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AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. C. D. MOLAPO (Lesotho): Permit me, Mr. President, on behalf of my delegation to extend to you our most sincere congratulations on your unanimous and well-deserved election to the presidency of the thirty-first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Your outstanding qualities of leadership and your immense experience in diplomacy are well known to all of us. We are confident that your undying and dedicated efforts as President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea will prove beneficial to our deliberations. The thirty-first session of the General Assembly is an auspicious occasion for the non-aligned movement: it is particularly gratifying to the Kingdom of Lesotho that the President of this session should be not only a distinguished and long-standing servant of the United Nations but also an outstanding representative of a non-aligned and Commonwealth country.

2. I would also like to express my delegation's gratitude to your distinguished predecessor, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Mr. Gaston Thorn, for the brilliant manner in which he discharged his functions as President of the thirtieth session of the General Assembly.

3. I also take pleasure in welcoming the Republic of Seychelles, whose membership in this Organization we were most happy to sponsor. The Seychelles is a country with which we have the most fraternal relations. We look forward to its contribution towards solving critical problems facing small States Members of this Organization.

4. We deeply regret that, as a result of the objections of certain Member States, the two Republics of Angola and Viet Nam have not been accorded membership in the United Nations. In the interests of universality of membership of this Organization, we sincerely hope that these two Republics will be allowed to take their place among us in the very near future.

5. It is not a matter of surprise that the agenda of this Assembly contains so many pressing and urgent issues, for it is a feature of modern life that, at the same time as man scales the contours of outer space, on this planet he is creating problems of such profound dimensions that the very concept of progress has become of dubious value. The very elements that sustain life—the waters of the rivers and of the seas, the agricultural landscape of the world and the air we breathe—have all been desecrated by man's folly.

6. The march of humanity towards the twenty-first century is matched by a singular failure to solve the problem of man's peace with himself.

7. In the Middle East, the people of Palestine continue to remain hostages to a situation that threatens international peace. In 1974, this Assembly took a most profound decision on the question of Palestine [*resolution 3236 (XXIX)*]. The twenty-ninth session of the United Nations General Assembly finally recognized the injustice of treating the people of Palestine as refugees. By resolution 3236 (XXIX), the United Nations finally recognized the basic human rights of a people that has not known any homeland or any peace for well over 30 years. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East is no substitute for the responsibility of the United Nations for resolving the question of the people of Palestine.

8. My Government accepts as a matter of fundamental principle the right of Israel to an existence. At the same time, my Government does not recognize the right of any nation in the Middle East to an existence at the expense of other nations. We cannot accept the acquisition of territory of other States on the grounds of security. Neither can my Government accept changes in the economic, social or political topography of conquered territories under any pretext.

9. In Asia, the peace of South-East Asia is marred by the foot-note of the question of Korea. In 1973, this Assembly accepted a consensus¹ that North and South Korea should continue a dialogue to resolve the outstanding problems between the two Koreas. Clearly, the consensus of 1973 is the most substantive basis for resolving the question of Korea, and I should like to express my delegation's appreciation to the two parties for the understanding which has been reached to remove this issue from the agenda of this session and for their readiness to continue their dialogue.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24.

10. Economic imbalance continues to frustrate the efforts of the developing countries to improve the living conditions of their peoples. The new international economic order adopted by the United Nations in 1974 generated hope for millions of people of the developing world. And yet the impotence of the United Nations in translating that order into reality has meant more poverty, more helplessness and more bitterness for the third world. As the President of the World Bank observed not so long ago, there are 1 billion people all over the world who live in poverty. As Mr. McNamara said:

"Some 900 million of these individuals subsist on incomes of less than \$75 a year in an environment of squalor, hunger and hopelessness. They are the absolute poor, living in situations so deprived as to be below any rational definition of human decency. Absolute poverty is a condition of life so limited by illiteracy, malnutrition, disease, high infant-mortality and low life-expectancy as to deny its victims the very potential of the genes with which they were born."²

11. The ink is not yet dry on the new international economic order. The poor of the world are not asking for welfare. They are not asking for hand-outs but for an opportunity to help themselves. Millions of peoples of member countries of this Assembly are locked in the tight grip of the poverty of the rural hinterland of the world. Yet other millions are subjected to the grim poverty of the urban ghetto, the shanty town, the tin hovels, and the locations of South Africa and Rhodesia and Namibia. There is no country which is immune from the problems of the rural and the urban poor. And it does not take much imagination to recognize that unless we all concentrate our joint energies, our intellects, on solving this problem, the ghettos of the world will deal most destructively with the rich of the cities—just as the rural poor of the world will deal most savagely with the urban rich of the world.

12. At stake is the whole fabric of an orderly international society. The seams of this fabric are already too frayed—frayed by the selfishness of the rich in transferring capital and technology to the developing world on terms that outrage the dignity of the peoples of the third world.

13. In this connexion, my Government supports the plea made by the President of the World Bank that the developed countries speedily conclude negotiations—by March 1977—to make transitional financing available to avoid any break in the flow of resources from the International Development Agency, to the less developed countries like Lesotho.

14. A peaceful international order is being threatened by the tendencies of certain coastal States to hold land-locked States hostage with regard to access to the sea and to the riches of the oceans.

15. My Government has actively participated in the deliberations of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea because we believe that this historic Conference should work out a just and equitable law for more than two thirds of our planet and its resources. We are

rather disappointed, however, with the very slow progress that is being made at the Conference. We hope and trust that the next session will be fruitful and produce a universally accepted convention. Being more than a land-locked country, we are grateful that the convention is to embody and spell out the right of free access to and from the sea for land-locked States. We trust and hope that the coastal States will accept the right of land-locked and geographically disadvantaged States to participate on an equal basis with coastal States in the resources of the areas beyond the territorial waters of 12 nautical miles. As regards the resources beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, we expect the Conference to work out an economically viable régime which will produce tangible benefits for mankind. We should like to see the Conference adopt the principle that the sharing of the benefits of the area should be on the basis of need, with particular reference to the land-locked countries.

16. On this occasion, you will have to bear with me if I focus my remarks on southern Africa. Southern Africa has featured on the agenda of this Assembly for well over 25 years. It is an area that poses the most tragic consequences for the international community.

17. My country is not on the fringes of southern Africa; it is in the vortex. And thus the interests of my Government, of my people, are directly threatened by the situation in southern Africa. I speak of southern Africa not as an observer, not as a witness, but as one directly involved.

18. Southern Africa is an area rich in natural resources. It is an area that boasts of every mineral of use to man. It is an area that is so richly endowed in agricultural resources that it is criminal that children still die in southern Africa because of malnutrition. In its human resources, southern Africa is so rich in potential that it contains a promise for the world and for the development of the African continent.

19. Of all the regions of the world, none has the wonderful opportunity that southern Africa has of demonstrating the common humanity of man irrespective of race, of religion and of sex. Yet the promise of southern Africa is today darkened by the cloud of racism. Southern Africa today does not offer the world an example of racial harmony. It offers, instead, racial bigotry and the promise of a racial holocaust. Southern Africa does not present to the world the common humanity of man, but its denial.

20. In South Africa, in Namibia, in Zimbabwe, the refusal of white minorities to recognize the basic right of the African majorities has been accorded the halo of a dogma, that of institutionalized racism, or *apartheid*.

21. Of all the evils that man is capable of inflicting upon himself, there is none more evil than racism. The genius of science has put man on the threshold of an era that contains profound promises for humanity. And yet man still cannot change the colour of his skin. Nor is it necessarily desirable that man should acquire that capability.

