attention and which summarize the difficulties facing the third world as a whole in its effort to emerge from its impoverishment, were fully discussed in Manila, where the Group of 77 once again firmly reiterated the need to increase the numbers of associations of exporting countries for all commodities and, to that end, advocated the strengthening of the role of UNCTAD by providing it with institutional means to enable it to contribute effectively to the implementation of United Nations resolutions.

75. Today, four months after the end of the fourth session of UNCTAD, it would be quite appropriate to wonder whether its work has proceeded along the line of those directives, whether the dialogue started at the seventh special session in New York was continued at Nairobi; and in a word, whether the fourth session of UNCTAD had, even in part, made concrete the hopes of the developing nations.

76. In this review, the crucial question of commodities, and more particularly the integrated programme and the common fund, constitute, in our opinion, the most accurate index, since on it depend the improvement of the terms of trade of the developing countries and the increase of their export earnings. If the Nairobi negotiations did not lead to concrete and decisive results it was, however, possible to arrive at a consensus on the need for common action in this field. We consider that this is not negligible and that it is of the utmost importance to preserve and consolidate this.

77. To this end, we sincerely hope that the schedule established for the practical modalities for setting up a common fund to finance international commodity stocks will be implemented in due course. We are also pleased with the announcements made by certain countries in the course of the work of the Conference. We see in this a happy augury for the establishment of the fund.

78. Among the other subjects considered, that of economic co-operation among the developing countries de-

serves our attention both because of the importance of the objective pursued—that is, to make the developing countries capable of being the real instruments of their own development—and because of its special interest at the present juncture.

79. The Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, which was held barely 10 days ago in Mexico City, must be considered a new step in the long march towards the establishment of an economic and social system more capable of meeting the most immediate needs of the majority of the inhabitants of our planet.

80. The hunger, disease and ignorance still afflicting the poor countries which constitute the majority of mankind can be eliminated only by their combined efforts, starting with the developing countries. The debate on this question of co-operation among developing countries is therefore not academic—far from it. We consider it of the utmost importance that we, the developing countries, realize the gravity of the situation and endeavour to change it by relying first of all on ourselves. To this end, it is essential to intensify co-operation among our countries and to encompass all fields that can improve the standard of living of our populations. At any rate, Mauritania wishes to reaffirm here its profound attachment to the objectives of that co-operation. It will not miss a single opportunity to make its modest contribution. It is in that spirit that we wish to support Pakistan's proposal to hold a summit conference of the countries of the third world, to be devoted to international economic co-operation and co-operation among developing countries [see A/31/208].

81. But those objectives of which I have spoken and to which the conference will be devoted cannot be attained, nor the harmonious development of the world community as a whole be ensured, so long as the arms race continues at the rate that we all know. The figures speak for themselves. While every year the world spends \$300 billion on arms, the net public aid to development does not exceed the modest sum of approximately \$15 billion a year. To get an even more striking realization of the paradoxical nature of these investments, it would suffice to recall that the resources devoted in the last 30 years to arms exceeded \$6 trillion, which represents approximately the gross national product of the entire world in 1976. These figures, which continue to increase dangerously, must be considered seriously and realistically within the framework of the efforts made by the international community in the past few years in order to obtain a better world balance.

82. Mauritania, which is half desert, has undergone, like all its neighbours in the Sudano-Sahelian area, a period of particularly trying drought and it wishes here to express its gratitude for the praiseworthy and generous efforts of the international community and certain friendly countries to help alleviate the effects of that terrible catastrophe. In this connexion, we are particularly happy with the activities of the United Nations Sahelian Office, which has undertaken a campaign of mobilizing resources to finance and set up a series of national and regional projects in that hard-hit subregion.

83. The recent creation in Dakar of an association of friends of the Sahel, made up of States and organizations

willing to give us their support and assistance, and the various meetings of financing sources and in particular that held at Geneva in July 1975, organized and presided over by Mr. Bradford Morse, who was then Under-Secretary-General for Political and General Assembly Affairs—to whom I think it is only fair to pay a tribute for his dynamism and foresight—constitute striking proof of the spirit of solidarity so necessary for the maintenance and development of international co-operation. We wish to avail ourselves of this opportunity to express our sincerest gratitude to the States and organizations which have contributed so generously to this effort for our recovery.

84. The establishment of an international economic order which we hope for cannot validly be dissociated from the establishment of a new legal order for the oceans which would reflect the legitimate aspirations of the vast majority of mankind. The skill, capability and devotion that the President has for 10 years placed at the service of this noble task compel our admiration and gratitude. My country, which has one of the major coastlines in Africa, has since the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea at Caracas been able to state its views on what it thinks should be the basis and objective of the new maritime law.

85. Today, only a few days after the end of the Conference's fifth session, we are happy to note that some principles that we have advocated for inclusion in the future convention seem to have been accepted by everyone, in particular such principles as the exclusive economic zone to which my country attaches particular importance. Full and complete sovereignty which the coastal State should exercise over the new maritime space should, in our opinion, be subject to no restriction except freedom of navigation, which is necessary to promote the role of the sea as a link between peoples. We believe that that sovereignty should be interpreted as the application of the inalienable principle of permanent sovereignty of peoples over their natural resources.

86. As regards the sea-bed, which constitutes the common heritage of mankind, according to the Declaration of Principles contained in General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV), it is our belief that in order to reflect the communal nature of that area in fact, the exploration and exploitation of its resources must be carried out under the direct and effective control of the sea-bed authority, which will distribute the profits from the exploitation of that zone in accordance with the criteria stated in the Declaration taking into particular account the needs of the developing countries. The authority must especially seek to reduce to a minimum the unfavourable repercussions which the exploitation of the resources of the area might have on the prices of the raw materials from the developing countries. I am not unaware that this is a very complex problem, on which it has not so far been possible to reach agreement.

87. That is our position on some of the questions considered by the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. I should like to affirm, however, that our concerns for, and our attachment to, the principles which I have just mentioned are not to be interpreted as a refusal to negotiate. We believe in the virtues of dialogue, and we

remain convinced that it will be possible to conclude an international agreement on the law of the sea. We must nevertheless not forget that this is an extremely sensitive question where unilateral initiatives are out of order and where, like our President, we believe that "we have reached a stage where the . . . conclusion of an agreement could be imperilled by . . . precipitate action" [1st meeting, para. 81].

88. These are the political and economic problems which appear to my country to be a tremendous challenge to the international community and, in particular, to the United Nations. To resolve these problems in the interests of all mankind will require not only true political will mainly on the part of the two developed blocs but also an appropriate framework where all members of the world community are represented. If this political will does not at the moment appear to be sufficient or does not go beyond even proclaimed intentions, at any rate the framework already exists. As an instrument for dialogue and understanding among peoples, the United Nations is for its Member States a mechanism which has stood the test of time in all fields of human activity. True, it has its short-comings and its imperfections, but the United Nations is today more than ever an essential element in international life. Furthermore, it is up to its Member States to correct its short-comings and imperfections by respecting and implementing its decisions and resolutions and by adjusting the provisions of the Charter to present-day realities. If the privileges accorded to certain Member States by the Charter were justified at the outset, given the historical context in which the Organization came into being, it now seems to us to be necessary to re-examine those provisions of the Charter, taking into account the present balance of power and the emergence in the past 15 years of many new nations whose presence here fundamentally changes the political shape and the human dimension of the framework established in 1945.

89. Whatever its imperfections and short-comings, the United Nations remains the hope of many countries such as mine as we take up the tremendous challenge of today establishing a new international order based on justice and equity. Such a task of necessity requires that the United Nations be headed by a man having a clear vision of the scope of this responsibility and capable of making the Organization a real instrument at the service of these objectives. Our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, having assumed this difficult responsibility at a time of profound and rapid changes, proved by his competence, his sense of moderation and his political realism that he is the man best suited to the task. That is why I should like to extend our congratulations to him and pay him a tribute for the task he has already accomplished and for the one which, we hope, he will accomplish in the years to come. He may rest assured that he has the complete support and understanding of my country.

90. I could not conclude my statement without taking up a question which directly affects my country—that which is called the question of Western Sahara. I had not intended to do so, in order to preserve in our debates the serenity which is required by the problems to which I have already referred. However, since certain delegations spoke of it in their statements, I feel it my duty briefly to recall the

evolution of this question since the thirtieth session of the General Assembly. Everyone will remember that, under resolutions 377 (1975) and 380 (1975) of 22 October and 6 November 1975, the Security Council recommended that the parties concerned start negotiations on this question, under Article 33 of the Charter and without prejudice to any measure which the General Assembly might take. While the first phase of these negotiations was not concluded because of well-known external pressures, the second was to lead to a tripartite agreement, which was signed in Madrid on 14 November 1975. This agreement provides in particular, in paragraph 3, that the opinion of the population of the Sahara will be "expressed through the Yema'a".<sup>5</sup>

91. Morocco and Mauritania, bearing in mind that, when the Security Council recommended these negotiations, it added that this would be without prejudice to any measure which the General Assembly might take, have submitted this agreement to the United Nations for assessment. The General Assembly, under resolution 3458 B (XXX), took note of the agreement, while in paragraph 3 it made the parties to the agreement responsible for ensuring respect for the aspirations of the Saharan populations. It is therefore in implementation of a Security Council resolution, an international agreement and a General Assembly resolution that Mauritania and Morocco enabled the Saharan populations to exercise their right to self-determination in accordance with the procedure defined by the Madrid agreement, which was endorsed by the General Assembly. Every action taken by the two countries falls within the framework of international legality, and they are therefore justified in considering that self-determination has been exercised in Western Sahara in accordance with the decisions taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

92. What is more, in the month of August last Mauritania, in its north-west region, which has been newly reintegrated under the name of Tiris el Gharbia, proceeded to hold legislative elections. As a result of these elections, which were held in the presence of many observers and foreign correspondents, seven deputies were elected to the Mauritanian National Assembly and now participate in its deliberations. Furthermore, all the higher-level personnel of that region undertake the national responsibilities for which they are suited by their training and qualifications, just like any other Mauritanian citizen.

93. In other words, for Mauritania and Morocco, which only acted in accordance with the rights recognized as theirs by the International Court of Justice<sup>6</sup> and with the resolutions of our Organization, the principle of self-determination can no longer be invoked for the populations of Western Sahara, which have clearly chosen to be either Mauritanian or Moroccan.

94. If we also consider the views of the Algerian leaders, this right cannot be invoked because the result towards which its application might in due course tend has already

<sup>5</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirtieth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1975*, document S/11880, annex III.

<sup>6</sup> See *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975*, p. 12.



been created and recognized by Algeria. The proclamation in Algerian territory of a prefabricated so-called Saharan Republic and the formal recognition which they immediately gave it do not warrant that the Algerian leaders should invoke the right to self-determination. Indeed, it is illogical of them to continue to call for the application of the principle of self-determination to the Saharan populations, for their attitude in this respect is precisely the very negation of that principle because they have already proclaimed the result of its implementation.

95. The Council of Ministers of OAU, at its meeting in Addis Ababa in February last, was perfectly aware of that contradiction. It felt that since a Saharan Republic had been created, the only remaining problem had to do with recognition of that Republic, and recognition fell within the sovereignty of each State.

96. Thus, it is clear that, whatever point of view one may have, the principle of self-determination can no longer be invoked in regard to the peoples of the Sahara—unless one wishes to apply the principle to imaginary Saharans or to play contradictory games, something which no one in good faith could accept.

97. Indeed, the problem confronting this north-western part of Africa is a problem of tension between the States of the subregion, tension which the Saharan question in fact only revealed and of which it was the instrument. When clear and detailed information in that regard was communicated by the Mauritanian Head of State to his peers at the last Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU, it was decided that a special summit conference would be convened to deal with this situation as a whole. While Mauritania is sure of its rights and of the undoubted failure of the attempts made against its unity, it nevertheless has confidence in the African Heads of State and hopes that Africa's wisdom will finally have the last word.

98. This natural and normal confidence that my country has in the African Heads of State is shared by the non-aligned movement, which, during the recent Fifth Conference in Colombo, adopted the following declaration:

"The Conference taking note of the decision of the Organization of African Unity to hold an Extraordinary Summit on the question of Western Sahara and the Situation which has resulted in the region, expressed its hope that this meeting will lead to a just and durable solution to this question." [A/31/197, annex I, para. 35.]

That is Africa's attitude on this question. It is the attitude also of the non-aligned countries. The attitude of the League of Arab States is so well known that I do not have to repeat it.

