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President: Mr. Leopoldo BENITES (Ecuador).

Address by General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, it is a great honour for me to welcome His Excellency General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria, who represents a country which has made important contributions to the work of this Organization. I now invite General Gowon to address the Assembly.
2. General GOWON (Nigeria): I am particularly delighted with the opportunity to address this Assembly. This is my first visit here in this capacity and already I feel that I am among friends. This is as it should be. For we are all united by our desire to translate into reality the philosophy behind the founding of this world body. It was the hope of the founding fathers that this Organization, representing peoples of different political, cultural, economic and social backgrounds, should be an effective instrument for harmonizing different views, reconciling competing interests and concerting such action as would give substance to mankind's aspirations for peace and plenty in justice and dignity. Ideals nobler than these for structuring a world order will definitely be difficult to find. To live up to such high expectations is the great challenge before all of us who are assembled here.
3. Permit me, Mr. President, to convey to you my heartiest congratulations on your election as President of this twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. It is a fitting tribute to your sterling qualities as a diplomat who has rendered distinguished services not only to your country, but also to the international community as a whole. Your election is also a well-deserved honour for your country,

Ecuador, with which my country enjoys warm relations, and which has shown consistent adherence to the principles and purposes of our Charter. I have no doubt that under your wise guidance this session of the General Assembly will achieve great success.

4. My congratulations also go to the members of your Bureau and to the distinguished Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who, since his assumption of office, has brought great dedication and sense of personal commitment to his heavy task. I wish him continued success and God's blessing. I wish also to place formally on record my appreciation of the excellent services rendered to this Organization and humanity by the past Secretaries-General, particularly the late Dag Hammarskjöld and U Thant.

5. Thirteen years ago my country was admitted as the ninety-ninth Member of this Organization. On that occasion, the then Prime Minister of Nigeria, the late Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, expressed the belief of Nigeria in the United Nations as the only effective machinery for bringing about world peace and the progress of mankind generally.¹ Today, I wish to reaffirm my country's faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. We in Nigeria believe that if all Member States adhere strictly to the provisions of our Charter, as an earnest of their dedication to the ideals of our Organization, then we may yet accomplish that unique and bright promise for all mankind which the United Nations represents.

6. I am a strong believer in the United Nations. I therefore find it rather disturbing that the image which some people tend to have of the United Nations is a misleading one of lack of dramatic success in dealing immediately with some of the major problems of peace and security, of human rights, and the degrading poverty of a large majority of the world's population. Proceeding from such a viewpoint, the conclusion is often heard that this Organization is hardly any more relevant to our times. I do not share such pessimism, and I venture to suggest that most Africans would not accept such a doleful assessment of the United Nations. We are all well aware of its shortcomings and its failings. These are, in some measure, a reflection of the world which produced and now operates the Organization. It is necessary to seek to improve its effectiveness, but we in Africa hope that the States Members of the United Nations will embark on such a process in a manner that would not do damage to this Organization which is so vital to the vast underprivileged, as yet developing, population of the third world.

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fifteenth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 893rd meeting.

7. For millions of such peoples throughout the world, the United Nations provides an indispensable forum for bringing to world attention, some of the problems that plague the world, and for which, all too often, no other means of solution are apparent. The United Nations can and does bring to bear the moral weight of world opinion on many a controversial issue. That explains its great value to the smaller nations and to the dispossessed and downtrodden peoples of the world. For example, it is clear that without the moral pressure exerted on colonial Powers, principally by this Organization, the struggle for self-determination and independence would definitely have been more difficult for many of the nations that are today proud Members of the United Nations. Nor can we ignore the invaluable services rendered by the Organization and its specialized agencies in the vital areas of health, literacy campaigns, child welfare and the championship of progressive labour legislation on a world-wide basis.

8. It cannot be over-emphasized that the primary purpose of the United Nations is "to save mankind from the scourge of war". Unfortunately, we have not always attained this lofty objective. There have been breaches of peace, such as in Korea, and Viet-Nam, with consequences no less dismal and harrowing for those affected. However, since 1945, there has been no global war such as mankind experienced to its horror during the first half of this century. It is to the credit of this Organization that, even when conflicts do occur between nations in recent times, peaceful intervention by the United Nations has succeeded in arresting them. In other areas of the world, the United Nations continues to play a key and vital role in providing physical stability and preventing a deterioration of unhappy and unstable political and social conditions. It is, therefore, not unjustified that we should look back on the 28 years of the existence of this Organization with some degree of satisfaction. The little measure of stability and hope that the world and its many peoples have been given these past 28 years has been worthy of the long hours spent in this hall as well as in the chambers of the Security Council and other organs of the United Nations.

9. Of course, to acknowledge these areas of achievement of the United Nations should by no means lull us into a sense of complacency. As in every human organization, there are areas of United Nations activities that cry out for urgent attention and improvement. Among these is the imperative need to correct the structural and institutional deficiencies that hamstring some of its operations. When the Charter was framed, five nations were entrusted with the responsibility of "policing" the whole world. In the prevailing circumstances of those days such an arrangement might have been justifiable and acceptable. It is no longer so today. An urgent review of the decision-making processes in the United Nations system, taking into full account existing political realities, is long overdue. I need hardly say that one area of immediate concern is the increasing use of the veto in the Security Council in support of causes which seem to be in conflict with the noble objectives of the Charter. In this connexion, it must be emphasized that African nations, and indeed most nations of the world, have been distressed at the constant use of the veto to block meaningful initiatives in matters relating to fundamental human rights, freedom and human dignity in many areas of the world and, in particular, in parts of Africa still under foreign or minority

régimes. It is our hope, therefore, that the nations which at present enjoy the privileges of veto power should use it responsibly in furtherance of world peace and the progress of mankind.

10. The Secretary-General has, in the introduction to his latest report on the work of the Organization, invited us to participate in a "constructive debate" about the future of this Organization [*A/9001/Add.1, p.1*]. It is my hope that in responding to this invitation all Member States would advance proposals that would ensure that the resolutions and decisions of the United Nations are implemented by all Member States.

11. It is a matter for great relief that in the world today preoccupation with outmoded rivalries and enmities on the one hand, and ideological distrusts and suspicions on the other is now being progressively replaced by the spirit of accommodation. The admission of the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic into the United Nations justifies the expectation that before long there will be genuine universality of representation in this Organization. I congratulate them, as well as the Commonwealth of the Bahamas, on their admission.

12. While commending the important steps towards ending the legacies of the Second World War in Europe, we must state that steps towards normalization of the situation in that continent should be matched by the continuing search for peace, understanding and co-operation throughout the world. The search for peace and security must be in a global context and must involve the active participation of all countries. We welcome agreements between the super-Powers inasmuch as these agreements lessen the fear and threat of nuclear warfare. However, we are compelled to call on the super-Powers to resist the temptation of limiting their negotiating spirit only to such issues as are of narrow interest to them and their people. We must insist that their negotiations and agreements which affect the fate of others should take account of the views of those concerned. For every nation and every country, great or small, rich or poor, has a stake in peace and security. It is therefore essential that each should participate, on the basis of sovereign equality, in resolving issues of concern to the whole world.

