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

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

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. FRANCK (Central African Republic) (*interpretation from French*): I am greatly honoured to transmit to the General Assembly the warm congratulations of His Excellency Jean Bedel Bokassa, the President for Life of the Republic, President for Life of the Movement of Social Evolution of Black Africa, President of the Council of the Central African Revolution and Marshall of the Central African Republic, on its happy choice in electing Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, Ambassador of Sri Lanka, President of the thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The Central African delegation, which participated at the fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, has appreciated the tact, wisdom and authority he evinced in guiding the sometimes stormy debates of that Conference, and we note the great sympathy representatives to this lofty international Conference have displayed towards him. We therefore expected him to be promoted to President of this thirty-first regular session of the General Assembly, an expectation which has been fulfilled. His competence and his qualities as a seasoned diplomat presage that the work of this regular session will be successful. My delegation pledges its sincere co-operation during his present term of office at the head of the United Nations General Assembly.

2. From this lofty rostrum I greet Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg on the exemplary manner in which he acquitted himself of the most delicate task of

presiding over the thirtieth regular session of the General Assembly.

3. I cannot resist the pleasure which I feel in paying a sincere tribute to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his indefatigable efforts to find, in this troubled world with hotbeds of tension throughout, conciliatory solutions for the maintenance of peace and fruitful co-operation among States. If at times because of the difficulties encountered he was able to offer only palliatives, we must nevertheless be grateful to him because so far, through his remarkable diplomatic skills, he has spared the international community the worst.

4. The Council of the Central African Revolution enthusiastically welcomes the admission of the Republic of Seychelles to the United Nations. This one hundred and forty-fifth State Member of our Organization has joined us because of the determination, dynamism, courage and wisdom of its leaders and has thus attained international sovereignty with peace and dignity.

5. Before going further in my statement, I should first of all wish to bow respectfully before the memory of the most regretted Chairman Mao Tsetung, the great helmsman who, because of his courage, his philosophy based on justice and freedom, has succeeded in the task of creating modern China. Our century might be described as a century of contrast because we have had men living who were the forces of evil incarnate and men whose calling was precisely to destroy the forces of evil, to break the chains of oppression and to spread justice and liberty. Chairman Mao was in the second category and his immense political action has transcended the frontiers of great China and made a major contribution to changing the political geography of the world. The oppressed of the world will be forever grateful to him.

6. A prospective analysis of the present political and economic situation clearly proves that mankind is prey to serious difficulties as regards its survival, difficulties which require concrete and urgent solutions.

7. In fact, we are bound to note that the United Nations, despite its successes here and there, has not yet fully shouldered its mission, which is to establish peace, justice and security and to eliminate hunger, disease and illiteracy throughout the world in accordance with the spirit and letter of the San Francisco Charter.

8. Indeed, while the United Nations has achieved considerable results in consolidating peace and security throughout the world, while it has gained decisive successes in eliminating the colonial system and made important pro-

gress in promoting co-operation on a footing of equality among peoples and States, while it has almost attained universality—even though some States have been unjustly prevented from joining it—and while it has made considerable progress in bringing about the relaxation of international tensions, peace and security, unfortunately, are not yet accessible to all peoples.

9. What is more, our disquiet about the human species is evident from the fact that, despite the many accords or negotiations on disarmament, the infernal and terrifying arms race in the most sophisticated and deadly weapons engulfs amounts of energy and capital which could have served to nourish thousands of men, women and children who are dying of hunger throughout the world. This arms race is also spreading to other regions of the world.

10. Major victories have been won, and historical successes achieved in the struggle against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and all other forms of foreign domination; yet many peoples are still compelled to struggle bitterly for their right to self-determination, independence and freedom.

11. The Central African Republic through me expresses its condemnation at the persistence and perpetration of these vile and abject forces which run against the trend of history.

12. The international community as a whole has registered that existing economic international relations cannot be maintained and that the situation of the developing countries has become more and more serious. Nevertheless no substantial progress has been made to speed up the development and prosperity of these countries.

13. In accordance with the decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions of the United Nations General Assembly, action to establish a new international economic order was taken and pursued consistently by the developing countries. Proof of this are the conferences held at Manila, Nairobi, Colombo and Mexico. But this action did not meet with corresponding willingness among certain more developed countries which might lead to the adoption of specific measures. On the contrary, we witnessed new attempts to continue to settle international problems at the level of a limited circle of countries so as to preserve the privileges inherited from the past.

14. Faced with these contradictions or paradoxes, my delegation cannot fail to say here that the world is in a state of crisis—a political, economic and social crisis, as well as a crisis of conscience. Yet we do not lose hope, that the United Nations, which has become a regulating organ of our society, will be able to master these calamities; that all the problems of Africa, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East will be resolved; that a new international economic order will be established; and that the world will live in peace with more humanity, generosity and tolerance. It is therefore with this attitude that my delegation will consider with you all the disturbing problems which agitate the international community.

15. Beyond any doubt Africa is a continent which is prey to difficulties the seriousness of which must, once again,

demand special attention and which compels us to arrive at the best solution. The total emancipation of Africa, the protection of Africa against the rivalry of external Powers, and international co-operation for economic and social development are so many facts which should receive the most careful consideration by our Assembly. Accordingly, *a priori*, my delegation is bound to consider the situation now prevailing in southern Africa. In that part of our continent tensions and confrontations, of which our brothers in Zimbabwe and in Namibia are the victims, are increasing sharply, while the last stronghold of colonialism in Africa has just recently been defeated. I am speaking of territories which were formerly under Portuguese domination.

16. The deprivation of the freedom of a people is always a source of struggle and confrontation resulting from a collective rebuff. This axiom is not the result of my imagination; it is universal. Therefore the just struggle of our brothers in Zimbabwe and Namibia proceeds from the fact that they do not have their freedom to put an end to the process of exploitation nor are they able to prepare a development strategy to control their own natural resources and fully attain their dignity as human beings.

17. Thus in Rhodesia we are witnesses to stalling tactics by the rebels, who have defied international conscience for more than a decade. Their chief, Ian Smith, using palliatives to lull the African community, tramples underfoot the elementary principles of the civilization which produced him by assassinating thousands of defenceless blacks, whose only original sin is to be black and to aspire to freedom. And this is why we gave our complete support to the efforts being made by the heads of the five front-line States so as to find a humanly acceptable solution to the tragedy of our brothers of Zimbabwe, namely their accession to complete independence.

18. Here in this very hall on 30 September last Mr. Kissinger, the Secretary of State of the United States of America, stated:

“Less than a week ago the Rhodesian authorities announced that they were prepared to meet with the nationalist leaders of Zimbabwe to form an interim government to bring about majority rule within two years. That is in itself an historic break from the past. The African Presidents, in calling for immediate negotiations, have shown that they are prepared to seize this opportunity. And the Government of the United Kingdom, in expressing its willingness to assemble a conference, has shown its high sense of responsibility and concern for the rapid and just independence of Rhodesia.” [11th meeting, para. 178.]

19. My delegation therefore supports the initiatives of the United States Government and expresses the hope that the process of the transfer of power to the black majority may be carried out as rapidly as possible.

20. While the situation in Rhodesia is one of concern, it is no less urgent for Namibia to accede to independence as a unitary State.

21. All the political forces, in particular the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], must participate in

preparing for independence through the exercise of the right to self-determination under United Nations control. Here again, the international community is bound fully to assume its responsibilities. It is its duty to bring about détente and to restore peace and security in that part of the world.

22. Parallel with the situation in southern Africa there is another problem on which we should not have dwelt were it not jeopardizing peace and security in the area. This is the question of Western Sahara, which is being exacerbated by the champions of disorder and agitation and by those who will never resign themselves to seeing Africa living in concord and brotherhood. On the basis of resolution 3458 B (XXX) of the General Assembly, the relevant United Nations resolutions on decolonization and the advisory opinion of the International Court of Justice,¹ the Kingdom of Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania, after democratic consultations with the populations concerned, peacefully settled the problem of the transfer and exercise of sovereignty in the former Spanish possession. We maintain our view that, in accordance with the unanimous decision of the chiefs of State at the summit meeting on the island of Mauritius,² confirmed by the decision taken at Colombo,³ only a special summit conference, enlightened by African wisdom, can find a judicious solution to this fratricidal struggle. The Council of the Central African Revolution, for its part, will continue to support the Kingdom of Morocco and the Islamic Republic of Mauritania.

23. The problem of the Middle East is in every way a permanent threat to world peace and security. The Central African Republic approves all the resolutions adopted on the subject by the United Nations and continues to believe that the solution to the Palestine problem remains the only condition for the restoration of a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

24. My country's position, which is well known, has not altered since—namely, that peace in the Middle East is based on three fundamental principles: the right of the Palestinian people to their own homeland; the right of all the States of the region, including Israel, to live within universally recognized frontiers; the withdrawal of Israel from all the Arab territories occupied since 1967. As in the past, my country supports our brother Arab countries which spare no effort to recover their occupied territories. Once again we reiterate our appeal to the international community to persevere in its efforts to ensure that, on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973), a just and equitable solution may be found to the Arab-Israeli crisis.