99. I did not wish this brief outline of the development of the Saharan question to contain any element that could lead to controversy. As I said at the beginning of this statement, my concern was that our debates here should take place in an atmosphere of serenity. If, however, it appears to be useful to give more details, I shall take the liberty of speaking again at a later stage of the debate in order to place before the Assembly all the necessary information.

100. In conclusion, I should like to take this solemn occasion to reaffirm the sincere desire of the Government and people of Mauritania—a desire that the Mauritanian Head of State has constantly affirmed—to see peace, stability and harmony reign in that north-western region of Africa; I would also state that our country is prepared to re-establish relations of confident and brotherly friendship with the fraternal people of Algeria. The only condition—and it is a simple one—that we place on this normalization of relations, which history, civilization, geography and the higher interests of Africa and the Arab world require, is that the leaders of the fraternal people of Algeria stop welcoming, financing, arming and training mercenaries, some of whom are Mauritanians, who will then be directed against our country, and that they respect our independence and territorial integrity and the unity of our people. Is that not the very minimum that we have a right to require of a fraternal people with which we share a common past and common aspirations? We express the wish that this appeal will be regarded not as weakness but, rather, as a call for friendship and fraternity, on a basis of mutual respect.

101. Mr. RITHAUDDEEN (Malaysia): It gives me great pleasure to extend to you on behalf of the Government and people of Malaysia my sincere congratulations on your election as President of the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly. Your election to this high office is indeed a fitting expression of the esteem which the international community holds not only for your people and country but also for the fine qualities and skilful diplomacy you have demonstrated as the Permanent Representative of your country to the United Nations.

102. My delegation takes special pride that an illustrious son of Asia and one from a country with which Malaysia has long shared friendly and close ties has been elected to this important office. Under your guidance and wisdom, Mr. President, I am confident that our deliberations in the months ahead will be brought to a constructive and successful conclusion. I would like in this connexion to assure you of the co-operation of my delegation.

103. Allow me also to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the skilful and effective manner in which he presided over the deliberations of the thirtieth session. His guidance throughout that session enabled us to preserve the atmosphere of cordiality and the spirit of goodwill so vital to the fruitful conclusion of our far-ranging deliberations.

104. Before proceeding any further, it is only fitting that I should on behalf of my delegation extend my best wishes to our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. The effective manner in which he has shouldered the heavy responsibilities of this high office of this august body deserves our congratulations and deep appreciation. May I assure him of my delegation's continuing support for and co-operation of my delegation in his efforts.

105. I would like to take this opportunity to extend our congratulations and warm welcome to the Republic of Seychelles on being accorded its rightful place as a Member of the United Nations. Its presence indeed represents for us today not only as a further achievement of the universality

of membership of this Organization but, more importantly, the triumph of peoples struggling for independence and the assertion of their sovereign right to determine their own future and destiny.

106. It is also our earnest hope that the People's Republic of Angola and the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, which possess all the legal attributes as sovereign and independent States, will soon gain their rightful places as Members of the United Nations. We in South-East Asia, in particular, attach a special significance to the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, whose recent reunification is testimony to the determination of a people dedicated to the pursuit of independence, sovereignty and freedom.

107. The emergence of peaceful conditions for the whole of South-East Asia has been the cherished hope of our peoples for a full generation. Indeed, the positive efforts towards the promotion of regionalism in our part of the world, consonant with the objectives of the United Nations Development Decade are premised upon this proposition. Our region is now at the threshold of a new era where, durable peace and the national aspirations and progress of our peoples are within our grasp. We have a common task to ensure the continued well being of our peoples, thereby contributing towards greater world peace and stability. Malaysia therefore looks forward and hopes earnestly and honestly to working closely with the people of Viet Nam, Kampuchea and Laos towards the establishment of a viable, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South-East Asia free from any form or manner of external interference.

108. The year 1976 marks the beginning of the last quarter of the twentieth century. As we cross the threshold of this last quarter it is relevant to take stock of our past performance so that we can gain a better perspective of how we are to proceed in the future. We are all familiar with the problems which have claimed the attention of the United Nations for many years. The questions of disarmament, decolonization, *apartheid*, the Middle East, human rights, development and trade still remain on our agenda. Perhaps a careful assessment of our past efforts in approaching these issues may lead us to discover more effective ways of resolving them. Indeed, my delegation comes afresh to the General Assembly each year with new enthusiasm and filled with optimism that we may achieve what we had failed to achieve in the past.

109. My delegation is pleased to note that the smaller countries, especially those in the non-aligned group, are beginning to play an increasingly more significant role in eliminating the causes of tension and conflict in the world. However, while some progress has been made in this direction, détente between the super-Powers in our view has not proceeded satisfactorily and has acquired the limited characteristics of a mutual accommodation of big-Power interests which may at the same time prove to be detrimental to the interests of other countries.

110. We in Malaysia view this development with considerable alarm, particularly since this may hamper the efforts of establishing a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality for South-East Asia as a means of lessening tension and eliminating big-Power rivalry and interference in the internal affairs of the small nations in the region. Surely

cognizance must be given to the fact that the proposal of this concept is in line with United Nations support for the creation of zones of peace in different parts of the world because they are a positive contribution to the establishment of international peace and security.

111. The Prime Minister of Malaysia in his speech at the recent non-aligned Conference in Colombo has said that the creation of zones of peace in strategic areas such as the Indian Ocean and South-East Asia is becoming more relevant and urgent in the context of continuing rivalry and arms escalation among the super-Powers. Malaysia had initiated the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia in order to keep out this big-Power rivalry and competition for spheres of influence and control from the region. This was subsequently translated into a declaration commonly known as the Kuala Lumpur Declaration of November 1971, which was adopted by Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand.

112. In my submission in regard to South-East Asia, the concept of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality is very relevant and valid at all times, be it in the era of bitter wars or in the era of détente or even in the era of peace. Indeed, it was the intention of the five signatory countries that the zone of peace, freedom and neutrality should cover the whole of South-East Asia. It was envisaged that as soon as peace returned to the region consultations could be carried out with other countries on the details of the proposal.

113. The situation in South-East Asia since then has changed following the cessation of hostilities and, more recently, the reunification of Viet Nam, as a result of which the prospects of increased regional peace, stability, regional co-operation and harmony in South-East Asia have been greatly enhanced. Certainly, Malaysia believes this development has generated a large degree of confidence and has created favourable conditions to enable all countries in South-East Asia to enter into a dialogue among them on the proposal for a zone of peace and to work out a new order of relations within which the countries of the region as well as those outside it could live in peace and co-operation with one another, regardless of their ideology or social systems, and pursue their own destiny and development free of interference from outside Powers.

114. In February 1976 the Heads of State and Government of Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Thailand and Singapore met in Bali, Indonesia. They signed the Treaty of Amity and Co-operation in South-East Asia and the Declaration of ASEAN Concord, giving their formal reaffirmation to the proposal for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia. The Declaration of ASEAN Concord in particular called for the creation of conditions that would be favourable to the promotion of peaceful co-operation among all the nations of South-East Asia on the basis of mutual respect and benefits.

115. The motivations behind the proposal as contained in the Kuala Lumpur Declaration are clear for all to see. It was an option for peaceful and co-operative coexistence. The proposal has already received positive support in various international forums including the Commonwealth Confer-

ence and the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries in Algiers in 1973. I would like in this connexion to express our deep appreciation to the Honourable Krishna Raj Aryal, Foreign Minister of Nepal, who in his recent statement has expressed Nepal's full and strong support for what he has so aptly described as "a constructive effort towards the strengthening of the peace, stability and development of the South-East Asian region" [5th meeting, para. 174]. May I also take this opportunity to thank Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China, who in his statement yesterday [17th meeting] held that the position of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] for the establishment of a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from interference by foreign Powers should be respected.

116. Last, but not least, we are optimistic that the big Powers will eventually come round to accept that détente and peace can never be divisible and that it is through the realization of a neutral and peaceful South-East Asia that we shall be able to eliminate the complex interplay of big-Power rivalry in the region, which we are certain will work to the mutual advantage of all concerned.

117. My delegation is heartened to note that the United Nations continues to provide the forum for us to put our minds together in the search for global solutions to global problems, and even if those solutions have in the past fallen short of public expectations they should not deter us from continuing the dialogue which is so indispensable to international understanding and co-operation. The debates in international conferences, as the Secretary-General has rightly pointed out, have a very considerable effect in focusing public interest on global problems, in preparing a climate of opinion favourable to their solution and in evolving guidelines for future international and national action.

118. This is certainly true of our discussion on the problems of disarmament, in which no significant progress has been made in this field in recent years. The escalation of the arms race in many sensitive areas of the world has continued unabated. The proliferation of nuclear weapons has enhanced the spectre of accidental nuclear confrontation with all its ghastly consequences. Agreements between the super-Powers on the limitation of strategic arms are not sufficient if they do not include agreements on important qualitative limitations and substantial reduction of their strategic nuclear weapon systems as a positive step towards nuclear disarmament. The prospect of convening a world disarmament conference seems further than ever before. My Government believes that lasting peace could only be achieved through general and complete disarmament under strict and effective international control, and not through a mutually agreed balance of armaments. We hope that this session would give serious consideration to the recommendation of the non-aligned countries for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly on disarmament. It is our view that a start has to be made somewhere, so that we can bring together all States, including the nuclear-weapon States, to talk seriously of global disarmament. We also hope that constructive debate will prevail over such other issues as a comprehensive ban on all forms of nuclear weapon tests in all environments,

the cessation of the nuclear arms race and the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons.

119. The Middle East remains another area of conflict. We are concerned that this problem continues to be unresolved. Malaysia firmly believes that any solution to the problem must take into account the rights of the Arab States concerned to regain their lost territories. We deplore the acquisition of territories by the use of force and the changing of the geographical and demographical aspects of the occupied territories, including steps to Judaize the cities of Jerusalem, Nazareth and the region of Galilee. As one of the 20 members of the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People, Malaysia fully subscribes to the view that no solution in the area could be possible which does not take fully into account the legitimate aspirations of the Palestinian people and their inalienable right to return to their homes and properties and to achieve self-determination, national independence and sovereignty. Consequently, we fully support the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization, on an equal footing with all the parties concerned, in all efforts, deliberations and conferences on the Middle East to bring about a comprehensive and final settlement of the Middle East issue.

120. The United Nations during the past decade has played an increasingly important role in hastening the process of decolonization in many parts of the world. In Africa in particular, the momentum created by the emergence of newly independent countries has hastened this process. In South-East Asia, I wish to take note with great satisfaction that the overwhelming majority of the people of the region are now independent and sovereign. However, there still remains an area in South-East Asia where this august body at its last session has called upon the administering Power to facilitate expeditiously the holding of free and democratic elections by the appropriate government authorities in accordance with the inalienable rights of the people to self-determination and independence. I refer to the territory of Brunei. Malaysia would urge the responsible authorities to respond positively as early as possible to General Assembly resolution 3424 (XXX) so that the people of Brunei will not be denied their inalienable rights.

121. With regard to the situation in southern Africa, there is optimism that acceptance of the inevitability of majority rule by the illegal minority régime in Southern Rhodesia may yet avert the ghastly consequences of a racial war. It is our hope that the negotiations for a speedy transfer to majority rule can bring about a change in the situation which will prevent the eruption of an explosive tragedy in that part of the world. In this context, such a tragedy is inevitable if the illegal minority régime continues to remain intransigent. Malaysia joins other member countries in reaffirming support for the people of Zimbabwe in their just struggle to achieve majority rule.

122. In Namibia, my delegation fully associates itself with the efforts of the United Nations to put an end to South Africa's illegal occupation of that Territory. We reiterate our support to the Namibian people in their legitimate struggle for self-determination and independence, and we deplore any deceitful action on the part of the Vorster

régime to delay in restoring Namibia to its rightful inhabitants.

123. As for South Africa, recent events have served to underscore the barbarity and ruthlessness of the white racist régime. We deplore the Soweto massacre and regret the loss of lives which it has caused. That tragic event and other recent outbreaks of discontent serve to show beyond any doubt that the evil policy of *apartheid* by the South African régime can have only one inevitable consequence, and that is violence. As a member of the Special Committee Against *Apartheid*, Malaysia pledges to continue working earnestly with the other members towards the complete eradication of the obnoxious and abhorrent racist policy of the Pretoria régime.

124. In Cyprus, the situation is both complex and dangerous. It is heartening to note that the non-aligned summit Conference in Colombo has supported the continuation of meaningful and constructive negotiations between the representatives of the Greek-Cypriot and Turkish-Cypriot communities. It is our view that, to succeed, the negotiations must be conducted in the spirit of goodwill and accommodation and must give expression to the rights and interests of both communities on an equal footing, and based on the principle of equal participation on all international forums. We would like to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General in promoting the inter-communal talks, and hope that his efforts to bring about meaningful and constructive negotiations will meet with success.

