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**President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
(Algeria).**

**Address by Mr. E. G. Whitlam,
Prime Minister of Australia**

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): This afternoon the General Assembly will hear a statement by the Prime Minister of Australia, and it is now my great pleasure to welcome His Excellency Mr. Whitlam.

2. Mr. WHITLAM (Prime Minister of Australia): Mr. President, in this year in which Australia has established diplomatic relations with Algeria, it gives me particular pleasure, as head of the Australian Government, to congratulate you upon your election as President of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The Algerian experience has encompassed many of the greatest problems facing the world and the Organization today. Sir, your nation's experience—and your own—ensure distinction and significance to your occupancy of this high post.

3. As head of the first Australian social democratic Government since Australia helped to found the United Nations and to frame its Charter more than a quarter of a century ago, I reaffirm our loyalty to both. Such pledges are easily enough given; yet no nation makes them more sincerely, more earnestly today, than Australia.

4. No country more than Australia needs the fulfilment of the international objectives of the United Nations to reach the fulfilment of her own national objectives. There are few countries in which the paradox is demonstrated with such force that true national independence depends upon international interdependence. There are few nations to which the mirage of national self-sufficiency can be made so tempting; yet there are few nations for which that mirage can be so easily dispelled. Australia, fortunate in possession of great resources, confident in the ability of its own people to develop those re-

sources, is nevertheless not ashamed to admit its interdependence with its neighbours and its partners across the world and its dependence upon them. We are a people without illusions; we Australians neither falsely exaggerate our strengths nor fearfully exaggerate our weaknesses. It is precisely because we make a rational assessment of our strengths and weaknesses that we recognize that we depend upon a better international order to preserve those things we most value about our national independence. In seeking a better international order, we give primacy to the United Nations.

5. It is therefore with growing concern that we witness what can only be called a drift away from international order and international co-operation at present occurring in world affairs. Australia's concern springs not just from the real difficulties created by recent events but, even more, from the feeling that there has been a weakening of will, a loss of momentum, in international determination to meet and overcome those difficulties.

6. Great hopes were born two years ago. The Australian Government whole-heartedly endorsed the movement towards *détente* between the United States and the Soviet Union. We whole-heartedly supported China's return to her true place in the family of nations—in the Organization and in the world. We whole-heartedly endorsed the Agreement on Ending the War and Restoring Peace in Viet Nam, signed in Paris on 27 January 1973. We therefore ratified the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], moved our China Embassy from Taipei to Peking, and ended our own military involvement in Indo-China.

7. Above all, we have been determined to do all we can to ensure that our region and the world should not for a second time lose the opportunity for a new settlement, a new step towards peace and progress, in the way that the chance was thrown away after the war in Korea and after the Geneva meetings in 1954. Yet we have to acknowledge that the hopes springing from the remarkable events of 1971 and 1972 are beginning to sour. There is increasingly a sense of drift, a sense of events out of control. The task of this Assembly should be to help to stop that drift. Our natural preoccupation with our national problems—and for most of us they are very great indeed—must not lead to a loss of international concern and involvement.

8. We cannot turn inwards. Even the most immediate problems of domestic worry—such as inflation, which so many of us share, the strongest, the most highly developed along with the weakest and the least developed—are in essence international problems for which there can be no ultimate, no complete national solution without an international solution. No nation, no group of nations, no bloc, no alliance, can live

alone, can live entirely to itself in this new world. We are all internationalists now—by necessity. Australia is internationalist by necessity and by choice. Each of us has our bilateral arrangements and our regional arrangements. Many, like Australia, through treaty or trade or tradition, have honourable alignments and valuable associations.

9. It is, however, through this Organization, its Assembly and its councils and through the specialized agencies that the enduring international settlements must ultimately be sought and the drift away from international co-operation must be arrested. So there must be no loss of nerve, no loss of will here. If we here lose our nerve, if we here allow that drift to continue unchecked, we face the break-down of the nuclear non-proliferation Treaty, the break-down of world economic order, the break-down of all our high hopes and high words about closing the gap between the developed and the developing nations and the break-down of any claims of the United Nations to be an effective peace-keeper and peace-maker. We should all stand guilty of betrayal of our peoples if we did not act now to stop the drift in these matters.

10. The special obligations which the might of the super-Powers imposes upon them should not be made an excuse for indifference or indecision on the part of the rest of us. We continue to urge upon the super-Powers the need for them both to maintain the utmost mutual restraint in their relations between themselves and towards us. They can, of course, easily destroy each other; they can also destroy all of us. We are entitled to ask them to move forward to a stage of complete *détente* where their tremendous power can be used jointly for the betterment of the whole civilization. We are entitled to insist upon restraint in their deployment of forces overseas, in areas such as the Indian Ocean. Australia is strongly opposed to the Indian Ocean becoming a ground for competition, much less confrontation, between the great Powers.

11. Mutual restraint is also essential to prevent the excesses and the dangers of the nuclear arms race. Let me recall that those of us who are so far parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons have given the nuclear Powers certain rights; they in turn have accepted certain responsibilities and given guarantees, as part of a two-way process. We undertook not to develop nuclear weapons in return for guarantees of protection and assistance in the development of nuclear knowledge for peace. Above all, the sponsoring Powers undertook to promote and maintain a world order based upon comprehensive disarmament. Unless these obligations are sincerely fulfilled, the incentive abroad and the pressure at home for more and more nations to get nuclear weapons will increase. A co-operative effort by all leaders must find effective means of halting the arms race and preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons. There is nothing more urgent facing any of us today.

12. Australia therefore sees with deepest anxiety the continuing and new testing of nuclear devices, the prospect of an ever-increasing number of nations possessing nuclear weapons and an even greater number possessing the capability of exploding nuclear devices. Where it has been open to Australia,

we have expressed our concern in action before the International Court of Justice.

13. All of us face a nightmare world in which as many as 15 or 20 nations may possess nuclear weapons by the early 1980s. There is time to prevent it. We have perhaps about a year, two years at the most, in which to prevent it. Now is the time; it may be our last chance. For our part, the Australian Government pledges that it will neither develop nor acquire nuclear weapons.

14. Our first aim must be to strengthen the non-proliferation Treaty and to work for its acceptance everywhere. Real and rapid progress can best be made through that Treaty. We should build on what we have. We have not time to start all over again. Six years after it was concluded and more than four years after it came into force, some States have still to ratify the Treaty or to make clear their renunciation of nuclear weapons development. Certainly we understand the difficulties the Treaty presents to some nations. We understand their reservations. We acknowledge the discriminatory aspects of the Treaty as it now stands. We would hope that the forthcoming conference to review the Treaty will remove some of these difficulties, but the conference will be more successful and meaningful if more nations ratify the Treaty and work within its framework to improve it and to apply it.

15. Secondly, we should make a comprehensive treaty to ban nuclear-weapons testing an urgent priority. The treaties which have been concluded and the resolutions which have been adopted are important achievements, but they have not gone far enough towards stopping the nuclear arms race. They are only steps towards universal and comprehensive agreement on nuclear-weapons testing. We must complete the journey.

16. Thirdly, we need effective international arrangements to govern and to control nuclear experiments for peaceful purposes. We all recognize the promise which scientific collaboration on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy holds for economic development in the interests of all mankind. But the world cannot afford the risks which lie in the prospects of increasing numbers of countries possessing nuclear devices—even if they profess to have them for peaceful purposes only. We cannot shrug off nuclear explosions which present us with such a threat, particularly explosions conducted outside existing safeguards and without international inspection. Australia seeks support for an international arrangement by which all States could gain access to nuclear explosive services for peaceful purposes under agreed and secure international controls. We urge all nuclear States to co-operate in establishing such a service, preferably under the auspices of IAEA. I join with the Foreign Minister of Canada in this call [2242nd meeting].

17. Another approach to the goal of disarmament worth serious exploration is the concept of peace zones. Such zones are of course no substitute for comprehensive disarmament and no substitute for an effective non-proliferation Treaty. Australia, however, takes a particular interest in the agreements and proposals embodying this concept, because most of them directly affect our continent and our region. The Antarctic Treaty,¹ the Declaration of the Indian Ocean

as a zone of peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], the ASEAN Declaration,² the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America (Treaty of Tlatelolco)³ and the proposal by Iran for a nuclear-weapon-free zone in the Middle East [A/9693] all move in the right direction. They command Australia's broad support since they assert the dangers inherent in an uncontrolled, unregulated use of our planet for the deployment of nuclear weapons; they seek to limit the development, emplacement and use of nuclear weapons in the areas and environments they cover; they all express growing anxiety about the spread of nuclear weapons; they all seek paths towards reducing tensions among the nuclear Powers. For the Australian Government, these initiatives not only represent ends in themselves but, we believe, they serve to stimulate progress on other important measures intended to bring to fulfilment the hopes of mankind to live in security, free from the threat of nuclear war.

18. Let me say that Australia's anxiety about the nuclear arms race does not blind us to the risks to international peace and security from localized conflicts using conventional weapons. We, the members of the international community, stand condemned for our failure so far to find the sense of responsibility and the means of authority to stop regional disputes being settled by force. It is equally bad that some members of the international community have made possible—for profit—massive recourse to arms and to the means of waging wars about to start or wars already begun. A world order that permits, or that by default sanctions, the large-scale transfer of weapons from one country to another where the risk of conflict is high, is gravely at fault and very foolish. This short-circuits the process of peaceful negotiation and gives first place to the settlement of disputes by war, by bloodshed and, as always happens—and must always happen in modern wars—by the bloodshed of the innocent.

19. Clearly, we still have far to go before the international community will agree collectively to forsake the short-term gains on arms sales abroad in return for the longer-term but less tangible benefits that such a self-denying ordinance would confer on the weapons producers. Nevertheless, we now ask that the major weapons-producing countries should set an example by imposing the strictest restrictions on the export of arms abroad to areas where there is a clear risk of conflict.

20. Recent events have shown that the preservation of peace is more than a matter of arms control; it is also a matter of keeping the peace when violence threatens or occurs. It is not enough for Members of the United Nations to pay lip-service to the United Nations peace-keeping role. Individual Members have the duty to provide the material and financial resources to allow the United Nations to deal with threats to security, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression.

21. Australia stands ready to participate in peace-keeping operations in whatever way would be most useful. Australia is, of course, allied by treaty with the United States, and we make no apologies for that. There is, however, no area of actual or potential conflict anywhere in the world where loyalties, ideology or interests should make an Australian involvement

in peace-keeping unacceptable or unwelcome. We wish Australia to be always among the first nations of which the United Nations would ask peace-keeping forces. We shall be among the first to respond. We undertake to keep the Secretary-General regularly informed of the nature and size of the contributions we are able to provide over a given period.

22. Australia further believes that the importance of preventive diplomacy must come to be more widely recognized and accepted, and that the ample provisions offered by this Organization for peace-keeping and good offices should be reinvigorated, explored more thoroughly and exploited more thoroughly. It is time, therefore, to look again at the hitherto untapped provisions of the United Nations Charter and to make all that we can of its capacity to provide useful contributions to such activities as fact-finding, conciliation, mediation and negotiation.