22. Throughout man's history, man's quest for liberty has varied in its forms as tyranny has taken new forms and

² See Robert S. McNamara, *Address to the Board of Governors* (Washington, D.C., World Bank, 1975), p. 13.

threatened from new quarters. At times, the tyrant has been the church, and even today lives are still being lost because of religious intolerance. At times, the tyrant has been the feudal monarch. Today the tyrant is racial bigotry.

23. Fifteen years ago, men and women of Sharpeville fell under the bullets of a racist system.

24. A few months ago, the children of Soweto faced the same guns.

25. The carnage in Soweto, in Langa and in other black townships of South Africa is the clearest testimony of the brutality of *apartheid*.

26. The graves of the black children of South Africa who died at the hands of the South African police will forever remain symbols of the mindlessness of racism.

27. Last year the white leaders of South Africa asked the world for a grace period within which the world would see changes in South Africa. The gunfire of Soweto clearly indicates how far the white leaders of South Africa have gone in effecting changes. They have gone beyond the pale of common sense.

28. If today the African youth of South Africa is ready to take up arms, it is only because for too long its life has been blighted by the brutality of racism and the dignity and self-respect of its parentage denied by white minority rule.

29. As an African, I do not advocate violence as a solution to human problems, and yet violent struggle is often the only option left to oppressed peoples. It is an irony of our times that PAIGC,³ MPLA,⁴ FRELIMO,⁵ in their bitter struggle for the freedom of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique, created the very conditions that today allow the people of Portugal the right to free speech, the right of assembly and the right to participate in government.

30. Even the white minorities of southern Africa will acquire basic freedoms from the sweat and sacrifices of the liberation movements of southern Africa. In this sense, the struggle of the youth of Zimbabwe, of Namibia and of South Africa has a most profound meaning. That struggle is fundamentally in the interests of the rule of law and basic morality.

31. My Government and the people of Lesotho do not claim any monopoly of wisdom about how the situation of southern Africa can be solved. On the contrary, we recognize that the people of Zimbabwe, the Government of the United Kingdom and the United Nations will have to solve the problem of Rhodesia.

32. My Government has noted the recent initiatives of Britain and the United States on Rhodesia. We have also taken note of the decision of the British Government, as the legal administering Power in Rhodesia, to convene a conference later this month. In the view of my Government, the agenda of that conference must concentrate on

the transfer of constitutional power to the majority of the people of Zimbabwe.

33. It does not take too much insight to recognize that the success of the British/American initiatives is predicated on the successes scored by the liberation movement of Zimbabwe. The credit for ending the Smith rebellion belongs first and foremost to the people of Zimbabwe. It is to them that we owe appreciation for the efforts aimed at ending 11 years of Rhodesia's plight under the illegal Smith régime.

34. The liberation movement of Zimbabwe, the youth of Zimbabwe whose life was snuffed out by the Smith rebels, those who had to assume responsibility for the armed struggle against the Smith régime and its supporters—these are the real heroes of the recent Rhodesian drama.

35. After the bitter struggles that the people of Zimbabwe have waged, after suffering 11 years of Smith's rebellion, the people of Zimbabwe have a clear and undeniable right to basic freedoms and majority rule now, and not after two more years of compromises with those who for so long have been responsible for the denial of these freedoms to them. No Government, except that of Zimbabwe, any longer possesses any moral authority to dictate the timing of the exercise of basic rights by the people of Zimbabwe. Nor should the Smith rebels feature in any considerations of financial assistance to Zimbabwe.

36. Basic morality demands that the people of Zimbabwe, a people that has suffered so much and for so long, should be the recipients of any outside assistance to Zimbabwe. Now that victory is at hand, the people of Zimbabwe must be vigilant against foreign elements, which will inevitably attempt to sow confusion and undermine the stability, peace and independence of Zimbabwe.

37. With regard to Namibia, we recognize that the South West Africa People's Organization [SWAPO], the United Nations and the people of Namibia have a direct responsibility for terminating South Africa's illegal occupation of that Territory. SWAPO has already demonstrated its determination to resort to armed struggle to free Namibia from South African control. On the other hand, as an expression of the statesmanship of its leaders, SWAPO has indicated its willingness to participate in tripartite talks with the United Nations and the Government of South Africa about ending South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia.

38. The Government of South Africa has a clear duty to accept the offer of SWAPO. The solution to the problem of Namibia will not emanate from the discussions at the Turnhalle conference: it will only emerge from contacts with the authentic and legitimate leaders of the people of Namibia.

39. Mr. Vorster must recognize that political wisdom dictates that he speak to the leadership of SWAPO and not to pretenders to the leadership of the people of Namibia.

40. In recognition of the complexity of the problem my Government accepts, as a matter of fundamental reality and common sense, that the people of South Africa will themselves have to solve the problem of *apartheid*. And yet

³ Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde.

⁴ Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola.

⁵ Frente de Libertação de Moçambique.

my Government has a most direct responsibility in the whole question of South Africa.

41. The first concern of my Government is that white minority rule and racism are so obviously evil that any man of goodwill and of basic morality must be outraged by them. Further, my Government has an undeniable right to safeguard the lives and welfare of the people of Lesotho. And racial war in southern Africa will impose extreme pressures on any Government to meet this duty.

42. In Sharpeville, 37 of the dead were citizens of Lesotho. Whenever the guns of *apartheid* open their lethal fire, among the targets are my countrymen.

43. In blatant disregard of international law and basic principles governing relations among States, even the very sovereignty of my country has been violated by agents of the South African Government. The police of South Africa have repeatedly and illegally entered my country and kidnapped South African refugees resident in Lesotho. In the darkness of the night they have carried out their nefarious activities. They have converted the common frontier between Lesotho and South Africa into a target area for shooting at citizens of Lesotho. They have created a climate in South Africa which has led even ordinary whites in that country to believe that citizens of Lesotho are a legitimate target of abuse and assault, a target with no rights, not even the right to life itself.

44. I do not wish to go into the details of every incident that has been created by agents of the South African Government in its relations with Lesotho. At the same time, I have a clear duty to inform this Assembly that my Government has suffered repeated provocations created by the Government of South Africa.

45. For too long, my Government has opted for quiet diplomacy. For too long, we have hoped that those in charge in South Africa would realize that the activities of their agents could create a most dangerous situation in southern Africa. My Government now has come to recognize that these activities, unchecked, are calculated to frighten the people of Lesotho into submission and cow my Government into docility. In response to these provocations, my Government has made the strongest protests to the Government of South Africa.

46. We shall not be cowed. We shall not be frightened. We shall never accept any situation that attempts to diminish the independence and compromise the sovereignty of Lesotho.

47. My Government cannot in these circumstances remain indifferent to a situation that so directly affects its own citizens and their welfare. My Government adheres faithfully to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. But my Government cannot accept the right of any Government in southern Africa to create conditions that threaten the peace of southern Africa, not to precipitate a racial war for the sake of discredited notions of racial superiority.

48. In 1974, the people of Lesotho were accorded the rare honour of presenting a posthumous award by the Organiza-

tion of African Unity [OAU] to that great southern African leader and Nobel peace-prize winner, Chief Albert Luthuli. The people of Lesotho accepted the honour of conferring this award as a gesture of our peaceful intentions towards all the people of South Africa.

49. My Government has never denied the rights of the white minorities. But neither shall my country ever acquiesce in the denial of the basic rights of the African majorities of southern Africa.