125. We have now entered into the second half of the Second United Nations Development Decade. The lagging over-all performance of the first half reminds us of the urgent need for improvement and redoubling of efforts during the remaining years of the Decade to ensure the attainment of the targets set out in the International Development Strategy.

126. The interdependence of nations and global economic problems are realities that confront the world community; they require no emphasis. The many and acute disparities between the developed and developing countries have long been identified, and the demand for remedial measures has been well articulated consistently by the developing world. The sixth and seventh special sessions of the General Assembly, the adoption 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)*], advanced both recognition and endorsement of the need to change the existing international economic structure.

127. More often than not, statements of principle and decisions concerning the restructuring and creation of a more equitable economic order have been accepted by the developed countries with reluctance, or even without any intention of their pursuit. Let us not deceive ourselves that resolutions and rhetoric at international forums will help to narrow the gap between the developed and developing worlds and move us on the path towards a new economic order. The successful implementation of agreed decisions for the establishment of the new order is a collective

responsibility that demands our shouldering with unwavering faith, co-operation and political commitment. Any further delay or postponement of such concerted action would only engender economic tensions detrimental to the interests of all mankind.

128. Over the past few months, the international community has had occasion to meet together to discuss and to seek solutions to pressing economic problems and issues. My delegation views the fourth session of UNCTAD as a key stage in the search for solutions to those crucial economic problems that beset the world, and particularly the developing countries. The results of that session fell short of our expectations and we too are deeply disappointed at the limited nature of agreements reached at Nairobi.

129. However, the intensive negotiations conducted there have stimulated and strengthened the wholesome trend of dialogue between nations. Let me take this opportunity to record my delegation's confidence and hope that the positive interaction and continuation of dialogue between the developed and developing countries would enhance and accelerate our common endeavours to realize agreed objectives as well as to reach consensus on issues that remain unresolved, including the elimination of restrictive trade measures against exports from developing countries, promotion of measures for transfer of technology and reform of the international financial and monetary system.

130. I do not intend to review the decisions taken at the fourth session of UNCTAD, but would like to focus attention on the question of commodities and state once again that Malaysia will not cease to participate in and actively support the quest for a better and satisfactory trading relationship between producers and consumers. We have always regarded the problem of commodities as a matter of crucial importance, the approach to which must be multidimensional. In this regard, the integrated programme for commodities, with its core elements of buffer stocks and the common fund, provides a comprehensive approach to commodity problems and merits our particular serious consideration during the forthcoming months. Negotiations on the programme provide the international community with yet another opportunity to harmonize their interests in the areas of raw materials and primary commodities. The satisfactory solution to those crucial problems is vital to the establishment of a new international economic order.

131. We have now before us an opportunity to build a new international economic framework wherein all nations might enjoy harmonious and just relations. With renewed determination and in genuine co-operation, let us, both developed and developing countries, respond courageously and decisively to this difficult but momentous challenge.

132. Mr. AL-KHALIFA (Bahrain) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure at the outset to offer Ambassador Amerasinghe the congratulations of the delegation of Bahrain on his election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. His wide knowledge and experience as an able statesman and diplomat has qualified him for this high office. I am fully confident that, with his wide experience

in presiding over our deliberations, we shall reach valuable results, to the benefit of man and of progress.

133. I commend also on this occasion the efforts of his predecessor, the President of the thirtieth session, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the competence which he showed at the last session, which produced positive results.

134. On this occasion, I should mention with all appreciation the efforts and remarkable diligence exercised by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for strengthening the role of the United Nations in all fields. The report which he has submitted at this session [A/31/1 and Add.1] shows the importance of the responsibility assumed by him for finding stable international conditions in which security, peace and prosperity prevail.

135. The international Organization is passing through its thirty-first year with its universality strengthened by the increase of its Members to almost threefold what they were when it was established in 1945. Each year the Organization gives one proof after another of its universality and durability against challenges and obstacles. Last year a number of States which had obtained their independence after long struggle joined the Organization. I welcome the presence among us in this hall this year of the delegation of Seychelles, and congratulate, in the name of Bahrain, the people and Government of Seychelles on their independence and admission to this Organization. At the same time, I do hope strongly that all States possessed with the qualifications contained in the Charter will join the Organization.

136. I am fully confident that the day will come soon when we will see all the peoples of Africa and other peoples in the world who still thirst for freedom and independence taking their place among us in this Organization.

137. In this respect, I should commend the work done in recent years by the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples for increasing the momentum of the movement for the independence of small nations in the world.

138. The world has become smaller owing to the tremendous technological advances in communications and in other fields. It is regrettable, however, that in this Organization we have not come further from what we were or nearer to what we seek to do. The most important objective of this Organization is to lead the people of the world to greater understanding and harmony.

139. This is due to the unnatural conditions prevailing in some parts of the world where racial discrimination and colonialist and Zionist greed prevail, as is the case in South Africa, Namibia, Palestine and Rhodesia.

140. For years the United Nations has warned the racist authorities of South Africa of the consequences of their continuous occupation of Namibia and their racist policy in South Africa. They have not heeded or paid attention to such warnings, relying on moral support and military and material aid given to them by some Western States and by

Israel. Last year we criticized those States which were supplying the Government of South Africa with military and material aid, and warned that such support would drive the racist authorities to trespass on their neighbours in southern Africa. What we have expected has happened. Last July, the forces of South Africa crossed the frontiers of the Republic of Zambia and destroyed some of its villages and killed some civilians there. Today we reiterate that the policy of military support given by some States will drive the military racist authorities of South Africa to commit incessant aggressions against the people of other neighbouring States in Africa.

141. The bloody incidents that occurred in recent times in South Africa indicate that citizens there flatly reject the existing racist régime and look forward to living in a society that guarantees them their rights as nationals and safeguards their human dignity, as enjoyed by other people.

142. We believe that it is the duty of this Organization to do its utmost to terminate the imperialism of South Africa in Namibia and to frustrate its plans to partition that country and impose its rule there through a minority that does not represent the people for the purpose of perpetuating its domination over the country and of exploiting its resources. We should like to express on this occasion our appreciation for all the efforts made by the United Nations Council for Namibia to secure the independence of the people of that country.

143. Against this situation we reiterate what we called for in the past, namely, that a complete blockade be imposed on the supply to the Government of South Africa of arms and military equipment, and that States which assist that Government should stop their military and economic support, in conformity with the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in this respect; that efforts should be increased to put pressure, by all means, on the Government of South Africa to abandon its colonization or disguised domination of Namibia and to give that country complete independence under the supervision of the United Nations, and to relinquish its abhorred policy of *apartheid* in South Africa.

144. In Southern Rhodesia, the white minority Government continues to exploit the people of Zimbabwe, oppress them and deprive them of their legitimate national rights, in spite of warnings and repeated calls to give those people the opportunity to participate in the administration of their country in accordance with the principle of majority rule. We support the efforts being made these days to persuade the Government of Southern Rhodesia to change its racist policy and establish a democratic and just administration without discrimination as to race or colour, and we hope that this will be done peacefully to avoid bloodshed and safeguard world peace and security.

145. The question of the Middle East, including the problem of Palestine, is one of the most important and complex problems facing this Organization, considering that the Organization bears a great responsibility with regard to this problem, which emerged when the Organization adopted the resolution for the partition of Palestine in November 1947 [resolution 181 (II)]. Since that time the area of the Middle East has not known security or stability.

Whereas imperialism has collapsed in many parts of the world, the Middle East has been afflicted with something more disastrous: namely, settler racist imperialism, which is one of the cruelest forms of injustice in history, where the land of the people of Palestine was usurped by force and they were expelled from it by brute force at the hands of foreign invaders who had come to establish a racist régime supported by imperialism.

146. As if this were not sufficient, Israel occupied in June 1967 the remaining parts of Palestine and other neighbouring Arab lands. That was not the result of accidental war but part of the expansionist Zionist policy in the Middle East. In the years following the aggression of June 1967 Israel requisitioned Arab lands in occupied Palestine, expelled their owners and changed the landmarks of the country. It took military and political measures in all the occupied areas to strengthen its existence there, against the resolutions passed by the General Assembly and the Security Council to solve the longstanding crisis. The policy adopted by Israel in the Middle East is the greatest threat to peace and security in the area. The danger of war will persist as long as Israel continues its aggressive policy.

147. This Organization bears the responsibility for this situation by having originally adopted the resolution for the partition of Palestine. States also bear this responsibility when they support Israel by military and material aid and in its violation of the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly.

148. The bloody incidents which occurred in the occupied parts of Palestine, in the West Bank, Gaza and Galilee have shown the world that the Palestinian people are determined to get rid of Israeli domination and Zionist racist oppression and that they will accept no alternative to their land. Israel has tried to wipe out Palestine and the Palestinian people but it will never succeed. The Palestinian people within and outside the occupied territories are determined to survive and have decided to continue their struggle to recover their legitimate rights in Palestine. These rights have been confirmed by this Organization many times ever since Israel was created.

149. None the less, Israel continues its aggression against the neighbouring Arab countries and its rule of the occupied territories, and plays a policing role in the area. The bloody clashes which are taking place in Lebanon and which have cost numerous lives are no more than a result of this critical situation in the Middle East. This policing role of Israel has extended to other parts of Africa. The attack launched recently on the sovereignty of Uganda and on its airport is only one aspect of its arrogance and trespassing on the sovereignty of others.

150. The extent of the relationship between the two racist régimes—the Zionist in Israel and *apartheid* in South Africa—has recently become clear to all as a result of the strengthening of the military and economic ties between the two régimes. This was not new to us, as we had already drawn attention to it and warned many times of it in the past. This relationship between the two racist régimes has existed for many years past, in which it has taken various forms of military, economic, political and diplomatic co-operation. This has been made clear by the report of the

Special Committee against *Apartheid* which is submitted to us at this session [A/31/22]. It also proves the correctness of our firm stand in support of General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX) of the last session, which determined that zionism was a form of racism and racial discrimination.

151. It is not a mere accident that bloody incidents recur in South Africa and cost hundreds of innocent lives of Africans, alongside the similar incidents which occur on the West Bank in Palestine, particularly every time the relationship is strengthened between the two countries, as happened after the return of Mr. Vorster, the Prime Minister of South Africa, from his recent visit to Israel. The aggression committed against Zambia last July and the role played by the forces of South Africa on the African continent are merely a reflection of the incessant aggressions waged by Israel against the neighbouring Arab countries and the role it plays in the Middle East: both are part of the same racist policy of the two régimes.

152. I do not wish to recall the many resolutions passed by the United Nations for the solution of the Middle East question and the problem of Palestine, which Israel flatly rejected. The important thing now is to find a peaceful, just and acceptable solution which would restore security and peace to the region. In our view, the solution of the problem of the Middle East is not confined to the conclusion of bilateral agreements between some countries in the area. The main problem is the question of Palestine and the Palestinian people and their entity and right in their land and heritage. The occupation of parts of the neighbouring Arab States is no more than a result of the expansionist policy of Israel in the area. The solution of this problem lies in the complete withdrawal of Israel from the Arab lands occupied since 1967 and the return of the Palestinian people to their homes and granting them the right of self-determination, like any other people, through their representative, the Palestine Liberation Organization.

153. The Security Council considered last June the report prepared by the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian people [A/31/35], which was convened under resolution 3376 (XXX) adopted by the General Assembly at the last session. The report, in our view, is good as a basis for finding a peaceful solution to the problem of Palestine. Although it does not contain all the matters we call for, yet it may be considered a positive step towards finding a sound basis for the solution of the problem of the Middle East in its entirety. As we see it, it is the least that the General Assembly should do to find a peaceful solution to the problem of Palestine. We believe that the plan proposed in the report to enable the Palestinian people to exercise their lawful rights in Palestine is pragmatic, as it takes into consideration the current situation in the Middle East.

154. It is regrettable that, in spite of the positive contents of the report, the Security Council was not able to take action upon it, because of the objection of a permanent member of the Council and its use of the veto. The report contains proposals and recommendations that go to the heart of the question of the Middle East, as we believe that any effort to solve this question without taking into consideration the lawful rights of the Palestinian people will never succeed. As this report is before the General

Assembly at this session, we call for its support and confirmation and for all necessary measures to be taken to implement it, for the General Assembly bears great historic responsibilities at this stage to restore peace and comfort to the area of the Middle East.

155. It has become clear that this Organization is the only instrument for understanding and co-operation among States and for finding solutions to the economic, social and political problems facing the world, provided that States Members have the true intention and desire to co-operate and are prepared to avoid selfishness and national fanaticism.