23. We here should particularly devote increased attention to the role of the International Court of Justice. Not enough nations use the Court. Members of the international community cannot be compelled to take their cases before the Court, but we should strive to build confidence in the Court's worth, its wisdom and its workability as one way of rationalizing and harmonizing international relations. If the rule of international law and justice is to prevail, then an international tribunal is indispensable. The Court's jurisdiction should be widened. Jurisdiction should become compulsory and universal. New multilateral treaty arrangements, like that which will emerge from the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, should enforce compulsory settlement of disputes, with the International Court as the final court of appeal. By such steps the rule of law can be established and strengthened in a better world order.

24. In this difficult, complicated, crowded world we are all creating for ourselves, the causes of conflict multiply. Nuclear brinkmanship, ideology, border disputes, race hatred, religious bigotry, national ambitions, foreign exploitation—all provide actual or potential sources of tension, conflict, bloodshed and war. Yet there remains for the future one of the oldest of all causes of war—the threat of war for the possession of resources. Huge population increases, the revolution of rising expectations, the enormous and often wasteful demands our technological civilization makes upon the world's resources—all have increased the pressures on our world civilization to the very limit of the tolerable.

25. For countries which lack resources, the situation has become critical. The developing countries have been grossly disadvantaged. Last year's oil crisis brought that sharply home to all of us, developed and developing alike.

26. It is proper that in this world forum I should state the Australian Government's attitude to the use and development of Australia's own very considerable resources. There is no place in our thinking for economic nationalism in its crudest sense. We do, of course, wish to ensure steady markets at fair prices for what we produce. We recognize the great scope for increased co-operation between producers of raw materials and for groups of exporting countries to associate to build a better framework for orderly and

rational development of production and trade. As a relatively developed and thriving nation whose production of many resources is also shared by developing and poorer nations, Australia recognizes its duty to co-operate with such nations in obtaining a fair and reasonable return for our products, and we are co-operating. Equally, however, we in Australia accept our responsibility to reassure countries which depend upon our resources that they shall have steady, secure access to those resources at fair prices. We must protect our interests, and we shall, but Australia is not in the business of resources blackmail. That is the way to international disaster, for producers and users alike.

27. Let us accept the plain fact that war for resources or food or markets carried on by any nation or group of nations would in modern times represent the supreme folly. There is no war, nuclear or conventional, by which the victor, so called—assuming there is one—could conceivably win back by war the resources used and destroyed in waging it. If we choose not to listen to the voice of humanity against war, we might at least listen to the voice of common sense and, indeed, ordinary, rational self-interest.

28. As a major food producer, Australia is particularly interested in the proposals on food which President Ford [2234th meeting] and Secretary of State Kissinger [2238th meeting] made at this session. Australia undertakes to work constructively and co-operatively towards the implementation of those proposals. Suggestions such as the establishment of an international system of grain reserves are thoroughly commendable, and they deserve our most serious attention.

29. Of all the changes that have occurred in the international community since the Second World War, none has more profoundly altered the face of the world than the accession to independence by those peoples and States formerly under colonial rule. The process is not yet complete, but we look to a time in the near future when no territory will be controlled against its choice by a metropolitan Power with which it has no geographical, social, racial or cultural affinity. In that regard, we particularly welcome decisions by Portugal about its colonies.

30. Australia has acted with determination and vigour to apply the relevant Articles of the Charter. Papua New Guinea became self-governing on 1 December 1973. It will become fully independent as soon as the House of Assembly of Papua New Guinea decides. We expect that decision soon. Let me emphasize that the decision we await is that of the House of Assembly. The Australian Government made its own decision long ago: we utterly reject a colonial role for Australia. Meanwhile, the Australian Government deals with the Government of Papua New Guinea in all significant respects as that of a nation already independent.

31. There is to me, I must say, a most satisfying symmetry in the march of events by which Portugal, the oldest, and Australia, the newest of the colonial Powers, are acting at the same time towards the liquidation of colonialism. Across the distance of more than four centuries the new world in Australia clasps hands with the old in ending a false, demeaning, unworthy power over others.

32. The dramatic and welcome progress made towards the dissolution of the oldest and last of the colonial empires now enables the United Nations to direct even more concentrated attention upon its twin evil, that of racism, particularly in its post-colonial manifestations in southern Africa. We must be unremitting in the efforts sanctioned by the Assembly to break the illegal régime in Rhodesia—Zimbabwe—to end South Africa's unlawful control over Namibia and to end *apartheid*. We should all make determined efforts to see that the momentum which launched the Decade for Action to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination is not lost. My Government, conscious that Australia's own record is seriously flawed, is determined to remove all forms of racial discrimination within our own shores—notably now as notoriously in the past, against our own aboriginals.

33. While racism remains as cruel as any example of man's inhumanity to man, we should not, however, overlook the existence of other forms of discrimination which rob men and women of their right to live in dignity and peace of mind. Throughout the world, political prisoners languish in gaols or are otherwise deprived of their civil liberties. There are thoroughly unacceptable constraints on the right of political asylum. Religious and ethnic minorities are persecuted, workers are denied the protection of conventions of ILO and women are denied equal opportunities. Even in the General Assembly women are scarcely equally represented. The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Willesee, will during the discussion be submitting Australia's views and proposals on these matters.

34. There has never been a time in human history when the truth of the oneness, the indivisibility, of humanity has been so manifest. It is no longer only a philosophical or religious proposition, but an assertion of sheer reason and commanding common sense. All the momentous recent developments have profound implications for the future conduct of international relations, since they have one common theme: the interdependence of us all. That interdependence is now almost total.

35. An attempt by any State to bring about political or economic change in another through unconstitutional, clandestine, corrupt methods, by assassination or terrorism, undermines the rule of international law, encourages adventurism and anarchy, endangers world peace, and turns quite quickly against even the most powerful nations that would seek to advance their cause by such methods.

36. The wilful erection of trade barriers by one State or group of States without regard to the hardship caused to others can create economic dislocation around the world by curtailing or closing export markets to which their industries have become geared and on which their foreign exchange earnings depend.

37. A refusal to recognize the inalienable rights of all peoples to freedom and independence produces tension and conflict, not only between the oppressed and the oppressors, but between them and other nations which become associated or involved in these just and legitimate struggles.

38. Now more than ever we look to the United Nations. It has the experience, the stature and the capac-

ity to help us identify the sources of tension between nations, to prescribe collective measures to mitigate and eventually to remove the causes of conflict, and to anticipate and prevent situations developing that have the potential for disturbing world peace.

39. It is claimed that the world is now short of leadership. It is truer to say that the nature, complexity and universality of the problems rushing in upon us render irrelevant and obsolete that concept of world leadership whereby a handful of powerful men in charge of the most powerful nations can chart the course for the rest of us to follow. So the challenge for the United Nations to provide a genuine and continuing source of leadership, of hope and purpose for the world is more urgent, the opportunity more real, than at any time in the history of the Organization. In the response we make here to that challenge, we shall be judged—as nations, as representatives of our nations, and as men and women—not by our power or size or wealth but by the honesty of our efforts to promote and to practise the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

40. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the Prime Minister of Australia, Mr. Whitlam, for the important statement he has just made.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)*

41. Mr. RAMPHAL (Guyana): It is in no mere subservience to tradition that my first words in the general debate of the twenty-ninth session should be of gratitude to the President of the twenty-eighth session, our good friend Mr. Benites of Ecuador, and of congratulations and salutations to you, Sir, on assuming the presidency of the Assembly.

42. To Mr. Benites, of our own region of Latin America, we are twice indebted for the wisdom, the calm and the mature experience that guided us through the special session as skilfully and as safely as they had guaranteed our passage through the twenty-eighth session.

43. And our congratulations to you, Mr. President, are enhanced by the special pride and satisfaction reserved for rejoicing in a kinsman's triumph; for have we not worked with you as comrades over many years in the councils of the non-aligned movement and in the several consultations which have brought us together in the causes of the Third World? It is reassuring that, in sealing your presidency with unanimous acclaim, the Assembly should have demonstrated the capacity and the resolve to be itself infused with that spirit of dynamism which today so pervades the environment of the international community, and of which you yourself, Sir, are so much a symbol.

44. And as we welcome your election, so we rejoice in the admission to membership of the three new States—Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau—for each of which the people of Guyana reserves a special sentiment: for Bangladesh, with which we watched through the travail of birth and with which we work in the fellowship of the Commonwealth;

for Grenada, with which we have shared 300 years of the unique West Indian experience—an experience of European wars of possession, of slavery, of indenture and the plantation system, of a protracted colonialism and the struggle for social, economic and political justice, of the steady growth of identity and of the structures of regional unity—and with which, out of that varied past, we share now the expectation of a long future of working together in the fraternity of our Caribbean community as we seek to build just, progressive and free societies; and for Guinea-Bissau, with whose yearnings for liberation we identified, though a continent away, and in whose success in the struggle we exulted as a beginning of the crumbling of the remnant ramparts of colonialism and oppression in Africa. Each in its different way, Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, represents a further victory for the hallowed crusade of self-determination, a crusade whose foremost international champion has been the Organization itself.

45. The admission of Bangladesh draws attention in a particularly poignant way to the obligations of the world community for operations of relief and rescue in relation to natural calamities, particularly in developing States with little or no reserves for dealing with them. The disaster that struck our sister Latin American State of Honduras on the very eve of this Assembly only serves to reinforce these obligations. It is clear that there is still much more that we must do to equip the United Nations to discharge these burdens on behalf of the international community. The resources currently at the disposal of the Secretary-General are far too limited for effective immediate response, and far too much must inevitably be left to the charity of friends and the mobilization of international anguish. This twenty-ninth session of the Assembly should take prompt action to enable the Organization better to discharge an obvious and a non-controversial responsibility—and it must, meanwhile, lend its urgent voice to the appeals of the Secretary-General and of the States concerned for the provision of the immediate assistance so desperately needed.

46. Together, the admission of the three new States brings us closer to the goal of a United Nations that is representative of all of mankind. But we must not forget in our rejoicing those impediments to universality that persist. In particular, the admissions of Grenada and of Guinea-Bissau remind us of the victories for decolonization yet to be won in the Caribbean and in Africa.

47. In our own region, our brothers in Belize—a member State of our Caribbean community—are currently being denied independence not through the unwillingness of the colonial Power to withdraw or indeed through their own lack of enthusiasm for self-determination but, as this Assembly has already itself borne witness, because of the threat of total absorption which they face once the metropolitan Power is withdrawn—the threat of a virtual smothering at birth. The time has surely come for the acceptance of those realities and rights of such settled communities and States that history itself has consecrated and for the abandonment of proprietary contentions that have their dubious origins in another age and are rooted in another colonialism. It is intolerable, and it is in-

* Resumed from the 2247th meeting.

deed alien to the noble traditions of Latin America, that, at this late hour, a people should find the exercise of their right to self-determination thwarted by expansionist ambition. This Organization must ensure that its mandate for decolonization is nowhere so frustrated.