50. Six years ago, my Prime Minister, the Honourable Mr. Leabua Jonathan, proposed discussions between the white minorities and independent Africa on the basis of the Lusaka Manifesto on Southern Africa.⁶ That process of discussion is now continuing on the basis of the Dar es Salaam declaration on Southern Africa.⁷ Africa, in its profound humanity, continues to offer the white minorities a chance—a last chance—to avert racial war. Time is no longer on the side of the unjust, but on the side of those striving for liberty. Today, a dialogue between independent Africa and the white minorities is almost peripheral to the issue of a racial confrontation. I recognize that it was an act of political prudence for Mr. H. Verwoerd, the architect of *apartheid*, to meet my Prime Minister in 1965. I fully appreciate the wisdom of Mr. Vorster, his successor, in continuing those meetings. No one can minimize the courage of Mr. Vorster in meeting President Kaunda and the leaders of Zimbabwe at Victoria Falls last February. And yet the bridges of dialogue for peace, for justice and for basic rights are not going to be forged at Victoria Falls. Nor are they going to be forged between Pretoria and the capitals of independent Africa. The bridges for justice, for any meaningful dialogue, must span Robben Island and Cape Town.

51. To the leaders of the white minorities I have a simple message: as politicians you have displayed a most adroit ability in arranging meetings with leaders of independent Africa. Your challenge has always been one of statesmanship. Unclasp southern Africa from the cold grip of racism. Muster the political will to free southern Africa from a racist constituency. Too much is at stake for all of us, for our descendants, for humanity, for domestic political considerations to dictate the outcome of our fate and the peace of southern Africa.

52. Last week the people of Lesotho celebrated their tenth anniversary of independence from colonial rule. Independence for any country is a condition of great moment. But independence for a country that is an enclave in South Africa is much more. For the last 10 years, Lesotho has been an island of freedom in a sea of racism. We have been an island of refuge for victims of repression and *apartheid*. Even today, the children of Soweto are seeking political asylum in Lesotho.

53. No observer of southern Africa can miss the stark contrast between Lesotho and South Africa. Non-racialism

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

⁷ Adopted by the Council of Ministers of the Organization of African Unity at its ninth extraordinary session held from 7 to 10 April 1975.

in Lesotho is matched on the South African side of our frontiers by a system that creates refugees out of school-children. The Basotho nation was forged in the crucible of warfare in southern Africa. The Basotho people consist of virtually every ethnic grouping in southern Africa. Thus, for us, it is a tradition—a customary duty—to receive refugees from persecution. And yet, recent events in South Africa threaten to stretch our capability to continue to provide humanitarian assistance to the victims of *apartheid*. In the circumstances, this Assembly has a clear obligation to assist my Government to continue to provide refuge to the hungry, the weary and the persecuted of South Africa.

54. Despite our geographical position and the problems we have had, the first 10 years of our independence have witnessed significant economic progress for Lesotho. My Government has created over 20 new industries where there were none in 1966. The Kingdom of Lesotho is today no longer a hostage market to South African infant industries. Nor are we now any longer resigned to the role of source of cheap labour for South African industry.

55. I must, however, candidly admit that the presence of over 40 per cent of our manpower in South Africa continues to be the most critical problem facing my country. The system of migratory labour is essentially unsatisfactory, in that it unsettles family life without conferring any cushioning benefits on migrant workers. My country is not alone in being confronted with this problem. Migratory labour into South Africa does, however, present problems involving the denial to migrant labourers of their very basic human rights.

56. Lesotho miners in South Africa are housed in compounds that insult their very manhood. Their families are not allowed to join them. In our times, when the rights of women have become almost universally acknowledged, the wives of our miners in South Africa are denied the very basic right of living with their husbands for periods ranging from nine months to two years. The miners are employed on contracts of such short duration that they do not provide for advancement because, on the expiry of every contract, the miners are treated as new recruits. Nor do the contracts allow for any pension schemes or other terminal benefits. Under South African laws, the miners are denied the very basic right of any worker to join labour unions for the purpose of bargaining for better terms of employment.

57. In the current circumstances, the options open to my Government are limited. With the assistance of the World Bank, we have been engaged in a serious examination of ways of reabsorbing this labour into the Lesotho economy. Clearly, for such an effort to be successful, my country would need a massive infusion of capital to raise the level of employment opportunities in Lesotho. In the short term, we are continuing to impress upon the main employers of our labour, including foreign investors in South Africa, the need to provide decent wages to our workers in conditions that respect their basic human rights.

58. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate to the United Nations the urgent need to convene a conference under the auspices of the Division of Human Rights of the United Nations to examine the whole question of migratory labour and to formulate general principles which

will form the basis of a convention to safeguard the rights of migrant workers.

59. From this platform I should also like to thank the United Nations system and States Members of the United Nations for the assistance that they have provided to my country and for the concern they have shown for consolidating our independence.

60. In the second decade of independence we shall continue to count on the support of the United Nations, for, if anything, the next 10 years promise to be the most difficult for us. The Government of South Africa has already made known its intention to encircle my country with bantustans. My Government has repeatedly condemned the system of bantustans and rejected the Balkanization of South Africa as a solution to the problem of *apartheid*. The policy of bantustans is so lacking in sincerity, so devoid of any rational justification and so patently racist in conception that it does not provide any basis for resolving the question of *apartheid*.

61. The policy of bantustans is bound to be short-lived, as it does not enjoy the support of the people of South Africa. Even some of the bantustan leaders have already made clear their opposition to it. It is a policy that has been formulated without any pretence of consultation with the people it most affects—the majority of the African people of South Africa. And yet the Government of South Africa arrogantly persists in its implementation. That government has already made known its plans to grant independence to the Transkei. My Government will not acquiesce in any scheme that violates the territorial integrity of South Africa without the consent of the majority of the people of South Africa. To encircle my country with bantustans has no other objective than to complicate the already difficult position of my country.

62. Those who are responsible for the creation of the bantustans will have to bear full responsibility for the difficulties that are bound to arise as a result of setting these bantustans on our borders and on territory that rightfully belongs to the Basotho nation.

63. The twentieth session of the General Assembly in considering the future of Lesotho in 1965 had before it a draft resolution which *inter alia* asked the Assembly to request the United Kingdom as the then administering Power over Basutoland to take "immediate steps to return to the indigenous inhabitants all the land taken from them, whatever the form of or pretext for such alienation".⁸

64. The debate on this question at the twentieth session reflected the anxieties expressed by the people of Lesotho regarding parts of the territory of Lesotho that the former British colonial administration had wrongfully ceded to South Africa.

65. It had been the consistent view of the people of Lesotho that large tracts of land in the South African provinces of the Free State, Natal and Cape Province rightfully belonged to the Basotho nation. The people of Lesotho still demand the return of these lands.

⁸ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twentieth Session, Annexes*, agenda item 23, document A/6106, para. 11.

66. Even as the twentieth session of the General Assembly was seized with this question, the Government of South Africa was frantically attempting to reach conclusions with the erstwhile colonial administration in Lesotho to formalize the cessation of these lands and present the Government of the independent Kingdom of Lesotho with an accomplished fact.

67. It is to the credit of the British Government in power in 1965 that it categorically refused to become implicated in these efforts to deny the people of Lesotho any voice in the finalization of the matter.

68. In their communication of 1965, the authorities of the Government of South Africa had pressed upon the British Government the need to settle all outstanding border issues between the Republic and Basutoland, and had gone further to propose the establishment of a joint boundary commission.