156. The importance of this Organization in creating an atmosphere of co-operation and understanding among States has become evident on many occasions. Programmes have been laid down for economic and social co-operation, for development, food, population, the regulation of the exploitation of the resources of the seas and other matters. Many conferences have been held for this purpose under the auspices of the United Nations, and reference may be made to some of them in which we participated this year.

157. The United Nations Conference on Human Settlements was held at Vancouver, in Canada, last June, in accordance with the General Assembly resolution of 9 December of last year [*resolution 3438 (XXX)*]. The Conference issued "The Vancouver Declaration on Human Settlements" and recommendations for national action and international co-operation.<sup>7</sup> The Declaration and recommendations issued by the Conference contain principles and priorities for the establishment and location of human settlements, the protection of the environment and the satisfaction of the basic needs of all individuals in every country without discrimination, and other health, economic and social matters, for the purpose of improving the quality of life of human beings in general. Among the priorities adopted by the Conference to which we should like to refer in particular are the call for the rehabilitation of expelled and homeless people who have been displaced by natural or man-made catastrophes, and especially by the act of foreign aggression, and the duty of all States to co-operate to guarantee that such people return to their homes and recover their properties and belongings without obstruction or interference.

158. We support the recommendation adopted by the Conference that the General Assembly should at this session request the Secretary-General to prepare and submit to the next session a report on the living conditions of the Palestinian people in the occupied territories. We believe that these principles and recommendations deserve attention and consideration.

159. It is regrettable that the fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea ended here last month without reaching a general and comprehensive agreement on the law of the sea. It has been decided, therefore, to convene a sixth session in May of next year. It may be useful, however, to reflect on the difficulties which

have stood in the way of reaching the agreement which we all seek, and the progress which has hitherto been made.

160. It is well known that the seas cover almost two thirds of the surface of the earth; they are a principal source of food, energy and mineral resources and an essential means of transport and communication among States. No State can do without the resources of the seas, whether it is naturally favoured by lying on wide seas or is less fortunate by lying on narrow seas or being land-locked. The interests of States vary according to their geographical location, navigational interests, technical or financial capabilities. It appeared during the discussions in the Conference that no agreement can be reached on one objective without the other, and that the only way to reach a general and comprehensive agreement is by way of compromise in a package deal accepted by all States in general.

161. It is known also that the subjects before the Conference are numerous and complex, and enough time to study, discuss and settle them would be needed. On the other hand, circumstances require that an agreement be reached as soon as possible to forestall unilateral actions which may lead to disputes and confrontation among States that would undermine the political and economic stability which we all seek. The continuous increase in the population of the world—which is likely to double in a quarter of a century—requires that speedy action be taken to exploit the resources of the seas in an atmosphere of amity and understanding, so that the basic needs of food and energy may be met for present and future generations.

162. Opinions may differ on the extent of the real progress hitherto made by the Conference. There is no doubt, however, that some tangible progress has been made during the last five sessions. The Conference started work without a draft agreement or any basis for such an agreement—as happens in many conferences. At first it relied on numerous and at times conflicting proposals submitted by many States. It was able at the third session, held at Geneva last year, to issue an informal single negotiating text. At its fourth session, held in New York last March, the Conference issued an informal revised negotiating text and started discussion on other subjects.

163. The views have been crystallized and the points of difference were concretized during the fifth session, which ended last month. It is hoped, therefore, that States will make more effort to narrow their differences and agree on a general system for the seas which would be to the benefit of all. We hope also that States will not take unilateral actions before reaching the final agreement which we all seek; otherwise, any progress reached now in this respect would be wasted, and a valuable opportunity would be lost to mankind to regulate the exploitation of the resources of the sea for which we are now in great need.

164. It may be appropriate to refer to another important conference held this year at Colombo, Sri Lanka, between 16 and 19 August—the Fifth Summit Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, of which we have the honour to be a member.

165. The Fifth Conference of the non-aligned countries issued a Political Declaration, an Economic Declaration, an

<sup>7</sup> See *Report of Habitat: United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Vancouver, 31 May-11 June 1976* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.7).

Action Programme for Economic Co-operation, and political and economic resolutions [see A/31/197]. The Political Declaration of the Conference made it clear that the non-aligned movement symbolizes mankind's search for peace and security among nations and the determination to establish a new and equitable international economic, social and political order. It consistently upholds the principle of international co-operation as the basis for a secure world order and opposes the notion that confrontation is the proper course for the comity of nations.

166. The Political Declaration indicated the stand of the non-aligned countries as regards many of the matters before us at this session, such as détente, and their criticism of its non-implementation, their opposition to all forms of colonialism, to racism and racial discrimination in South Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Palestine. The Conference made clear also the stand of its members on the situation in the Middle East, the questions of Palestine and Cyprus and problems in other parts of the world. It called for a special session of the General Assembly to be convened to review the question of disarmament and affirmed the support of its members for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

167. On the other hand, the United Nations faces many difficulties in other fields owing to the failure of some of its Members to secure the implementation of its resolutions and the non-existence of an efficient system or a genuine desire of some interested States to enforce the will of the international Organization. This Organization has adopted many resolutions on many matters of importance to the family of nations. If all States Members worked for the implementation of those resolutions the world would not have been exposed to crises and all peoples would have lived in progress and prosperity. This Organization has adopted resolutions by great majorities on disarmament, the prohibition of nuclear weapons, the question of the Middle East and the problem of Palestine, in addition to many others in the political and social fields. Such resolutions were adopted by great majorities; but the minority, which can play an effective part in solving many of the problems before us, was not prepared in many cases to implement those resolutions.

168. The United Nations is the greatest international institution which can contribute to the maintenance and strengthening of peace and security in the world. This Organization has proved in the last 31 years that it can stand against international difficulties and challenges and can adapt itself to the changes occurring in international relations; nevertheless, the ability of this Organization to enforce its resolutions is still limited.

169. We believe that 31 years after the establishment of this Organization a review should be made of its system and some amendments introduced, so as to adapt it to the changes that have occurred in the world and the developments in international relations in recent years.

170. We consider it imperative that the role of the General Assembly in the maintenance of world peace and security be strengthened, in conformity with the principle of the sovereign equality of all Members of the international Organization, particularly as the maintenance of peace and

security is of concern to all States, large and small. Important resolutions on vital matters threatening international peace and security have been adopted by the General Assembly but have not been implemented, under the impression that they are not legally binding. When they were referred to the Security Council they were rejected by the use of the veto by a permanent member of the Council.

171. We believe that the veto should not be used for the purpose of blocking or preventing necessary measures to protect world peace and security or sanctions against flagrant violations of United Nations principles and decisions.

172. This situation has weakened the prestige of the United Nations and the value of its decisions in the eyes of the international community. Therefore, we urge that efforts be co-ordinated and proposals made to the enlarged Special Committee, which was reconvened by resolution 3499 (XXX) to review the Charter for the purpose of enhancing the ability of the United Nations to achieve its purpose.<sup>8</sup> We call also for the amendment of the Charter to conform to the principle of the sovereign equality of States.

173. It appears that the amendment of the Charter will not of itself be sufficient to introduce the necessary reforms in the system of the international Organization, unless it is accompanied by the firm intention of all Member States to enforce the resolutions of the majority in the Organization, in accordance with the Charter and the exigencies of international democracy. The strength of the Organization is derived from the will of its Members. Without solidarity in the enforcement of such an international will, many of the resolutions of the United Nations will remain ineffective and the temporary solutions applied by it, particularly in the field of maintaining international peace and security, will in the course of time develop into intractable problems threatening the existence of the United Nations itself and world peace in general.

174. Last year we hailed the Helsinki Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, in the belief that it was necessary to establish peace and stability in Europe and keep it out of the danger of a major war. This belief is based on the fact that Europe was the source of great wars that involved many States which had no interest in such wars and which were exposed to destruction. We believed that détente was necessary for peace and security. We regret, however, that such objectives have not all been achieved, as détente has been confined to relations between the big Powers within limited areas in the world.

175. Political détente, if not supported by military détente in all parts of the world, particularly in areas exposed to tension and the threat of war, has negative results. Détente will not be complete unless all States concerned apply the resolutions adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly for the maintenance of peace and security in the world, for the solution of the main political and economic problems and on the question of disarmament. Clearly, this means the implementation of

<sup>8</sup> Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the United Nations.



the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)] and adherence to the principles contained in the United Nations Charter.

176. We reaffirm our support of the principle of peaceful coexistence among nations and the elimination of tensions from all parts of the world by safeguarding the security of all nations and allowing the participation of all States in the search for solutions to current international problems.

177. The elimination of tensions in the world will not be realized without finding solutions to existing problems in certain parts of the world. When aggression against nations is stopped, when some régimes are rid of the policy of racial discrimination, when States refrain from interfering in the domestic affairs of other States, when some States relinquish their policy of colonialism and when all economic relations are established on an equitable and just basis for all countries, then we shall have actually achieved the peace and security we seek for this world and then the principle of détente will be an established fact.

178. The General Assembly held two special sessions within the last two years to discuss international problems and reconsider the international economic order. To regulate economic relations in the world and establish them on an equitable basis for the progress and prosperity of the world, the General Assembly adopted at those two sessions declarations and resolutions aimed at an over-all change in current economic relations. Subsequently, many conferences were held to pursue these matters and initiate their implementation. It is regrettable to note that the developed States, which are supposed to have a better understanding of the problems of the third world, have not till now made substantial efforts to apply the principles and rules contained in the international Declaration and the Programme of Action.

179. The continuation of these crises and economic problems with no attempt to solve them will inevitably tend to perpetuate the dangers that threaten many parts of the world. It is imperative that something be done to change the existing inequitable economic relations between the developing and developed States. We realize that it is primarily the responsibility of the developing States themselves to achieve the progress they seek and that self-reliance is important for that goal. Therefore, such States are trying hard to discuss their problems with their partners of the developed States, which enjoy great privileges within the existing international economic relations. Seventy per cent of the population of the world, which now comprises the States of the third world, accounts for only 30 per cent of the total income of the whole world. It is to be noted, however, that these developing States are the source of much of the primary commodities upon which the industry of the developed States mainly depends and which are the source of their prosperity.

180. The elimination of the wide disparities between the developing and developed States cannot be accomplished without the co-operation of us all in the implementation of the principles of the new economic order. In fact, the spirit of understanding and co-operation which appeared during the discussions at the seventh special session still prevails, in spite of the failure of the fourth session of UNCTAD held

in Nairobi to fulfil the hopes arising from the Manila Declaration.<sup>9</sup> The resolutions adopted at that session<sup>10</sup> are, however, necessary for the achievement of the political objectives and for establishing justice and equity in international economic relations. We hope that the door is still open for understanding and discussion.

181. The peoples of the third world are determined to attain economic and social progress and rid themselves of foreign domination over their destinies. This was made clear by the political and economic declarations issued by the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries, which was held in Colombo last August, and also emerged during successive conferences.

182. Thus we have many important matters before us at this session, which, we hope, will lead to positive and acceptable results in a spirit of co-operation and understanding among all States. Millions of people in the world are looking to this Organization to save them from the evils of war and destruction and provide them and future generations with a life of peace, security and prosperity.

183. Mr. IBRAHIM (Jordan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, as I join my voice to those of the distinguished speakers who preceded me in congratulating Mr. Amerasinghe on his election to the high office of President of the General Assembly, I do so, not merely to conform to standard General Assembly practice, commendable as it is, but also to pay a heartfelt and profound tribute to an outstanding statesman of great vision and comprehension of the contemporary world and, equally important, to one whose deep and innermost sense of moral values does not, however, detract from his objectivity and pragmatism. We are firmly convinced that, under his accomplished guidance, the work of the thirty-first session of the Assembly will be carried out with statesmanship and vision.

184. I also wish to pay a tribute to his predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for the exemplary manner in which he presided over the work of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

185. Jordan is happy to welcome to the United Nations its newest Member, the Republic of Seychelles, and wish it success and prosperity.

186. A study of the agenda of the current session, which contains nearly 125 items, shows how monumental it is in scope, variety and magnitude. It is a true affirmation of how far the United Nations has come in its never-ending search for the emancipation and advancement of humanity in many fields.

187. There are landmark achievements which have fundamentally transformed the political map of the world and have restructured relations among nations, replacing a long and painful era of dominance and subjugation by one of liberation, independence and formal equality among

<sup>9</sup> See *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Fourth Session*, vol. I, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.II.D.10), annex V.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, part one A.

nations. There still persist pockets of non-emancipation, injustice and aggression—relics of ages past. But it is, we are certain, a foregone conclusion that these pockets will wither away sooner rather than later and that the United Nations, with its unbending commitment to its Charter and its collective determination to abide by that Charter, will be a principal catalyst in achieving this goal.