25. Close to the Middle East there is another hotbed of tension—Cyprus. Because of its geopolitical situation, Cyprus is and remains the object of greed, of competing foreign interests, and of unwarrantable foreign interference

in its internal affairs. It is our hope that this situation may be settled as soon as possible. It is high time that measures be taken to implement General Assembly resolution 3212 (XXIX) and Security Council resolutions 365 (1974) and 367 (1975). We fully support continued negotiations on the basis of equality between the Cypriot communities—Greek and Turkish—under the auspices of the United Nations. In our opinion the withdrawal of foreign forces would make it possible finally to arrive at a settlement in accordance with law and justice, that is to say, a settlement preserving the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus that is acceptable to all Cypriots.

26. My delegation cannot remain silent on the problem of the divided Korean people and the seriousness of the tension prevailing in that peninsula. The Korean people, which for practically 30 years have known only the turmoil and torment of war, aspire to the peaceful and free reunification of their territory. We believe that the international community should again encourage the continuation of the dialogue. It should urgently call on all the parties concerned to do everything possible to facilitate a resumption of discussions and the negotiation of lasting arrangements for the maintenance of peace on the Korean peninsula and the achievement of reunification in accordance with the joint North-South communiqué of 4 July 1972.⁴

27. We are aware of the threat to the security of the States of the region resulting from the concentration of naval and air forces in the Indian Ocean. The group of non-aligned countries meeting at Colombo renewed its appeal that the Indian Ocean be declared a zone of peace [see A/31/197, annex IV, resolution 11]. My delegation, on behalf of the Council of the Central African Revolution, reaffirms its conviction that the implementation of this declaration on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace would be a positive contribution to settling international tensions in that part of the world.

28. My country warmly applauded the admission of the Seychelles to the United Nations. However, we strongly deplore the rejection by the Security Council of the applications of two brother countries, Angola and Viet Nam, for membership in our Organization. Some will support the legality of this decision, taking refuge in Article 4, paragraph 2, of the United Nations Charter, but the very ones who invoke that argument to justify such rejection must agree that legality is not always the same thing as justice.

29. Since its entry into force on 24 October 1945, the Charter has undergone many amendments, but the right of veto, which has remained unchanged, seems to have lost its original purpose and has become, in the hands of some of those who are authorized to wield it, a power enabling them to make a selection among countries applying for admission to the United Nations solely on the basis of their ideological background. The resultant flagrant injustice must be abolished and accordingly the Council of the Central African Revolution associates itself with the

¹ *Western Sahara, Advisory Opinion, I.C.J. Reports 1975, p. 12.*

² Twenty-seventh regular session of the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity, held at Port Louis, Mauritius, from 24 June to 3 July 1976.

³ Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 27, annex I.*

Governments of the very many States who are calling for a revision of the Charter of the United Nations, so as to adapt it to current geopolitical realities.

30. I have just reviewed the political questions which are of the greatest concern to the international community.

31. It is nevertheless the case that during the Second United Nations Development Decade on which we are embarked, the basic issue, as defined at the seventh special session of the Assembly, is, and remains, the establishment of a new and more just economic and social order. Our planet has heterogeneous socio-political and politico-economic systems which, unless we are vigilant, may bring about very serious, indeed catastrophic, conflicts. That is why, both politically and economically, the international community must avoid confrontation in seeking conscientious and responsible solutions to the problems it faces. This quite naturally leads me to speak with some feeling of the cruel and tragic situation prevailing in our world, in which 70 per cent of mankind share only 30 per cent of world income, while a small group of privileged States lives in opulence and waste. This being so, how can one fail to draw attention to the poverty, disease, destitution, need and illiteracy—with all their socio-economic implications—which constitute the sorry fate of the populations of the third world? We can never say enough to arouse a responsible collective world conscience to this tragedy. But we still have hope because by persistently raising our voices in all international fora, even the most backward nations are beginning to think of the inevitable consequences which may be engendered by such a tragedy. For its part, the third world has chosen the course of agreement and dialogue, so as to devise platforms on the basis of which equitable solutions may be found so as to achieve the objective of establishing a new and more equitable economic and social order. Both at Lima,⁵ where the non-aligned countries met to consider economic development, and at Manila⁶ and Colombo, important documents were drafted which are the warhorses of the third world. Paradoxically, we note that in recent years many resolutions adopted by various international organizations and conferences concerning the establishment of the new economic order have not been followed by practical action, and the socio-economic situation of the developing countries, especially the land-locked and island countries whose geographical situation places them at a disadvantage, is deteriorating further. Most, if not all, of the third-world countries live off exports of raw materials and imports of manufactures, but the deterioration of the terms of trade, aggravated by an imported inflation, constitutes the backbone of a system of trade that has become obsolete. New formulas adapted to the present relations between independent and sovereign States must be sought.

32. Be that as it may, what can we say of all the restrictions in the form of tariff barriers and tariff quotas which restrict opportunities for access to international markets for the developing countries? Of course, the instinct for survival has led certain countries of the

third-world group which are by nature favoured by the existence of certain raw materials, in this case oil, to set up openly a cartel to defend their interests. This position has unleashed a series of retaliatory measures encompassing the entire monetary and financial system. The low earnings of the developing countries have aggravated their balance-of-payments deficit to a tremendous degree. According to some estimates, this deficit was \$US 40 billion in 1975 and may be expected to reach the record figure of \$US 112 billion by 1980.

33. These few examples unequivocally prove to what an extent the economic, monetary and financial system governing trade among industrialized and developing countries is outdated and obsolete, because it was conceived in another era to serve relations among States whose status was based on philosophical concepts which are now outmoded. The third world, when it calls for a review of that system, hopes to see more equitable rules applied under the concept of human solidarity and also by virtue of the fundamental principles laid down by the Charter of the United Nations. This is why the Council of the Central African Revolution, presided over by His Excellency, Jean Bedel Bokassa, President for Life of the Republic, President for Life of The Movement of Social Evolution of Black Africa, President of the Council of the Central African Revolution, Marshal of the Central African Republic, reaffirming its support for the United Nations Charter and for that of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]; and reaffirming its membership in the non-aligned movement and in the Group of 77, strongly supports all efforts to set up new structures so as to establish a new and more just economic and social order. We accordingly support the following measures.

34. First, there should be a re-examination of the international monetary system, developed at Bretton Woods. The new system must respond to the development requirements of the third-world countries; it must enable States, large or small, rich or poor, to participate on a basis of equality in the decision-making process and guarantee the stability of the flow and conditions of international financial aid, recognize the conditions and specific needs of the less-developed countries on the basis of preferential treatment, in accordance with the Declaration and Programme of Action of Manila,⁷ the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation which was adopted by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, which was held last August at Colombo [see A/31/197, annex III].

35. Secondly, there should be an integrated programme for commodities at remunerative prices.

36. Thirdly, a common fund for financing buffer stocks of raw materials, which was advocated by the Group of 77 at Manila, should be established. Concurrently with the solutions to be sought and encouraged within the framework of the United Nations, the Council of the Central African Revolution endorses the recommendations to strengthen solidarity among the third-world countries on

⁵ Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima from 25 to 30 August 1975.

⁶ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976.

⁷ 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.

the basis of the principle of self-reliance. This concept is furthermore in accord with that of "Operation Bokassa", our national and original development strategy which aims at mobilizing all live forces of the nation so as to bring it out of a state of under-development.

37. Fourthly, Arab-African co-operation, which is a concrete contribution to co-operation among the countries of the third world, should be developed.

38. Fifthly, an international bank for the third world—an idea stated at Colombo by the Prime Minister of Sri Lanka, Mrs. Bandaranaike, at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries—should be established.

39. Sixthly, economic co-operation among developing countries—the bases for which were established at the last conference of the Group of 77 in Mexico, held last month⁸—should be developed.

40. Other initiatives are also under way, such as the one launched by the founder and President of the Republic of Zaire. The Chief of State of Zaire proposed the convocation, within the framework of OAU, of a special ministerial meeting on economic co-operation among African countries at Kinshasa in November 1976. My country, the Central African Republic, pays a particularly well-deserved tribute to that happy initiative and endorses it whole-heartedly.

41. On the international chess-board, however, rich and developing countries meet time and time again so as to arrive at a *modus vivendi* on the important questions concerning raw materials, energy and the monetary system. The fourth session of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [UNCTAD], which met at Nairobi, enabled the world to note that the will to arrive at positive approaches had crystallized, and it is our hope that common sense, universal solidarity and collective goodwill will prevail over selfish interests. We hope that the North-South Conference which has been meeting at Paris since 1975, will lead to a positive and encouraging dialogue, because we are grateful to countries which strive to give these meetings a perspective for dynamic co-operation.