48. In Africa, it is most heartening that the Government of Portugal now takes its stand with courage and without equivocation on the side of self-determination and human dignity; and that, even as the twenty-ninth session was commencing, significant practical advances towards independence were being made in Mozambique. Among those who spoke out in condemnation of past policies, let us likewise be uninhibited in applauding present trends and assuring Portugal of our support for all constructive programmes in furtherance of them. And to that assurance we must imply more than passive appreciation. The free States of Mozambique and Angola, like the State of Guinea-Bissau, whose first anniversary of independence we celebrated last week, will require massive assistance from the international community if the triumph of self-determination is not to be overcast by the calamity of economic disaster. It is not too early to commit international resources on the scale that will be essential to the inevitable task of reconstruction. This twenty-ninth session should not pass without the necessary decisions being taken to that end.

49. The consummation of the struggle for liberation in Mozambique and Angola is, of course, both a vindication of the struggle itself and a renewal of confidence in the eventual victories that must be won by those other movements for liberation for whom victory may not be immediately at hand. But that confidence will only be justified if it does not degenerate into complacency. Self-determination in Mozambique and in Angola does not represent the end of the struggle for freedom in southern Africa. Namibia, Rhodesia, and South Africa itself will remain a charge upon the conscience and a claim upon the courage of free men everywhere.

50. The momentum generated at the international level in recent years by the movement for freedom in southern Africa has played an important, indeed a vital, role in the present prospects for victory. A loss of that momentum might even now impair those prospects; but, no less serious, a loss of momentum at this stage of partial victory would be an indefensible squandering of the tactical and psychological advantages that have been gained for the campaigns of liberation elsewhere. Mozambique and Angola will be free. Let their places be reserved at the thirtieth session. What we need now is to redouble the effort, to re-energize the struggle, to press home the advantages—mindful always that the forces of racism and oppression will grow more desperate as they retreat behind their last defences.

51. Let us mark the promise which this session brings of major gains for freedom in southern Africa with a renewal of commitment not merely to a continuing but indeed to an escalating struggle in which the collective will of this Organization and of all its legitimate Members are brought to bear upon the final victories. And what better way to do so than for this Organization to act decisively—as the Assembly has just done on the report of the Credentials Com-

mittee [2248th meeting]—and, consistent with required procedure, to formally withdraw from South Africa those rights of membership which its gross, persistent and insufferable violations of the Charter forfeited long ago.

52. And the case of Namibia represents a special challenge; for it is an international Territory in respect of which the Organization has assumed particular responsibilities. The positive actions just taken by the United Nations Council for Namibia—whose current President it is Guyana's honour to provide—in exercising its legislative power to secure the resources of Namibia in trust for the people of that Territory⁴ and in establishing in Zambia the Institute for Namibia⁵ are welcome assertions of the responsibility of the international community in advancing the struggle for freedom. The time is ripe for us, through the instrumentality of the Security Council, to take the further steps that may be necessary for ensuring that the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa is speedily and irrevocably terminated.

53. Nor can we forget, in passing, those divided States whose condition of division continues to contribute to their remaining outside the Organization. Let us, consistent with our commitment to universality, help to create conditions through which the peoples of all those lands may settle the internal issues of fragmentation without the interference, or even the interlocution, of external forces in whatever garb they may be attired or from however far or near they may come.

54. And as we try to create conditions that will assist in resolving those issues that keep the divided States outside the Organization, let us be alerted by the lessons of Cyprus to the threat to national independence and sovereignty of States already within the Organization. The people of Cyprus have suffered a tragedy of immense proportions. None of us, but particularly those of us who come from plural societies, can fail to be profoundly moved by the setback to national unity that has followed in the wake of the misguided adventurism that marked the beginning of these events.

55. There will be time hereafter to judge those events and those who contributed to their conception and their execution. What is needed now, above all else, is to help our brothers in Cyprus to bind up the wounds of their shattered society; to help them in their efforts to preserve the integrity of the State and to place at their disposal our collective good offices and the protection, and indeed the superintendence, of the United Nations itself in guaranteeing that integrity and the capacity of Cyprus to continue to play a constructive role in the affairs of the world community. To that process of recuperation many States may be able to make a modest contribution, and the opportunity that now exists to broaden the base of the international effort—particularly to broaden it beyond the confines of super and major Powers—should not be lost.

56. While that effort is being assembled, and whatever may be the eventual political and constitutional solutions, we cannot afford to ignore the humanitarian problem which cries out urgently for solution and which, if unrelieved, will make the task of finding solutions immensely more intractable. The dislocation of

a large proportion of the population of Cyprus demands the immediate attention of the international community. The fact that the numbers themselves are small compared with other human calamities of this kind with which the international community has been obliged to deal in the past should serve only to quicken the pace with which programmes of relief are agreed upon and put into execution.

57. There is still a chance to save Cyprus from deteriorating into yet another embattled zone petrified in division by the patronage of major Powers. There are clearly men of good will on all sides ready to work tirelessly to avoid so dismal a prognosis. In the days and weeks ahead let the Assembly, let the Organization, let all Member States, help them to find those ways out of the present darkness.

58. We join the Secretary-General in paying homage to the members of the United Nations Peace-keeping Force who gave their lives in Cyprus. But the lessons we must draw from that tragedy, the acknowledgement we must make for their sacrifice, is that there is need for the international community to rethink its approaches to peace-keeping, to the scale of peace-keeping operations and to the difficult questions of authorization, of control, of command and of supply that need to be settled, and settled along lines compatible with current needs of international peace and contemporary concepts of international action.

59. The international community, like all communities at the national level, must sometimes learn hard lessons out of the experience of great tribulation. Perhaps out of the Cyprus experience the international community will learn some lessons about peace-keeping. Perhaps we shall be led at last to a perception of the Organization's true role in preventive peace-keeping—a functional role, consistent with national sovereignty, of maintaining international order and preserving the integrity of States more effectively than we ever can do through token forces assembled in the aftermath of conflict.

60. The important developments in peace-keeping in the wake of the recent crisis in the Middle East and the present unhappy experience in Cyprus should certainly provide justification for a major effort during this session to advance the issue of international peace-keeping as one of the major mandates of the Organization under the Charter. Strengthened by contemporary insights of the global unity of mankind and the concomitant interdependence of men, we should not permit past impediments to consensus on this issue to obscure our prospects of future accord and we should not, therefore, be deterred from pursuing it anew.

61. But while at this twenty-ninth session we deliberate the political issues of peace-keeping and disarmament, of decolonization and *apartheid*, of the crisis in the Middle East and the situation in Indo-China, it is the economic issues confronting the world community and impressing themselves upon the daily lives of people everywhere that will demand our most urgent attention and our most penetrating examination and debate.

62. That we should have reached the stage where all Member States acknowledge the priority character of these issues is itself a notable advance. There was

a time, not so long ago, when, to the developed world of east and west, these were the peripheral issues of the international dialogue, relegated almost to the category of "any other business" on the international agenda. It can no longer be so. For these issues are now as critical to the prosperity of the developed world as they have always been to the survival of the developing.

63. It would have been encouraging had we reached this unanimity of concern from a position of principle responsive to the mandates of the Charter, but in truth we have not. Despite the inevitable failure of a succession of international palliatives to redress the economic imbalance between the rich and the poor countries of the world; despite the mounting frustration, the cynicism and, indeed, the resentment of the world's under-privileged; despite even the gradual emergence of a global consciousness, a planetary awareness of an interdependent world community—despite all these, the developed countries, for the greater part, but with some important exceptions, refused to come to terms with the need for fundamental change. It required the catalytic compulsions of the energy issue to force recognition of the need for a new international economic order. Even so, it was with a sometimes reluctant developed world that we reached a halting consensus at the sixth special session on the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and of the Programme of Action to implement it [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*].

64. With the special session on raw materials and development behind us and the special session on development and international economic co-operation in 1975 ahead of us, it is essential that these pressing economic issues occupy a major part of our time at the twenty-ninth session. This general debate can serve an important purpose if, through frank exchanges, we can advance the dialogue of change and close the gap that obviously still exists between the expectation of the poor and the intent of the rich.

65. To close that gap we must reach agreement on the purposes of our endeavours, on our basic aims and objectives. In the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order we have agreed on the rhetoric of change. In the Programme of Action we have identified together some of the mechanisms by which it might be initiated. But have we agreed upon the philosophy of change? Have we reached from our different starting-points an accord on the ideology of international economic reconstruction?

66. If the search for consensus at the sixth special session has meant no more to the developed world, or to major parts of it, than minor modifications of the international economic system to appease the clamant demand for change or, worse still, a process of minimal adjustment of positions within the existing system to meet the particular needs of what might appear to be a transient emergency—and there is, let it be admitted, evidence enough that to several developed States that search for consensus meant only the one or the other—if this is really so, then we are still far from that agreement on a common purpose which is the pre-condition of co-operative action. And for so long as that discord persists at the

level of objectives neither the rhetoric of the Declaration nor the mechanisms of the Programme of Action will contribute significantly to the resolution of those basic economic issues which will persist in demanding our attention. Without the energizing spark of mutual commitment, the former will be a lifeless parchment and the latter a withered blueprint, both destined for the international archive of lost causes.

67. If, however, we are to persevere in pursuit of mutuality; if we are to proceed by consensus, as we are almost threateningly urged to do—as indeed both principle and expediency enjoin the developing States to do—then let it at least be clear to all engaged in the dialogue that that mutuality, that consensus, must relate primordially to the philosophy of change, must be founded in a joint response to the seminal questions. What kind of world is it which we must strive to change? What kind of better world is it to which we seek to move? If we are not agreed upon those essentials of change, consensus on the mechanisms of change is a meaningless concept and the search for it is bound to end in futility, in frustration and, inevitably, in confrontation. But if we can reach agreement upon these essentials, real and genuine agreement supported by the conviction that it is in the ultimate interest of all States to advance that transformation, then the Declaration adopted at the sixth special session will possess the quality of an organic instrument of our new world community and the Programme of Action will be a living charter of progressive reform.

68. I cannot and do not purport to speak for all the Third World; but I suspect that the view from Guyana's corner of the developing world is much like the view from many another Third World window. And I suspect that our vision of the world as we seek to move from it is much like the vision of the remaining two thirds of the world's people who yearn for change. Perhaps for this reason it is easy for me to adopt the description given of our contemporary scene by one of the distinguished economists of the Third World, Mr. Mahbub ul Haq of Pakistan, speaking recently in commemoration of a great internationalist of the developed world who understood our view and shared our vision:

“He would have been greatly saddened”—said Mr. Haq—“by a world which was so divided economically as to have about 20 per cent of the population enjoying about 80 per cent of the world income. We have today about two thirds of humanity living—if it can be called living at all—on less than 30 U.S. cents a day. We have today a situation where there are about 1,000 million illiterate people around the world, although the world has the means and the technology to spread education. We have about 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the children in the Third World suffering from malnutrition, although the world has the resources to give adequate nutrition to all of its population. We have maldistribution of the world's resources on a scale where the developed countries are consuming about 25 times more of the resources *per capita* than the developing countries. We are in a situation where in the Third World millions of people work incredibly hard for very miserable rewards. It is easy to be sophisticated about it and to explain it all in terms of stages

of development; but it is not likely to carry much conviction in our countries where people toil in a broiling sun from morning till dusk for mere subsistence and for premature death without ever discovering the reason why.”