13. A few months ago the Organization of African Unity [*OAU*] celebrated its tenth anniversary. I had the great privilege of presiding over the ceremonies and the tenth session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU. I should like to express the deep appreciation of OAU and all the people of Africa to the United Nations for the co-operation, inspiration and assistance that have continued to characterize the relations between our regional organization and this world body. We highly appreciate the constant interest of the United Nations as an institution, and the unfailing concern of the Secretary-General and the various agencies in developments in Africa and the progress of OAU. All this is in keeping with the spirit of Article 52, which encourages regional organizations "consistent with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations".

14. The Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights contributed significantly to the basis and the charter of OAU. Permit me, therefore, to make some observations about how our regional organiza-

tion has been addressing itself to the many problems confronting our continent.

15. The birth of OAU in 1963 was a great act of faith, and its response to the challenges of modern times has filled all Africans with joy and immense pride. After only 10 years we have overcome some of the earlier impediments and difficulties in our way. Independent countries from all parts of Africa, with a variety of historical, political, linguistic and social backgrounds, are now united in our organization, which has come to be recognized as the voice of our continent.

16. Of course, when we reviewed the various activities of OAU at that meeting we acknowledged that we had not achieved all our objectives. Indeed, it would have been difficult to achieve every single one of our aims and objectives in a short decade, given the uncertainties and unforeseen contingencies of world events. However, we have succeeded in consolidating our national independence, and in settling among ourselves and without distracting attention from outside Africa, many such intra-African disputes that have arisen. We have launched many economic and social programmes for improving the quality of life of our peoples in a spirit of self-reliance.

17. We have brought the meaning of African unity and co-operation much nearer to each African's heart. We have continued to uphold, as central to the problems of our continent, the spirit of self-sacrifice, of compromise, and of reconciliation. We have pledged to redouble our efforts with a view to eradicating all forms of colonialism and racism from our continent, and thus assume control of our continent's destiny. Above all, OAU has symbolized the collective effort of the Governments of Africa and their peoples to uphold for ever the dignity and stature of the African in this world.

18. The problem posed by the continuation of colonialism, racism and *apartheid* is the most intractable problem that has confronted us on the continent. Not only do colonialism, racism and *apartheid* constitute an unbearable affront on human dignity in the areas where those evils exist; they represent a great threat to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of independent African States and to international peace and security. Thirteen years after the adoption of United Nations resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples, more than 30 million Africans, spread over about one-sixth of our continent, continue to be denied their human rights, exploited and subjugated under minority, racist and colonial régimes. In defiance of world public opinion and in contemptuous disregard of the decisions of all international organizations of African unity, those régimes have fanatically frustrated and resisted all attempts at introducing constitutional changes designed to involve, in simple justice, the majority of the inhabitants of those lands in the processes that govern their destiny and their daily lives. Thus denied constantly of their basic and legitimate rights, and bereft of all hope of change by an impervious and inflexible ruling class, is it any wonder that the voice of despair is turning reasonable men who desire nothing but peace and progress to their frightful alternatives offered by constant frustration and loss of hope? Can we wonder then that the people are attracted, in such a situation, to the painful

alternative of force and conflict? For our part in OAU we have no choice but to give whole-hearted support to the efforts of our unfortunate brothers to restore their legitimate right to self-determination and independence. In the words of the Solemn Declaration on General Policy adopted at our tenth anniversary session:

“ . . . our support for the liberation struggle was adopted in response to the legitimate and profound aspirations of our peoples and should be viewed less as a circumstantial community of interests than as an awareness of the common destiny of all peoples of the African continent”.

19. At the same meeting, the African Heads of State and Government viewed with satisfaction the progress made in the decade since the establishment of OAU in the legitimate struggle of the peoples of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, the Comoro Islands, the so-called French Somaliland, the so-called Spanish Sahara, the Seychelles Islands and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe. The struggle and the pressure will continue in Africa until the stain of this degradation of human dignity has been removed and until the African, everywhere on his continent, can raise his head proudly in independence and self-determination and thereby be able to contribute his quota to world progress.

20. In this regard, Mr. President, let me commend to you and to members of this honourable Assembly the bold and momentous step taken by the long-oppressed people of Guinea-Bissau and their political party in declaring their country independent. We in Africa believe that the struggle for final consolidation of the independence of this new nation will be much assisted by the practical support and co-operation which all men of goodwill and all who subscribe to the principles of the Charter of this Organization will extend, promptly and without hesitation, to the efforts of the rightful owners and peoples of Guinea-Bissau.

21. The declaration of independence by the people of Guinea-Bissau has received the overwhelming support of member States of OAU and of the friends of Africa. I should like, on behalf of Africa, to thank those friends for their prompt recognition accorded to that new State. It is our hope, therefore, that that new nation will shortly take its rightful position as a proud member of the international community.

22. What of the special case of Namibia? The situation in Namibia continues to be a source of considerable embarrassment and concern to this Organization. I do not need to go over the various steps that have been taken by the United Nations and its competent organs to bring some rational solution to the situation created in Namibia by the intransigence of the racist régime of South Africa which still occupies that country illegally. The United Nations has endeavoured to carry out its fundamental responsibilities to the hapless people of Namibia by repeatedly providing opportunities for a progressive and peaceful transformation of the situation in the country. It was the hope of many people in different parts of the world that the South African Government would, in its own wider interests, take advantage of the opportunities offered by the United Nations to fulfil its woefully neglected obligations to the people of Namibia.

23. But what have we found? The South African Government is intent upon defying the opinions of the world. Even after the International Court of Justice has expressed opinions which clearly indicated that the South African Government had no further moral or legal right to dominate Namibia, the South African Government continues to subject the people of that country to its Fascist social and political system.

24. One is entitled to ask why it is that of all the Territories that were entrusted to the colonialist Powers under the Trusteeship System, only in Namibia, the Territory entrusted to South Africa, has this international trust been betrayed. All the Territories are today full Members of the United Nations or on their way to independence. We in Africa strongly believe that the United Nations and particularly the permanent members of the Security Council have a duty and responsibility to use all means at their disposal to compel South Africa to withdraw from Namibia and thereafter to assume control of the Territory and to administer it until it attains full independence.

25. Side by side with the steady pressure and progress in the efforts of the liberation movements in various parts of Africa, we witness with dismay the support that continues to be rendered by some nations to two Member States of this Organization that have the dubious distinction in history of being the sole advocates of repression and colonialism and racism. Also, the illegal régime in Salisbury still continues because of the non-compliance by certain Member countries of this Organization with the unanimous decisions of the Organization and of mankind. Perhaps those who prefer to sell a few goods to such an illegal clique, or to buy such commodities as the racists of Salisbury wish to sell in order to maintain themselves in power, have made their own calculations and prefer their temporary material profit to their sense of honour and their position in history.