42. From this rostrum I appeal to the sense of humanity of the affluent countries which prefer to spend vast amounts of money to build engines for the conquest of outer space simply for prestige, while there is so much extreme poverty to be alleviated on our planet.

43. Convinced of the considerable technological backwardness of the third-world countries, we hope that the industrialized countries will do everything in their power to enable us to accelerate our rate of growth and accordingly facilitate the transfer of technology adapted to the national realities of the developing countries. The drafting of an international code of conduct for the transfer of technology, which is envisaged in the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [see resolution 3202 (S-VI), sect. IV], should enable the

deprived countries to have access to those modern techniques that are essential for their economic development.

44. There is still another alarming problem for the survival of mankind and that is the arms race, the economic impact of which is not negligible. That is why the view expressed by most countries, condemning the use of large financial resources to build an arsenal of deadly weapons and to satisfy some kind of thirst for hegemony while at the same time millions of human beings struggle in poverty and die of hunger and disease, is fully shared by the Central African Republic. It goes without saying that the resources thus released would make it possible to supply the International Fund for Agricultural Development, to satisfy the needs of countries such as the Central African Republic, 90 per cent of whose population is employed in agriculture.

45. I feel bound to mention the vital role played by the transnational companies in the economies of the developing countries. That role, need I recall, in many aspects conceals activities which often run counter to the strategies and development objectives of the third-world countries. Accordingly, my delegation unreservedly supports the development, adoption and early implementation of a code of conduct for the transnational companies.

46. The problem of the law of the sea is of paramount importance. Seeking a new international economic order based on equity was one of the reasons for convening the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. This gigantic legal undertaking—were it to achieve the desired ends—would remain the most grand endeavour of all times, since it is a planetary undertaking.

47. This Conference is intended, first of all, finally to resolve problems that have been in existence for a long time and then to create new maritime rights. I am not telling the members of this Assembly anything new when I say that the Conference must finally decide on the breadth of the territorial sea, the outer limit of the continental shelf; it must define what is the exclusive economic zone, reaffirm the free use of the international maritime zone, and, particularly, specify the prerogatives of the international authority which will be responsible for conducting activities in the international zone, namely, prospecting, exploration and exploitation of the sea-bed and also the settlement of possible disputes among States. For, while every right resulting from law is in essence intended to settle disputes, it is, by its very existence, a source of litigation. In other words, any new right creates a new type of dispute. It might be believed that when exploration is carried out the major problem is resolved. Not at all. Regrettably, we suffer from a chain-reaction system. Any solution to a problem carries within it the seed of a new problem. When the sea-bed is exploited, what is to be done with the products extracted? Among whom, and how, will they be distributed? Here appetites are whetted, interests are in confrontation, and the law of the sea could lead to results diametrically opposite to those for which it was established, which was the improvement of living conditions for the "have-nots". For if, out of the net income—and I emphasize, "out of the net income"—of sea-bed mining resources, the lion's share goes to those who already have more, because of some special procedure or incongruous criterion, or if the minerals extracted from the sea-bed

⁸ Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976.

compete with similar minerals offered on the market by the under-equipped countries, thus disturbing the already shaky economy of the latter, one need not be an expert in economics to conclude that the gap between the rich countries and the deprived countries, far from narrowing, will become greater still, and the economic order thus created by the introduction of new factors of wealth will be but a perpetuation of the economic order now prevailing.

48. It follows that, to establish a really new economic order which will make a substantial improvement in the situation of the disinherited countries, the international authority which will be the product of this new law of the sea being drafted should constantly be guided in its activities by the spirit of the preamble of the United Nations Charter.

49. Let us assume that the problems that I have highlighted so far in my statement were to be equitably solved because of the wisdom, indeed, altruism, of certain members of the great international community, the world would not yet be at peace because other key issues will subsist, the settlement of which at present would be a delicate matter. These issues are centred on the geographical position of States in relation to the sea. While some countries have, so to speak, their feet in the water, others less fortunate, can only reach the sea after exhausting use of their legs.

Mr. Amerasinghe (Sri Lanka) took the Chair.

50. The sea, the extent of which is three times greater than that of the land which has surfaced, will forever remain the surest and less costly means of commercial communication. This is in itself sufficient to show the great commercial advantage possessed by coastal States in comparison with the coastless or land-locked countries and the advantages in mining resources which the coastal States with a limitless ocean spreading out before them will have when the new law of the sea enters into force, as compared with countries with a very narrow coast or which, because they face another State, cannot benefit either from a broad territorial sea or from a continental shelf under the rules which will be adopted.

51. All States unanimously agree that the international maritime zone and its resources are the common heritage of mankind. This principle has been reaffirmed in the first paragraph of the resolution on the international zone which was adopted by the Council of Ministers of OAU when it met at its twenty-seventh regular session in the capital of Mauritius only three months ago [see A/31/196 and Corr.1, resolution 522 (XXVII)].

52. An important detail on which States seek consensus is the outer limit of that international zone, that is to say the high seas. Since this will be the same as that of the outer limit of the exclusive economic zone and of the continental shelf, it follows that any change in the breadth of the exclusive economic zone and of the continental shelf causes *ipso facto* an opposite change in the extent of the international zone which is to be considered as the common heritage of all mankind.

53. It will suffice for me to recall here that the Central African Republic, my country, is more than 1,000 kilo-

metres from the coast at the nearest frontier point. The importance my delegation attaches to arriving at a consensus at the Conference on the Law of the Sea which will not be at the expense of the continental States can therefore readily be understood. The distance separating continental States from the sea is already a cause of backwardness in their development and this will only cease to operate when the rights which I regard as natural, because they are inherent in the situation of being land-locked, will be unconditionally recognized.

54. We all know what these rights are, namely, the right of land-locked countries to have access to the sea and the right of transit through the territory or territories separating them from the sea. Naturally, we do not preclude that transit States may take the necessary measures so that this international service will be as little detrimental to them as possible. But these rights of access to the sea and of transit, the full exercise of which should be left completely to the beneficiary State, should not be subordinated to any right of reciprocity in favour of the coastal States which rendered this service. My country, because of its geographical situation in the heart of the African continent, is both a land-locked country and a transit State, and it is prepared to meet its obligations as a transit State. I cannot but note with bitterness that certain coastal States, although they, too, wish for the establishment of a new international economic order that would alleviate the ills from which the developing countries suffer in varying degrees, have so far proved intransigent in the matter of recognizing the natural right to the sea, without condition of reciprocity, and its corollary, the right of transit, which the land-locked countries wish to enjoy without restriction. Intransigence in this position can only delay the advent of this new economic order and even jeopardize the successful outcome of the Conference on the Law of the Sea. That is why, like Nepal and other continental countries, I urge the coastal States which are still in opposition to soften their positions.

55. I have dwelt on the land-locked status of my country because this problem is at the heart of the concern of the Council of the Central African Republic. That is why His Excellency Jean Bedel Bokassa, President for Life of the Republic, President for Life of the Movement of Social Evolution of Black Africa, President of the Council of the Central African Republic, and Marshal of the Central African Republic, in a solemn statement made in January 1974, decided that 1974 should be the year for ending the disadvantages of the Central African Republic's land-locked position. On that occasion he made an appeal to the international community in these terms:

"We give our friends our constant political support; in return, we ask them to help us by practical and effective action to solve our problems of economic, technical, cultural and social development, in the forefront of which is the anguishing problem of the land-locked position of the Central African Republic."

It should also be pointed out that the Head of State determined that the highest priority of our five-year development plan, 1976-1980, should be to overcome our land-locked position through the building of a Bangui-Atlantic Ocean railway.

56. Actually, this great national project could not have been undertaken if a major step had not just been taken. This was the decision at the summit meeting of heads of State of the Central African Customs and Economic Union, comprising the Congo, the United Republic of Cameroon, Gabon and the Central African Republic, held in Bangui in December 1975, to make the building of that railway a regional project. This is a striking example of regional solidarity and co-operation, and on behalf of my Head of State, on behalf of the Council of the Central African Revolution and on behalf of the Central African people, I wish to pay a sincere tribute to the Heads of State of those brother countries for the remarkable spirit of solidarity and understanding which they have evinced.

57. Once again my delegation urgently appeals to the international financial bodies, and to countries sympathetic to the Central African Republic, to assist the Central African Customs and Economic Union by providing it with the necessary funds to carry out this railway project. Once completed, and accompanied by the building of the Bangui-Cameroon sector of the trans-African Mombasa-Lagos route, it will certainly lead to a net improvement in the economic and social conditions of the people of the Central African Republic. This will naturally make it possible to exploit enormous agricultural, forestry and game resources, as well as great mining deposits which have recently been discovered by satellite in the Central African subsoil, known since 1975 as the "Bangui anomaly".