69. In 1968, the South African authorities again raised the question of the establishment of a joint boundary commission but reflecting the grand South African design to establish bantustans, the terms of reference proposed for the commission were now so restrictive as to empower the commission only to consider the demarcation and fencing of certain sectors of the boundary between the two countries where uncertainties exist regarding the actual ground location of the boundary.

70. My Government has exchanged official communications with the Government of South Africa and held talks at official level aimed at resolving the question of the lands of the Basotho.

71. The people of Lesotho are not interested in the location of fences and arbitrary boundaries but in substantive discussions on the return of their lands.

72. My Government does not harbour any irredentist designs on South Africa.

73. My Government accepted the view first put forth by South Africa in 1965 that all outstanding border questions should be settled by a judicial commission. This view is in conformity with our respect for law and the need not to add border questions to the already serious agenda on southern Africa.

74. At the same time, it behoves my Government to put this matter on the public record of the United Nations.

75. It is a measure of the difficulties that are bound to arise that the Government of South Africa has unilaterally terminated discussions with my Government on territories that the former colonial administration in Lesotho illegally ceded to South Africa.

76. The termination of these discussions has been accompanied by determined encroachments on the remaining Lesotho territory. Only last year, the authorities of South Africa started erecting a weather station on Lesotho territory.

77. The approaches by my Government to the South African authorities have elicited counter-claims by South Africa on the lands of Lesotho.

78. It has never been the policy of my Government to inflame the already tense situation of southern Africa. Thus, my Government will continue to insist that the South African authorities remove their settlements on our territory. Further, with the support of the international community system, we shall continue to demand that the authorities of South Africa reopen bilateral talks with my Government about the lands that were illegally ceded to that country.

79. To those of my African brothers who have opted for support of the bantustan policy, I want to make this observation. Those who are actively destroying the territorial integrity of South Africa will one day have to answer to the majority of the people of South Africa for their actions. Neither shall the people of Lesotho forget those who are acquiescing in the occupation of Lesotho territory. Bantustan leaders must recognize a fundamental truth: dissent from bad policy is the test of leadership, the first obligation of patriotism and surest defence of freedom of the people of southern Africa.

80. The situation in southern Africa demands the urgent attention of the United Nations; as the situation in southern Africa poses a threat to international peace and security, the Security Council has a direct obligation to exercise its powers in terms of the Charter; the international community equally has the responsibility to free that region of Africa from the blight of racism and human deprivation; to free the people of southern Africa from the tragedy of war; and to assure the majority of the people of southern Africa the opportunity to seek the liberation of the human spirit.

81. Mrs. SÖDER (Sweden): Permit me first to express the Swedish Government's satisfaction at your election as President of this Assembly. Not only is your election an expression of the respect in which you are held in the international community, it also testifies to the importance of the non-aligned movement in international politics.

82. My Government also wishes to convey to the Secretary-General its appreciation of his energetic and patient efforts to further the cause of peace. We hope that the United Nations will have the privilege of enjoying his services also in the future years and I should like to assure him of my Government's full support in his important work.

83. Before I deal with some of the important issues on the agenda of the General Assembly, I would like, in view of the recent change of Government in Sweden, to say a few words to present to you the main lines of Swedish foreign policy.

84. Sweden conducts a policy of non-participation in alliances aimed at preserving neutrality in war. This policy has the support of the entire Swedish nation. We believe that this policy enjoys the confidence and respect of other countries. It will, as hitherto, be pursued with firmness and consistency.

85. Sweden will continue close and trustful co-operation with the other Nordic countries. This co-operation is of essential importance to the individual citizen in our

countries. It contributes to peace and stability in our part of the world.

86. Sweden will work to ensure that the policy of détente benefits all countries. It is natural for us to stress the importance of détente for the development of peaceful conditions in Europe and for increased co-operation between all European States. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, held in Helsinki, was an important step along this road. We shall work for the implementation of all parts of the Final Act of the conference and for the serious consideration of all possibilities for extended co-operation.

87. Support of the United Nations is a corner-stone of Swedish foreign policy. The United Nations should be an organization where all the States of the world have an opportunity to make their voices heard and to assert their rights and interests. This is of particular importance for the small nations that wish to preserve their national independence while developing a widespread international co-operation.

88. If peace is to be stable and lasting, progress must be made towards the halting of the arms race and the reduction of armaments. Sweden will continue to make vigorous efforts to achieve results in the disarmament work of the United Nations and in other international forums. We shall pay special attention to measures designed to reduce the risk of that catastrophe for mankind, a nuclear war. This implies a demand that the nuclear-weapon Powers stop all nuclear-weapon tests and continue, in accordance with the provisions of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], their negotiations on effective measures towards nuclear disarmament. It implies a demand that all the States of the world seriously consider the risks of a spread of nuclear weapons to countries that do not now possess them and shoulder the obligations motivated by these risks. If nuclear energy equipment and technology is transferred from one country to another, means must be found fully to guarantee that all nuclear energy in the recipient country be used exclusively for peaceful purposes.

89. Today, the sum of \$300 billion is used annually for military purposes. The total development assistance contributed by the rich countries to the poor countries is but one fifteenth thereof. These figures point to the gigantic and tragic misuse of the material and human resources of the world, creating injustice both within and between nations. What is more, it does nothing to bring us one step nearer the intended goal: increased military security. We have here an enormous reserve of resources which could be used for realizing a new international economic order. Everyone must recognize that there is a link between disarmament and development.

90. The role of the United Nations in the field of disarmament must be strengthened. A first step towards that goal has already been taken.

91. Sweden welcomes the idea of a special session of the General Assembly dealing with disarmament issues. Such a meeting would give all the States Members of the United Nations an opportunity to contribute to the strategy for

genuine disarmament. If it is well prepared, it would mark the beginning of a new and fruitful epoch in negotiations on this issue—ultimately a matter of the survival of mankind.

92. Sweden will take an active part in efforts to create more equitable relations between countries at various stages of development. Our development co-operation is designed to promote social and economic justice and equality in the developing countries. We consider that solidarity places an obligation on all the rich countries, in both East and West, to realize the ideas behind a new international economic order. Sweden will, as hitherto, consistently seek measures—at the national as well as at the international level—which can bring us closer to this important goal.

93. It must obviously be in the interest of the rich countries to co-operate with the developing countries in order to reduce the risk of confrontations which in the long run can endanger peace.

94. We want to see tangible results from the negotiations which are now in progress or at the planning stage in the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development [*UNCTAD*], in the North-South dialogue in Paris and in other forums. Among problems requiring solution are the stabilization of commodity markets, joint responsibility for developments in the field of energy, in a global perspective taking into account the interests of all nations, reaching the United Nations target of 0.7 per cent of gross national product for official assistance to developing countries before 1980, promotion of trade between the industrialized and the developing countries and between the developing countries themselves, and alleviation of the heavy public debt burdens of the poorest countries in particular.

95. In the long-term perspective, all States will have to undertake strict management of scarce global resources and take forceful measures to protect the human environment.

96. Among other important issues to which we must devote much more attention and greater resources is the development of alternative sources of energy. We believe that it is essential for all of us, not least for the developing countries, to take part in such efforts.

97. Our purpose must be to bring about stable economic and social progress and promote security throughout the world. In a spirit of international solidarity, we must strive patiently and persistently towards the ultimate goal—global justice. The endeavours being made to this end within the framework of the non-aligned movement—most recently at the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Colombo—have our appreciation and support.

98. 1975 was International women's Year. We must ensure that the recommendations adopted by the Mexico Conference⁹ are put into practice. Our work for equality between women and men must not be confined to isolated manifestations; it must permeate our day-to-day work

⁹ See *Report of the World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City, 19 June-2 July 1975* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.76.IV.1).

within Member States as well as in the international organizations.