It is one of the more heartening and indeed more hopeful realities of our time that those words were spoken in the propitious environment of Sweden in a keynote address at a seminar on development and independence held in commemoration of the work of Dag Hammarskjöld.

69. That picture of our modern world is, I believe, fairly representative of the view from the third world generally. It may look slightly better for a handful of developing countries; it will look slightly worse for several. But its essentials are unchallengeable and the need for its rectification must be self-evident. It is on that issue of rectification that we must seek consensus, consensus that we will employ our intellectual talents and our technological skills, consensus that we will indulge our humanism no less than our instinct for survival to change the world while there is still time to do it by volition.

70. How many of us, developed or developing Member States of this Organization, have not determined to reject a national society founded on such gross inequities? How many States have not in fact been established on the basis of rebellion against such injustices? And for how many of us are not these distortions an outrage to the tenets of our national philosophies of social and economic justice? Why, then, do we permit these feudal structures to persist in the community of States, and how long do we really believe they can survive without rendering indefensible a strategy of change through dialogue?

71. Whether we are going to end these inequalities and injustices and distortions, whether we are going to build on this planet an egalitarian world community in which the world's income is more fairly shared, in which the world's resources are more evenly consumed, in which the quality of human life derives from belonging not to the world's minority *élite* but to the human race itself—these are the issues on which we need to reach accord. I have no wish to oversimplify the matter. It is easy to pay lip-service to these objectives, and it is fashionable to do so. It is much more difficult to elevate them to an ethos of international life and to translate that ethos into the practical reality of living. And yet, is there an alternative, if we are indeed to proceed by consensus?

72. If we are, therefore, so to proceed in earnest, the developed world must be ready to accept change that is truly fundamental. The world's economic system lies at the base of the world's economic inequalities, injustices and distortions and that system itself must change in radical ways, some of which the Programme of Action has already identified. I wish merely, in terms of the philosophy and the ideology of change, to allude to but one aspect of this process. Aristotle long ago perceived a fundamental truth which is as valid today in terms of relations between States as it was 2,000 years ago in terms of relations between people within States. “As between unequals”, he asserted, “equity itself demands non-reciprocity”. You cannot, he was showing us, change the basic condition of relative inequality except by

unequal inputs. If the weak are to be made strong, if the poor are to be lifted out of their poverty, if the under-privileged are to enjoy an equal share, they must, as against the strong, and the rich, and the privileged, be specially advantaged; and the equalizing mechanisms required for redressing these imbalances must inevitably alter in radical ways the very system which produced and sustained them.

73. What all this means is that if we are to reach consensus on the philosophy of change, the developed world has first of all to care enough about what happens in the third world and to its people; has, in the second place, to acknowledge that its own long-term interests require profound modification of the *status quo*; and has to care enough and be enlightened enough to accept the sacrifices and the dislocations of change; and to accept them, not carpingly as temporary inconveniences to unbridled national prosperity, but nobly and with pride as a new way of life fashioned so that all men may share in the prosperity of our human effort.

74. We believe, of course, that a mature self-interest ought to dictate the need for consensus on these terms; that our perceptions of an interdependent world make it inevitable that these changes must be wrought; that the demographic reality of the twenty-first century in which today's developed world may be but a mere 10 per cent of the population of our planet makes it essential that they should be wrought long before these disparities become even more absurd than they are at present.

75. But consensus on such a philosophy of change will not emerge out of old attitudes and old approaches. It is not the consensus of the market-place or that which speaks out of the barrel of a gun. It cannot be a consensus extracted by competition or dictated by power. Our search for consensus must be guided, instead, by a new ordering of values, of values which derive from the imperatives of the human condition in this last quarter of the twentieth century.

76. Ever since the emergence of human life on earth many aeons ago, there have been innumerable hazards to man's existence. They have come from time to time in varying forms, not infrequently from man himself through internecine war. Some of those hazards remain; but the crisis of our time derives from the very success of mankind, from his very success in survival and in his building of a global community that now truly possesses the earth, a community that daily grows more interdependent as our human needs press ever closer to the limits of our small planet. Over-consumption in one place today frequently means scarcity in another; and it also exacts its own deprivation in the environment of the indulgent.

77. Our human condition has changed fundamentally; but the organization of human society has not responded to this basic change in man's relationship to his world. We still have a community of mankind in which many are weak while others are strong; in which many are poor while others grow more enriched; in which many are sick even while science conquers disease. The perception of the finiteness of our planet must produce an awareness that all these major problems are interrelated. Food security, problems of population, pollution of the environment, the distribu-

tion of the new wealth of the sea and of the scarce non-renewable resources of the land, the elimination of poverty, malnutrition and illiteracy, respect for the inherent dignity of man—all these must be taken together on the agenda of human survival. And in that debate, the antediluvian politics of competition and of power must yield to the politics of world order. When it does—but only when it does—consensus on that philosophy of change, which may be the precondition of man's survival on this planet, will no longer be beyond our grasp.

78. It was precisely because we had not reached consensus on these fundamentals of change that our development decades and what has up to now been the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*] have failed to produce significant change, have failed to effect even the token transfer of resources from the developed to the developing world which was their modest ambition. If we do now agree to embark upon effective international economic reconstruction, one of the primary objectives of the equalizing mechanisms we devise must be a significant transfer of resources from the rich nations to the poor; for herein lies the very heart of change, and it is in this area more than in most that we will test the strength of the commitment of the developed world to meaningful reform.

79. In this regard, two factors need to be acknowledged. The first is that if we are to secure a significant transfer of resources from the developed to the developing countries, if we are to redistribute the world's wealth along more equitable lines, the equalizing mechanisms which we adopt may have to be highly innovative. In the area of trade, for example, mere access to markets may well not be enough. It will certainly not be enough where the assumption is that such access will materially assist the developing State through expansion of exports produced on the basis of cheap labour, for concepts of cheap labour which serve to perpetuate the inequalities of the present system can themselves provide no foundation on which to commence the process of reconstruction. In any transfer of resources designed to eliminate the most stark inequalities of the contemporary scene, therefore, the developed world may well have to face for at least some period of time not just an end but, indeed, a reversal of the patterns of trade on which the industrialized societies grew strong: the pattern of buying cheap and selling dear.

80. It is a measure of the persisting absence of consensus between us on these fundamentals that much of the criticism that continues to be directed to the members of the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries [*OPEC*] proceeds on the assumption that this system of low negotiated prices for primary products and high invoiced prices for manufactured goods is somehow preordained and consecrated and that any departure from it, let alone its reversal, borders on heresy and intolerable impertinence.

81. More particularly, however, experience has shown how easily real improvement in the export receipts of the developing countries can be frustrated by rapid inflation in the developed world. If the problem of achieving meaningful redistribution of the world's income is going to be tackled with a new

resolve, then the implementation of schemes of indexation can no longer be postponed. In order to achieve concrete progress with such schemes, we may have to be content, at least initially, with something less than a perfect technical solution. If it be so—although the most recent UNCTAD studies appear to confirm the technical feasibility of the system—let us nevertheless proceed. We cannot continue to further postpone decision because of an infinity of unresolved subtleties. The patience, not to say the capacity for economic declension, of the developing countries must not be assumed to be endlessly extensible.

82. The second factor is the more obvious one of the emergence of new strengths within the developing world, strengths that derive in large measure from the unity and resolve of the third world and from practical co-operation within producer associations established by developing States in defence of their right to just terms of trade. OPEC is but one of these associations. Others have already been established, not just on the basis of the experience of OPEC, but in response to the awareness that has been emerging over a number of years that developing producer States, separately weak, can multiply their negotiating strength several times over in dealings with the developed world and its multinational corporations if they act in concert and sustain their unity. The emergence of the new strength which these associations bring to the developing world ought to be a factor of the most profound significance in motivating the developed world both to reach consensus on change and to reach accord on the mechanisms for bringing it about.

83. The choice between consensus and confrontation is not a choice which will be determined by the developing world. It is a choice that will be dictated by the developed. In any such choice the developing countries must inevitably prefer the former; but if consensus is unattainable and if confrontation is imposed, then there at least exist some levers of strength through which in the last resort a net transfer of resources might be secured.

84. But let me make it clear that when I speak in this context of a net transfer of resources, it is of a transfer from the developed to the developing States as a whole, a shift of income towards all parts of the developing world. Transfers whose effects are so gross as to create new disparities or new areas of elitism; transfers that are so indiscriminately imposed that they fall equally upon the poor as upon the rich, but with far graver consequences for the former; or transfers whose base of recipience is so narrow as to encourage and facilitate a recycling of resources back to the developed countries—such transfers do not fulfil their true potential as equalizing mechanisms and they are questionable symbols of commitment to an egalitarian world community.

85. But other equalizing mechanisms may be at hand. Certainly, in our effort to redress existing economic imbalances, the new resources of the sea and the sea-bed and the vast potential of outer space can play a unique role. Conceptualized already as a heritage of mankind, what ideal opportunities they provide for creating mechanisms for bringing about a more equitable over-all distribution of the world's

resources. If we are, indeed, to reach by consensus the goal of global justice, it should be in the interest of the developed States to maximize the returns from these new resources to the peoples of the developing world. But this, also, involves a commitment to fundamental change on the part of the developed world and a willingness to accept constraints on excessive aggregations of wealth in the interest of achieving this end.

86. There are, of course, important contributions that the developing countries themselves must make to the fulfilment of the goal of an equitable international economic order. It is axiomatic that just economic relations between States will not fulfil the ambition of an egalitarian world community unless they are made to serve the cause of economic justice within States. The installation and preservation of just societies within the developing world must be as much the consequence of as it clearly is the paramount reason for the securing of a régime of economic equality between all States. For this reason, if for no other, we must accept that the status of human rights everywhere in the developed and in the developing worlds, of civil and political rights, of economic, social and cultural rights, are, and must continue to be, the legitimate concern of the international community, and that their most gross and patent violation must demand the attention of the Organization. The imperatives of economic justice and of respect for the dignity of man once marshalled in the cause of human survival cannot be halted at national frontiers.

87. And, of course, the developing countries may well be able to do much to help themselves through more effective economic co-operation in such important areas as trade, transport, industrial development, transfer of technology, and monetary and financial arrangements. The non-aligned movement, pursuing concepts of economic self-reliance, has already adopted an action programme for economic co-operation between the non-aligned countries and other developing countries⁶ along these lines, and the Assembly has given its blessing to assistance for these efforts from the United Nations [*resolution 3241 (XXIX)*]. More direct trade between developing countries, through shipping routes that run not merely north to south between developed and developing States, but east to west in the southern zone of the world, may yet significantly enlarge the prospects for development of at least some developing countries. Certainly, such arrangements can contribute greatly to lowering the level of dependency of third world countries and effect qualitative changes in prevailing international economic relationships.