26. While on this subject, perhaps I should emphasize again the sadness of Africa in the face of the stubborn and unreasonable intransigence of those white régimes that continue to constitute themselves as enemies of Africa and of the third world. Nobody in Africa wishes to adopt the path of armed struggle and conflict against those minority régimes for the love of it. Nobody has asked that people who normally live in Africa and wish to consider themselves as part of Africa should, by any manner or means, be made to feel unwelcome. Those who are born among us and live and join us both in spirit and co-operation are welcome to live in Africa. For they are Africans. It is for this reason that we made genuine efforts to assure the world of our desire for racial harmony on conditions of mutual respect and fundamental human rights of all the inhabitants of the continent. Is that not a message of hope for the colonialist and racist régimes? The Lusaka Manifesto² which was presented to this Assembly three years ago by my dear friend and brother, President Ahmadou Ahidjo of the United Republic of Cameroon on behalf of Africa,³ embodied Africa's effort to work out a peaceful solution to the colonial and racial problems of the continent—problems which are not of our own making. What was the response? The colonialist and

racist régimes rejected out of hand our peace offer and rewarded us with intensification of repressive laws in the areas under their control, massacres of our people, inspired assassination of the authentic leaders of the African freedom movements, and attacks on independent African countries.

27. Viewed, therefore, against the background of our efforts to initiate peaceful solutions, and the response we got, we are bewildered that several countries which claim to be friends of Africa continue to give such material and moral support to the colonialist and racist régimes, and to strengthen them in their oppression of our peoples. Permit me to appeal again on behalf of Africa to those who give support to our oppressors. It is time for all of us Members of the United Nations to join hands in an effective and total isolation of the colonial and racist régimes in southern Africa. It is time for us to tighten sanctions against the rebel clique in Salisbury. In addition, I appeal to the United Nations and the international community generally, to extend to the liberation movements and to the millions of Africans under severe oppression and exploitation, such material assistance as would ensure fulfilment to the African peoples of the promise held out by the Charter of the United Nations.

28. Time is on the side of the African in the struggle against colonialism and *apartheid*. Victory is sure to be ours in the war against oppression and deprivation of individual liberty. But the United Nations and its Member countries can render the process less painful and can help to make the road shorter by taking necessary steps before it is too late. By so doing, they would be contributing to the increase of peace and progress, in place of unhappiness and pain and suffering in the world.

29. During our tenth anniversary session, the African Heads of State and Government adopted another document of considerable importance. I refer to the African Declaration on Co-operation, Development and Economic Independence. In the 10 years since OAU was founded, we have observed that the promise of substantial economic development, leading to the path of economic independence, as contained in the charter of OAU, has not been marked by encouraging progress. On the contrary, the pattern has been one of continuing deterioration in the economic and social conditions of African and developing countries generally. The gap between us and the developed countries continues to grow even wider. Measures adopted during the last decade, we found, have been frustrated by other developments in the world at large, over which we have little say and no control. The terms of trade have constantly gone against us. World monetary arrangements have been made without consultations with us and without adequate consideration of our interests.

30. Faced with this situation and firmly convinced that our economic destiny must be taken firmly in our own hands if noticeable improvement is to be achieved, African States solemnly proclaimed their determination to achieve the economic independence and development of the continent through the effective mobilization of Africa's own human and material resources. To this end, we decided to accelerate the implementation of the Africanization policy

² *Ibid.*, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.

³ *Ibid.*, Twenty-fifth Session, Plenary Meetings, 1845th meeting.

in each of our countries and to ensure effective and equitable African representation in international organizations.

31. Bearing in mind the loss which Africa has suffered and continues to sustain through the foreign exploitation of its natural resources, we resolved to defend vigorously, continually and jointly, the sovereign rights of our countries to exercise full and effective control over our resources.

32. We believe that the time has come for the rich in this Organization to ponder seriously on the danger of being surrounded by so many poor. In their own self interest, if not for the sake of humanity in general, the rich nations should at least give us an even chance of pulling ourselves up. It is no longer our intention to go cap in hand to the door of the rich. What we want and demand is the opportunity for our own people to be afforded a chance of acquiring those skills and those elements of technology without which no decent and progressive economic system can be structured and maintained in the modern world. We have learned that we cannot expect help, at least not of the order that would make a significant contribution to our own needs of development. But the older, more experienced and more technologically advanced countries can still do much to redeem the pledge they made to humanity and to this Organization by not putting impediments in our way, by making less selfish and lopsided marketing arrangements for our own produce and by facilitating our determination to utilize such resources as we have in the interest of our own peoples. I hope that this session of the General Assembly will approve a constructive idea which emerged from the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, namely, that a special session of the General Assembly devoted to economic matters should be held in 1975, when we shall be half way through the Second United Nations Development Decade.

33. I shall conclude my address by referring to the urgent and serious problem of the Middle East, an area with which Africa enjoys strong and deep ties.

34. As if the situation whereby about 2 million hapless refugees have been dispossessed of their homelands and virtually condemned to live out their lives in tents was not bad enough, the conditions of "no war, no peace" compound the problem. Since June 1967 parts of the territories of States Members of our Organization have remained under foreign occupation by another State Member of the United Nations. When the Security Council adopted its famous resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, it was widely accepted that the provisions of that resolution formed a balanced framework for an equitable and honourable solution to the crisis. It was the greatest hope for peace based on justice in that region. Not only has peace proved elusive; we are all witnesses to the unspeakable series of aggressions, heartless and mindless brutalities, harassments and massacres, not to speak of air piracies and hijackings, which dominate the news from the area. Needless to say, such conditions are a constant threat to world peace and security.

35. OAU has, in session after session, expressed great concern at the situation. We did even more. As will be

recalled, in 1971 a mission of four African Heads of State paid a visit to Egypt and Israel. It was a great honour and privilege for me to have been a member of that mission. Our objective was to see how best OAU, since one of its member nations was involved in the Middle East conflict, could contribute, even if in small measure, to the efforts of the United Nations and others towards a just and peaceful solution or, at any rate, the reduction of the tension of the explosive situation.

36. During its tenth session, held in Addis Ababa last May, OAU once again reviewed the seemingly intractable situation in the Middle East. It adopted a resolution and charged me, as its current Chairman, with the task of presenting its views to this Assembly.