99. All the States Members of the United Nations have undertaken to protect human rights. This is a vital task, not only for promoting the well-being of the individual, but also for the development of friendly relations between States and for avoiding international tensions and crises. It is all the more deplorable that people all over the world still suffer under outrageous forms of degradation and violence.

100. Sweden will lend unrelenting support to the struggle against the oppression of individual human beings or groups of people. We condemn any form of persecution of men and women on account of their political or religious convictions, or their racial and ethnic background, wherever this occurs.

101. Guided by these general principles, on which there is wide consensus in Sweden, we pursue an active foreign policy. These principles will also determine the stand we take on questions discussed in the various organizations within the United Nations family.

102. Let me now give you the Swedish Government's view on some of the issues before this General Assembly.

103. Before doing so, I wish, on behalf of my Government, to extend a heartfelt welcome to the Republic of Seychelles, our newest Member in the United Nations. I also want to express the hope that Angola and Viet Nam, which have gained independence after long struggle, will very soon be granted membership and given the opportunity to take part in our work.

104. The oppression of the black majorities in South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia has rightly been condemned by the various organs of the United Nations for many years. The systematic racial discrimination practised there is in glaring conflict with the Charter of the United Nations and is a particularly abhorrent violation of human rights and freedoms. The system can only be upheld by force and leads to continuous and escalating violence. The brutal acts of oppression in Soweto and Nyazonia this last summer testifies to the desperation of the white rulers. Sweden will increase its support to the struggle for liberation in southern Africa.

105. Sweden and many other States have characterized the situation in southern Africa as a threat to peace. If acceptable results cannot be attained through negotiations, the Security Council should therefore impose sanctions to eliminate the threat. In the first place, we have proposed that the recommendation already adopted by the Security Council on the cessation of all shipments of weapons to South Africa¹⁰ should be made mandatory. Such a measure would give effective expression to the entire international community's condemnation of South Africa's policies.

106. Furthermore, Sweden would be prepared to support realistic proposals for further measures, *inter alia*, a ban on new foreign investments in South Africa and Namibia.

107. The black population of Zimbabwe has waged a long struggle for its legitimate demand for majority rule. If this demand is now met as a result of negotiations, it will be a source of great satisfaction in my country, which feels deep sympathy with the struggle of the black population for their rights. All attempts to delay the transition to majority rule increase the risk of intensified violence.

108. In Namibia, South Africa upholds its illegal rule and increases the oppression of the black majority. South Africa must now be forced to accept the solutions prescribed by the United Nations, so that Namibia can at last achieve national independence as a unitary State. SWAPO must be a principal party in the negotiations towards such solutions.

109. The abhorrent *apartheid* system in South Africa itself must be brought to an end. We know that every attempt towards change meets with fierce resistance. The white minority clings to their economic and political privileges. It is against this background that we must view the plans to establish the so-called independent homelands, in other words, the "bantustan" policy. Sweden will in no form recognize such States. We should examine whether the United Nations can assist in bringing about early negotiations between all racial groups in South Africa in order to prepare a future, free of discrimination and oppression for all South Africans for the good of the whole country. As the situation is now, we must continue our efforts in the United Nations to achieve broad consensus on measures that can bring *apartheid* to an end.

110. Another problem which is continuously in the forefront of the United Nations is the situation in the Middle East. During the past year, we have followed with deep concern the tragic civil war in Lebanon. The war means catastrophe for the population of the country. It is a forceful reminder that a comprehensive solution to the conflict in the Middle East must be found without delay. The Swedish Government holds that a settlement must be based on Security Council resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973). Israel and all other States in the area have the right to national existence and integrity within secure and recognized boundaries. The principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force must be respected. Moreover, it must be firmly established that the legitimate national interests of the Palestinian Arabs must be satisfied. This includes their right to create their own State which lives peacefully with Israel. Above all, it is essential that contacts be established without delay for the purpose of achieving an agreed settlement. If not, the risk of new outbreaks of violence will increase, bringing again terrible suffering to the peoples concerned.

111. I have already stressed the importance that the Swedish Government attaches to the protection of human rights and freedoms as well as to the fundamental economic and social rights of all human beings and all groups in society. We shall actively combat the use of torture and other particularly abhorrent violations of human rights. Chile and South Africa are two examples present in our minds. International co-operation is also necessary to prevent the taking of hostages, the hijacking of aircraft and other similar repugnant forms of violence. The encouragement of, and co-operation in, acts of this kind is equally reprehensible. We are of the opinion that the United

¹⁰ See Security Council resolution 282 (1970).

Nations should take an active part in combating criminal acts of this nature. The United Nations should consider the question of the treatment of men and women who, in many parts of the world, are imprisoned because they have voiced inopportune opinions.

112. We welcome the progress which has been made in Geneva towards the formulation of humanitarian rules to be applied in armed conflicts. Sweden hopes that all States will soon realize their common interest in imposing a total ban on the use of certain particularly cruel weapons, such as napalm. As the Colombo Conference also declared, negotiations on these issues must be accelerated.

113. To conclude I wish to reiterate the readiness of the Swedish Government to contribute towards making the United Nations into an organization for the broadest possible co-operation between all countries in order to promote security for human beings all over the world and to satisfy their most fundamental needs—peace, freedom, equality, and social and economic security. If we can clearly demonstrate that the United Nations serves these purposes, the world Organization will also gain the confidence of nations, of non-governmental organizations working for the principles and ideals of the United Nations, and of individual human beings all over the world. This is the only foundation on which we can base the future work of the United Nations.

114. Mr. MAKKAWI (Sudan) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, I should like, at the outset, to express to you my heartfelt congratulations on your unanimous election as President of this session. I am convinced that your wide knowledge and wisdom and the invaluable role played by your country, Sri Lanka, in strengthening international co-operation and understanding, will help this session to achieve more victories for this Organization in the fields of peace, understanding and co-operation among the different nations of the world.

115. I should also like to express the gratitude of my delegation to your predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, the Prime Minister of Luxembourg, for his remarkable contribution to last year's Assembly. Our gratitude goes also to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his tireless efforts and wise guidance in moulding this Organization so as to comply with the aspirations of its Members, as enshrined in its Charter.

116. It also gives my delegation great pleasure to welcome the presence among us today of the delegation of the Republic of Seychelles, now a full Member of this Organization. And while extending our congratulations, I have no doubt that the Republic of Seychelles will positively contribute to our efforts in the international arena to realize our lofty goals. In this respect my delegation looks forward with great eagerness to seeing the delegations of both Angola and Viet Nam taking their rightful place among the independent nations, in accordance with the proper application of the principle of universality of this Organization.

Mr. Hernández (Dominican Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

117. Before reviewing the issues on the agenda, allow me, Mr. President, to express the deep sorrow of the people and Government of the Democratic Republic of the Sudan on the passing away of the great leader of China, Chairman Mao Tsetung, one of the giants of our century, whose unmatched, ingenious achievements made possible the reconstruction of modern China.

118. There is no doubt that one of the key issues of utmost interest to our continent and to the whole world is South Africa and the events which are currently taking place there. Our Organization is, especially at this session, expected to reach a formula that will fully guarantee the application of the principles of human rights in that part of our continent, ensure the dignity of the African and stop the bloodshed that now stains the streets of valiant Soweto—a formula that will also condemn the murderers of Africans and the advocates of racial discrimination, that serious malady introduced by those abhorrent régimes into the spirit of modern civilization. If we fail to eradicate that malady, it will be a disgrace for our generation and generations to come.