88. Most of these developments—all, indeed, save the last—depend essentially upon the ability of the developed and the developing worlds to reach consensus through dialogue. This urgent necessity makes it essential that we utilize the United Nations system to maximum advantage in pursuing that dialogue and in maintaining, for so long as it is maintainable, the options for consensus.

89. It follows that the Organization must be made the focal point for the dialogue of development and for the establishment of the new international economic order, and that present efforts to transfer that

dialogue to, and to install the machinery for decision-making in, multilateral associations controlled by the developed world must be resisted.

90. How deeply indebted we are, all of us, to the Prime Minister of Australia for reminding us, in the eloquent and forthright language of progressive internationalism, of the primacy of this role of the United Nations in the search for solutions to our current problems.

91. But our need for dialogue does draw attention to the unique service which can be rendered, and rendered now, by other institutions, by institutions old and new, which bring together segments of the developed and developing worlds in an environment of genuinely free consultation. Mankind stands greatly in need of consensus-building mechanisms of every sort and at every level between the developed and the developing countries. Indeed, never before has there been as great a need to use these institutions and mechanisms for reaching consensus in the interest of the international community as a whole.

92. But if we are to use them to this end, we must be mindful of their potential for contributing to that global consensus toward which we work. These consensus-building mechanisms include existing institutions, like the British Commonwealth, that bring together on a basis of ever-enlarging intimacy and understanding States old and new, industrialized and developing, States of north and south, of east and west, States pluralistic and multiracial—a microcosm, indeed, of the world community—embryonic institutions, like that emerging from the new dialogue now begun in the Americas, deriving not from old traditions of hegemony but from new insights and possibilities of co-operation between all the States—and I repeat, all the States—of the hemisphere; incipient associations, such as that which now seems possible between the European Economic Community and a group of some 40 or more States of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific—a relationship which, eschewing a passing neo-colonialism, now seeks to explore the potential for economic co-operation between the world's most powerful economic grouping and States that individually are among the weakest, but together are not without strength, and to do so on terms consistent with the wider international objectives of the new economic order.

93. In all these groupings, and more, there must be pressed into service the search for global consensus on which rests our best hope, perhaps our only hope, not merely for establishing the new international economic order we have already proclaimed, but of evolving that consensus on an egalitarian world community without which our other expectations would be utterly illusory.

94. If this session is to help to turn us away from the dangers of confrontation, I suggest with all humility that it is on the intensive search for consensus of this kind and of this quality that we must all agree to embark, developed and developing States alike, both here in the United Nations and in those other organs of international consultation that provide opportunities for the understanding and reconciliation which persistent dialogue inevitably brings.

95. Mr. ALLADAYE (Dahomey) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, after listening to all the tributes addressed to your country, as well as to your own person, it would be tempting to refuse to follow the tradition for fear that, if I did, I might find myself uttering commonplaces and *clichés*. This temptation is all the more pressing since Dahomey considers that your election to preside over this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is as if we ourselves had been elected, not only because your election is the election of Africa as a whole, but also because of the ties of deep friendship which bind our two peoples together.

96. In so doing it would be difficult for me, however, to fail to discharge the pleasant duty of saying to this brilliant audience how highly appreciative the Revolutionary Military Government of Dahomey is for the wise choice which resulted in your distinguished person being elected to preside over the Assembly and which, beyond question, will be an omen for the successful conduct of the work of this twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly.

97. Indeed, your lengthy experience in the workings of the United Nations, which you have more than once sparked with your dynamic participation, the authority and mastery which you have gained throughout your lengthy and brilliant career in the service of the Algerian diplomatic corps, your many and valuable contributions to the cause of the non-aligned countries and that of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], are just so many major trump cards which will not fail to bring their full influence to bear in the discharge of our tasks, above all at a time when the United Nations has entered upon a new historic phase of its existence.

98. And since at the present time we are living through a new era of decolonization, how could I fail to touch on the lengthy and difficult process of decolonization in Algeria, which was the result of a glorious revolution of which you are a member of the youngest and most dynamic cadre. The Algerian revolution did not only overthrow an entire system of domination and exploitation in northern Africa. It did more than that: thanks to that revolution it became possible to ensure self-determination and independence for most of our French-speaking countries. Since that time you have been engaged, side by side with your great leader President Houari Boumediène, with rare success in promoting in Algeria a foreign policy worthy of liberated Africa, divested of all forms of subordination between the parties.

99. Thus, in adding my voice to those very eloquent tones of representatives who have preceded me at the rostrum, I should like above all to welcome in you the worthy son of militant Africa, that Africa which, expunging the record of the severity with which determined colonization tried to smother legitimate aspirations, was able to show, once its objectives had been attained, that it knows how to forget and to pardon. This is our guarantee that throughout the entire session we will be guided by a man of high quality, dedicated to just causes and legitimate aspirations of the peoples which we represent here.

100. Last year, from this same rostrum, I welcomed our incoming President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, a descendant of that Latin America which has been

nourished on the patriotic traditions of Bolívar. The way in which the business of the twenty-eighth session was conducted under his high authority, his courtesy and his knowledge of the practices of the United Nations are evidence that I was not mistaken in my appraisal. During the sixth special session, over which he also presided, Mr. Benites gave us lessons in courage and devotion which proved—if proof were necessary—how much he cherishes international peace and security.

101. Dahomey has followed with special interest the activities of our Secretary-General in the course of this year. The dynamism, the patience and the perseverance that he has displayed in confronting the difficult and very delicate problems that have been entrusted to him deserve our praise and make him an exemplary international civil servant, wholly devoted to international peace and security. To be convinced of this one need only follow his accomplishments and actions throughout the year. There is everything to show that nothing can daunt this ardent defender of the cause of the Organization when it is a matter of bringing about the triumph of the purposes and principles contained in the Charter.

102. My country rejoices in the fact that we had the pleasure of receiving Mr. Waldheim last March in the course of his brief trip to western Africa, a trip which enabled him to observe for himself, on the spot, the damage caused by the natural disaster of drought. I personally, on the occasion of his sojourn in Dahomey, had an opportunity to witness the interest that he shows in African problems and his desire—which is markedly increasing—to act in such a way as to ensure that resolutions of the Organization on decolonization, racism, *apartheid* and racial discrimination are implemented in their entirety. For all of this, he deserves the congratulations and encouragement of the international community.

103. Mr. President, in your introductory statement [2233rd meeting] you very ably sketched the international problems confronting the Organization in the past and today, so there is no need for me to dwell on this. However, you will readily appreciate that the delegation which I am leading at this twenty-ninth session attaches special importance to certain items of capital importance to Africa in particular and for the countries of the Third World in general. These questions deal with the situation of the countries engaged in a struggle for their liberation from domination and foreign exploitation, problems of racism and *apartheid*, conflicts throughout the world and, of course, problems concerning development in the context of the new world economic order.

104. For several months now Africa has been the scene of one of the most striking events in its history: the beginning of the liquidation of the last bastions of colonialism. You are in a good position to realize this, Mr. President, because after secret negotiations carried out in London, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC) reached an agreement with its adversary that your country should be witness of the act whereby Portugal, finally awakened from its chimerical dreams, transferred powers it had usurped for more than 10 years, and more particularly since last year, to Guinea-Bissau.

105. It will be recalled that on 24 September last, when the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly had barely begun its work, news reached us of the proclamation of the independence of the State of Guinea-Bissau. That historic act of an African people was welcomed by us with joy, because our sister State had finally won by struggle, with weapons in hand, and regained its dignity and international sovereignty. The valiant fighters of that sister State, by liberating at the price of unheard-of sacrifices almost all of its territory, by proclaiming the independence of Guinea-Bissau, thus took up the challenge which had been flung at fighting Africa and the peace-loving and justice-loving peoples of the whole world by the Fascist and anachronistic régime of Caetano and company. In doing so they had proved to the world that the course of history is irreversible and that just causes always triumph in the end, regardless of the obstacles placed in their path.

106. The striking and brilliant victory of progressive forces in Portugal a little later and the toppling of the Caetano clique in shame confirm our appraisal of this historic truth. But, one year ago, despite our legitimate and genuine joy, despite the striking manifestations of solidarity of peoples throughout the world who love peace and justice, our peoples in Africa were perplexed and pained at the hesitations and the shilly-shallying of certain important Members of the Organization which still hesitated to look the truth in the face. Thank Heavens, we are able to recognize now that the wheel of history has turned more quickly than all the sordid calculations and highly selfish interests of those who had become accustomed to remaining insensitive to the sufferings and tribulations of oppressed peoples. That country which yesterday was refused *de jure* recognition is today sitting among us as a fully fledged member of the international community. Thus, it is with deep emotion that, on behalf of the Revolutionary Military Government and the people of Dahomey, I hail the representatives of this sister State which has suffered so much to gain its freedom.

107. Since I have been given the opportunity, I should also like to welcome the sister republics of Grenada and Bangladesh, which have just joined the great family of the United Nations. Their arrival in our midst is clear evidence that, despite all obstacles, the Organization is proceeding irresistibly towards universality. To each of these sister countries, I should like to assure the friendship and co-operation of Dahomey.

108. Turning again to the African countries which are in the process of regaining their freedom, my delegation agrees that the task of our Assembly has been facilitated by the victory of the progressive forces in Portugal itself. The statement made by General Spínola on 27 July last, making public for the first time the firm determination of his Government to grant independence to its former Portuguese colonies, and the statements of Mr. Mario Soares, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the new Portugal, from this same rostrum [2239th meeting], constitute commitments which my Government takes at their face value.

109. Yes, the Revolutionary Military Government of Dahomey notes with sympathy the courageous

choice taken by the new régime in Portugal henceforth to take the place which is rightfully theirs in the Organization and we encourage that Government to continue along those lines. But my delegation is in duty bound to say that it will not go further for the time being, and Africa should still not lay down its weapons at this stage of the struggle, for if, generally speaking, the progressive world applauded the initiative of the new Portuguese authorities, one cannot help feeling some uncertainty as to the future of the colonies that are now promised their freedom.

110. What is at stake is certainly complicated, and the imperialist and capitalist interests that are threatened are considerable. If in Portugal itself the progressive forces seem to have the upper hand for the moment, it is none the less true that the forces of evil in that country are still considerable and very active. Those who regret a past that is over and done with will not fail to cherish the illusion of new Portuguese Rhodesias. Certain great Powers will not wish to stand idly by while new nations emerge in strategic locations and endowed with a wealth of strategic resources. There is not the slightest shadow of a doubt that the racist minorities in South Africa and Rhodesia will not fail to take a negative view of the appearance of new black States on their doorsteps, and the active support they give the whites in Mozambique and Angola, who wish to sabotage the new policy of liberation embarked upon by Portugal, is in this connexion highly significant.