37. Permit me, therefore, to read out the resolution which was unanimously adopted by the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government:

"The OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government, meeting in its Tenth Ordinary Session in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, from 27 to 29 May 1973,

"Having heard the statement of His Excellency El Shafei, Vice-President of the Arab Republic of Egypt, on the situation in the Middle East in general, and in particular on that resulting from the continued occupation of part of the territory of Egypt since the Israeli aggression of 5 June 1967,

"Recalling all OAU resolutions adopted in this respect, and especially resolution AHG/Res.67 (IX) of the Rabat Summit Conference,

"Reaffirming resolution 2949 (XXVII) of the United Nations General Assembly, passed in December 1972,

"Aware of the danger emanating from the deterioration of the situation in the North-East of Africa as a result of the continued aggression perpetrated against the territory of Egypt and other Arab territories—a danger which threatens the security, territorial integrity and unity of our continent,

"Noting with deep concern that despite the numerous resolutions of the OAU and the United Nations calling upon it to withdraw from all occupied African and Arab territories, Israel not only persists in refusing to implement resolutions, but also continues to practise a policy with a view to creating in the said territories a state of fait accompli aimed at serving its expansionist designs,

"Deploring the systematic obstruction by Israel of all the efforts exerted to reach a peaceful solution to the problem at both the international and African levels,

"Recalling in this respect the negative attitude of Israel towards the mission of the ten African Heads of State mandated by the OAU to work for the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967, which stipulated in particular withdrawal of Israeli forces from all the occupied territories, in conformity with the principle of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territories by force,

"Noting with satisfaction that the Arab Republic of Egypt has spared no effort to reach a just and durable solution of the problem, and that these efforts have been

characterized by the constructive co-operation of Egypt with international as well as African forums,

“Noting further that the intransigence of Israel and its systematic refusal to abide by the will of the international community constitutes a threat to the security of the continent,

“Fully aware that the massive military, economic and other aid as well as the political and moral support granted to Israel by certain Powers enable it to pursue its aggression and encourage it to commit acts of terrorism, especially the tragic act of shooting down the Libyan civilian aircraft, which resulted in the loss of innocent lives,

“1. Takes note of the statement of His Excellency H. El Shafei, Vice-President of the Arab Republic of Egypt;

“2. Strongly condemns the negative attitude of Israel, its acts of terrorism and its obstruction of all efforts aimed at a just and equitable solution of the problem in accordance with Security Council resolution 242 (1967) of 22 November 1967;

“3. Calls once more for the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Israeli forces from all occupied African and Arab territories;

“4. Declares that all changes effected by Israel in the occupied territories are null and void, and pledges not to recognize any changes leading to a fait accompli or likely to jeopardize the territorial integrity of the countries which are victims of the Israeli aggression;

“5. Recognizes that the respect of the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine is an essential element in any just and equitable solution, besides being an indispensable factor for the establishment of permanent peace in the region;

“6. Reaffirms in the name of African solidarity and by virtue of article II, paragraph 1 (c) of the OAU Charter its active and total support for the Arab Republic of Egypt in its legitimate struggle to recover entirely and by all means its territorial integrity;

“7. Draws the attention of Israel to the danger threatening the security and unity of the African continent as a result of its continued aggression and refusal to evacuate the territories of the States victims of that aggression and declares that the attitude of Israel might lead OAU member States to take, at the African level, individually or collectively, political and economic measures against it, in conformity with the principles contained in the OAU and United Nations Charters;

“8. Earnestly calls upon the big Powers supplying Israel with arms and military equipment of all kinds and granting it moral and political support that enables it to strengthen its military potential to refrain from doing so;

“9. Strongly supports the Egyptian initiative requesting the United Nations Secretary-General to report to the Security Council on the explosive situation prevailing in the Middle East, and expresses the hope that the Security Council shall take every appropriate measure to implement immediately the relevant resolutions adopted by the United Nations, so that a just and durable peace may be established in the region;

“10. Designates the Foreign Ministers of Nigeria, Chad, Tanzania, Guinea, Algeria, Kenya and the Sudan to be the spokesmen of the OAU on this matter at the Security Council of the United Nations on 4 and 5 June 1973;

“11. Entrusts the current Chairman of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government to present the views of the OAU on the matter at the next session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.”

There is the unanimous voice of Africa on this issue.

38. Since then, the six Foreign Ministers designated by the OAU Assembly of Heads of State and Government have participated in the Security Council meetings that were specifically convened at the instance of Egypt.⁴ The debate that ensued, though extensive, produced no results that could bring peace nearer to that region. OAU cannot condone a situation whose final determination can be decided only by the force of arms. We regard it as an intolerable provocation that part of Egypt, a member State, should continue to remain under armed occupation in spite of the unanimous expressions of international opinion against the acquisition of territory by force of arms.

39. Members of OAU desire peace in the Middle East—peace based on equity; peace that does not insist on acquisition of other people's territory as a pre-condition; peace that acknowledges the right of all nations in the area to exist in security; peace that places a premium on respect for cultural diversity; peace that upholds the dignity of man and draws sustenance from the principles enunciated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Charter of the United Nations. For all the inhabitants of the area have every right to expect that they should no longer be distracted from the urgent tasks of economic reconstruction and social development. They have every right to live in peace and to continue to contribute, as they have done in the past and in history, to the mainstream of human civilization. That is the Middle East that the people of Africa envisage and fervently desire to see.

40. This is my message. This is the solemn assignment entrusted to me by OAU.

41. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to thank His Excellency the Head of the Federal Military Government of Nigeria and President of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of OAU for the important statement that he was good enough to make to the Assembly.

AGENDA ITEM 3

Credentials of representatives to the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly (*continued*):*
(b) Report of the Credentials Committee

FIRST REPORT OF THE CREDENTIALS COMMITTEE
(A/9179)

42. Mr. KELANI (Syrian Arab Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Yesterday [2140th meeting] we all heard the

* Resumed from the 2117th meeting.

⁴ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-eighth Year*, 1717th, 1726th, 1728th, 1733rd and 1735th meetings.

representatives of the great African continent. The doubts they expressed on the validity of the credentials of the representatives of the South African régime cannot be disregarded. They affect the fundamental principles of the Charter itself. Juridical fictions and protocol ceremonies can in no way take precedence over the law. I could expatiate on this, but in a desire to co-operate with you, Mr. President, in the present circumstances of the General Assembly, I shall confine myself to presenting my delegation's amendment [A/L.700] to the report of the Credentials Committee [A/9179]. We would add, at the end of the report, the following sentence: "The General Assembly rejects the credentials of the representatives of South Africa." I would ask you, Sir, to put this amendment to the vote.

43. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Speaking as the Chairman of the group of African States, I second the amendment which has just been moved by the delegation of Syria.

44. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): In accordance with rules 90 and 92 of the rules of procedure, I shall now put to the vote the amendment submitted by the Syrian Arab Republic in document A/L.700. A recorded vote has been requested.

A recorded vote was taken.

In favour: Afghanistan, Albania, Algeria, Bahrain, Bulgaria, Burundi, Byelorussian Soviet Socialist Republic, Cameroon, Chad, China, Congo, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, Dahomey, Egypt, Equatorial Guinea, Ethiopia, Gabon, Gambia, German Democratic Republic, Ghana, Guinea, Guyana, Haiti, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Ivory Coast, Jamaica, Jordan, Kenya, Kuwait, Laos, Lebanon, Liberia, Libyan Arab Republic, Madagascar, Malaysia, Mali, Malta, Mauritania, Mauritius, Mongolia, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Oman, Pakistan, Panama, Poland, Qatar, Romania, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Sri Lanka, Sudan, Syrian Arab Republic, Togo, Trinidad and Tobago, Tunisia, Uganda, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Emirates, United Republic of Tanzania, Upper Volta, Yugoslavia, Zaire, Zambia.