119. Racial discrimination is the root-cause of the present deteriorating situation in South Africa, encouraged and supported by the existing racist régimes so as to enable them to use brutal power against the black majority in southern Africa. It is, therefore, evident that the elimination of *apartheid* and all forms of racial discrimination will constitute a basic positive contribution towards resolving African problems.

120. Vorster stated last September that the policy of *apartheid* is the appropriate system of government for South Africa; in saying so he has shown that he is consistently acting in contravention of the resolutions of this Organization, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and world conscience.

121. I would, therefore, call from this rostrum for the complete isolation of the racist régime in South Africa and for the implementation of the relevant United Nations resolutions on this matter. I would also appeal to the international community to refrain from economic investment in South Africa, which strengthens and consolidates the system of racial discrimination and its power base, and instead to give financial, military and political support to the people of South Africa and help them to liberate their country. In so doing, the international community would prove its genuine desire to redress the injustices which beset the people of that unfortunate country.

122. It does appear that Vorster is deliberately failing to recognize the capabilities of the present generation of South Africans, which has no illusions about the *apartheid* régime; the events at Soweto, Johannesburg, Cape Town, Pretoria and Port Elizabeth are only examples which will either bring Vorster to his senses or compel him to pack and leave.

123. The present situation in South Africa constitutes a real test for those countries which ostensibly advocate international peace, civilization and progress and condemn killing and terrorism, while at the same time reacting differently towards the injustice, humiliation and denial of

human rights to which the black peoples of Africa are being subjected. The same applies to those countries which provide illegal minority and racist régimes with financial support and technical know-how, thereby causing more suffering to the African people, while denying the same assistance to other countries under the pretext of preserving international peace and security. Our criterion should remain coherent in this respect. We Africans are able to distinguish our friends from our enemies. Those who seek the friendship of Africa should link arms with Africa today in order to uphold the dignity, liberty and independence of the African.

124. Undoubtedly the presence of the racist régime in South Africa is the crucial factor that created the problem of Namibia, on the one hand, and on the other, consolidated the white minority régime that is illegally ruling Zimbabwe. The overwhelming hegemony of the ruling white minority, together with its unwarranted exploitation of those parts of the African continent, are, no doubt, the natural outcome of the failure of the international community to combat the racist régime in South Africa long before its encroachment spread westwards into Namibia and northwards into Zimbabwe and at a time when this Organization was adopting successive resolutions designed to solve that problem.

125. The question of Namibia is and will continue to be the responsibility of the United Nations. South Africa has failed to carry out the responsibilities of the Mandate entrusted to it to administer the region on behalf of this Organization. It is therefore the duty of this world body seriously and decisively to take appropriate measures for the implementation of its resolutions and to secure the independence of Namibia. In this respect, the negotiations between SWAPO—the only authentic representative of the people of Namibia and the only body fully recognized by the United Nations and OAU as such—and the Government of South Africa should be conducted at the earliest possible time. In this connexion we would like to state emphatically that we reject the manoeuvres pursued by the racist régime pertaining to negotiations and conducted in a manner that would cast doubts and negative shadows on the genuine will of the people of Namibia to achieve their full and prompt independence, with no strings attached, or any further continuation of hegemony or racist influence in the region.

126. We salute the armed struggle launched by the people of Zimbabwe, who have lived for so long under the oppression and domination of the illegal white minority régime. This armed struggle, marked by sacrifice and blood on the soil of Zimbabwe, is imposing a very important turn in the development of events. The will of the people is undefeatable; and armed struggle is the only path left to ensure majority rule as long as the Smith régime does not heed the voice of reason. Indeed, he has drifted in the opposite direction—the direction of brutal oppression.

127. We welcome all attempts towards negotiations earnestly and seriously pursued to establish majority rule in Zimbabwe. At this juncture I wish to mention the full support of President Nimeiri for the decisions adopted at the meeting of the Presidents of the front-line African States. On the other hand, we reject all proposals aiming at the establishment of a transitional government in Zim-

babwe, as conceived by Ian Smith, that would allow the white minority to retain power. Past experience and repeated tactics and manoeuvres only confirm our reservations. In this connexion, we quote Smith's famous saying: "There will never be majority rule in Rhodesia as long as I live." There is a great opportunity for a final and just solution in front of Mr. Smith, and he should not let this chance slide by, otherwise he will dance on his own grave.

128. Any settlement reached in Zimbabwe must, in the first place, be acceptable to the freedom fighters, the sole representatives of the people of Zimbabwe. Such a settlement must not be at the expense of the unity of the Zimbabwean people in their concerted efforts and armed struggle for independence. Such a struggle, we believe, will continue until complete independence is achieved.

129. The Democratic Republic of the Sudan has condemned in the strongest terms and categorically rejected the illegal minority régime in Zimbabwe. In order to compel this illegal and racist régime to abide by the United Nations resolutions it is imperative that the international community tighten its mandatory economic, military and political sanctions. My country appeals to all Members of this Organization to extend all possible assistance to the liberation movements of Zimbabwe in their struggle against the racist Power.

130. Free Africa is deeply concerned with the inflammable situation in so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti). Notwithstanding the persistent efforts of OAU and the United Nations, the situation in that part of the continent remains tense and grave. We deem it necessary that the territory be granted the right of self-determination in an atmosphere free from external pressures with a view to achieving complete independence in accordance with the resolutions of OAU and the United Nations.

131. With the same concern, we follow the situation in the Comoros. It is our firm belief that the island of Mayotte is an inseparable part of the Comoros. Africa seeks and needs national unity, not partition or fragmentation.

132. Notwithstanding all the resolutions adopted by this Organization, the situation in the Middle East is still more explosive than ever and will continue to be so unless Israel completely withdraws from all occupied Arab territories. Israel still continues to establish colonies on the West Bank, it still continues to exercise the most abhorrent types of brutality and oppression against the Arabs in the occupied territories, trampling underfoot the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international laws and practice. It went even further by applying the rule of the jungle to desecrate the sacred spiritual and religious beliefs and places in the occupied Arab lands, and perhaps its most recent aggression on the sacred Ibrahimi Mosque in Hebron stands as the most striking example.

133. Therefore it is no surprise to us that this Assembly adopted its historic resolution 3379 (XXX) of 10 November 1975 considering zionism as a form of racial discrimination. It is again no surprise that we witness the warmth of relations and the tight racial alliance between the governments of Tel Aviv and Pretoria, which actually represent two faces of one coin in exercising racial discrimination in

all its forms of ugliness and brutality, in all its forms of suppression against the Arab people in Palestine and the occupied territories and the African people in South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe, unmoved by the voice of conscience and in spite of the great opposition of the modern world and the disgust of human conscience, clearly represented in the resolutions of this Organization and other international and regional organizations.

134. Real peace in the Middle East will not be achieved before the complete withdrawal of Israel from all occupied Arab territories and the full recognition of the inalienable right of the Palestinian people to return to their homes. It is also evident that, if Israel does not absorb fully the first lesson given to it during the October war of 1973, the second lesson will undoubtedly follow.

135. The Democratic Republic of the Sudan believes in the necessity of establishing international zones of peace, which in turn will greatly contribute to the easing of tension and will further lead to the diminution of the danger that threatens peace and security in the world. In that connexion Sudan has announced its firm support of all the resolutions adopted by this Organization and by the group of non-aligned countries calling for the declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. We also support all the United Nations resolutions aimed at the establishment of a zone of peace in Africa, as this will primarily lead to the elimination of the threat of war there and will provide the favourable conditions that will enable development in Africa to take place, and will accordingly mean the betterment of the African people.