111. That is why we in Dahomey think it is still too early to determine when the process of decolonization now being undertaken by the new Portuguese leaders will actually be completed. We cannot demobilize our troops yet; it is too early for us to cry victory while the threats hanging over our brothers are still so grave and their future still almost wholly uncertain. My country is grateful to the Portuguese authorities for their determination to liberate the colonized Territories, but we can do no more until Portugal has settled the political imbroglio and ended the suffering for which it is responsible in those countries. That is why we feel that now, more than ever before, the Organization should follow the development of the situation in southern Africa and hold itself in readiness to give material support to those countries, if their independence proves to be threatened.

112. I wish now to speak of the two cancers afflicting Africa, with which that whole continent, and the United Nations itself, must cope. I refer to Rhodesia and South Africa.

113. The first continues to defy the Organization—with, of course, the complicity of the administering Power, which, despite its Pontius Pilate-like reactions, nevertheless bears the entire responsibility for the situation created in that country, where a white minority deliberately chose to rebel against the British Crown, stifling the will of an overwhelming black majority. The Organization is today entitled to ask of the United Kingdom how long it means to go on perpetuating such a situation despite the conclusions of the Pearce Commission's report.⁷ Is it not time for the rebel minority régime to be brought to reason and for the administering Power to cease taking refuge behind fallacious pretexts?

114. The case of South Africa also deserves rather close attention. Since its creation, our Organization has continuously been concerned with the situation in South Africa, where *apartheid* has been made into a political philosophy of government. Everyone knows the lot of black people there, who are not even recognized as human beings. This intolerable and inadmissible situation, created by a Member of the Organization, has been the subject of many resolutions which the Pretoria régime has constantly refused to implement. Thus South Africa has placed itself beyond the pale of the Organization, which now has no choice but to assume its responsibilities. What is more, since 1970, our Assembly has continuously rejected the credentials of representatives of the *apartheid* Government because that Government is not an expression of the aspirations of the entire South African population, white and black. Nevertheless, legal quibbles have always led to the argument that the decisions of our Assembly are serious warnings addressed to the *apartheid* régime that it should change its policies and act in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

115. That complacent interpretation, far from giving the minority Government of South Africa pause, has merely strengthened it in its inhuman policies based upon denial of the human dignity of black people. In the circumstances, it is impossible for our Assembly to remain indifferent to the defiance that a Member of the Organization constantly flings in our face. If we can still take refuge behind legal quibbles—and for certain of us such a refuge is at any rate highly convenient—nevertheless intellectual honesty should make us ask ourselves what this "Member", which systematically refuses to apply either its Charter or its resolutions, is doing among us. Honesty and common sense—yes, honesty and common sense alone—should long ago have made us expel this, to say the least, peculiar Member. It is high time the Organization at last applied Article 6 of the Charter to excise this gangrenous growth from its body.

116. My delegation feels the time has come for our Assembly to take energetic measures against that Government. It is all the more important to do so because that Government, in defying the decisions of the Assembly that took from it the Trusteeship of Namibia and the Advisory Opinion of the International Court of Justice declaring illegal the presence of South Africa in Namibia,⁸ sees fit to carry into that Territory—which is henceforth under the authority of the United Nations Council for Namibia—its policies of *apartheid* and bantustanization.

117. Following the repeated efforts of the Secretary-General, under the instructions of the Security Council, to settle the problem amicably with the *apartheid* régime, and taking into account the obvious bad faith displayed by the South African Government, my delegation thinks that our Assembly should once again take up the problem of Namibia as a whole with a view to finding the urgent and immediate solution that is necessary. I need hardly emphasize that such a situation, should it long continue, might become a grave threat to international peace and security, if the Assembly does not give it all due attention in good time.

118. Everyone here knows that the General Assembly was able to complete the work of its twenty-

eighth session on 16 September last only because of the conflict that shook the Organization as a result of the resumption of hostilities last October in the Middle East. Thanks to the wisdom of the parties concerned, and above all because the super-Powers understood the danger to the world of the perpetuation of such a situation, a disengagement agreement was concluded, first between Egypt and Israel and then between Syria and Israel, thus for the time being averting any resumption of hostilities. Although it is not yet possible to say that all danger of war has been eliminated, the manoeuvring of the great Powers in the region has clearly shown their standing concern to prove to the world that the controls are still in their hands.

119. It is indeed painful to note that, despite the many resolutions of the Organization, relative peace has prevailed in the Middle East only when the super-Powers have decided it should, thus demonstrating that, when they see fit to cease their rivalry, areas of conflict in the world can disappear once and for all. In these circumstances, and in view of these facts, which speak for themselves, how could we fail to hold them responsible for all the wars that periodically flare up here and there?

120. In the Middle East, the guns are now temporarily silent, but there is no guarantee that the fighting will not start again. It is therefore urgently necessary, first of all, that Israel withdraw from all occupied Arab territories and, secondly, that, rather than freezing the situation, those principally responsible and those actually involved should find a formula that will make possible an early resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East with a view to restoring a just and lasting peace in the region. It is the interests of the peoples of that area that are at stake. It is the interests of the international community too that are at stake, to the extent that that Conference will help safeguard peace and security in the Middle East.

121. But if a just and lasting peace is to be restored to that part of the world, my delegation feels that it must not be at the expense of the aspirations of the Palestinian people; for that people, deprived of its land and reduced to a nomadic existence, and whose national identity has been completely flouted, also has the right to a homeland. That is why my country has supported the inclusion in the Assembly's agenda of the item entitled "Question of Palestine" [item 108]. Indeed, the time has come for us to stop deceiving ourselves; we must insist on speaking the language of truth. The parties concerned must come before us and tell us their thoughts so that the delegations here may determine their attitudes advisedly. It is at that price, and at that price alone, that the Geneva Peace Conference can be moved off dead-centre and that the Organization can make a positive contribution that will help spare the Middle East a further flare-up of violence.

122. What I was saying a moment ago about the attitude of the super-Powers is further illustrated in the conflict that flared up between Iraq and Iran. One had only to listen to the statements of the representatives of the parties to the dispute before the Security Council and to recall the inability of that organ to take any decision to realize that a situation had arisen

for which the two countries were not really responsible. And yet there were casualties on both sides. Thanks to the efforts of the mediator sent by the Secretary-General, a solution was found which, for the moment, appears to rule out any possibility of a resumption of hostilities; provided, of course, that those truly responsible so wish and that the peoples of those countries understand that it is not in their interest to continue killing each other.

123. In Cyprus, the situation created by hot-heads remote-controlled from one knows not where was obviously intended to discredit the Organization, to the extent that it nearly shook its institutions. Those unfamiliar with international politics might find it at least incomprehensible, if not inadmissible, that right under the very nose of the United Nations force, whose mission was to watch over peace between the two communities and to protect constitutional legality, a coup d'état should have taken place without that force being able to come to the assistance of the constitutionally elected head of government, Archbishop Makarios. But if one bears in mind the limits of the Organization and the more-or-less openly avowed determination of the super-Powers to demonstrate their hegemonic strength, one will easily understand the political and strategic motives that impelled the instigators of the coup to jeopardize the very existence of that sovereign State and Member of the Organization.

124. In acting so lightly, those remote-controlled foreign forces which have underlain the Cypriot tragedy since 15 July demonstrated a very short-sighted view, in that their acts have fostered the division of the island into two distinct communities and have seriously jeopardized constitutional law and the self-determination of the Cypriot people.

125. For the super-Powers this has been a fine opportunity for mutual outbidding. If they had at least taken the trouble to think first and foremost of the sufferings of the displaced populations before waging war, that would have been easier to understand. If they had left it to the competent authorities of the Organization—in this particular case, the Security Council—to settle the problem in fairness and justice, we would not be where we are today. But all that matters to them is their interests and their rivalries. My delegation feels, however, that despite the reservations raised by the interference of the great Powers in this matter, the proposal, supported by my Government, that there be an international conference attended by members of the Security Council, the parties concerned and the non-aligned States should be given close attention. This solution is not ideal but is nevertheless one way of seeking to restore peace and constitutionality to that tormented island.

126. In the Indo-China peninsula the situation remains tense; international peace and security continue to be sorely tried. Thus in Viet Nam, after the international community learned with relief of the conclusion of the Paris Agreement, which was supposed to lead that country towards peace by making possible the establishment of a democratic régime, war continues because a clique in foreign pay has been unwilling to respect the terms of that Agreement.

127. In Korea, the fact that the Truce Commission scuttled itself following contacts between South and

North made it easier for the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to adopt a consensus text.⁹ By that consensus the Assembly invited the two parties to continue their dialogue with a view to finding a solution enabling them to reach their objective of peaceful and democratic unification. Unfortunately, since the last session no progress has been made in the direction desired by the General Assembly. The main cause of this situation lies in the presence of foreign forces based on the territory of one of the parties. When we realize that that so-called United Nations force, which was once composed of troops from a number of countries, now consists solely of troops from one country, it can easily be understood that the decision of the Organization in setting up that force is no longer in effect and that the last bastion of the so-called United Nations force should also leave Korea. In any event, if a force is to take refuge under the United Nations flag, it can only be with the consent of the parties concerned. In other words, if one of the parties calls into question the existence of that force, the Assembly must take measures enabling the withdrawal of the so-called United Nations forces from Korea in order to ease contacts between the two parties. And we must do everything possible to avoid jeopardizing the reunification desired by the two parties.

128. In Cambodia, an intolerable situation continues, enabling a clique which actually represents nothing to continue to claim to speak on behalf of the Khmer people and to occupy Cambodia's seat in the General Assembly. It is now time for the Assembly to clarify its position, which, in any event, must be one of seeking the restoration of the rights of the Royal Government of National Union, which is still headed by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, whose forces still control almost all of Cambodian territory. The Assembly must render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and exclude the representatives of the Lon Nol clique.

129. One corollary of the persistence of zones of tension is the proliferation of weapons and the need of the industrialized countries to find outlets for their arms industries. My delegation thinks that we should denounce that competition in the sale of weapons which is taking place all over the world now following the energy crisis. If my country unreservedly supported the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons, it nevertheless feels that if those weapons were not such as to endanger the very existence of the countries possessing them, the Organization would never have taken up the problem and sought to limit their scope. It is thus hypocritical frantically to seek for a limitation of weapons which can upset the tranquillity and the development of the great Powers while doing nothing to reduce the manufacture of conventional weapons or the sale of those weapons to others, encouraging them to seek confrontation among themselves.

130. If the Assembly followed my train of thought it will have noticed that everywhere international peace and security are sorely tried and that wherever this is the case one can see the hand of one or both super-Powers and that they stop at nothing when it comes to exercising their power and sabotaging the efforts of the Organization for international peace and security. The question therefore arises, if the situa-

tion continues, whether all the members constituting the Assembly will continue to allow the Organization to be weakened at the behest of the super-Powers.