58. My delegation is concerned about the question of the mass media. The developed countries have gigantic means of threat and intimidation to support their political and economic action. As proof, I shall quote from an article which appeared in the monthly publication, *Le monde diplomatique*, No. 269, of August 1976, by German Carnero Rojo, entitled "Information in the Third World":

"The third world, in the specific area of information, and more generally as regards communications, suffers from an acute dependence similar at all points to its dependence in the political and economic spheres. This dependence is an integral and decisive part of the system of imperialist domination. It is also one of the conditions for its survival. It is indeed impossible to conceive of lasting mechanisms of economic and political domination in the third world without the formidable support offered by a system of sophisticated and efficient subjection in the matter of information and communications

"As regards news as such, it is almost totally manipulated by transnational press agencies presented as 'international' agencies. It is through these channels that events in the developing countries are transmitted to the world and that the peoples in those countries are 'informed' of what is happening abroad. But the selection criteria are such that ultimately it is not information but rather systematic distortion—or disinformation—concerning the facts that is presented with particular virulence when it comes to news about peoples who have undertaken a revolutionary course for their emancipation. The most significant aspects of their struggle, and the deep-seated causes of that struggle, are generally not mentioned, or else distorted."

59. Accordingly, the Central African Republic, my country, is pleased at the recent establishment of a pool of press agencies for the third world so as to modify their situation and to end decolonization in regard to information and set up a new international order in this realm. We are all the more pleased since the establishment of such a press organ will better serve the cause of the developing countries, among them the Central African Republic, which have frequently been the object of systematic denigration, carried to the point of aggression against the authorities and valiant people of Central Africa, who love peace and justice. We believe that such a baseless campaign, that threatens the sovereignty of our States, deserves the full attention of the international community.

60. I should like to recall, in concluding, that man is the purpose of our action and of the United Nations action. Man's progress has encountered many obstacles and many barriers. It will suffice to refer to the reasons that led to the establishment of the League of Nations and of the United Nations and other forms of joint action as evidence of this. How many catastrophes and scourges of all kinds has the human species survived along its course to come today to a stage where everybody agrees that we must live in peace and security with material and moral well-being.

61. As in the opinion of my delegation, all countries large and small have always insisted that the United Nations is an important factor as an effective instrument to promote international peace and security and to establish a new international economic order so as to reconcile the interests and objectives of States Members. Within this context we consider that the activities of the specialized agencies of the United Nations system represent a co-ordinated attempt to prepare a future providing better living conditions for mankind on our planet.

*Address by Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, Prime Minister
and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Fiji*

62. The PRESIDENT: This morning, the Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Fiji. I have great pleasure in welcoming His Excellency, the Right Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara and inviting him to address the General Assembly.

63. Sir Kamisese MARA (Fiji): I am grateful for this opportunity to convey to you from this rostrum the warm greetings of the Government and people of Fiji, and to assure you of our continuing commitment to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

64. We are especially pleased that, in its current deliberations, the General Assembly should be guided by the representative of a country which has contributed greatly to the promotion of international goodwill and understanding. Your own significant contribution to the negotiations on the law of the sea as President gives us confidence that your judgement and wisdom will ensure the success of this session.

65. I should also like to express the deep appreciation of the Government and people of Fiji to our distinguished Secretary-General, whom we had the pleasure of welcoming

to our shores earlier this year, and also to the staff of all United Nations organizations and agencies.

66. It is now six years since I last had the privilege of addressing this Assembly.⁹ I thought, therefore, it might be of interest to Members to hear briefly how progress and developments appear since then to a representative of a small country far away in the Pacific.

67. One of the notable features of the period has been the growth of regional and other world-wide groupings. There has been the birth of new bodies like the partnership between the European Economic Community, and the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries, formalized by the Lomé Convention.¹⁰ Another new body is the South Pacific Forum. This latter must be one of the few international meetings in the world where it is the established practice that the national leaders confer on their own, without advisers and teams of technical experts (though these are on hand if required). Both these groups seem to me to have made significant impact and to have achieved worth-while results. And I think the reason is that they include representatives of developed and developing nations, working together side by side, to determine policies which take account of the needs and aspirations of all. That is not to say that such policies can always be determined and agreed upon. There can be hard words and hard bargaining. There can be deadlock. But at least there is the continuing opportunity for dialogue and for all to put forward their viewpoints.

68. Very different seem to me the activities of some other groupings which confine their membership to those of like philosophies, politics and persuasions and like stages of development. From such bodies we are apt to hear numbers of pronouncements on world problems and issues; and yet such declarations tend not to result in successful execution. I wonder if it is not because the very people who are expected to pay for the execution of the policies are either very much in the minority, or excluded altogether. Could it be that this is an example of what has been called the tyranny of the majority?

69. If, for example, we take a recent exposition of the principles of one of these bodies, we find that they can be very closely paralleled by texts from the Bible which call upon us to love our neighbour as ourselves; to do unto others as we would they would do unto us; and render no man evil for evil. And yet the same Bible has this to say about charity or love—what we call in Fijian “*loloma*” or “*caring*”—

“I may speak in tongues of men or of angels, but if I am without love I am a sounding gong or a clanging cymbal. I may dole out all I possess, but if I have no love I am none the better.”

And the same passage lists the qualities of caring—they are patience, kindness, envy of no one, humility, modesty, courtesy and unselfishness; reluctance to take offence;

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1876th meeting.

¹⁰ APC-EEC Convention of Lomé, signed on 28 February 1975 at Lomé.

keeping no score of wrongs. And above all—it has no ending. Could there be a better description of the relationship that could, and should exist between peoples and countries? For there are parallel examples of the tyranny of the minority also—both of specially favoured nations and of commercial groupings who similarly go their own exclusive way, and similarly should consider how to bridge the gap.

70. The fuel crisis has shown us this most vividly. It has frustrated those of us in the third world who have interpreted development as industrialization. For all that has happened is that much of the wealth from oil has been transferred from the great multinational companies to the producers. In the jargon of the industry, the multinational companies were losing profits “upstream”, from the oil producers, and therefore had to look for more profits “downstream”, from refining, distributing and selling the petroleum products. So we now have a situation where it is to the benefit of both the oil producers and the distributors to maintain high price levels. The sufferers are the third world; and in general our only hope of progress is the development and exploitation of alternative sources of energy. To pursue this investigation we look to this great world body, and I appeal to it to treat this with the highest priority. But once again we have here our exclusive grouping forming their own cartel without consultation with, or regard for, the consumers.

71. I talked earlier of the sort of relationship that was needed between peoples and countries. But how do we achieve this relationship? This brings me to my basic point that we cannot look for the achievement of concord and progress unless there is dialogue and opportunity for the free expression of different viewpoints. And I stress dialogue. For far too many meetings today consist of an endless series of individual addresses by delegation heads, prepared in advance, delivered whether relevant or repetitive, and in no way geared to generate the dialogue and debate, question and answer, from which real solutions can emerge. The statements are prepared at least as much for national as international consumption, and careful arrangements are made for their release in home capitals to synchronize with their delivery. The pattern becomes so stereotyped that it is hard to escape. After all, what am I myself doing at this very moment? I have fallen into the very trap against which I am trying to sound a note of warning. I can only hope I may be forgiven on the grounds that I am trying to point another way, and that I do not propose to take up the time of representatives with my comments on individual international issues.

72. I make one exception—and it is inescapable—southern Africa. I must frankly confess that, for a long time, we in the Pacific did not take much interest in the affairs of Africa. It was far away, contacts were few, and perhaps the administering Power was just as happy this should be so. So I think our real interest began after independence when we first attended meetings of the Commonwealth Heads of Governments and met intimately with leaders of the distinction of President Nyerere, President Kaunda and others, who put the issues of Africa starkly and dramatically. And they are men of Christian background and Christian principles. Then there was, of course, our experience in this great forum itself. And most recently we

found ourselves locked in the most complicated negotiations with the European Economic Community alongside the African countries as well as the Caribbean. While the West Indian countries certainly made a notable contribution, and we like to think we may ourselves have played a role, from the outset it was the Africans who were the solid pacemakers. All these contacts have brought us much closer to the people of Africa and their burning issues. *Apartheid* is anathema to us. We completely support majority rule in Rhodesia. But we do not support violence in any form on either side; and situations look very different when you are not living close at hand in Africa and daily in contact with a situation. But we have a racial situation of our own which we are slowly solving together. No race is getting all it wants, particularly the extremists, but men of goodwill of all our races, creeds, cultures and languages are striving together and maintaining dialogue. As so we are speaking from experience, and I am more than ever convinced that only from dialogue can come real lasting peace in Africa. It is perhaps symbolic that in the two hundredth anniversary year of its own independence, the United States should have joined with the United Kingdom and African leaders to try to help bring such independence in Africa through peaceful dialogue.