188. It would be an exercise in futility even to attempt in this relatively short address to tackle more than a few highlights of the issues which my Government deems of the utmost urgency for world peace and security, as well as for the fulfilment of the principles, purposes and ideals of the United Nations. The attainment, by and large, of the new international political order has now been complemented by concerted efforts towards achieving an equally equitable new economic order, in which formal equality is given substantive expression in the life of nations and of humanity at large. The desire for and achievement of sovereign national existence, formerly a final objective, are giving way to the stark realization of the imperatives of interdependence in a continually shrinking world.

189. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in his exemplary introduction to his report on the work of the Organization [A/31/1/Add.1], has summed up and focused attention on the major areas of United Nations achievements and concerns. In a balanced, sober and oftentimes critical appraisal, the Secretary-General has most ably alerted us to what was, what is and what ought to be—if the willingness and the will are available to help us move forward towards the realities of a changing world.

190. The overriding concern of humanity is the preservation of international peace and security, which in the nuclear age means nothing less than the survival of this earthly planet and its people. It goes without saying that Jordan, like other nations, rejoices in the continued preservation of the policy of détente and looks forward to its concrete institutionalization and expansion. Some cynics say that détente is the result of the “balance of terror” and the “balance of prudence”. But regardless of the motivation, the policy of détente has spared humanity the certainty of its own global destruction.

191. My delegation can only express the hope that the negative motives of détente can be transformed so that there may be positive and constructive coexistence. That requires a “mutation of consciousness”, so that aggressiveness may be replaced by friendship and understanding.

192. World peace and security require the intensification of the current efforts in the field of disarmament, which, we must regretfully note, have been painfully slow and inconclusive. It is very difficult to assess the complex factors which, quantitatively or qualitatively, have blocked the achievement of progress in this field. The super-Powers long ago exceeded the levels of global over-kill. None the less, further success in controlled disarmament is symbolic of a healthy change in orientation, from resignation to the feasibility of war as an option to a firm determination that war shall never be an option.

193. I would express my Government's hope that the realization that global war is impossible will not be

supplanted by a tolerant attitude towards subglobal and regional wars, which, although they may not destroy the whole world, can bring great destruction and in the end can, even by accident, escalate and lead to doomsday.

194. While I am speaking on this important subject, I should like to affirm once again my Government's support for the proposal that the Middle East should become a nuclear-weapon-free zone. But it must be emphasized that this proposal can have credibility and permanence only if it is accepted by all States in the area without exception. It is an open secret that Israel has subtly acknowledged its nuclear capability and has leaked information about its readiness to include that capability in its military arsenal and options. That is a dangerous situation, whose grotesque and far-reaching implications can hardly be over-emphasized, particularly at this crucial juncture when all States, large and small, are addressing their urgent attention to the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. This is a situation in which the world cannot accept exceptions. This is a contagious, dangerous disease which must be promptly and firmly contained.

195. It is now an accepted truism that international society, like any national society, cannot be sustained indefinitely in conditions where the world is divided between small islands of riches and affluence, and vast oceans of human poverty. The earlier optimism, of the 1950s and 1960s, when hopes hinged upon a gradual but imperative bridging of the gap between the “haves” and the “have-nots,” is gone. The original gap seems to be widening today rather than narrowing—and at an accelerated rate which only phenomenal technological break-throughs are making possible. There is a growing realization that national efforts at economic and social betterment are wholly inadequate to remedy a situation whose seriousness is compounded as we enter the final quarter of this twentieth century. It was in recognition of that lamentable fact that the General Assembly, meeting in its sixth special session in 1974, issued a call for a new international economic order and later, at its regular session, adopted a Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States. Since then the forums of debate have proliferated and multiplied, which has been only natural in view of the complexities and wide-ranging dimensions of the issues involved.

196. This year alone has witnessed five major conferences, not to mention more limited regional meetings, endeavouring to grapple with the ever-growing economic and social ills which afflict our contemporary world of interdependence. The law of the sea, the fourth session of UNCTAD, Habitat, the World Conference on Employment<sup>11</sup> and the recently concluded Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries in Mexico City are but highlights in the ongoing progress of collective co-operation. It was heartening that at the last-mentioned conference, in Mexico, a major key-stone was the emphasis on the concept of collective self-reliance. This is highly gratifying because the developing countries, with their deep sense of pride, would never wish to be in the position of coveting the riches of the more richly endowed or of

<sup>11</sup>Tripartite World Conference on Employment, Income Distribution, Social Progress and the International Division of Labour, held at Geneva from 4 to 17 June 1976.

queuing up to receive doles in the name of economic egalitarianism.

197. Jordan endorses the proposal of Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the Prime Minister of Pakistan, concerning the convening of a summit conference of developing countries, which was adopted in Mexico.

198. There are historical circumstances, including colonialism and exploitation, and there is also the social and scientific gap. There are also the dwindling natural resources. All these factors make the developing countries remain backward when compared to developed countries. If those countries look forward to anything, it is to themselves planning and controlling their internal development. But it is clear that they need assistance in order that their development may be pursued seriously.

199. The developing countries urgently need technology, education, experience and initial capital outlays, which are available to only a small number of countries. It is against this background that we are dismayed to read that, whereas close to \$300 billion were spent on wasteful armaments last year alone, a mere \$15 billion were spent in official aid for developing countries. The figures just cited show clearly that we are still in the embryonic stage of the drive to structure the new international economic order and that at this session and for decades to come the United Nations should give all its attention to the appalling inequities which afflict the world.

200. The great continent of Africa is dear to our hearts not only because of the numerous cultural and historical ties which have bound the Arab world to the peoples of Africa since the dawn of recorded history but also because, like ourselves, the peoples of Africa have in the past been among those most maligned, exploited, colonized and discriminated against. We rejoice that Africa is once more master of its own destiny and a potent force in the family of nations. But there are still residues of resistance to the newly emerging world of freedom, dignity and common decency. South Africa stands condemned before the world as the standard-bearer of resistance to the newly born world order.

201. First there is the situation in Namibia, where South Africa while feigning readiness to comply, continues to defy United Nations decisions to grant the Territory and its people their inalienable rights to freedom and independence, in its efforts to ward off the relentless pressure of the international community to make it comply fully with United Nations resolutions.

202. Secondly, the long-overdue solution to the tense situation in Southern Rhodesia seems to have reached a turning-point in the direction of a peaceful solution, thanks to the courageous struggle of its people, the concerted efforts of the United Nations, and, latterly, the serious pressure the United States and Britain have exerted to bring about the long-sought solution. We look forward to removing the loop-holes which the leaders of Africa most directly concerned find unacceptable and to welcoming Zimbabwe to this Assembly in their near future.

203. The policy of racial discrimination and *apartheid* in South Africa itself continues as an affront to the conscience

of the civilized world. Its exclusive nature, identical with the exclusive nature of its counterpart, the Israeli system in the Middle East, is a blatant violation of everything the United Nations stands for.

204. At the outset of my discussion of the Middle East I cannot but express the most profound sorrow concerning the tragic events which at present afflict Lebanon and its inhabitants. Lebanon has always been and will continue to be a land of fraternity, tolerance, love and peace.

205. We hope that the efforts which all parties concerned are at present exerting towards the restoration of peace, stability and tranquillity to Lebanon will be concluded successfully within the framework of its national unity, territorial integrity and sovereignty so that it may resume its leading role in the contemporary Arab renaissance.

206. In discussing the intractable situation in the Middle East, by far the oldest item on our agenda, we find that it still seems the most unamenable to reasonable solution or even to any movement forward in that direction. On the contrary, any moves are in the direction of continual retrogression, as I shall explain later.

207. No statement could with greater precision have described the situation in the Middle East today than the Declaration adopted by the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries at their meeting in Colombo, Sri Lanka, in the summer of this year. That is why I beg the Assembly's indulgence as I quote from that Declaration. It states:

"The Middle East situation continues to pose a grave threat to international peace and security. About nine years following its 1967 aggression, Israel continues to occupy Arab territories and violate the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people. The Israeli aggressors persist in their policy of expansion, annexation, mass expulsion and repression of the Arab population, in violation of the United Nations Charter and resolutions and the principles of humanitarianism and international law, particularly the Fourth Geneva Convention. Moreover, Israel continues to establish settlements in the occupied Arab territories and take measures aiming at the alteration of the political, demographic and cultural features and religious character of Jerusalem and other occupied Arab territories." [A/31/197, annex I, para. 10.]

208. I may add on this occasion that I condemn the desecration of the Ibrahimi Mosque in recent years by the Israeli settlers, at a time when the occupying authorities were present and able to see all these desecrations.

209. The Israeli authorities are indulging in these acts of spoliation, sequestration and plunder with a zeal and lust which surpasses their absorption of the territories which they occupied in 1948, both within and without the areas allotted to them by the United Nations. It is to them a race against time—a time when the world will have mustered the will and the courage to bring them to account. And when that time comes, they will answer: "But how can we change the new faits accomplis?"

210. The Israelis have practically devoured the heartland of the occupied West Bank. The Jerusalem which they

claim as wholly theirs, against the categorical and irrevocable will and decisions of the world community, has been so expanded in area that it now encompasses the outskirts of Bethlehem to the south, Ramallah to the north, the Nebi Sumwail to the west and the Khan el-Ahmar to the east. As the United Nations well knows, this has been done in violation of all its relevant resolutions, and all of you know that the greater part of the Jordan Valley, west of the River Jordan, has been largely confiscated from its legitimate farmers in the pretext of its being a military zone, which invariably means colonization by Israeli settlers. Even within the remaining hinterland, confiscations are being diligently carried out, often with official approval, and on many other occasions by groups which take the law into their own hands. Arab quarters and lands in Jerusalem, Nablus, Hebron, Jericho, Kofr Qaddum and many other locations throughout the length and breadth of the West Bank and Gaza—in themselves a mere one fifth of Mandated Palestine—are regarded by the Israeli occupation as attractive prey to its insatiable lust and ambition, with no regard whatsoever for the legitimate and elemental rights of their inhabitants.

211. The peak of the tragedy of a decade of occupation, and its most grotesque manifestation, is the tragedy of the city of Jerusalem, which has befallen not only its inhabitants but also hundreds of millions of people, belonging to every race and creed throughout the world.

212. How can the Israelis deny that Jerusalem has, throughout history, been the object of infinite veneration, worship and hope, not merely to themselves but to countless millions in the Moslem and Christian worlds, and indeed to mankind as a whole? For 1,400 years we have been the proud and faithful custodians of its uniquely universal and indestructible legacy and glory. How does Jerusalem stand today? It is being defaced and dismantled systematically beyond recognition. New structures have ringed the city on all sides, in violation of the norms which govern the status of ancient and historic cities—and, indeed, in violation of specific and categorical General Assembly and Security Council resolutions in this respect, which had reiterated that all Israeli actions in the city are totally invalid and should be revoked.

213. It is inconceivable that the universal character of Jerusalem should be desecrated, compromised and emasculated by the exclusive claims to hegemony of Israeli occupation.

214. I need hardly reiterate my Government's deepest concern and sorrow over the adamantly insoluble question of the Middle East and the fate of well over 3 million people of Palestine, who are at present divided between dispersal and suffering on the one hand, and occupation on the other. Their fate continues to be a deep wound in the minds and hearts of all humanity. My Government's most profound concern is understandable, considering that Jordan is so inextricably involved in the daily sufferings and ordeals of this unending tragedy.

215. The all-important quest for international peace and security is intimately related to this. The peace and stability of the Middle East as a region hinge upon the solution of this problem.

216. My delegation finds no useful purpose in engaging in futile acrimonies which only serve to play into the hands of Israel in its present policy of ambivalence, deliberate procrastination and obstruction. What we most decidedly seek is movement—in deeds rather than words—towards an equitable and just solution. We do not share the prevailing view that the situation in the Middle East is in a state of stalemate and that, therefore, prompt action can be postponed to a more appropriate time. The truth is that there is no stalemate in the occupied territories that would permit postponement of speedy and decisive action.

217. The valiant resistance of our people in the occupied territories, which has been sustained at great cost and sacrifice for so long, is a reflection of their firm belief that, if the present situation were allowed to continue for any additional length of time, their whole existence as a people would be placed in mortal jeopardy.

218. Having posed some of the aspects of the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian tragedy, my Government urges, in the strongest possible terms, that the United Nations should, without any further delay, implement its resolutions pertaining to the withdrawal of Israeli forces from all territories occupied in 1967.