131. My delegation thinks that times have changed since the San Francisco Conference, which was essentially concerned with dividing up the world into hegemonic zones. The best proof is that from the some 50 Members which then constituted the United Nations, the Assembly today is composed of 138 equal Members. This is a reality which cannot long remain ignored. The balance of forces has changed and the text that governs the Organization must be adapted to this new situation. Accordingly, my delegation unreservedly will support any initiative to that effect which would seek to restore justice and equity in the Organization. A thorough-going revision of the Charter is necessary. Some interests will certainly be encroached upon. But the overwhelming majority of the Assembly will agree because it is in the interests of the United Nations and of its credibility.

132. While a double standard may have been understandable in 1946, it no longer reflects the reality of 1974, and it would be a grave mistake to go on perpetuating it.

133. Before concluding I cannot forbear to speak of a problem which is of the utmost concern to my country and to the international community: the economic crisis through which the world is now passing.

134. The international economic situation in recent years has been marked by a series of crises: a crisis of the international monetary system, with galloping inflation and rising prices, the food crisis, and the threat of famine in some parts of the world where food shortages are creating a critical situation. The picture would not be complete if we did not add to all the foregoing the ravages caused by the consequences of natural disasters such as drought, floods and cyclones.

135. The case of Honduras, where thousands of people have just died, their homes destroyed and their fields laid waste, is an illustration of the scourges which are visited periodically on the world. I should like to take this opportunity of asking the delegation of Honduras to accept the expression of the deepest sympathy of the delegation of Dahomey.

136. Our community has addressed itself with peculiar felicity to the problems raised by these various crises. The Committee of 20,¹⁰ despite the complexity of the question, is seeking solutions with a view to improving our international monetary system. Other specialized agencies, like FAO and WHO, are doing their best to counter the depredations of malnutrition, famine and disease.

137. Panic provoked by the difficulties of the world economy has led certain countries to seek ways and means of stemming the crisis, if necessary through protectionist and restrictive means, the consequence of which would be to block the expansion of international trade. For our part, in the developing countries, impoverished by the shameless exploitation of our national wealth by the colonial Powers and the great international trusts, our situation is unspeakably tragic. The economic crisis which is raging all over the world strikes us doubly hard since it adds to the injustice we have always and everywhere denounced.

138. It is not really right that we should continue, without reacting, to be refused free access to the markets of the wealthy countries. It is not right that we should always be the only ones to pay the cost of the implacable law of supply and demand. It is not right that we should always have suffered and go on suffering from the perpetual worsening in the terms of trade. It is not right that our already fragile economies should always suffer the limitations of chronic under-equipment. It is not right that we should continue to support without any assistance the burden of external debt and debt-servicing which considerably reduces our capacity to finance development projects, whereas our creditors continue to extract the maximum exploitation from our resources. It is not right that we should continue to suffer so much injustice and so much discrimination in regard to freight, insurance and other matters at the hands of the big companies that govern the world markets.

139. The legitimate actions of the petroleum-producing countries in imposing fair prices for their product provoked the fiercest opposition from the industrialized countries, which were all too quick to speak of crisis while actually throwing on to the developing countries the weight of the effects of the rise in the price of energy and the cost of capital goods of which we had urgent need. Indeed, some of these industrialized Powers do not hesitate to make threats rather than seeking a solution in more realistic terms, namely, that of the economic interdependence of great and small and of the need for a just and equitable remuneration for the products and the labour of each and all.

140. Our international community, aware of the necessary interaction between politics and economics, and its role in the maintenance or non-maintenance of world peace, has convened various meetings attended by all countries with a view to finding ways of remedying so many injustices from which the poor countries suffer, and to harmonizing, for the greater good of mankind, economic relations between the various States in order to bridge or reduce the gap between rich and poor countries. But the failure of the first three sessions of UNCTAD and the near failure of the First United Nations Development Decade have shown the Third World countries clearly that it is the selfish interests which alone prevail in the wealthy countries.

141. As we approach the end of the first half of the Second United Nations Development Decade, the successive crises—monetary crisis, food crisis and so forth—and the imperialist measures of a protectionist and restrictive nature undertaken by the rich countries have deeply disturbed the pattern of international economic relations.

142. There can be no doubt that the position is very disturbing indeed for the 25 least developed countries, including Dahomey. Hence, it has seemed to us that if no measures are taken for their effective application, the recommendations of international conferences designed to improve our countries' prospects for development—recommendations that often have had little effect—will be no more than mere palliatives that will be quickly offset by the deleterious consequences of crises which upset international trading relations and of which we are the main victims.

143. That dramatic situation with which we are faced has further strengthened our bonds of co-operation and our faith in the policy of agreeing on a thorough study of the political, economic and social problems confronting us, having regard to the structure of international economic relations dominated by the industrialized countries. We are deeply convinced that no lasting solution to our difficulties can be found unless this structure of international economic relations based on a balance of force unfavourable to the development of the poor countries is called into question.

144. That situation, which certain industrialized countries had already described as intolerable, was bound to give rise to tension and confrontation if the international community did not seriously tackle it in time. That was clearly understood, Mr. President, by your Head of State, President Houari Boumediène, when on behalf of the non-aligned countries he proposed the convening of the sixth special session of the Assembly, on raw materials and development. That special session, held here in April and May this year, drawing lessons from the various crises, particularly the petroleum crisis, that had strikingly demonstrated the interdependence of our economies, had the merit of clearly and precisely defining the rules that should henceforth govern economic relations between rich and poor countries, through the establishment of a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order.

145. For the first time in the history of international economic relations, the rich countries recognized the existence of a basic problem requiring immediate solution. No matter what reservations may be expressed, they detract in no way from the problem of substance, which requires an urgent response from our community in the clearly understood interests of all.

146. For our part, we in Dahomey believe that the main problem is henceforward as clear as day. What we must do is replace the old international economic order, which has been based on the balance of force and domination, by a new international economic order taking into account, among other things, the interdependence of our respective economies, respect for the sovereignty of every State, the necessary solidarity between the various nations of our international community, and assistance by the richer to the poorer, without any discrimination between the socio-economic systems freely chosen by the latter. For the development of the developing countries' resources to satisfy the needs of their masses and of the peoples of other countries adds to the wealth of the world and to the progress of mankind.

147. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose second session has just finished at Caracas, has brought home the need to establish a new international legal order governing the ocean spaces. The new law of the sea now being drafted must take into account first and foremost the interests of the developing countries. It must therefore be a fundamental element in the creation of new forms of international co-operation.

148. Dahomey, aware of its interests in that sphere, agrees with many other countries that the requirements of economic growth and national security make it necessary that the coastal States have a national

oceanic zone that is as broad as possible. That is why it firmly supports the logical and very coherent notion that a State's territorial waters should be extended to a maximum of 200 nautical miles, thus assimilating the exclusive economic zone to the territorial sea. It goes without saying that in its national oceanic space the coastal State would exercise full jurisdiction and full sovereignty. However, in addition to accepting the traditional obligations, it would agree to guarantee to its landlocked neighbors the right of access to the sea and the right of free transit under bilateral or regional agreements.

149. That idea, which offers the best protection for the interests of the underdeveloped countries with regard to the law of the sea, is based on the physical and legal unity of the zone in question, from the standpoint of its size, of the intermediate column of water, of the seabed and the subsoil, and of the corresponding resources.

150. With regard to the régime for the seabed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, the delegation of Dahomey believes that the international authority to be established should be endowed with extensive powers in connexion with not only the exploitation and exploration but also the sale of the resources, in order to prevent a decline in the prices of the minerals from the deposits on dry land, and in particular of those produced by the developing countries. In any event, exploitation of the international zone must not be entrusted to multinational corporations on the unconvincing pretext that the international authority does not have the required technical and financial means—a formula that would betray the concept of the common heritage of mankind. The industrialized countries that already have the means necessary to undertake the exploration and exploitation of the resources of the international zone can demonstrate their willingness to co-operate by placing themselves at the disposal of the authority until it is financially capable of acquiring those means itself.

151. Those were the various agenda items on which my delegation wished to share its thoughts as the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly begins its work. While the Organization can take some pride in the fortunate outcome of some of the burning problems that had been before it recently, we must note with some bitterness that most of those problems have been solved virtually outside the United Nations. The changes in Portugal and the progress achieved in colonial matters seem to have been less the result of positions we have taken or recommendations we have adopted than the normal outcome of the struggles and sacrifices by the peoples concerned.

152. At the very most, our support—often very timid support—for the liberation movements may have helped to galvanize the energies of the freedom-fighters. Today more than ever before it has become essential that we should pause for thought, should seek the causes of the paralysis and impotence of the Organization in respect of the tragedies confronting mankind. We can no longer wait to see "the dead bury their dead".

153. The same problems arise in connexion with economic relations among nations at different levels of development. Our endless recommendations for a more just balance in the distribution of the planet's

goods and resources all too often remain dead letters. The wealthy nations will move only when their interests are threatened or when we confront them with the only weapon available to us: the price of our raw materials. In other words, the rule of might continues to be the supreme rule. But we must take care that poetic justice does not lead to a state of affairs in which those who are the strongest today become the weakest tomorrow and the law of the jungle turns out to be the only law suited to our ways and our thinking.

154. No, it seems to me that the *raison d'être* of the Organization is precisely to avoid such a state of affairs. Let us therefore so act that this precious instrumentality of the United Nations may truly serve the cause of justice and peace in the world.

155. Mr. LARAKI (Morocco) (*interpretation from French*): It gives the Moroccan delegation real satisfaction to see the representative of a sister country presiding over this important session of the General Assembly of the Organization. Through you, Mr. President, all Africa is honoured today. Consequently it is with true pleasure that I express to you, on my own behalf and on behalf of all the members of my delegation, warmest and most fraternal congratulations. I now pledge to you the total co-operation of the Moroccan delegation in the accomplishment of the tasks which the members of this august Assembly have unanimously entrusted to you. There is no doubt that, thanks to your competence and your great experience of international problems, the work of the present session will be crowned with success.

156. I must not fail in another equally pleasant duty, that of addressing to Mr. Benites my heartiest congratulations on the manner in which he guided the work of the twenty-eighth session, in the course of which he demonstrated his great talent and his attachment to the ideas of peace, freedom and co-operation between all the peoples.

157. The present session opened under the best auspices. It started its work by welcoming three new Members to the Organization. We offer the representatives of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau our cordial congratulations and our warmest wishes for the greatness and prosperity of their countries and their peoples. We rejoice that they have come here to reinforce our ranks in the struggle—of a different nature this time—which we are waging here for a more just and fraternal world and society.

158. We realize that in the year which has just elapsed progress has been made in the efforts to establish peace in troubled areas, to accelerate the process of decolonization in Africa and elsewhere and to search for economic co-operation for the good of all. These efforts led us to hope that the process of *détente* and co-operation would continue. Unfortunately, the world finds itself confronted once more by dangerous events with grave consequences which threaten to jeopardize all the achievements of recent years.

159. The international situation as it appears today is, to say the least, confused and uncertain. It does not encourage optimism. There are still numerous problems which threaten, at the same time, co-operation, peace and international security. It behoves us

to devote our efforts to seeking solutions commensurate with the problems with which we are confronted.