73. And on dialogue, can it be that the misunderstandings between developed and developing countries are so very different from those between the various parties in industry? And can it be that, just as in that field the only satisfactory way to achieve fair shares and a harmonious atmosphere is by continuous dialogue and give and take, so it is in the international sphere?

74. Perhaps before going further I should stress that in trying to learn some lessons from collective bargaining, I am in no way saying that the developed-developing country relationship is one of superior to inferior. After all, I was among those in the African, Caribbean and Pacific countries who objected to the word "controller" to describe the representative of the European Economic Community in the various countries where Community funds are channelled. He is now called "delegate", which almost by definition means a party to a discussion.

75. In industry there are a number of broad categories of management objectives. Businessmen want to preserve and strengthen their business; they want stable and business-like relationships with bargaining agents; they have broad social and economic goals, as well as their own personal advancement.

76. None of these are incompatible with reciprocal benefits to employees, provided that the latter's needs and aspirations are part of the whole decision-making process and that they have a positive role. It should be a matter of trying to find all the points of agreement and then identifying and trying to minimize points of difference. It is fortunately now generally recognized that there are substantial areas of decision where failure to consult would be not only unwise but fatal to an enterprise. Successful co-operation of this kind does not hit the headlines, but it is what produces enduring results.

77. All this is to stress dialogue; it is the only way to reach solutions; and to exclude relevant parties from such

discussions is equally foolish, whether it be a group of developed or developing countries or anyone else. Exclusion causes suspicion, which can harden into resentment and render consensus difficult, if not impossible. Even if agreement is reached, it may leave grudges smouldering away.

78. But when we come to have this dialogue we have to know what we want and we have to know what to say. Other speakers more distinguished than myself will enlarge on the new international economic order. I am already on record as saying that perhaps our best first step is to build on existing associations such as the Lomé Convention. In fact "start small".

79. After all, "small is beautiful", as Professor Schumacher tells us when he pleads the case for the transfer of intermediate technology and even techniques at a lower level. He says:

"... the best aid is intellectual aid—the gift of useful knowledge. It is better than material aid. After all, nothing becomes truly one's own except on the basis of some genuine effort to acquire it. Material gifts make people dependent, the gift of knowledge makes them free—provided it is the right kind of knowledge, of course."

80. It is not only a matter of knowing what we want. We must also know what we do not want. And very often the most important and most difficult lesson we have to learn as aid-receiving countries is to say "No". After all, we cannot substitute dollars for dignity. If we do, we undermine the humanity of the giver as well as the taker.

81. One of the rather sad things is that, with all the advances in knowledge and techniques, we are in very real danger of losing knowledge which was available to our forefathers, and which was of great value. We are in danger of losing this knowledge simply because the holders of it are fast disappearing. But there is also an attitude of mind, among the less sophisticated members of our societies, which says that these are modern times, and we should not produce goods in such old-fashioned ways, when nowadays our young people are so well educated and advanced. The same applies to herbal and other remedies of a medical nature, and to traditional fishing and planting methods. The old Russian saying that the education of a child begins with his grandfather's education is equally true in the Pacific, where grandfathers preserve so much lore and knowledge that would be lost without their presence. At least we should have the opportunity of trying and judging, and not missing out by default, as it were. This requires active measures of preservation and encouragement.

82. And finally, in closing, may I just leave with you one brief thought on one major difference I have noticed about aid giving in the Western world and in our own Pacific Island way. From the developed countries aid is given, largely in the form of charity, from a surplus after everything else has been looked after. Sacrifice is minimal and there is no implication of a gap left which at some stage will need to be replenished. In these circumstances it is hard, with the best intentions in the world—and these I do not deny—to establish complete identity with the recipient.

And there is a tendency to think that the best aid that can be conferred is aid which will help the recipient to lead a life more like that of the donor.

83. Our method of giving is rather one of sharing what we have, so that in due course there will be an opportunity for the receiver to aid his neighbour. A reciprocal nexus is established; there is close involvement; and at the end of the day, all can look at each other in the eye.

84. I am one of those who believe that we all have something to give and I think this is more and more realized by the developed countries as well. This belief and the will to implement it will not obviate the need for all the detailed economic, social and cultural studies. But it could invest them with a meaning, a purpose, an urgency and above all an integration where all could play their part towards a better world for all.

85. The PRESIDENT: On behalf of the General Assembly and on my own behalf I thank the Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Fiji, His Excellency the Right Honourable Ratu Sir Kamisese Mara, for the important address we have just heard from him.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

86. Mr. AL-ASNAG (Yemen): Mr. President, on your election as President of the United Nations General Assembly at its thirty-first session, it gives me great pleasure to congratulate you in the name of the Yemen Arab Republic delegation. I wish you success in carrying out the deliberations of this current session in order to achieve positive results which will enhance the aspirations of the peoples throughout the world for peace, integration and close co-operation in various fields, free from exploitation, control and domination.

87. As I congratulate you on your election to this high office, allow me also to congratulate, through you, the Government of Sri Lanka and its friendly people, with whom and with whose national leadership we have strong links within the framework of the principles and goals of the non-aligned movement. This movement has contributed and still contributes to the drawing of a framework for an independent policy for the third-world countries, aiming at eliminating the obstacles which hinder the growth, development and co-operation of their peoples, and seeking to narrow the gap between industrialized and developing countries.

88. Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, your predecessor as President of the last session, has conducted with great tact the debates of this Assembly.

89. Allow me also to express the deep appreciation of my Government for the valued efforts which the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, is undertaking for enhancing the importance of this Organization, and for his constant dedication for ensuring the safety and freedom of all peoples. His courageous role in seeking a solution for the questions of Cyprus, the Middle East, Africa and other

regions in our agitated and often changing world made a very good impact, for it emphasized the importance of this world Organization as a necessary and indispensable tool for directing the international community toward finding just solutions for problems arising from aggression, intimidation and foreign occupation, as well as putting an end to the domination and exploitation of poor States by rich States. A person characterized by wisdom, insight and experience such as Mr. Waldheim deserves the co-operation and support of all Member States during the coming period of activities which is marked by complexity and challenge.

90. The Yemen Arab Republic welcomes the Republic of Seychelles to the membership of our international Organization emphasizing the universality of this world body. The Government of the Yemen Arab Republic would also like to address a sincere appeal to some of the permanent members of the Security Council to avoid misusing their veto power to deny other nations their right to join, and become full Members of, the Organization, thereby enabling them to contribute to the crystallization of the aspirations of their peoples and to participate within the international family towards finding solutions for all the problems which are the responsibility of the United Nations as a free forum for the peoples of the world, without any discrimination or special considerations.

91. The Yemen Arab Republic expresses its deep concern for the obstruction of the implementation of United Nations resolutions and recommendations dealing with serious and essential questions relating to the new international economic order. This order is the result of the efforts of the overwhelming majority of nations throughout the world and an expression of their determination to initiate and formulate resolutions which will bring about a fundamental change designed to reform and rectify the relations prevailing in the world of economics, trade and the international monetary order in such a way as to ensure equal opportunities and balance in these areas.

92. The General Assembly at its sixth special session adopted resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI) on the Declaration and the Programme of Action for the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. At its twenty-ninth session, the Assembly adopted resolution 3281 (XXIX), which laid down the foundations for the implementation of the new international economic order. The Assembly, by its resolution 2626 (XXV), had also approved the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade, which was confirmed during the seventh special session by its resolution 3362 (S-VII) stressing the importance of co-operation between the industrialized and the developing countries in the fields of trade, industry, science, technology and all other economic fields since this co-operation would contribute to the consolidation of peace and security amongst the nations of the world. We hope that the efforts being made to reassess this Strategy will be successful.

93. The resolution of the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo last August [*see A/31/197, annex IV*] emphasized the belief of non-aligned States in the principles and goals of the United Nations. They also emphasized that the adherence of States, whether big or small, to the

principles of the Charter, persistence in implementing all of its provisions, as well as harmony and coexistence between different systems are the only way to achieve a better life for mankind as a whole. These principles are embodied in the political and economic declarations of the Conference of non-aligned States in Colombo [*ibid.*, annexes I and II], as well as the Action Programme for Economic Co-operation [*ibid.*, annex III]. The documents of this historical Conference should be seriously and fully taken into consideration during the proceedings of this session.

94. What mainly concerns the human community today is the constant concentration, particularly on the part of the big Powers, on increasing the production of lethal weapons which threaten the world with destruction and annihilation. The annual expenditure of over \$300 billion exclusively on armament is conclusive evidence of the proliferation of nuclear and destructive weapons. Today, more than ever before, the United Nations is called upon to make an effective and constructive contribution to reaching a universal agreement to put an end to the arms race and to achieving complete elimination of the existing arms in order to protect mankind—which has already suffered tragically in the past two world wars—from the scourge of a third war which could very well annihilate our planet.