Against: Australia, Austria, Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Colombia, Costa Rica, Denmark, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Finland, France, Germany (Federal Republic of), Greece, Guatemala, Iceland, Iran, Ireland, Israel, Italy, Japan, Luxembourg, Malawi, Mexico, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Norway, Portugal, South Africa, Spain, Sweden, Turkey, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Uruguay, Venezuela.

Abstaining: Argentina, Bahamas, Botswana, Burma, Ecuador, Fiji, Honduras, Nepal, New Zealand, Peru, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand.

The amendment was adopted by 72 votes to 37, with 13 abstentions.

45. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): In order to make the matter clearer, and as a result of prior consultations regarding the significance of this vote, I wish to make the following statement.

46. After having heard the arguments adduced in the course of the debate, and now that the General Assembly has adopted a decision regarding the amendment submitted to the first report of the Credentials Committee [A/9179], I have come to the same conclusion reached by my predecessors the Presidents of the twenty-fifth and twenty-sixth sessions of the General Assembly. Since it is not held that the credentials of South Africa are not in keeping with the terms of rule 27 of the rules of procedure, the vote that has just taken place is tantamount to a vehement condemnation of the policy followed by the Government of South Africa. It is a new solemn warning to that Government; but, apart from that, it does not affect the rights and privileges of South Africa as a Member of the Organization, including the right of the delegation of South Africa to participate in this General Assembly.

47. Mr. RAMPHUL (Mauritius): Mr. President, the representatives of the 41 African States, loyal Members of the United Nations, have listened very attentively to your learned views on, and interpretation of, the majority vote and its implications on the question of the credentials of some representatives wishing to participate in the work of our august Assembly. As Chairman of the African group I wish to assure you Sir, that is not—and I repeat: it is not—the intention of the African group to challenge the ruling or the personal interpretation of the President of this session of the General Assembly. However, I should be failing in my duty to serve the best interest of Africa were I not to place on record our intention to study the implications of your ruling and take any appropriate steps at a future stage.

48. The African group and OAU are today still more unified than ever. There is absolutely no division in the African group, and we speak with one voice. As Chairman of the African group, I should like to take this opportunity to apologize sincerely to all those representatives—except the representative of Mr. Vorster—who were listed to address the Assembly yesterday. I have no doubt that they will understand our position and that they will continue to give us their support.

49. I also thank all the non-African delegations which have given us their positive votes without hesitation. I thank you, Mr. President, for the great patience, co-operation, understanding and courtesy you so generously displayed and extended to me personally and to members of the Group throughout a painful but necessary exercise. My thanks go also to the Secretariat.

50. The moment the representative of Mr. Vorster is given the floor, members of the African group will walk out of this Assembly hall. Friends of Africa may wish to join us in our demonstration in a spirit of solidarity.

51. The PRESIDENT: (*interpretation from Spanish*): Since there has been no challenge to the decision of the President, that decision is reaffirmed.

52. I call now on the representative of Colombia, who wishes to explain his vote.

53. Mr. CADENA (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My country considers it necessary to make the following statement.

54. Colombia voted against the amendment to the report submitted by the representative of the Syrian Arab Republic because the Credentials Committee has only one mission, and that is to check the credentials issued by the Governments of Member States. A State Member of the United Nations enjoys the same rights which the Charter recognizes as appertaining to any other Member State.

55. That does not imply any doctrinary compromise by Colombia with the Government of South Africa regarding racial discrimination, which my country emphatically rejects as being contrary to the Charter and human rights. Traditionally Colombia has in its international policy opposed any and all racial discrimination as well as any violation of human rights, the observance of which we consider fundamental and basic for peace and justice in the world.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

56. Mr. MULLER (South Africa): This year the General Assembly once again looks to Latin America to provide a distinguished figure to preside over its proceedings. The honour, Sir, has fallen to you, and to your country. May I take this opportunity to congratulate you on your assumption of this high and responsible office, and also to express my confidence that our deliberations will be guided into constructive and productive channels with your experienced hand at the helm?

57. The membership of the United Nations at this moment stands at 135. This is a large membership when compared with the 51 States which signed the Charter as founder Members in 1945, of which my country was one. One of the objectives then, and in the intervening years, was to strive for universality in the Organization so that "We, the peoples," of the Organization could justifiably speak as "We, the peoples" of the world. That desirable objective has been brought a step nearer realization by the admission during the current Assembly session of three new Members—the Bahamas, the Federal Republic of Germany, and the German Democratic Republic—representing between them a considerable population and a diversity of cultural, social, historical and political backgrounds and philosophies.

58. The admission of the two Germanys is the fruit of a policy of détente actively pursued in Europe, and is a striking example of the fact that accommodation can be reached between parties with widely differing political persuasions and conflicting interests, provided that the will is there and the effort is conscientiously and patiently made. It is a lesson from which we can all profit for the lessening of hostility is conducive to the buttressing of peace, which is the *raison d'être* of this Organization.

59. The spirit of détente abroad was one of the main themes of the statements made in the general debate at last year's session of the General Assembly. The passage of time enables us to consider its consequences in better perspective and to take stock. Those countries which have adopted the course of détente appear to be consolidating their contacts and relationships to their mutual benefit and, in many ways, to the benefit of others. At the same time, some other Governments with seemingly irreconcilable differences

have begun to follow their lead and to open up a cautious dialogue with one another. This attitude is highly commendable and ought to be endorsed and conscientiously emulated by all of us, for the single, overriding imperative of international relations is international peace. This is a fact which should be borne in mind, particularly by smaller countries, for they, too, have a duty to work towards a relaxation of tension after the example set by the major Powers. It would be a tragedy if the world should move out from under the shadow of major-Power confrontation only to be faced with the threat of increasing conflicts of smaller scale. Such a tragedy must be averted by responsible leadership in this Organization, as well as by the individual efforts of each one of us.

60. In its external relations, South Africa, for its part, remains willing to pursue all avenues of contact and communication, with the object of relaxing tensions and creating conditions favourable for the solution of problems of concern to us. Where our efforts in this direction have been reciprocated the results have been encouraging. South Africa remains ready to enter into discussions with any country, on the African continent or elsewhere, which shares our approach, an approach rooted firmly in the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes. South Africa harbours no aggressive intentions against any country; hence our willingness to conclude non-aggression pacts with other States in Africa. Accusations that we have committed acts of aggression are totally unfounded. We are irrevocably opposed to the use of force and violence in international relations.

61. It is deplorable that force and violence in the form of indiscriminate attacks against innocent, uninvolved and unsuspecting individuals and groups should have become a characteristic of our times. Terrorism takes many forms, but a common component is the utter disregard by the perpetrators for established authority and their determination to subvert, and if possible destroy, constitutionally established law and order, both national and international. It is doubtful that the international law of sovereign States can survive in a meaningful way if the international community should fail to discharge its responsibilities to curb this evil. It is a source of concern to my Government that so little progress has been made on this urgent world problem in the *Ad Hoc* Committee on International Terrorism, which held its first session in July and August this year. My Government considers that the Assembly should urgently commence drafting a general convention on terrorism. We cannot afford to evade or to confuse the issue while terrorism is rampant.