219. Likewise, my Government urges that prompt and effective action should be taken by the United Nations concerning the implementation of the inalienable national rights of the Palestinian people, including their natural right to repatriation, self-determination and sovereignty.

220. To achieve these goals there must be movement to transform resolutions into concrete actions. The different avenues, procedures and modalities are mere means which should not block the road to achieving the end.

221. In the meantime, and pending effective and practical steps, which it is empowered to carry out, and to which I have referred, the United Nations should reassert its demand that Israel desist forthwith from its present course of changing the status of the occupied Arab lands as a pre-condition to any viable, feasible and positive movement towards the desired solution.

222. Let us hope that the General Assembly and the Security Council will, at long last, throw their full weight behind implementation of these resolutions in order to put an end to one of the most sordid, intractable and tragic issues which has haunted the world for almost three consecutive decades.

223. Mr. FELLI (Ghana): The distinguished speakers who have preceded me to this rostrum have warmly congratulated Ambassador Amerasinghe on his election and paid a fitting tribute to his sterling qualities as a statesman and diplomat. My delegation fully shares their views and sentiments. The delegation of Ghana is gratified to have a personality of Mr. Amerasinghe's calibre to preside over the thirty-first session of the General Assembly. The remarkably able manner in which he has managed the affairs of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, as President of that complex and extremely difficult negotiating process, assures us of the success that will attend our deliberations here. Equally gratifying to us is the

fact that his country, Sri Lanka, which has only recently acted as host to the Fifth Conference of non-aligned countries, should thus be honoured through his election. It underscores the increasingly central role that the third-world nations now play in international affairs.

224. Before I go further, permit me to pause to pay a tribute to Chairman Mao Tsetung, a leading figure of our times. Chairman Mao has rightly been acclaimed as a giant among men, and his death has robbed the world of a leader who, by precept and example, showed us all that selfless devotion and total commitment to the welfare of the people are the primary essentials of true leadership. On behalf of the Government and people of Ghana, let me once again convey our deepest condolences to the friendly Government and people of China for this irreparable and grievous loss.

225. To Ambassador Amerasinghe's predecessor, the distinguished Prime Minister of Luxembourg, allow me to place on record our thanks for a job well done. His conduct of the affairs of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly fulfilled our highest expectations.

226. In recent years, our Organization has been buffeted by extremes of fortune, but it has shown a wonderful resilience in the face of crises. Its ability to survive has been due largely to the wisdom and skill of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, and his able lieutenants who, in the most exacting situations, have toiled day and night, and toiled successfully, to vindicate the credibility of our Organization. The world owes them a debt of gratitude, and I believe that this can be paid not in gold or silver but by sincere and strenuous efforts on our part to promote the cause of peace.

227. It is with singular pleasure and deepest satisfaction that the delegation of Ghana welcomes the delegation of Seychelles into our midst. We in Ghana recall that it was to Seychelles that Prempeh I, King of the former Ashanti Kingdom, now part of Ghana, was exiled by the British Government in 1900. Although an unhappy event, it does serve as a link between the colonial history of the two countries. We rejoice with the people of Seychelles over their successful elimination of alien domination.

228. For us in Ghana, the birth of every new State is an occasion for rejoicing, for it signifies the progressive eradication of the old virus of colonialism. No doubt the injection of new blood into our Organization will ensure for it a more vigorous and fruitful existence and, of course, bring it nearer to the desirable goal of universality.

229. My delegation will be delighted to give the delegation of Seychelles all the co-operation and assistance of which we are capable.

230. This Assembly had hoped to have the pleasure of congratulating the valiant people of Angola on their country's admission to membership in the United Nations. It is a matter of deep regret and sadness to us that, owing to considerations which have no bearing on the ability of Angola to undertake the obligations of membership, we have been denied that opportunity. We remain convinced that justice has a way of prevailing at the most unexpected

of times and that, therefore, Angola's membership in this Organization is only a matter of time.

231. The Government of the United States has seen fit to veto the application of the People's Republic of Angola, apparently on the grounds that the presence of Soviet and Cuban experts, who are in that newly independent country at the invitation of its Government, somehow detracts from the precepts of sovereignty. The argument is unacceptable. Our view is that the veto of Angola's application for membership is objectionable not merely because it is a wrong use of power but also because it has encouraged armed bandits of the defeated FNLA<sup>12</sup> and UNITA<sup>13</sup> movements to launch incursions into the territory of the infant State, thereby destroying the efforts of African Heads of State to secure conditions for pacification and reconciliation of the people of Angola.

232. It is with the same feeling of frustration that we regard the continued delay which has attended the admission of the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam to membership in this Organization. All this has occurred as a result of the unjustified use of the veto power.

233. In the view of my delegation, veto powers have been vested in the permanent members of the Security Council in recognition of their special responsibility to the international community to promote a peaceful world environment. But veto powers degenerate into abuse, and their noble ends are defeated, if they are exercised with the aim of weakening the internal jurisdiction of the Government of a sovereign, independent State, or employed merely as an instrument in the regrettable politics of the cold war.

234. The international community is today confronted with problems of enormous dimensions. Prominent among these is the situation in southern Africa where the process of decolonization has reached a critical, but obviously final, stage. The racist minority régimes in Zimbabwe and Azania now stand as the remaining pockets of white settler domination on the continent. The motives of these two régimes may be complex and varied, but they have in them one common factor—fear of what might happen to them if they concede the principle of majority rule. Of course, the longer the oppression, the greater the fear, and the more dangerous and explosive the situation becomes. But what the ruling minorities in southern Africa should fear is not that power will fall into the hands of the majority, but that by their thoughtless attempts to perpetuate a monstrous social order and political system they are destroying their own chances of reconciliation within a framework of a multiracial community.

235. From this rostrum and in many other forums over the years the voice of Ghana has been loud and explicit on the nature of the problems of southern Africa: we have condemned *apartheid* and have upheld the human values which alone, we believe, will create the peaceful and harmonious world community we all look forward to. Many of the speakers who have preceded me have once more recounted the facts and reiterated the well-known arguments in this Assembly. Therefore we will not labour

<sup>12</sup> Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola.

<sup>13</sup> União Nacional para a Independência Total de Angola.

the point or dwell on the past. We should rather wish to look at the chances that still exist for a peaceful solution and the consequences of our failure to take the right action now.

236. It is in this light that we welcome what appear to be some positive developments in the situation in southern Africa arising from the recent diplomatic initiative of the Secretary of State of the United States, the wise counsels of the Presidents of the front-line African States, the co-operation of the British Government and the sympathy of others. For a realistic assessment of the situation, however, my delegation cannot fail to emphasize the importance of the armed struggle launched by the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania to the changes in attitude that seem to be developing among the racist die-hards; nor should we ignore the exceptional courage of the children of Soweto who sacrificed their young lives in the cause of freedom and human dignity. They died so that their parents, their brothers and sisters will live as human beings, with the dignity and self-respect of the human person and, above all, in freedom in the land of their birth.

237. That is what the African struggle is all about. We believe in this struggle. We all have one common objective: the establishment of a multiracial community based on equal opportunities and equal rights for all. To this end and for a speedy establishment of majority rule in Zimbabwe, the delegation of Ghana proposes: first, that a constitutional conference should be held under the aegis of the United Kingdom Government to decide on the transfer of administrative power to the majority of Zimbabwe on the basis of the principle of "one man, one vote"; secondly, that in the interim, before majority administration, the rebellion in Southern Rhodesia, which has been euphemistically described as a "unilateral declaration of independence", give place to order and legality, thus permitting sovereignty in the Territory, in fact as well as in law, clearly to revert to the United Kingdom as the administering Power; thirdly, that no lifting of sanctions should be considered until an interim government reflecting the views of the Zimbabwe people as a whole so requests; fourthly, that there should be no relaxation of the pressures on the rebel minority régime till satisfactory arrangements for interim government have been agreed to under the third of these proposals; fifthly, that the armed struggle should cease only when the first four conditions have been fully and irreversibly fulfilled; sixthly, that before then this Organization and the international community should progressively increase their support for the freedom fighters. In our view, there is no other way we can ensure that freedom and racial harmony will come peacefully to Zimbabwe than by the adoption of these proposals.

238. On the question of Namibia, I had the privilege to address the Security Council last Friday<sup>14</sup> and to outline the views of my Government. As we all know, South Africa was given up to the last day of August this year to quit Namibia and hand over the Territory to the United Nations to enable free elections to be organized in the Territory. To date, the only South African reaction has been an empty document, the so-called "declaration of intent" produced

by the hand-picked ethnic, as opposed to broadly based national, representation, which met at the so-called constitutional conference at Turnhalle. Let me here recapitulate the essential points in my statement to the Security Council.

239. Ghana gives its full support to the conditions spelt out by Mr. Nujoma, President of the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], on 28 September 1976 before the Security Council, that is: first, that South Africa agrees to talk with SWAPO regarding the modalities of the transfer of administrative power to the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO without prejudice to the constitution of South Africa's delegation to the talks; secondly, that those talks must be under the auspices of the United Nations and should be outside Namibia or any part of South Africa; thirdly, that, before the talks, all Namibian political prisoners must be released; and fourthly, that all South African armed forces should be withdrawn before the talks to enable Namibians to express themselves freely.

240. If South Africa refuses to accept these conditions aimed at a peaceful settlement of the issue, my delegation would consider that the end of the road has been reached and this Organization should take the appropriate action in keeping with our commitments to the Charter of the United Nations. We say this because we believe that this is yet another chance for South Africa to show its good faith and to demonstrate its respect for the decisions of this Organization and its component bodies. Otherwise the membership of that country will continue to be more of a liability than an asset to this Organization. If that happens, my delegation proposes to the Security Council: first, that South Africa be forthwith suspended or expelled from the United Nations and remain so suspended or expelled till it decides to comply with the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to Namibia, and that all necessary measures be taken to enable the United Nations Council for Namibia to discharge its responsibilities; secondly that the General Assembly reaffirm its recognition of SWAPO as the only legitimate organization representing the whole of Namibia and give it every support to establish its control over that Territory with the assistance of the United Nations Council for Namibia; and, thirdly, that the Council decide to take action against South Africa under Chapter VII of the Charter.

241. Ghana continues to hold the view that freedom in Zimbabwe and independence for Namibia should not be attained at the cost of continued enslavement of the people of Azania. Thus, lest an erroneous impression be created in the minds of some that the racist régime of South Africa by its recent conduct regarding Zimbabwe is playing a positive role in the search for a peaceful solution to the problems of southern Africa, let me here and now state that the *apartheid* system is the one major obstacle to peace in southern Africa.

242. The disturbances in African townships in Azania and the current events in Zimbabwe and Namibia must convince the whole world that Africa is on the move and no force on earth can arrest the inexorable march of human history to its ultimate fulfilment in southern Africa. It is our desire, in making these proposals, that the United Nations should

<sup>14</sup> See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year*, 1958th meeting.

now act effectively and decisively on the side of right. What is at issue in southern Africa should be clear to all. It is not communism or any other "ism" or ideology, as the racist and minority régimes would want the rest of the world to believe; it is a demand for human dignity and equal opportunities. It is in this light, and in this light alone, that we should view the situation.

243. The human rights situation in the world has admittedly undergone some radical transformation for the better in the period since the last war and, more particularly, since the wind of change began to blow through the continent of Africa. Nevertheless, in parts of our world there are still many people who are denied the enjoyment of even elementary rights. Men, women and children continue to die in great numbers because they are deprived of the basic necessities to sustain life, necessities which in other parts of the world have come to be taken for granted.

244. The support which Ghana has provided and continues to provide for the liberation effort and in the struggle for human dignity is in conformity with our historical circumstances. Equally valid and true to this tradition is our offer to act as host in 1978 to the world conference to combat racism and racial discrimination, which has been envisaged as the high-water mark of the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination. This offer represents our modest contribution to the realization of the purposes and objectives of the Decade, and we trust that all countries which value human decency and dignity and abhor racism and racial discrimination will contribute effectively towards ensuring a successful conference in Accra.

245. The tragic conflict in Lebanon has further complicated the situation in the Middle East. Ghana is saddened over the fate that has befallen that beautiful and prosperous country, and we entertain the fervent hope that reason will soon ensure peace and harmony in Lebanon. But, even without a Lebanese crisis, the over-all situation in the Middle East remains as explosive and as dangerous as ever, and the ingenuity of this Organization should be directed to finding a just and permanent solution as quickly as possible.