95. The Yemen Arab Republic stresses once again the need for détente. The Helsinki Declaration¹¹ should include a larger geopolitical area so that the Mediterranean, the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean would become peace zones, free from the presence of foreign bases and naval fleets. The Declaration should go beyond its present scope in order to cover wider regions in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

96. There are also other questions which are equally important relating to international trade, the restructuring of its foundations, the reorganization of the world economic order, and the balancing of the prices of raw materials and manufactured goods. The rich and developed States should take swift and effective initiatives to prevent further complication of the international situation, being guided in this by the resolutions of the United Nations, the specialized agencies and conferences of an international character, especially that of the Fifth Conference of non-aligned States, whose political and economic resolutions are characterized by precision of statement and objectivity. The Conference enhanced the Charter of the United Nations and restored the confidence of the majority of nations throughout the world in the effectiveness of this Organization at present and in the future, and the belief of the nations all over the world in the role of the United Nations to prevent mankind from self-destruction.

97. The peoples of the Middle East, cannot be sure of their security and peace as long as the racist Government of Israel refuses to withdraw its forces from the occupied Arab territories and to restore the inalienable rights of the Palestinian people. Israel today practises sea piracy in the territorial waters of other countries, and takes advantage of the American presidential elections as a propitious political occasion for exercising its well-known hobby of political

blackmail, pushing the big Powers to their ruin in order to serve its continuous and illegitimate ambitions and to conceal the strengthening of its disgraceful, racist, and aggressive policy.

98. The peoples of Palestine, Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania struggle daily for the achievement of their freedom, self-determination and independence. The indications of their near victory are certain and reassuring. The people of Palestine—whose land has been occupied for almost 30 years by Zionism and who have been rendered refugees—are struggling today to defend their freedom and dignity, their right to survive, to live in peace on their own land and to regain their national rights. This people, who are represented in their just struggle by the Palestine Liberation Organization, will continue their struggling march, and will overcome all the obstacles which hinder their struggle against Israel and the racist Zionist régime, until they achieve victory.

99. The odious acts of aggression committed every day by the forces of the Zionist occupation against innocent men, women and children in the occupied West Bank, the consolidation of Zionist settlements, the desecration of holy Islamic shrines, the confiscation of lands, the changing of the historical and demographic character of the area in order to sanction Israel's illegitimate presence in Palestine and to perpetuate its occupation of the Arab territories—all this cannot escape the notice of the international community and cannot continue without international condemnation and disapproval and the adoption of urgent and practical measures in order to eliminate these actions.

100. The Yemen Arab Republic is also deeply concerned with the situation prevailing under the two racist régimes in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, whose Governments daily commit repulsive crimes against African citizens. My Government joins the international community in strongly condemning these crimes.

101. Resolutions have been repeatedly adopted; however, the misuse of the veto power has prevented the implementation of sanctions against Israel and South Africa. This has led a large number of Member States to call for fundamental amendments to the Charter of the United Nations.

102. The United Nations, therefore, is called upon today to seriously consider effective measures to solve the Palestine question, to achieve the total withdrawal of Israeli forces from the occupied Arab territories, and to implement its resolutions in such a way as to ensure the recognition of the national rights of the Palestine people, including their right to self-determination and the establishment of their national authority in Palestine.

103. The Yemen Arab Republic also reaffirms the right of the Arab States to permanent control over their natural resources in the occupied territories.

104. The situation confronting the peoples of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Azania is a source of increasing concern. The United Nations, through its specialized committees, especially the Fourth Committee, which deals with decolonization, should take into consideration and supervise all political and constitutional initiatives envisaged for putting

¹¹ See Final Act of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, signed at Helsinki on 1 August 1975.

an end to injustice, terror, racial discrimination, *apartheid* and the white minority régimes, so as to enable the African majority to rule its own territory and people, in closer co-operation with the African Member States and with OAU, and to avoid the dangers arising from foreign intervention, which often have negative effects on the future of the peoples of the African continent.

105. Mr. President, your continuous efforts have contributed to a large extent to the success achieved so far by the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In order to ensure that nations adhere to and respect the provisions of this new law, they should be compatible with the principle of equal rights of States and should emphasize the absolute sovereignty of coastal States over straits within their territorial waters. All efforts made in this context should be devoted to the interests and well-being of the peoples of the world, without prejudice to the sovereign rights of States. This was the position of the Yemen delegation which participated in all meetings and conferences on this subject and which presented more than one proposal as a compromise solution for problems which were discussed and on which the participating delegations had different viewpoints. In these proposals we emphasized the need to adhere to the principle of innocent passage in straits and to oblige war vessels and military navigation to be committed to the principle of prior authorization or notification. We hope that the coming sixth session, which is scheduled for May 1977, will provide greater opportunities leading to the formulation of a convention governing the law of the sea in order to avoid the threat of unilateral action on the part of the big Powers, which would create confrontations and conflicts and therefore lead to instability in international relations.

Mr. Türkmen (Turkey), Vice-President, took the Chair.

106. Severe natural disasters have befallen the People's Republic of China and its noble people, who have shown an extraordinary capacity for perseverance and endurance in times of distress. The Chinese people have reaffirmed their self-reliance in rebuilding within a short period of time what earthquakes had destroyed.

107. The peoples of the third world received with deep sorrow the news of the death of the great leader of the Chinese people, Chairman Mao Tsetung. The world has lost a wise leader who accomplished miracles for his people. He was a source of inspiration and an ideal for a large number of world leaders, especially among the countries of the third world, who followed his example and his steps.

108. The Yemen Arab Republic shares the grief of the Chinese people and from this international forum pays homage to the late leader Mao Tsetung and wishes the friendly Chinese people continuous prosperity and progress.

109. The Yemen Arab Republic devotes special attention to the Korean question. It stresses the need for the unification of the Korean people by peaceful means and for the creation of conditions conducive to the continuation of a dialogue between the Korean parties concerned.

110. The Yemen Arab Republic also reaffirms its position on the question of Cyprus, which calls for providing the

two communities—the Turkish and the Greek—with equal opportunities so as to maintain the unity, independence and non-alignment of the island.

111. With respect to our region, we support the right of the French Somaliland—Djibouti—to full and speedy independence, and we welcome the steps taken by the French Government to grant the people of the Territory their independence and right to self-determination.

112. My country's delegation has heard the statement made at the 22nd meeting by Israel's Foreign Minister, which was delivered in a Nazi and racist spirit, thus confirming the soundness of the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its last session in which it condemned zionism as a form of racism and racial discrimination [*resolution 3379 (XXX)*].

113. The soul of a new Hitler has been resurrected in this hall to distort facts and to mislead the international community by providing it with incorrect and false information. Israel remains—as its Foreign Minister wants it to be—the most stable, developed and peaceful State, while everything surrounding it does not even deserve to exist. Israel, which has parachuted arms and military materials into Lebanon and contrived to open tobacco factories employing 20 Lebanese, while itself suffering from mass unemployment, clearly revealed through the statement of its Foreign Minister its real goal—namely, the refusal to establish a secular Palestinian State in which Moslem, Christian and Jewish Arabs would live in peace side by side. This part of the Israeli Minister's address only confirms, without any further effort, that the sole political exploiter of the Lebanese war tragedy and the real source of death for both Lebanese and Palestinians is Israel.

114. The human touches contained in the Israeli delegation's address before this Assembly are but an actual reaction to its guilt complex—the guilt Israel feels in continuing to occupy the territories of others, displacing an entire nation and its people from its land and home, desecrating the holy places in occupied Palestine, insulting the countries of the third world, and failing in its concealed attempts to justify its rejection of all the resolutions of this Organization. Finally, Israel repeats its song of peace in the Middle East: peace outside the framework of the United Nations, outside the framework of the Security Council and outside the framework of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East. All these facts confirm that the soul of a new Hitler has been resurrected. The international community is surprised to see that those who for a long time have practised financial and political blackmail against European people are the new image of the odious Nazi soul, and have not revealed themselves as such against the other peoples in the Middle East.

115. I shall not dwell long on this subject. Israel's slogan towards the Arab people remains the same: distortion of facts, concealment of its aggressive and expansionist intentions and exaggeration of its need for money, peace and protection. Israel remains isolated from the international community. No one shares its isolation except the racist régimes in Africa and other isolated groups in a few European countries and the United States, which have not yet fully understood all the relevant facts. As every day

passes, however, the light of truth becomes brighter, and Europe and the United States will become free of the influence of intellectual terrorism which has become a deep-rooted tradition of the Israeli policy. The European and American public are discovering the heavy losses sustained by their national interests as a result of the unjust support given to the Israeli point of view. This is the only comment of the delegation of the Yemen Arab Republic on the Israeli delegation's statement at this juncture.