62. If we, the international community, resolve that we shall settle our political differences without having recourse to force, if we renounce irresponsible methods of terror and violence, and if we continue to make progress in disarming a world bristling with lethal weapons, we can direct our energies and our resources to the solution of the world's other pressing problems, which are many. A number of these are problems of a non-political nature, and confront mankind as a whole. I suggest that the most basic problem of all, and one which encompasses a host of supplementary problems, is how in the future we shall balance the world's rapidly increasing population against our planet's dwindling resources, taking into account the rising economic and social

expectations of the very same people whose numbers are increasing at a phenomenal and unprecedented rate. We have, for example, already been given a disturbing reminder this year of the difficulties of providing everywhere the most elementary of man's needs: food. The spectre of famine was raised by the devastating drought in West Africa, and drought conditions, floods and other natural disasters elsewhere. Let me at once express South Africa's sympathy to those who have suffered as a result. These disasters and the consequential threat of famine should not be seen as isolated occurrences. They are a foretaste and a warning of the problems that will have to be dealt with in the future.

63. Another serious problem with which mankind will have to deal is the potential energy crisis. It is necessary that there be the closest co-operation between the developed and the developing nations in the consideration of this matter, for, after making due allowance for the need to protect the quality of our environment, energy is the key to the material improvement of man's estate. We are faced with the possible gross depletion of the total known reserves of all sources of energy if energy is in future consumed at the rate forecast today. It is, therefore, essential for all of us that the different energy-producing resources of the earth be rationally exploited in the interest of mankind as a whole.

64. Nuclear energy undoubtedly occupies a key position in supplying mankind's energy needs of the future. Nuclear power reactors which will supply only about 51,000 megawatts of electricity in 1976, are expected to contribute as much as 564,000 megawatts in 1985 and then to double their supply in the space of the next five years. In terms of total world requirements of electricity, nuclear energy is expected to supply 23 per cent by the year 2000 as compared with half of 1 per cent in 1970.

65. South Africa is one of the world's major producers of uranium. We possess large exploitable deposits of low-grade uranium and we provide a stable supply of a portion of the world's uranium on a competitive basis. At the present moment we are engaged in assessing our capability of supplying this nuclear fuel in an enriched form since enriched uranium is the fuel for most nuclear powered reactors.

66. Having said this, let me add that South Africa's atomic energy programme is devoted to peaceful purposes exclusively. It has always been our policy, and it remains our policy, to sell uranium only on condition that the uranium be made subject to International Atomic Energy Agency or equivalent safeguards to ensure that it is not diverted to military purposes. In the same spirit, the uranium enrichment project to which I have just referred will also be applied for peaceful purposes only. To that end, the South African Government proposes to negotiate, at the appropriate time, an agreement with the International Atomic Energy Agency for the application of safeguards to the enriched uranium produced by the project, so as to ensure that the product is used solely for peaceful purposes.

67. We believe that this development will not only herald a new era of industrial and economic growth in South Africa but will also enable us to make a contribution to the efforts of the international community to solve the potential world energy problem.

68. May I at this point digress to refer in a few words to the unfortunate events at Carletonville of which mention has been made in the course of the general debate. The tragic loss of life is deeply regretted. Sympathy with the next of kin was expressed by my Prime Minister and others immediately after the incident. A memorandum compiled by my Mission, in the course of reproduction as an official document,⁵ will place the matter in perspective. Meanwhile I would simply ask that judgement on the incident not be formed purely on the basis of emotion. What transpired at Carletonville will be determined by the judicial inquiry which has been instituted.

69. Turning now to the question of South West Africa, may I say at the outset that my Government has noted with regret the repeated calls of the Security Council to terminate the contacts between South Africa and the Secretary-General. Those contacts represent a voluntary attempt to use the facilities of the United Nations for the pursuit of a peaceful settlement of the problem. That is one of the primary purposes of this Organization. Yet the call is now apparently to bypass and to set aside the machinery which the United Nations offers for the peaceful settlement of problems. This must inevitably serve as an encouragement to those who advocate confrontation, force and violence as a means to an end in South West Africa. And that course is being advocated despite the fact that in the 14 months between March 1972 and April 1973 during which contacts were made, more real progress was achieved in the search for a solution to the problem in the United Nations context than in all the preceding years.

70. For the first time in the history of the Territory, directly as a result of the contacts, representatives of black, white and other groups from throughout the territory have been brought together around the table under the chairmanship of a Prime Minister of South Africa for the purpose of discussing and trying to resolve issues with Territory-wide implications. We consider that this is a significant and important development for, as my Prime Minister has declared, it is the inhabitants of South West Africa themselves who must decide their own future and not South Africa or the United Nations.

71. We for our part do not consider that we have the right to impose a settlement on the Territory and we do not believe that the United Nations has the right or indeed wishes to impose a settlement on its inhabitants. We shall respect their wishes.

72. We have indicated that any exercise to ascertain the wishes of the population will not be compromised by any existing political and administrative arrangements. And we have stated, with regard to the question whether individual population groups may suddenly become independent as separate entities, that we do not envisage such an eventuality. We expressed the latter position in dealing with a point raised by the Secretary-General whether the possibility could arise, in the light of South African legislation, that one or other of the population groups might acquire separate independence before the South West African people as a whole had exercised their right to self-determination.

⁵ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Year, Supplement for October, November and December 1973*, document S/11007.

73. We believe that all this, taken together with the other points set out in the South African statements reproduced in the Secretary-General's reports, constitutes progress in the real sense of the word. South Africa, for its part, is ready to engage in further contacts, for we believe that we ourselves as well as the United Nations should persevere in searching for a solution.

74. We realize that there are those who believe that progress has been too slow. On the other hand, they too should realize that this is a most complicated and intractable problem and that it cannot therefore be solved overnight. This is fully recognized by the Secretary-General, who stated in his report of 30 April of this year that:

“Should the Security Council decide to continue these efforts”,—that is, the contacts—“it should bear in mind my earlier statement to the effect that time and protracted discussion will be required if any progress is to be achieved.”⁶

75. South Africa's presence in the Territory is accounted for by the undertaking we have given to ensure that its inhabitants are able and ready to exercise their right to self-determination and independence. We have no designs whatsoever with respect to any part of South West Africa's territory. In the meanwhile, we believe we have a duty to continue to assist in the development of South West Africa in all spheres: economic, social and political. We derive no financial or economic advantage whatsoever from our presence in the Territory. Every cent which accrues from taxation levied on income derived within the Territory, including profits on foreign investments and operations in the Territory, is reinvested in South West Africa for the benefit of all its inhabitants. In addition, South African taxpayers contribute to the Territory's advancement on current account alone—that is, excluding payments to finance capital projects—funds which in the last few years have varied between \$60 million and \$80 million per annum. It will be appreciated that our resources are not unlimited. Moreover, we have responsibilities also to our own peoples in South Africa, where there is an increasing need for funds for development purposes. Nevertheless, we make this contribution to South West Africa in the genuine belief that it is our duty to do so.