246. Mr. Kissinger's statement that the time might now be propitious for an attempt at an over-all settlement and the Soviet Union's suggestion for the reconvening of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East should pave the way for fresh initiatives for a permanent peace in the Middle East. Not only must those two super-Powers bring their undoubtedly enormous influence to bear constructively on any impending negotiations, but all the nations here represented must contribute their share towards the search for a solution that will be just for the long-suffering Palestinian people and ensure peace and security for all the States in the region.

247. Ghana is committed to the cause of peace in the Middle East, and while the search for a solution goes on we shall continue to maintain our troops serving with the United Nations Emergency Force in the area for as long as their presence is required.

248. The Aegean Sea is also fast becoming a trouble area, threatening to add a new dimension to the Cyprus

crisis—the root-cause of instability in the Eastern Mediterranean. In the view of my delegation, a settlement in Cyprus must consist in the withdrawal of all foreign troops from the island, the return of all refugees to their homes in safety, respect for the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the island, and active promotion of talks between the two communities leading to the achievement of harmonious relationships between the two major communities on the island. We also trust that those directly involved will endeavour to remove the causes of tension in the Aegean Sea.

249. Our annual review of the world situation compels us once again to renew our faith in the principles and purposes of our Charter and our commitment to the attainment of a world that is free from all elements which militate against the attainment of mankind's ultimate objective of peace and security. Because the issue of disarmament has implications affecting international peace and security, Ghana has traditionally made that issue one of the most important aspects of its foreign policy. It is a sad reflection of our sense of priorities that in a world which is still largely beset with poverty and ignorance the arms race alone consumes almost \$300 billion annually, while the net flow of official development assistance amounts to only \$15 billion a year. It is realities of this kind which make it imperative for countries such as mine, though young and developing, to resist the temptation of standing by as helpless spectators of the increasing acquisition and stockpiling of weapons of mass destruction.

250. It is true that the 1970s which we have proclaimed a Disarmament Decade have seen the conclusion of a number of important agreements on disarmament. The advent of the era of "détente" has also contributed to the thawing of the cold-war climate between the major Powers and induced some restraint in their quest for global influence. But the arms race continues unabated and the incessant calls of developing countries for a world disarmament conference have gone unheeded.

251. It is painfully obvious, as it has always been, that any confrontation of strength between any two of the big Powers will have consequences from which neither they nor we can claim immunity. The notion that military strength deters aggression has hardly any credibility in an interdependent world and deserves to be repudiated. It is a notion which undermines all efforts aimed at achieving a disarmed world. What the world needs now—perhaps more than at any other time in history—is courageous, imaginative and responsible leadership, which alone can ensure that mankind can live in a world which is not haunted by threats, real or imagined, of an impending catastrophe.

252. In the circumstances, a world disarmament conference cannot be delayed any longer. Such a conference must provide a forum for frank and constructive discussion of all aspects of arms and disarmament, including the custody and disposal of plutonium which nuclear power plants are now producing at an alarming rate.

253. My delegation welcomes the efforts of the great Powers to achieve détente in Europe. But we should like to emphasize that the process must not be confined to Europe, nor should it be made to operate merely as a

regulating mechanism in the very sensitive relations between the super-Powers.

254. The process must be universal in character if a reduction in tension is to be achieved. Areas of conflict still exist in South-East Asia, the Middle East, Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. In recent years, limited but costly wars have been fought in the areas in which, directly or indirectly, States possessing nuclear weapons have been involved. The involvement of those States has largely been dictated by the outmoded concept of "spheres of influence" and cold-war politics.

255. If the third world is to share in the benefits of détente, the various Powers must scrupulously observe the principle of mutual access in their relations with developing countries. We recognize that in the third world various Powers have acquired areas of primary interest, dictated by economic or historical affiliations; but such interests should not be seen in the framework of spheres of influence. The difference between primary and exclusive interests must be acknowledged by all. The right of developing countries to be non-aligned and to pursue political, ideological or economic relations with all the major Powers must be respected. In an interdependent world, developing countries cannot, any more than industrialized ones, develop in complete isolation from the centres of world economic power. But major-Power involvement in our affairs can only escape becoming politicized and militarized if there is an implicit agreement among those Powers both to generalize their relationships and to maintain the principle of mutual access, and if each super-Power refrains from the massive military support of selected areas in the third world as a necessary part of its global military strategy. Any such policy of selective military support by big Powers is bound to generate a regional arms race among the client States, as well as producing undesirable consequences for big-Power détente. Policies designed to contain communism, and doctrines of limited sovereignty do not promote the cause of developing countries; they have no relevance to the aspirations of their peoples. If anything, they breed conflicts of interest and threaten peace and security in the third world.

256. Détente as a means of promoting peace must also be employed in the settlement of all international issues, including the lingering problem of under-development and exploitation.

257. The glaring inequalities and imbalances in the international economic structure, together with the ever widening gap between the developed and developing countries, continues to be a source of grave concern. Many resolutions have been adopted by international organizations relating to the establishment of the new international economic order founded on genuine partnership and recognition of our global interdependence. But, because of a lack of political will, particularly on the part of the industrialized countries, progress towards the implementation of these resolutions has been minimal. No headway has been made at the Conference on International Economic Co-operation in Paris. The results of the fourth session of UNCTAD fell far short of the expectations aroused by the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly.

258. Meanwhile, the economic situation of most of the developing countries has continued to worsen, their external payment position has deteriorated and the resultant burden of debt has reached unmanageable proportions. The majority of these countries are going through sharp crises in regard to the maintenance of minimal living standards for their peoples as well as of the momentum of development. The prospects are that these conditions will persist throughout the remainder of the present decade. In particular, the hopes placed in the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] have failed to be realized. The reasons for this failure are not far to seek. They lie principally in the lack of readiness on the part of many important developed countries to adjust their policies as recommended in the Strategy with a view to achieving the agreed objectives.

259. Furthermore, the upheavals that have taken place in the world economy over the past three or four years have aggravated the external constraints on the economic growth of a large number of developing countries. Indeed, these upheavals, which were not foreseen when the Strategy was conceived, have cast serious doubt on the validity in present circumstances of the policy prescriptions comprising the international development effort. It has now become clear that a new and more effective development strategy is required, a strategy which would have to be supported by a drastic upgrading of the development issue in the order of priorities of the developed countries.

260. Such a strategy should no longer set the required policy measures within the existing framework of international economic relations. To do so would be to support a framework which has been largely discredited, one which embodies and perpetuates an unequal economic relationship involving the economic dependency and under-development of third-world countries. What is needed is a strategy that would reflect a restructuring of the international economic system on the basis of the Declaration and Programme of Action adopted at the sixth special session of the General Assembly; a strategy which would be inspired by the need for balance and partnership rather than dependency in the economic relations between developed and developing countries; and, not least, a strategy embodying the concept of collective self-reliance, which would make the developing countries less dependent on the developed countries for their economic and social progress through the strengthening of trade and economic co-operation among themselves. It is in consonance with these beliefs that Ghana has participated in the negotiations leading to the conclusion of the Lomé Convention of 28 February 1975 between the countries of the European Economic Community and African, Caribbean and Pacific countries. It is in the same spirit that we actively supported the establishment of the Economic Community of West African States.

261. The international community now recognizes the distinction between economic growth in the narrow sense of an increase in the gross product of developing countries and economic development in the wide sense of improvement in the living standards of their people. To achieve economic and social progress in this fundamental sense, my Government is committed to policies of national self-



reliance based on the realities of Ghana and specifically directed both at accelerating growth in all sectors, particularly agriculture, and at reducing inequalities in the distribution of the benefits of economic growth. For we view such policy measures as an important counterpart to a revised international development strategy that would promote the realization of the new international economic order.

262. The history of the United Nations is the history of humanity's struggle for dignity and brotherhood. It is a continuing struggle for freedom and justice against fear, hunger, disease, illiteracy and exploitation. Ours is a unique endeavour to create, out of the remarkable diversity of races, cultures, opinions and attitudes of our little world, a dynamic unity of purpose and a philosophy for the attainment of peace and security. Thirty-one years is a short period in the history of the human race. It is no surprise, therefore, that we still have to meet every so often for almost interminable discussions and arguments in an effort to reach the goals we have set ourselves. The more important consideration, however, is whether we have the will to persevere. I think we have. Additionally, there is no lack of resources. Let us therefore continue to give and take in our negotiations and discussions for the good of the entire human race.

263. Mr. JAMAL (Qatar) (*interpretation from Arabic*): On behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the State of Qatar, who is not able to be with us on this solemn occasion, I have the pleasure of expressing my sincere felicitations and profound satisfaction at the election of Mr. Amerasinghe as President of the General Assembly during its thirty-first session. My delegation is well aware of his good qualities and statesmanship. Indeed, we consider those qualities the best guarantee for the creation of most effective and positive conditions for our deliberations. This is due to his skill and great ability.

264. I should like also to express my respect and esteem for Ambassador Amerasinghe's predecessor because of the wisdom and tact he demonstrated in guiding the meetings at the last session.

265. I am pleased to express my thanks and appreciation to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, because we believe he is exerting every effort to bring harmony into the family of nations and to enhance its effectiveness in serving the causes of justice, security and peace, which remain at the centre of our interest.

266. Moreover, we welcome and extend our congratulations to the Republic of Seychelles, which has recently joined our international family in order to take part in the noble march towards the establishment of a free human society based on justice and equality. At the same time, we express the hope that the Republic of Seychelles will achieve stability and progress.

267. Today, at this thirty-first session of the General Assembly, with our responsibility towards the peoples of the world, which are longing for a better future, we are required to strengthen this international Organization, under whose regulations, laws and Charter we seek protection, because it incorporates all the great hopes of humanity that man will be prevented from again resorting

to violence instead of relying on honourable, civilized dialogue; that all kinds of hegemony, whatever their origin, will be eliminated; that justice will be achieved and peace restored; and that there will be respect for the sovereignty of all States and for their right to invest and develop their national resources without any foreign intervention.

268. Hence the United Nations, as a forum of justice and right, is requested to play a decisive and sophisticated role in respect of world problems and to create broader hopes for the solution of international problems. That goal will not be achieved unless there is a common belief in the necessity of imposing constant pressure and blockades on those who impede the march of international peace and development and who, by their violations of the United Nations Charter, whatever the justifications, increase tensions and anxiety in the world.

269. In that context, the question of Palestine becomes a materialization of the tragedy created as a result of the constant and deliberate efforts by Israel, with its frivolous attitude, to violate the United Nations Charter and the just resolutions of the United Nations. Though the General Assembly has frequently confirmed the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people and especially their right to self-determination without any foreign intervention and their right to independence and national sovereignty, as well as the right of Palestinians to return to their homes and property from which they were displaced and uprooted, and in spite of the Assembly's recognition that the Palestinian people are a major party in the process of achieving a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, these questions arise, Where does the issue of Palestine—man, land and right—stand, and why? And why does Israel insist on forcing its racial hegemony upon the Palestinian Arab people, whose just struggle the Assembly recognized and whose representation as an observer at the United Nations the Assembly thereupon accepted?

270. The Middle East question, because of its persistent consequences, will continue to be a threat to world peace and the international community because Israel up to this very moment has still not recognized the international resolutions pertaining to this very crucial question. Therefore, with the aim of protecting peace and ensuring respect for right and justice, and in pursuance of a just and lasting peace in the Middle East, we demand that the United Nations put an end to Israeli frivolity and Zionist racism and terrorism by firmly and decisively implementing the United Nations Charter and all the resolutions adopted by the United Nations in this respect, and by forcing Israel to respect the just will of the international community.

271. We consider that the establishment of real peace and the adequate response inspired by the spirit of the United Nations Charter are basic preludes to all the positive achievements to which the peoples of the world are looking forward as a result of our meetings and efforts.

272. The State of Qatar renews its commitment to the provisions and principles laid down in the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [*resolution 2734 (XXV)*]. We in Qatar look forward to the fifth conference of countries located on the Indian Ocean, with a view to declaring that region to be a zone of peace. We

definitely believe that the Middle East should be free of nuclear arms. Similarly, we declare Qatar's full support for the establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones in South Asia, Africa and Latin America. My delegation firmly believes that absolute priority should be given to the problems of disarmament because of the serious danger that the use of these arms can lead to the obliteration of mankind and civilization. We are fully aware that the ever-increasing destructive capability of these weapons has reached unbelievably terrifying proportions.

273. Therefore, my country endorses the call for the convening of a world disarmament conference open to all countries, nuclear and non-nuclear, large and small, on an equal footing. We do so in the hope that such a conference will result in positive and effective measures leading to disarmament. We consider it to be our duty and responsibility to human civilization to take this stand, in order to prevent mankind from falling victim to bewilderment, dispersion and instability.