116. Finally, the Yemen Arab Republic, while reviewing all the problems which afflict the world, modestly tries to exceed its limited potential in order to make the goal of co-operation and understanding among the States of the Arabian peninsula and the Gulf a good model to be followed in international relations so as to ensure the progress of the peoples of the area and the constructive and purposeful contribution by its Governments in all aspects which would contribute to peace, development and equal co-operation between all nations of the world. Moreover, we in the Yemen Arab Republic seek to resolve many of the regional conflicts quietly and with a sense of responsibility including even those conflicts which constitute deliberate or unintentional violation of our territorial waters and territory. By this behaviour we affirm our full adherence to, and respect for, the United Nations Charter and international law in finding appropriate solutions through dialogue and bilateral and cordial contacts. We hope that this world Organization will remain strong, firm, effective and able to face its heavy responsibilities without faltering or hesitating in the case of all challenges until peace prevails throughout the world and until tension and the spectres of war and conflicts disappear completely from the international arena so as to achieve welfare and stability for all peoples. We sincerely believe that the thirty-first session of the General Assembly will pave the way for a more equitable, stable and secure future for all peoples throughout the world. It is the responsibility of all of us in this Assembly to assure the highest degree of success to the proceedings of the current session.

117. Mr. SECK (Senegal) (*interpretation from French*): It is for me an honour and a great pleasure to extend to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe, on behalf of the delegation of Senegal and on my personal behalf, our warm congratulations and our best wishes as well as those of the Government and people of Senegal on his being elected to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. We are indeed fortunate to be able to rely during this important session on his distinguished qualities and his wealth of experience. His election is also a tribute paid to his country and to its people, as well as to its traditional policy of friendship and co-operation to serve mutual interests with all peoples who love peace and justice. I can assure the President, that my delegation will give him its full support in the performance of his onerous duties.

118. May I also take this opportunity to express my warm thanks to Mr. Amerasinghe's predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg for the distinguished services which he rendered to the international community particularly through the skill and the devotion with which he tackled the problems the General Assembly had to take up during the past year.

119. It is also a source of great pleasure for me to applaud the constant efforts which are being made by the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in order to strengthen the chances for peace in the world and to impart to our Organization the place and the role which are its due.

120. I should also, on behalf of the Government and people of Senegal, to reiterate to the delegation of the People's Republic of China, our deep-felt condolences at the passing of Chairman Mao Tsetung, which was a tremendous loss for all peoples who have known domination, suffering and scorn and who aspire to dignity and respect. Chairman Mao was not only a source of inspiration of the valiant Chinese people but also a model of wisdom and of leadership for all peoples of the third world. Because his action was devoted to the total development of man, the thoughts of Chairman Mao will always represent something which remains forever bright in the memory of mankind.

121. The United Nations is an instrument the purpose of which is to mould the future of mankind and "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war... to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom." The purpose was to build a single world based on peace, justice and co-operation, but instead of that, very shortly we found ourselves in a world which was divided into separate entities by conflicts and inequalities, a bitter world, ravaged by the destructive furor of war, caught in the trap of confrontation between antagonistic military blocs. Fortunately, an encouraging degree of progress can be seen every day, essentially because peoples and nations are becoming more and more aware of their interdependence and are daily becoming more conscious of the essential needs and legitimate aspirations of each. This has meant that there have been more numerous meetings leading very often to agreements which have done away with the ghost of generalized war and even arriving at collective decisions which benefit all.

122. It is in the context of this awareness that we have seen the victories which have been scored against colonialism. The former colonial empires have in fact been dismantled and the colonial yoke has been ended in most parts of the world. More than half of the delegations who have met here represent newly independent States.

123. The United Nations, which has done a great deal in order to speed up this evolution, thus is daily drawing closer to its aim of universality. This is why we are pleased to welcome among us this year the delegation of the sovereign State of Seychelles.

124. In conveying our congratulations to this fraternal State, I would like to express the conviction that this nation will strengthen our Organization and will lend its firm support to those peoples who are still struggling for their liberation. Similarly my delegation believes that the admission of Angola and of Viet Nam is a necessary prerequisite to bring about the principle of universality of the United Nations.

125. However, despite the major successes which have been scored in the field of decolonization, we are still confronted either by problems to which we have not

managed to find a just solution and which cause violence, or matters whose deterioration creates fresh complications. Can we not agree to speed the onset of the day when colonialism will cease to be the subject of our discussions because the liberation of peoples in an inexorable, irresistible process which is part and parcel of the laws of evolution of mankind? How can we agree to the continued clinging to power of the régime of Ian Smith despite international condemnation and opposition? All the efforts to date of African leaders and the African National Council for a peaceful solution to the problem have been frustrated by the intransigence of the white minority, leaving those leaders no choice but to support the people of Zimbabwe in their armed struggle.

126. As a result of the visit of the United States Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger, Ian Smith today stated that he will accept the rule of the majority. If this declaration, which had never been made in the past in such a solemn manner, contains no covert desires to perpetuate in a camouflaged form the minority domination in those countries, undoubtedly this could be regarded as a tremendous step forward to peace. We hope therefore that Great Britain will soon resume its full responsibility to ensure that, at a constitutional conference at which all parties are represented, the practical ways and means of transferring power will be defined. Whatever the case, the United Nations should in this new phase give its full support to those who are struggling to be freed from the yoke of the racist minority. This is the very least our Organization can do to avert the serious danger of war that threatens not only African States: as we all know, this contains the seeds of world-wide confrontation. It seems to us to be indispensable and urgent to enlarge the scope of sanctions in order to exercise maximum pressure on Ian Smith's régime.

127. In Namibia, South Africa continues to display an anachronistic fanaticism, not only by perpetuating its colonial presence but also by extending its racist policies to this international Territory.

128. The responsibility of the United Nations as far as Namibia is concerned is dual: first, in the context of the general struggle to put an end to colonialism wherever it exists and, secondly, by dint of the fact that in this particular case a colonial challenge affects an international Territory which is directly under the responsibility of the United Nations.

129. Unfortunately, the United Nations has failed to discharge its responsibility concerning the problem of Namibia, where the policy of "bantustanization" tends to perpetuate colonialism by stratagems aimed at distracting the attention of the international community. The Soweto massacre proves that South Africa, both in its own territory and in Namibia, is not prepared to stop defying the will of the international community. It is true that South Africa is aware of the support lent it by certain great Powers who continue to paralyse the action undertaken by the United Nations. However, we hope that the ever more serious events occurring in South Africa since the Soweto massacre will impress upon the authorities in Pretoria, once and for all, that law is more powerful than brute force and the people of Namibia under the leadership of their legitimate representative, SWAPO, will be free whatever happens.

130. Turning to the situation in South Africa itself, it is quite clear that the minority racist régime is not a representative one, since it takes no account whatsoever of the aspirations of the vast majority of the population. This régime is doubly hateful: first, because of its policies and its practice of *apartheid* and, secondly, because of its manoeuvres aimed at perpetuating the *status quo*. May I here make an urgent appeal to all States and foreign interests who continue to co-operate with the racist régime of South Africa and which, by the same token, encourage it to persist in its inhuman policies, asking them to refrain from supporting this régime and to respect the decisions taken by the United Nations. Any delivery of weapons or military *matériel* to this repressive minority régime by any country at all cannot but be considered by us an act of aggression perpetrated against all African States. It is high time, particularly in view of recent events culminating in the massacre of young schoolchildren, for total isolation of the régime of Pretoria.

131. Regarding the Western Sahara and the so-called French Somali Coast, it would appear that these problems are on the point of being given an African solution because OAU has taken charge of the situation. My delegation considers that in accordance with Article 33 of the United Nations Charter and since these problems pit African States against each other, this examination at the African level should be supported by all. Article 33, after all, stipulates that "the parties to any dispute, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security, shall, first of all, seek a solution above all by negotiation, enquiry, mediation, conciliation, arbitration, judicial settlement, resort to regional agencies or arrangements, or other peaceful means of their own choice."

132. On the other hand, as far as the island of Mayotte is concerned, my delegation considers that the action of the French Government is tantamount to interference in the internal affairs of the Comoros. Senegal would therefore make an appeal to France to countermand the measures which have been taken in order to detach the island of Mayotte from the State of the Comoros and thus to destroy the unity of the archipelago.

133. Africa is not the only continent which has known armed conflict. The situation in the Middle East and in Palestine is one of the most serious problems confronting our world today. There is not a single Member State here who does not recognize that the problem of the Middle East has become the source of numerous international disputes and the point of departure for conflicts whose consequences transcend the confines of the region and threaten peace throughout the world.