76. One cannot of course forecast the outcome of the Security Council's consideration of the Secretary-General's latest report. We recognize that the gap separating us, although narrower than it has ever been as a result of our contacts with the Secretary-General, still exists. But we would hope that the Council and this Organization as a whole will be guided by the imperative need for peaceful evolution by consent of those directly concerned, namely, the inhabitants of South West Africa, both black and white. We believe it is crucial that all the segments of the population of South West Africa should be enabled to get together to sort out their problems and to resolve them to their own satisfaction, in a manner consistent with the peaceful objectives of the Charter.

77. As I have indicated, a start has already been made in this direction. We have also been encouraged in this regard,

⁶ *Ibid.*, Supplement for April, May and June 1973, document S/10921, para. 19.

by a series of discussions which have recently taken place and which are continuing between representatives of the white group in South West Africa and representatives of such groups as the Hereros, the Namas and the Damaras as well as of the organization known as the Voice of the People. The latter representatives are among those who are known to be opposed to the South African Government. Nevertheless, they have all in the course of these discussions expressed themselves as favouring dialogue in South West Africa and as being opposed to violence as a means to an end. As an example of these discussions, I may mention that Mr. Clemens Kapuuo of the Hereros and Mr. D. F. Mudge, a member of the Executive Council for South West Africa, met in Windhoek on 24 September. In a joint statement issued shortly thereafter, they declared that they were both in favour of contact and dialogue as a method of solving the problems of South West Africa and that they rejected violence. In the course of their discussions, according to the statement, they exchanged views on matters relating to South West Africa in general. It was clear, the statement added, that both of them wished to promote the interests of their respective peoples and of the peoples of South West Africa as a whole. Further meetings of this nature are envisaged.

78. These meetings of individuals of differing views and attitudes are an indication of the desire of the inhabitants of the Territory to involve themselves jointly and directly in the future evolution of South West Africa, and we hope that they will receive encouragement to seek progress in this way. We for our part will afford them every encouragement.

79. In this world of continual change, we recognize and accept the need for change also in areas of our own responsibility. Our policies are anything but rigid or static. My Prime Minister has stated in Parliament that the South African Government is a Government of change, and that it will continue to bring about change in a systematic and orderly way as warranted by changing circumstances and changing requirements. But we believe in change by evolution, not by violence. This is why we attach special importance to the consultations which are continually in progress between the Government and the leaders of the black and other peoples in South Africa.

80. We have stated on many occasions that our policies provide for the different black nations in South Africa to achieve self-government in the geographic areas of their jurisdiction and to advance to complete sovereignty and independence in the sense in which this concept is generally understood. In other words, each of them would qualify for membership in this Organization. They are aware that they can negotiate their independence, in the full sense of the word, with the South African Government at any moment of their choice, as the South African Prime Minister has repeatedly stated.

81. Eight black nations, totalling more than 14 million people, have already achieved self-government in varying degrees. Six of them have their own Parliament, their own Cabinet and Prime Minister, the latter answerable to their Parliament. The two other black nations, including the 4 million Zulus, have Legislative Assemblies, with executive power vested in an Executive Council. During the course of

the last two years, five elections have been successfully held to elect members of these Parliaments. A sixth election is still to be held.

82. Arising from this political progress, the South African Government and the Prime Ministers and other leaders of all the various nations are continually in dialogue with each other. Frequent contacts take place at all levels from the Prime Minister downwards and in the private as well as the public sector. In fact, my Prime Minister has, during the seven years of his premiership, held more official discussions with the leaders of these nations than have all his predecessors together. Many of these leaders, moreover, travel abroad and state their positions publicly. Their opinions on matters of detail falling within the over-all objectives of South African policy do not always coincide with the opinions of the South African Government—but it is their prerogative and duty to put the position of their peoples as they see it. The South African Government regards these contacts and discussions as essential for the promotion of peaceful evolution.

83. One of our concerns, in this evolutionary process, is the question of human dignity. The South African Government is fully conscious of the importance of recognition and acceptance of the human dignity of the individual, and my Prime Minister has publicly stressed the central position it must take in future political developments in South Africa. Earlier this year in Parliament he said he was at all times prepared to do away with unnecessary measures if these measures stood in the way of healthy relations in South Africa.

84. There is nothing which exercises the minds of South Africans more than the solution of our own special political problems. It is after all our future we are building and it is our security that is at stake.

85. We ask the international community to respect our desire to resolve our problems without interference. Let me repeat, however, that we are at all times ready to enter into discussions concerning our internal policies with anyone who is genuinely interested therein. But in the final analysis, it is we ourselves who must solve our problems and solve them we must and shall, whatever the sacrifice, if we are to continue to live in peace and prosperity in South Africa.

86. This brings me to the end of my prepared statement. Before resuming my seat, may I refer briefly to the efforts made to prevent me from addressing the Assembly. I do not intend to deal with the accusations levelled against my Government in the course of these efforts, for they are irrelevant to the issues before the Assembly. I must, however, totally reject them.

87. We have witnessed here an attempt to violate the principle of freedom of speech and expression in this august Assembly. It was an attempt to deprive the representative of a Member State of his inherent right to participate in the proceedings of the General Assembly and to state the case of his country. If it had succeeded it would have put the clock back 2,000 years. For it was the Romans who introduced the concept *audi alteram partem*: listen to the other party, a principle which has survived for over 20 centuries

and is still observed and cherished in all civilized societies. The actions of some representatives were unworthy of the dignity and the status of this Assembly.

88. Moreover, far from humiliating me and my country, they have succeeded only in furnishing proof of the length to which they will go to undermine a principle which forms one of the main corner-stones of the United Nations and without which it cannot survive.

89. Finally, in view of what has happened here I must place on record my strongest possible objection to the unprecedented, illegal and unconstitutional action by the General Assembly concerning South Africa's credentials. My Government views it in the most serious light indeed.

90. Mr. AL-THANI (Qatar):⁷ Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to extend to you my warm congratulations on the trust bestowed upon you by the General Assembly through your election as President of the twenty-eighth session.

91. I should also like to join my colleagues who paid a tribute to your predecessor, who, by his impartiality in exercising his responsibilities and his tactfulness in steering the discussions, has added further respect and dignity to this noble post. Wishing you, Sir, the best of success in the execution of your high mission, I should also like to welcome the new States which were admitted as Members of our world Organization at this session. I hope that their presence with us will have a positive influence on the strengthening of international peace and co-operation.

92. This is our twenty-eighth annual session, and it once again confronts us with an increasing number of international issues and problems, for which we hope the Organization will find practical and positive solutions that befit the Organization's role and the sublime values embodied in its Charter. Despite the fact that my country is a relatively new Member which has only lately begun participating in the work of the United Nations, its deep faith in the Organization's principles and Charter has been from the very beginning identical with its faith in a future dominated by a spirit of peace and in an international community whose relationships are governed by justice and mutual understanding. We still have in mind the glorious image of the international Organization which was set up after the bitter years of destruction, murder and horror which cast their dark shadows over the world during the Second World War, in the hope that it might put an end to wars and grant mankind its right to dignity and freedom and relieve it from oppression, aggression and exploitation.