136. The Democratic Republic of the Sudan welcomes international co-operation in the utilization of outer space for peaceful purposes, and calls at the same time for a reduction of military budgets, for the ceasing of production of chemical and bacteriological weapons, as well as for putting an end to all sorts of nuclear-weapon tests. Thus we state in this forum Sudan's firm stand, beside other States, in favour of the conclusion of a treaty for the complete prohibition of nuclear tests, as well as its full support of all efforts exerted to accomplish total disarmament in this decade of remarkable global détente.

137. The Democratic Republic of the Sudan follows with great concern the deteriorating situation in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in view of its friendly relations with the parties involved in the question of Cyprus. Our intention for the preservation of peace and security in this region, which is so close to our country, does dictate our firm stand on the problem of Cyprus. Therefore, we believe in the independence, national unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus together with the preservation of neutrality and sovereignty of the people of Cyprus, being of Greek or Turkish origin.

138. At this forum we call upon all the parties concerned to exert maximum efforts, and to exhaust all peaceful and diplomatic means, to formulate an acceptable and lasting solution to the problem. In this regard we commend the tireless peace efforts of the Secretary-General and his Special Representative in Cyprus and we hope that they will bear fruit in the near future in order to restore peace and tranquillity to the people of the island.

139. The international community has embarked irreversibly on the road to the establishment of the new international economic order, which represents an important element in the continuing process of the democratization of international economic relations on the basis of equality, justice and respect of the interests of all States. Our principal task at present is, therefore, to proceed on the basis we had laid down, to the adoption of such measures and actions that will enable us to achieve further progress in implementing decisions of the sixth and seventh special sessions.

140. The present international economic situation reflects a gloomy image and, unless urgent measures are taken to alleviate the economic problems besetting developing countries, the already growing economic disparities will further add to the prevailing complexity.

141. The establishment of the new world economic order for self-sustaining growth and a stable and equitable world economy is a common cause for all countries and, further, an imperative necessity for the advancement of the entire international community. The existence of a few rich and affluent countries and a large number of poor ones will not help speed the advancement of humanity. Poverty and affluence cannot coexist endlessly. Structural changes are essential prerequisites if we are to avert potentially dangerous conflicts that have a direct bearing on the stability of world peace and security.

142. The complex problem of crippling debts and debt servicing constitutes a serious impediment to development and requires an immediate solution. Developing countries have come up with several proposals in Manila¹¹ and Colombo¹² with regard to urgent measures for cancellation, rescheduling of payments and the declaration of moratoriums on debts. It is our duty to frustrate all divergent and divisive attempts to delay action on this urgent issue. We cannot mortgage the future of our coming generations with these debts, whose repayment lays a heavy burden on our people. We believe the time has come for an urgent solution to this pressing problem. Furthermore, developing countries need to receive accelerated concessionary development assistance and fair terms of trade in order to help build their industries and develop their economies.

143. My delegation attaches considerable importance to the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Restructuring of the Economic and Social Sectors of the United Nations System so as to make it more responsive to the requirement of the implementation of the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)]. In this context we consider the restructuring process to be an essential pre-condition for the initiation of action-oriented measures designed to translate the international economic order into tangible action. Consequently, my delegation calls upon the *Ad Hoc* Committee to

¹¹ Third Ministerial Meeting of the Group of 77, held at Manila from 26 January to 7 February 1976.

¹² Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Colombo from 16 to 19 August 1976.

discharge its mandate expeditiously by submitting detailed and specific action proposals to this Assembly during its current session. That would enable our Assembly to initiate urgent steps that would enhance the central co-ordinating capability of the United Nations in the economic and social field.

144. Humanity had a hard time combating poverty, disease and illiteracy. Now we witness the emergence of food scarcity as a new plague. The world has continued to suffer in the past few years from an acute scarcity of food. As we have already declared on this rostrum, the international food crisis is an artificial one; and the Democratic Republic of the Sudan can provide us with the helping tool. Our enormous agricultural resources are yet to be tapped and utilized for the production of more food to alleviate the deteriorating crisis. And I am glad to reiterate that the Sudan is willing to make these resources available for the benefit of mankind.

145. We continue to place great hopes in this Organization. Let us take care to promote its performance so that we can successfully establish a sound international community on well-founded political, social and economic bases, under an umbrella of permanent peace for us and our coming generations.

146. Mr. GHOBASH (United Arab Emirates) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Allow me, first of all, to extend my delegation's congratulations to Mr. Hamilton Shirley Amerasinghe on his election as President of the General Assembly at its thirty-first session. We were pleased and satisfied at his election to this high office, knowing the efficiency, flexibility and devotion with which he pursues the noble objectives of the United Nations. It is also a recognition of the constructive role played by his country in the cause of justice, freedom and liberty in the world. An eloquent example was the success of the Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held in his friendly country last summer. His presidency of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has been, and will continue to be, an object of our admiration and appreciation. In addition, our country has been honoured by a visit from Mr. Amerasinghe early this year, a visit which has promoted further the links of friendship and co-operation between our two countries.

147. Allow me also, to extend, on behalf of my delegation, our most sincere thanks to Mr. Amerasinghe's predecessor, Mr. Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, who ably and efficiently presided over the last session.

148. The Government of my country also wishes to express its deepest appreciation of the sincere efforts that have been, and are still being, exerted by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General of our Organization, to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations and to strengthen its role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

149. My delegation would like to extend its congratulations to the Republic of Seychelles on its admission to membership in our world Organization. We wish this country success in its new vocation, and we are fully prepared to co-operate with it in the interests of both our countries and for the sake of mankind at large.

150. I should like also to join my colleagues who preceded me in expressing the earnest hope that the Socialist Republic of Viet Nam, as well as the People's Republic of Angola, will be admitted in the near future as Members of our Organization. We proceed in this context from our faith in the principle of the universality of the United Nations and the imperative need for it to be representative of all peoples and countries of the world, irrespective of their political or economic system.

151. We in the United Arab Emirates have received with sorrow and sadness the news of the death of Chairman Mao Tsetung. To the great people of China and their Government, we express our deepest condolences.

152. The maintenance of international peace and security is the most important objective for which the United Nations was established. In our statement to the General Assembly last year,¹³ we pointed out that our Organization is facing grave problems and challenges; and we considered the continuation of these problems and challenges without a radical solution to be a matter endangering international security.

153. These problems and challenges still loom in the foreground at this thirty-first session. It may even be said that the continuation of these challenges without radical solutions has led to the eruption of new serious situations, as we see in the Middle East and Africa. Thus, we see that the arrogance of Israel and its non-compliance with United Nations resolutions pertaining to the Palestinian problem and the Middle East question have led to persistent and unceasing tension in that region.

154. Likewise, the continuation of the white minority régimes in Rhodesia and South Africa has been conducive to the detonation of a war that may engulf the whole of Africa in a sea of blood—Africa, which most urgently needs peace and stability in order to rebuild itself and its economy after long, bleak decades of poverty and backwardness.

155. While expressing our thanks and gratitude to the world community for adopting resolutions designed to ensure the right of peoples under alien domination to self-determination, the results of which are evidenced in the movement of the United Nations towards the realization of the universality of its membership and the steps that have been taken, and will be taken, to liberate the peoples of southern Africa from colonialism, foreign occupation and racial discrimination, we find ourselves overwhelmed with feelings of dismay and disappointment at the fact that the people of Palestine have not been allowed to join this great historical march.