134. For many years now, this matter has been a regular feature of the agenda of our Assembly, requiring study in order to find a solution to it or at least to reduce its seriousness. The most important result reached by the United Nations in this connexion may well be the decision taken by the international community to recognize the Palestine Liberation Organization as the only authentic representative of the Palestinian people and to grant it observer status [*resolution 3210 (XXIX)*]. In a similar context, we can see the creation during the thirtieth session of the General Assembly of a special committee to draw up

a programme enabling the Palestinians to exercise their rights [resolution 3376 (XXX)]. It has become clear to one and all that the solution to the problems of the Middle East does not lie solely in separating the armed forces confronting each other nor in the partial or total withdrawal from the occupied territories, but rather in the settlement of the fundamental problem: that of Palestine.

135. For my delegation, such settlement would necessarily involve the recognition of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to recover its homeland in the land of Palestine. It is for that reason that Senegal has always defended, and will continue to defend, the principle of restoring the inalienable right to self-determination and to the creation of an independent State in Palestine. And it is precisely because we consider that this people has fallen victim to intolerable expansionism that Senegal voted in favour of resolution 3379 (XXX) equating zionism with racism. In doing so, my country condemned neither Judaism as the religion of the Jews nor Jewry as a set of cultural values belonging to the Jewish world, but, rather, expressed a protest against its expansionist and its racially discriminatory aspects.

136. Furthermore, my delegation is profoundly concerned by the situation in Lebanon and would address a pressing appeal to all the parties to the conflict to put an end to their fratricidal struggle, to re-establish peace, and to safeguard the unity and territorial integrity and non-alignment of Lebanon.

137. Regarding Cyprus, my delegation would like to reiterate its support for the respect for the territorial integrity, non-alignment and the resumption of intercommunity negotiations to bring about harmonious coexistence within a single State.

138. As far as Korea is concerned, my delegation favours any negotiated solution to the problem without foreign intervention. Hence, the resumption of the North-South dialogue pursuant to the joint communiqué of 1972 is a necessary condition for there to be just and lasting peace in that region.

139. Generally speaking, we can see that détente, in the sense of a relaxation of international tension, cannot be observed on a world scale. Not only does it sometimes mean that the world is divided into exclusive areas reserved for one of the great Powers, but further, sometimes it seems to establish as a rule the transfer of conflicts to the countries of the third world which have become the best customers of the arms merchants.

140. Firstly it should be noted, as the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute has pointed out, that the sale of arms has considerably increased in recent years, which has made it even more difficult to establish any form of control. At any rate, it is well known that as far as conventional armaments are concerned, there are at least three or four suppliers corresponding to the major Power blocs who can always serve as alternatives if a traditional supplier refuses to supply arms, particularly as it is publicly well known that the sale of death-dealing weapons is a lucrative activity which unfortunately serves in the case of certain national budgets as a compensating factor for an

adverse balance of payments. It follows that the international transfer of arms has passed the point where it could be considered as being purely a side-effect of the East-West arms race and has become an extremely important phenomenon, the control and limitation of which can be carried out only on the basis of a general commitment to reduce the relative role of military force in international relations.

141. Next, and most important, it should be noted with some regret that the developing countries are major arms purchasers. Thus, in two years—1974 and 1975—the value of resources transferred to the third world in the form of arms increased by 60 per cent, whereas the cumulative value of major arms transfer in the six years—1970 through 1975—was \$US 14.2 billion, more than twice the value of the transfers which occurred in the decade 1950 through 1959, which was \$US 6.8 billion. These figures give food for thought.

142. For all these reasons Senegal has come out in favour of the convening of a world disarmament conference, which is something which the Organization is at present studying. This project, if it wins the support of all the military Powers, could free the problem of disarmament from the deadlock in which it finds itself at present. At any rate, it is the duty of the international community to intensify its action in order to strengthen the role and the influence of the United Nations in the negotiations and working out of a solution to disarmament problems by drawing up a vast programme of concerted measures which is the necessary prerequisite for the initiation of the process of general and complete disarmament under international control.

143. We should firmly state our determination to play an effective role in the easing of international tension and in seeking for just and equitable solutions to the major world problems. This is the main purpose and the *raison d'être* of our Organization. Our responsibility to all the peoples of the world who love peace and justice is to redouble our efforts to achieve this end.

144. Regarding economic problems, I should like to take this opportunity to express the appreciation of my Government at the significant results which have been reached by the international community. In effect, we have managed to start a movement towards the establishment of an international economic order based no longer on criteria of power, but rather on the respect of common interests and the aspirations of all to life in peace, prosperity and social justice. Although the results are not yet up to the wishes expressed by the developing countries, the international community nevertheless has reached a consensus on the steps to be taken in various areas which are vital for the existence and the development of a considerable portion of mankind.

145. My delegation is particularly gratified at the spirit which prevailed throughout the various international meetings—a spirit characterized by understanding and co-operation which we hope will continue to reign during coming international economic conferences. Furthermore, it is our hope that all States will ensure that the decisions taken are implemented in the same constructive spirit and that in the case of those points which have not yet been the subject of

a consensus, efforts will continue in order to bring opinions closer together as between the developing and industrialized countries, the intention being to establish co-operation in a new international economic order based on complementary and equitable relations.

146. In that connexion, the United Nations and the specialized agencies can be regarded as embryonic forms of a political power which could be both powerful and effective vis-à-vis the dominating and monopolizing powers of multinational corporations. That would be one way for us, the developing countries, to make our own voices heard, however weak they may be on the bilateral level, and especially to resist pressure from the "great" Powers.

147. Undoubtedly certain international organizations such as the monetary institutions have up till now more often than not appeared, not as protectors of the "small" countries against the major Powers, but rather as organizations closely linked with imperialist expansion. But it is the duty of our Organization to work strongly for their reconstruction along the lines of a new international economic order based on equity and complementarity.

148. The United Nations, which is already a considerable counterweight to the hegemonistic policies of the great Powers, can, in point of fact, provide the framework for action to bring about the general development of mankind. It can make available to all the experience which has been acquired here or there, organize assistance for those who need it, and promote a new system of international relations based on the conviction that the fundamental interests of the people of the world are not contradictory to each other.

149. We feel bound to say something about human rights. I hardly need to recall in this connexion that the date of 10 December 1948 when the Universal Declaration of Human Rights was adopted was one of the most striking events in the history of mankind.

150. Thus, for the first time the responsibility to proclaim and to defend human rights was assumed by the international community and accepted by it as a standing obligation. With the hopes of millions of human beings reduced to an animal level of existence vested in it, this Declaration appeared to mark a turning-point in relations among people.

151. Unfortunately, a climate of civil and civic violence flouting elementary human rights and condoned more and more by the conscience of men and peoples has arisen almost everywhere since the end of the Second World War. Our Organization, however, has failed to react to such violations, preferring rather to imitate most of the Governments who remain silent, either because they wish to spare the feelings of friendly countries or for ideological, political or other reasons under the pretext of not interfering in the internal affairs of other States.

152. The condemnation of such acts of violence is by no means unjustified interference because the respect of human rights is essential to the establishment of friendly relations and relations of co-operation among States. But our Organization has as one of its tasks, as proclaimed in Article 1 of the Charter, the achievement of international co-operation in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

153. Of course, it is perfectly true that many countries have expressed their disapproval of the oppression which prevails in Chile and their solidarity with the victims. But in other countries, which seem to attract less attention from the United Nations, there are persons who are still deprived of their elementary human rights. The international community must react to all forms of oppression and terror, wherever they occur. It is not natural that there should be virtually no reaction to the massacre of men and women because they hold certain views or, in some cases, simply because they are accused of holding certain views, an accusation which is swiftly transformed into a plot against the existing régime. At the present time, millions of people are languishing in prison and being tortured for no greater crime than their failure to declare their allegiance to a particular policy vociferously enough. The United Nations has an important role to play in this area.

154. The United Nations system is the only universal instrument currently available. Through certain reforms to its Charter—particularly the right of veto, its structures and far-reaching operational decentralization—it would be capable of assuming responsibility for the major objectives of renewed international co-operation. It might thus be entrusted with the task of managing the common heritage of mankind constituted by the oceans beyond the limits of territorial waters and the exclusive economic zone, space, the science and technology accumulated by mankind, and so forth. It might supervise the implementation of a new international policy for the transfer of resources to the less advantaged countries.

155. It is only in this way that our ultimate goal, which is the establishment of total and permanent world peace in prosperity and justice can be attained. Thus, we can affirm to all peoples of the world that the United Nations has successfully discharged its mandate, essentially by democratizing international relations and by creating conditions conducive to the realization of equality, justice and international co-operation throughout the world. We have too high an opinion of the United Nations, of what it represents for us and of the results which it has already achieved, to have the shadow of a doubt that the goal which is so vital for the survival of mankind—the maintenance of international peace and security—will be achieved.

The meeting rose at 1.25 p.m.