93. More than a quarter of a century has now elapsed since the establishment of the United Nations. During this time we have discussed many issues and adopted many resolutions and this hall has heard hundreds of speakers. Words like "peace", "justice", "international security", "peoples' right to self-determination" have resounded in each resolution. Nevertheless, we still ask ourselves whether we have accomplished within the framework of this Organization and in the light of its Charter a part of the role for

⁷ Mr. Al-Thani spoke in Arabic. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

which the Organization was established. Has peace been established? And have all signs of war which should have been eliminated when our predecessors signed the United Nations Charter actually vanished?

94. We are not here to spread pessimism; but war, aggression and exploitation in all forms are still allowed to devastate the lives of human communities in Asia and Africa and to cast their ugly shadows on the whole world. Should we continue, none the less, repeating the words "peace", "justice" and "peoples' right to self-determination" without allowing the international community to enjoy these privileges in reality when we would destroy the world's dearest hope and allow this Organization to dwindle into impotence and bankruptcy?

95. We notice with great relief the end of war in South-East Asia, as it is high time for that region to enjoy real peace. We welcome the détente which has reflected its effects on the situation in Europe and Asia, resulting in positive progress in economic relations and in conferences held for disarmament and European security. Yet there is one region in the world which still maintains a state of permanent tensions; there is one issue which has been allowed to remain on the agenda of this Assembly since 1948 and one specific subject which is continuously debated in the Security Council without being allowed to benefit from the relaxation of international tension or the prevalent optimistic spirit.

Mr. Al-Pachachi (United Arab Emirates), Vice-President, took the Chair.

96. The situation in the Middle East has been and still is a chronic problem for the United Nations. It has become an impediment on the road to peace, despite the recommendations issued by this Assembly and the resolutions adopted by the Security Council. I need not reiterate here those recommendations and decisions, but I am sure that most of them include clear condemnations of Israel. It is a strange irony that Israel should be the object of the greatest number of convictions issued by this Organization, which created Israel, because it still maintains its occupation of the territories of three Arab States, denies a whole nation the right of self-determination and, moreover, strives to disperse it and to liquidate its national entity and human structure.

97. A Member State, whose representative sits with us in this hall, constantly declares that it will annex by force the territories of three other Member States; that it will defy the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly prohibiting it from changing the characteristics of Jerusalem and thereby violate the sanctity of the Holy Places and challenge the feelings of both Moslems and Christians all over the world. Israel has announced its refusal to receive a three-member Committee of the United Nations delegated by the Council to investigate Israel's violations of human rights in the occupied territories.³ It has shamelessly admitted that it committed attacks on civil airliners and that it would continue such attacks in the future. To sum up, Israel declares that it will challenge any such decision adopted by this Organization which does not bless its aggressive expansionist policies.

³ Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Population of the Occupied Territories.

98. The State of Qatar voted for General Assembly resolution 3034 (XXVII), asserting its faith that terrorism and aggression still threaten the security and stability of nations. If the constant aggression of Israel against three Arab Member States and its liquidation of the Palestinian people is not to be branded as terrorism, then what is terrorism?

99. Israel, like other imperialist and racist States in Africa, endeavours to mislead the world concerning its policy based on terrorism and belligerency by trying to depict movements for national liberation as if they were an exercise in terrorism while in fact certain means of struggle carried out by the above-mentioned movements are merely aimed at directing world attention to the justice of their causes. In contrast, a State Member of this Organization which undertakes to explode some civil aircraft in the air and hijack others, to assassinate individuals and communities and to uproot millions of people from their fatherland or subject them to the most vicious forms of repression inside their occupied and usurped homeland, a State whose whole conduct is dominated by terrorism and a fierce demeanour, is actually the party which deserves denunciation, conviction and punishment.

100. My Government, while submitting these facts to the Assembly, declares that the time has come for this Organization to take positive and effective measures that would secure the cessation of acts of aggression committed by Israel against States Members of this Organization and effect its withdrawal from Arab lands that it has occupied by force, guarantee the Palestinian people's right to self-determination and put an end to the Judaization of Jerusalem and the defacing of its historical landmarks and aggression on the properties and freedom of citizens in the occupied territories.

101. While we duly esteem the great role played by Ambassador Gunnar Jarring, the Special Representative of the Secretary-General to the Middle East, in his attempts to work out a peaceful solution to the problem, we deplore Israel's obstruction of his mission and its non-co-operative attitude towards him. Meanwhile, we appreciate the good offices of the Secretary-General during his last tour of the region, which Israel attempted to render void of any practical sense, thus challenging Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

102. In this connexion I should like to express, on behalf of my country, our great thanks and gratitude to President Mōbutu of the Republic of Zaire for his deep and wise understanding and support of the vital Arab cause, especially of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian Arabs, hoping and wishing for more Arab-African solidarity in the crucial issues that concern the African and the Arab worlds.

103. The small, non-aligned States are the real beneficiaries of peace. Hence, on the basis of this realistic evaluation my Government supports the non-aligned countries and upholds the resolutions adopted at the recent auspicious Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973, and at previous conferences.

104. My Government also maintains a similar attitude towards OAU and welcomes its decisions. Africa still

suffers from the exploitation, aggression and attrition exercised by Portuguese colonialism in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau. Millions of Africans still moan under the yoke of imperialist rule imposed by colonialists in Rhodesia and South Africa.

105. The non-aligned countries members of OAU are States that work for peace. Would the world Organization, then, turn a cold shoulder to their legitimate aspirations and positive yearning for peace, justice and freedom?

106. My Government feels that the policy of nuclear armaments and their proliferation still poses a direct threat to humanity and, consequently, we deem it extremely necessary that a conference for nuclear disarmament should be accorded serious attention and care so that it may finally become possible to arrive at the stage of substantive negotiations on universal disarmament. Hence, my Government highly commends the General Assembly's wise resolution declaring the Indian Ocean a zone of peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*]. As a State directly concerned with this resolution, we hope that it will be implemented at the earliest possible opportunity.

107. Our appreciation of the important role of the United Nations in fields of development makes us feel that the

world community has to exert utmost efforts to create stronger and more meaningful ties between developing and developed countries and to establish close and equitable co-operation between them. Commendable as they are, the efforts exerted by the United Nations Development Programme, the United Nations Industrial Development Organization and the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development are still below the level requisite for bridging the gap between the developing and the developed nations. This gap will further widen and endanger world peace unless the United Nations seeks fresh horizons and takes larger steps in urging developed nations to redouble their assistance to developing countries with a view to enabling them to surmount backwardness and to bring about a balance between the prices of raw materials and industrial products.

108. Finally, the State of Qatar hopes that this session will be more successful in realizing the aspirations of the peoples of the world for peace, freedom and justice, and in ensuring a prompter implementation of United Nations resolutions and enforcement of the principles of its Charter.

The meeting rose at 1.10 p.m.