274. We warn the Assembly of the increasing threat of a military confrontation in the Middle East. At the same time, we underline the necessity of discussing all aspects of the situation resulting from Israel's adamant refusal to sign the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons and to cease producing, or obtaining nuclear weapons or contemplating using them.

275. We would therefore ask, Is it sufficient for the United Nations to condemn this deliberate aggressive refusal by Israel alone? And if we add to all that the arbitrary measures taken by Israel to obstruct the work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East, the oppression practised by Israel against the inhabitants of the occupied Arab territories and all of Israel's endeavours to change the demographic characteristics of the West Bank and Jerusalem, it becomes clear that the implementation of political and economic sanctions against Israel is the least the United Nations should do in this respect.

276. We view with great sympathy and appreciation the efforts exerted by the United Nations to eliminate racist impurities from the world political arena. Also, we declare the support of the State of Qatar for the rights of the struggling African peoples in Zimbabwe, Namibia and Azania to attain their independence and preserve their national identities so as to be able to choose their way of life. Racial discrimination is a disgrace to civilization and disregards the most sacred humanistic values. We therefore consider that breaking the international blockade, whether moral or material, imposed on racist régimes is as heinous an act as racism itself.

277. On the other hand, it is our duty and responsibility to stress the contents of the resolution adopted at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly acknowledging the legitimacy of the struggle of the national liberation movements, which complies with the aims of the Charter. The international community should be accountable for any violation of that resolution or negligence of the requirement of putting it into effect.

278. As we in the State of Qatar declare our solidarity with and support for the national liberation movements in

their just struggle, we also condemn any indication of international terrorism. Meanwhile we believe it is unacceptable to deal with it by adopting the law of the jungle. It is also unacceptable to justify an offence by invoking the right to protect humanity, as Israel did when it violated Uganda's sovereignty recently. Thus arises the question of whether we can treat one offence by committing another.

279. Man's freedom, his dignity and his rights are the basic pillars upon which the United Nations Charter, which is accepted by all of us, was based. Henceforth we must express our respect for the Charter by our commitment and determination to deplore and put an end to all practices which degrade human beings, whether by torture or by other inhuman or humiliating means.

280. If it is our duty to protect the freedom, dignity and rights of man, wherever he may be, we ought also to protect the spiritual and material values of nations out of our respect for their cultural heritage and in pursuance of the promotion of development.

281. Accordingly, we must condemn cultural colonialism whatever its origin for trying with all its power to annihilate and distort a part of the human legacy. Thus it is unacceptable that the United Nations, with all its vigilance and concern, could not prevent Israel from distorting the Arab cultural heritage in the occupied Arab lands.

282. The State of Qatar, like all other States of the third world, is deeply interested in the efforts being exerted by the United Nations and the great concern it demonstrates in its efforts to increase productive efficiency and development capacity all over the world. That is so because resistance to the spectre of famine which haunts millions of poor people will continue to be vital if we want uninterrupted progress without setbacks. In this respect we believe that the role being played by the major Powers and the industrial countries still noticeably falls short of our expectations. Moreover, inflation and the increases in the prices of manufactured products and food-stuffs and problems which afflict the international community and its economic order. These problems can be solved only by the major Powers and the industrial countries. It is worth mentioning that the oil-producing countries are not responsible in any way for the creation of these problems, since they, as developing countries, have been severely affected, largely because of the deterioration of the world economic situation as a whole.

283. We believe that the international family should warmly and comprehensively welcome the creation of new economic order, one well balanced and based on an objective economic dialogue between the world's different economic blocs, including both developed and developing countries. In this respect the State of Qatar supports the resolutions adopted by the Group of 77.<sup>15</sup> It also exerts sincere and continuous efforts in the field of co-operation with sister Arab States and in the field of the execution of joint development projects in Africa and Asia and in other parts of the world, in the conviction that objective economic co-operation is capable of fostering the world's development and prosperity.

<sup>15</sup> See document TD/195.

284. Strengthening the role of the United Nations in the maintenance of international peace and security and enhancing its effectiveness in solving international problems are not impossible tasks if we are seriously committed to a thorough implementation of its Charter. The great aspirations and ambitions of mankind to see the United Nations capable of achieving security, justice, prosperity and dignity for all present us with a responsibility to be worthy of those aspirations and ambitions that have been the dream of all the nations of earth since the dawn of history.

285. In conclusion I wish to express my Government's hope that the work of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly will be crowned with successful results compatible with the aspirations of the peoples of the world at large. We are confident that the United Nations will exert itself to the utmost in using all available facilities in accordance with the Charter, and with the support of its Member States, to uphold the new international spirit, to achieve equality and to build a new era of international solidarity, with the dedication of all co-operating for the good and unity of mankind.

286. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call upon those representatives who wish to speak in exercise of their right of reply. Members will recall that, at its 4th plenary meeting, the General Assembly decided that statements made in exercise of the right of reply should be limited to 10 minutes.

287. Mr. MURRAY (United Kingdom): I should like briefly to comment on some remarks made by the Foreign Minister of Argentina on the question of the Falkland Islands in the course of what was a most thoughtful and challenging statement to us yesterday afternoon [18th meeting].

288. Our reservations on the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Special Committee on decolonization to which he referred are well known. My Government has no doubts as to its sovereignty over the Falkland Islands. It remains willing, however, to continue exchanges with the Argentine Government about all aspects of Anglo-Argentine relations, including the Falkland Islands.

289. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): In the statement made this afternoon by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritania we heard him say that he would try to avoid any controversial issue in order not to disrupt the calm and serenity of our debates. These are certainly very praiseworthy intentions; obviously, if he had abided by them, I would not now have had to exercise my right of reply. But, contrary to his statement, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritania did open a controversy: first of all, by giving an interpretation of certain decisions and tests which is open to challenge, then by making certain assertions, which again could be challenged, and finally, by calling most directly in question the Government I represent. I shall not dwell at length on those statements in trying to refute them: first of all, because you have reminded me, Mr. President, that I have only 10 minutes available to me, and, secondly, because the Algerian delegation will obviously have the time and occasion to shed on this issue all the light that is necessary, nay, that is now indispensable.

290. In so far as texts are concerned, I would merely say that if the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mauritania believes that General Assembly resolutions or the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice authorized, encouraged, justified or legitimized Mauritania's occupation and annexation of part of the Western Sahara, that is, I think, to say the least, a highly original interpretation and most certainly an eminently abusive one. When the Foreign Minister of Mauritania tells us that at the present moment—that is to say, after the occupation of the Western Sahara—the people of the Sahara must be considered as having exercised their right to self-determination, I think that that is an interpretation which is based on sheer fantasy, and which might prompt a smile if we all did not know the extent of the tragedy involved. Moreover, I must say that the Spanish Government itself, which was the administering Power, and which is one of the signatories of the Madrid agreement, has not recognized the procedure which was considered by Mauritania as having enabled the Saharan people to exercise its right to self-determination.

291. As for Algeria, this is another problem. On this as well as many other problems, Algeria has adopted a position which it has always been at pains to describe with the greatest lucidity. Had this been our only merit, we would also have that of not changing our mind, and all delegations here can at least pay this just tribute to my Government, that Algeria has remained constant and has acted in accordance with its statements, commitments and convictions. And if the Foreign Minister of Mauritania requires further proof of this, I could perhaps ask him to refer briefly to his own memory to recall that Algeria has always remained faithful to the decisions of the General Assembly itself and to United Nations doctrine on this subject, but whether or not the decolonization of the Sahara takes place according to specific rules has not depended on Algeria or its Government.

292. Indeed, there is no problem between Algeria and Mauritania. The decolonization of the Sahara does not, *per se*, give rise to any problem between our two countries. The real problem is that which brings into opposition the Government of Mauritania and the international community, because the Mauritanian Government was, and still is, contradicting its previous positions, and, indeed, is now in an illegal position vis-à-vis decisions of our Assembly.

293. I shall terminate here this brief response and, of course, if any new elements arise in this debate, I shall be quite willing to shed all necessary light on them.

294. Mr. EL HASSEN (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): We have heard a statement by the representative of Algeria which essentially praised two features of the position of the Algerian Government. What are those two features? First, that the position of the Algerian Government has never varied on the question of the Sahara. Let us take a closer look at that feature of the Algerian Government's position.

295. All of you know—and I shall demonstrate this—that the position of the Algerian leaders on this question is fraught with contradictions from beginning to end. First of all, when the problem arose in the United Nations, the Algerian Government, with the support of Morocco and

Mauritania, upheld the principle of self-determination. But at the OAU summit conference, which took place in 1972 at Rabat,<sup>16</sup> there was a rapprochement between Morocco and Algeria, and Algeria told Mauritania: "This is a problem which concerns two States of the subregion, and when these two fraternal countries agree on the solution of this problem Algeria will make a point of supporting them."

296. Now, why did Algeria take this position? It was because Algeria counted on the impossibility of an understanding between Mauritania and Morocco and this unfortunately prompted our Algerian friends to describe this understanding as an "unnatural alliance". This is an understanding between two Arab countries belonging to the same subregion, an understanding between two States of the African continent, sharing the same hopes, the same past and the same concerns, and yet they describe it as an "unnatural alliance"! This is the first contradiction in the Algerian Government's position.

297. The second contradiction is that when the problem came before the International Court of Justice, the Algerian Government stated through its representative that the Sahara was a *terra nullius*. What does this mean? It means that the land escheated and that any colonial Power could, by virtue of the law of that time, legally occupy the Sahara. This indirectly supported the position at that time of the Spanish Government. And then, three or four months later, they started talking to us, with great nobility of spirit, of the Saharan people and of their sovereignty. This is the second contradiction to be found in the position of the Algerian Government.

298. But there is a third contradiction. What does the principle of self-determination, which is championed by our Algerian brothers—and we do not wish to cast doubts on the nobility of their feelings or even their good faith—but what does it imply? It implies a solution that could, and normally must, allow for different possibilities. But when you invoke the principle and at the same time announce the result of its application, by the proclamation of a republic, is this not another contradiction which no country here could in good faith accept? And we have said this here today. This is the third contradiction in the position of the Algerian Government.

299. I assure this Assembly that I shall abstain from the use of words like "abusive" or "fantasy", which I did not expect from my colleague and brother Mr. Rahal.

300. But in any case, the first quality which he attributed to the Algerian Government's position was that it never varied with regard to the Sahara. He also said that Algeria had always been faithful to decisions of the United Nations. That was the second attribute, and he seemed to place great stress on it.

<sup>16</sup> Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the Organization of African Unity, held at Rabat from 12 to 15 June 1972.

301. The General Assembly has adopted two resolutions on the question of Spanish Sahara, to speak only of the last session. There was resolution 3458 A (XXX) which we all know, and resolution 3458 B (XXX), which we also know. I ask all delegations to read the texts of these resolutions from beginning to end, and if they can discover that Algeria was asked to declare a Saharan republic in order subsequently to recognize it, then the Algerians would be quite right. But no General Assembly resolution has said anything about the creation of a republic—which was prefabricated, artificial, and populated specifically by Mauritians. The spokesman of Frente POLISARIO, supported by Algeria, is the former Ambassador of Mauritania to the United Nations. I am embarrassed to say this for fear that the Algerians may take me and use me against my own country! This is what this "republic" is.

302. Now, who is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of this republic? He is the former chargé d'affaires of Mauritania in Algiers. The Minister for Information of this Republic—who is he? He is a former official of the Mauritanian Ministry of Mines.

303. Algeria tells us that it wishes stability and peace in this region but must support the independence and self-determination of the Saharan people. But such is the "republic" created by Algeria, and Algeria says that it is faithful to the decisions of the General Assembly. We, Morocco and Mauritania, say that the General Assembly is sovereign in its decisions. As for us, we consider that we have acted within the framework of international legality. Anyone has a perfect right to criticize us for anything they may wish, but at least our action is based specifically on decisions of the General Assembly and of the Security Council and on the Madrid agreement.

304. Now, on the basis of what decision did Algeria proclaim a republic? Not on the basis of the Madrid agreement, nor any Algiers agreement, nor even any agreement whatsoever, whether concluded in Corsica or elsewhere. At least the action of Mauritania and of Morocco has, from the beginning till now, been based on international legality. No resolution of the General Assembly has ever requested Algeria to proclaim and set up a republic composed of mercenaries. Yet the representative of Algeria has told us that his country is faithful to decisions of the United Nations.

305. I do not want to take up too much of the Assembly's time although I can assure it that I have many things to say about this problem and am quite ready to give as many clarifications and as much information to the members of this Assembly as may be necessary.

*The meeting rose at 7.40 p.m.*