156. In this respect, we are fully aware of the decisions taken by the United Nations in including the question of Palestine as a separate item in the agenda of the General Assembly¹⁴ and in inviting the Palestine Liberation Organization to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on that question [*resolution 3210 (XXIX)*].

¹³ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Thirtieth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2367th meeting.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2236th meeting.

157. We also acknowledge the continued United Nations consideration of the Palestine question in substance and in some of its implications under four items included in the General Assembly's agenda.

158. We further express our thanks and gratitude to the United Nations for the resolutions, adopted under those and other items, which reaffirmed the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, to return to their land, and to exercise their national sovereignty, which condemned Israel for its inhuman practices against the Palestinian people, stressing the imperative need for its withdrawal from all occupied Arab territories, and which condemned zionism, the corner-stone of the Israeli entity, as a racist movement [*resolution 3379 (XXX)*].

159. The value inherent in any resolution adopted by this international Organization is not confined to its human and moral implications, but includes also the steps that may be taken for its implementation.

160. Proceeding from this fact, it is our view that the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its last session to form a Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People [*resolution 3376 (XXX)*], and the recommendations of that Committee [*see A/31/35*], which we support and uphold, could not lead to any desired good unless they were followed by positive and effective measures for their implementation.

161. In this connexion, we regret the attitude of some States towards those recommendations, when they were brought up for consideration of the Security Council. We further condemn Israel for its refusal to comply with those recommendations.

162. We had stated in the Security Council¹⁵ that, despite our reservations on some of those recommendations, we considered them positive on the whole and an initial step towards the achievement of the principles and purposes of the Charter, inasmuch as the latter relate to the Palestinian people.

163. We may therefore expect the General Assembly to take effective measures at this session for the implementation of those recommendations.

164. The recent events that have demonstrated the development of full collaboration and co-ordination between the Governments of Israel and South Africa in the various political, military and economic fields, have upheld the validity of our case in condemning zionism, the basis of the existence of Israel, as racism. The unholy alliance and the co-operation between South Africa and Israel emanate from the very tenets on which their respective régimes are founded, tenets which discriminate among men, by denying the rights of the original citizen to his own country, while bestowing those rights on aliens.

165. We are following with great interest the developments in South Africa, Rhodesia and Namibia. Our

Government, since its accession to membership in the United Nations, has manifested its extreme concern at the seriousness of the continued white minority régimes in those African territories. We have strongly condemned the policy of *apartheid* practised by the South African Government, because this policy constitutes a challenge of the most fundamental human ideals and rights and a flagrant violation of the United Nations Charter. Today, we notice with satisfaction the increasing isolation imposed by the international community on the two racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia, and the growing activities of the African liberation movements in their struggle to regain the dignity of their peoples and their sovereignty over their national soil.

166. We hope that all the efforts for the attainment of a peaceful settlement of this grave situation, which poses a threat to Africa's security and integrity and could consequently endanger international peace and security, will be crowned with success. However, and in the absence of such settlement, we can only extend moral and material aid to the African liberation movements to enable them to achieve their noble objectives of liberation and independence.

167. The United Nations has made serious efforts to find a solution to the question of Cyprus, thanks to the endeavours of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in particular his personal efforts in this respect. We appreciate those efforts and request our Secretary-General not to halt his endeavours. The bitter fact, nevertheless, is that Cyprus should still have to wait for a just solution of the problem, a solution that will take into consideration the interests of the Turkish and Greek communities and maintain the independence and territorial integrity of the island.

168. The United Arab Emirates has supported, since its inception, the United Nations resolution declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. We further endorse all measures and steps designed to give effect to this declaration and ensure that it is respected. We sincerely work for the consolidation of co-operation among the Gulf States, and we spare no effort for the realization of security and stability in our region. We have continuously called for the peaceful solution of any differences that may arise among States in our region without any foreign intervention. In this respect, we proceed from our belief in the need to keep the Gulf region far removed from super-Power rivalries.

169. The delegation of the United Arab Emirates has noted with regret that the fifth session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has failed to make any substantial progress. In spite of the fact that there is some agreement on certain significant points in the law of the sea, such as the definition of the 12-mile limit of territorial waters, the sovereignty of the coastal State over its resources, the definition of the 200-nautical-mile economic zone, the freedom of navigation through straits connecting two high seas, and rules to prevent marine pollution, the very important matter of the exploitation of the sea-bed beyond territorial waters as the common heritage of mankind is still subject to sharp differences, and no concrete progress has been made at the last session in this regard.

¹⁵ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Thirty-first Year, 1928th meeting.*

170. The United Arab Emirates attaches great importance to this matter, and earnestly hopes that the Conference will succeed at its next session in working out rules for the authority and for a just régime for the exploitation of the resources of the sea-bed for the sake of mankind as a whole. We honestly believe that the attainment of a solution to this problem would be one of the greatest achievements of our Organization since its establishment.

171. Much as we may feel proud of the achievements made in the field of political liberation, we are still concerned at the lack of parallel progress in the economic domain. The third world continues to suffer from poverty and deprivation, and the deep gap between developed industrialized countries and developing countries continues to grow wider.

172. We are deeply concerned that there still exists strong resistance on the part of developed countries to the implementation of the resolutions on the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*], and to the resolution adopted by the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session on the Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States [*resolution 3281 (XXIX)*]. We are aware, moreover, that no significant progress has been achieved at the Paris Conference on International Economic Co-operation.

173. We also regret the failure of the fourth session of UNCTAD to realize the aspirations of developing countries which were voiced in the Manila Declaration¹⁶ and the resolutions adopted by the General Assembly in its sixth and seventh special sessions.

174. We welcome the Economic Declaration and the Programme of Action on Economic Co-operation, approved by the Fifth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries [*see A/31/197, annexes II and III*], and we also consider that international recognition of the principles contained in the documents of that Conference provide a sound programme on the global level, and constitute a worthy contribution to the efforts being made to realize justice in the new international economic relations.

¹⁶ 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.

175. It is also our view that the plan of the developing countries which produce raw materials and commodities in undertaking fresh initiatives based on the principles approved by the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Lima in 1975, in the implementation of the Lima Programme for Mutual Assistance and Solidarity,¹⁷ should receive encouragement. Here, reference should be made to the relevance of the Manila Declaration to the definition of the economic philosophy of the developing countries, which we further believe should serve as the basis for a new international economic order that requires the removal of exploitative methods from the fields of trade, industry, finance and technology.

176. In addition, we hold the view that economic co-operation among developing countries could ensure the establishment of the new international economic order, the Mexico Conference¹⁸ having examined the various necessary methods and alternative measures to realize the principle of self-reliance, which stems from self-confidence on the part of developing countries.

177. My country, a small, developing and newly independent nation, believes in the principles of non-alignment and peaceful co-operation among States. It has directed special attention to external aid, and has made generous contributions to alleviate the stress of economic difficulties which afflict developing countries as a direct consequence of the severe imbalance in the international economic structure and the monetary inflation which has been exported to those countries by the industrialized developed countries.

178. In the future, we will continue to offer our assistance within our limited resources as a developing country to other third-world countries.

179. Our deep belief in the enlightened principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations will always motivate our actions and guide our participation in setting up a just international order based on equality between States and directed towards furthering the noble cause of human progress to new vast horizons ensuring goodness and plenty for all peoples.

The meeting rose at 12.55 p.m.

¹⁷ See document A/10217, annex.

¹⁸ Conference on Economic Co-operation among Developing Countries, held at Mexico City from 13 to 21 September 1976.