160. In the Middle East, war broke out for the fourth time in a single generation. It succeeded in destroying certain myths. It destroyed the myth of the invincibility of the aggressor. It destroyed the myth of the division of the Arab countries. It proved that the Arab countries were fully capable of mobilizing all their potentialities in defence of their just cause. In doing so it threw into relief the far-reaching repercussions and nefarious consequences for all of allowing the situation to fester.

161. Above all, this latest war made possible the consecration on the international level of the existence of the Palestinian people as a people. That is a fundamental element which, from our point of view, happened rather late, but which is at the heart of the problem. There is not and there cannot be any true, just and lasting peace in the region without recognition of the national rights of the people of Palestine. We welcome the decision taken by the Assembly to place the question of Palestine on its agenda with a view to permitting the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], representing the Palestinian people, to make the voice of the Palestinian people heard at last in this body.

162. Today it is no longer a question of doling out subsidies to refugees who are denied their own homeland. It is no longer a question of keeping alive from day to day hundreds and hundreds of thousands of human beings herded into temporary camps. The international community is aware today that those refugees have a land, their homeland, that that land has a name, Palestine, and that they will never give it up.

163. Moreover, some of the territories of certain of our sister countries, Members of the United Nations, are still occupied by Israel as a result of successive aggressions. Egypt, Syria and Jordan cannot tolerate this situation. We reaffirm our active solidarity and assure them of our participation at their side for the liberation and recovery of their territories—of all their territories—occupied by Israel.

164. I need hardly recall briefly the behaviour of Israel. Israel continues to occupy by armed force the territories of States Members of the Organization. It is systematically establishing settlements and it does not hide its intention of definitive occupation. It declares that it has made Jerusalem the new capital of the Zionist State, cynically disregarding the fact that the Holy City is the spiritual centre of hundreds of millions of men belonging to the Christian and Moslem world, and not hesitating to mock their religious convictions.

165. It does not hesitate to violate the sovereignty and territorial integrity of another State of the region. Thus it constantly resorts to bombardments by its aircraft and artillery against agglomerations in Lebanon, causing destruction and heavy losses among the populations.

166. It defies all the principles of the Charter, that same Charter it needed to get itself recognized as an entity, and all the resolutions adopted by various organs of the United Nations and the specialized agencies. As far as violations of the Charter are concerned, we can say that the Zionist State has beaten

every record. By its strategy of provocation and terror, Israel demonstrates its contempt for international law and morality by strengthening its challenge to the community of nations and mainly to the Organization.

167. To give but one example, here is the statement made by the representative of Israel before this Assembly on 21 September. If the question of Palestine is included in the agenda of the General Assembly, he said:

“Would a single tenet of the Charter remain intact after such a development? Would any sensible human being find it possible to take the United Nations seriously if it were to act in so irresponsible a manner?” [2236th meeting, para. 30.]

168. I will simply add that the question of Palestine has been included in the agenda without any opposition, except for that of the Israeli representative.

169. The result is that tension continues to prevail in the area and that Israel is deliberately fomenting it. The situation is clearly worsening and is a source of increasing anxiety. Israel seems to have drawn no lesson from the war of last October. It is preparing a new aggression. The disengagement of forces is not peace and cannot be used as a soporific to put the Arab people to sleep. We had thought that it would be the start of the thaw on the road to peace. Yet, by its behaviour Israel persists in vitiating all the industrious and indefatigable efforts undertaken by Secretary of State Kissinger and by the Secretary-General of the United Nations, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, as well as by various other statesmen.

170. As was recently brought to mind by His Majesty Hassan II, the military disengagement agreements should be looked upon as a step towards the withdrawal of the Israeli forces from all occupied Arab territories, including the city of Jerusalem, and the recognition and restoration of the national and inalienable rights of the Palestinian people.

171. It behoves the United Nations to adopt all the necessary measures to implement its decisions and to lay the foundation for an over-all solution which would guarantee the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the area.

172. At a time when international opinion was anxious over the development of the situation in the Middle East and was following with a great deal of interest the efforts undertaken to attempt to find a solution to that situation, the Mediterranean, which was already seriously affected by that problem, found itself once more the scene of a conflict which, by the passions it provoked and the interests involved, could have led to a situation seriously threatening world peace and international security.

173. As a Mediterranean country—and therefore one which could not be indifferent to the future of Cyprus—Morocco, as early as the proclamation of the Cypriot State, felt that lasting peace and stability could not be ensured without full respect for the constitutional and international edifice on which was based the independence of a country composed of two communities which history and interests should have united.

174. Consequently, Morocco examined developments on the island very carefully and somewhat anxiously. It had to admit that, in violation of existing agreements, the Turkish community was systematically deprived of its constitutional rights. From being a two-nation State, Cyprus was being transformed into a single-nation State, which some responsible authorities wished openly to restore to Greece some day. That is what nearly happened this summer.

175. The old agreements are now out of date and should be replaced by a new constitutional charter negotiated with the participation and agreement of the representatives of the two communities of the island. Morocco believes that the new status of Cyprus should ensure its independence, its territorial integrity and its neutrality. Morocco feels, moreover, that the Organization has an important part to play, first by helping to solve the island's grave humanitarian problems and also by guaranteeing the agreements reached by the parties concerned. Only thus can peace and concord be achieved and harmony and understanding among the States in the area concerned by this drama.

176. Unfortunately, these are not the only problems which require vigilance and careful attention on the part of the international community, in order to find adequate solutions. Colonialism has for many years been receding throughout the world. We are now witnessing the end of the Portuguese colonial empire. My delegation wants to hail here this great victory of the national liberation movements of Guinea-Bissau, which we have already welcomed here among us, and of Angola and Mozambique. This victory has been acquired thanks to their political maturity, their courage and the great sacrifices which for years the leaders and the people have made for the success of their just cause.

177. My delegation would also like to express its sincere and cordial congratulations to the Portuguese Government, whose realism and perception of the sense of history and of its true and lasting interests have facilitated and allowed such a change. We profoundly rejoice in this new attitude of Portugal because of the ties of friendship and good neighbourliness which both of us have always sought to maintain.

178. This development, however positive it may be, must not allow us to forget the tragic state of the people of Zimbabwe and our brothers in Namibia and in South Africa. The Organization must adopt precise and concrete measures which will be more clearly understood by the illegal Ian Smith régime.

179. The segregation in which the people of Zimbabwe live has no equal in the world save that which is inflicted upon our brothers in South Africa. Despite the many resolutions adopted by the United Nations condemning *apartheid* in that part of the world, not a single gesture has been made by the leaders of Pretoria which would lead us to believe that action has been initiated to put an end to a policy rejected and condemned unanimously by the international community.

180. Moreover, the racist Government of South Africa maintains and accentuates its policy of domination and discrimination in Namibia in total disregard of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly.

It is fitting to denounce here the strange understanding, even the complicity and the military support received by South Africa from certain Powers, allowing it to continue unrestrainedly an action unreservedly condemned by the Assembly.

181. The Pretoria Government, deliberately disregarding the resolutions of the Organization and of the specialized agencies, remains obdurately adamant. We cannot remain inactive in the face of such a challenge. Energetic measures must be taken to put an end as quickly as possible to the intolerable situation which prevails in Rhodesia, South Africa and Namibia.

182. Decolonization has always held a high place in the debates of the Assembly, and the Moroccan delegation has always considered it to be a question of high priority. It could not have been otherwise for a country which not only has known colonization under its usual form, of occupation by a single foreign Power, but which has also been the victim not only of a division but a real carving up by colonialism: one part was under the protectorate of France; one so-called international zone, Tangier, was under the administration of 13 Powers; another part was under the protectorate of Spain, including a northern zone and a southern zone—Tarfaya, Sakiet El Hamra and Río de Oro—as well as the enclaves, the zones of Ifni and the cities of Ceuta and Melilla. Although important parts of our national territory have been liberated, it is nevertheless true that vast areas of our country are still occupied by a European colonial Power, namely Spain.

183. On 27 April 1956, the Moroccan-Spanish agreement proclaimed the end of the régime of protectorate and the independence of Morocco, on the basis of the unity and integrity of its territory. It was the end of colonialism, at least on the official level.

184. The northern zone of Morocco was restored. The southern zone, Tarfaya, was restored in 1958 only after lengthy negotiations with Spain and various local confrontations with the occupation troops. The two Saharan provinces of Río de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra were still to be liberated, in addition to the Ifni enclave. As far as these parts of our territory were concerned, which Spain was committed to restore to us in 1956 similarly to the northern and southern zones, the Government of Madrid sometimes met our request with an obdurate refusal and sometimes with successive and interminable dilatory manoeuvres. This attitude meant that it intended to maintain its domination over these parts of our national territory.

185. In various areas of these zones the Moroccan people have resumed the struggle against colonial occupation. The armed struggle of Ait Ba Amrane, to cite only one example, against the Spanish troops established at Ifni or at Sakiet El Hamra was proof of the determination of our people to bring about the liberation of their territory. However, the successive governments of His Majesty the King never despaired of seeing Spain display reason and wisdom. It is because of our moderation and also our will to further develop ties of friendship and co-operation with Spain that this question—that of the continued Spanish domination over the western part of Morocco—continued to be a problem for 18 years. It is still, today, on the agenda of the Assembly.

186. Such are the fundamental facts of this problem. Meanwhile, Algeria and Mauritania, neighbouring countries of the Sahara, recovered their national independence. Our territory alone was still being mutilated because of the Spanish occupation. That is when the Moroccan Government, always opting for peaceful means, decided in 1964 to request the inclusion of the question in the provisional agenda of the General Assembly. Since then, and throughout the vicissitudes of our debates, one constant and important fact appeared: for Morocco the decolonization of the two Saharan provinces implied their reintegration into the Moroccan State. All our interventions and declarations are there to bear witness to the facts. The first decision was adopted on 16 October 1964¹¹ by the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. This decision refers explicitly to resolution 1514 (XV) of 14 December 1960, which constitutes the charter for decolonization. In December 1965, it was the turn of the General Assembly to approve almost unanimously, with only two votes against—those of Spain and Portugal—resolution 2072 (XX), paragraph 2 of which reads:

“Urgently requests the Government of Spain, as the administering Power, to take immediately all necessary measures for the liberation of the Territories of Ifni and Spanish Sahara from colonial domination and, to this end, to enter into negotiations on the problems relating to sovereignty presented by these two Territories”.

187. Thus, the General Assembly voted that it was urgent to decolonize the Saharan Territories. But it also called upon Spain at the same time to start negotiations concerning the problem of sovereignty which was posed by these Territories: the Río de Oro, Sakiet El Hamra and Ifni. Consequently, there was a problem of sovereignty to be settled by negotiation, which underlines in a very clear manner the specific character of these provinces and the specific process to be applied to put an end to colonial domination.

188. Who was the partner with whom Spain was called upon to enter into negotiations? The Moroccan State, which ever since 1956 had not ceased to claim the restitution of these zones as an integral part of its territory; the Moroccan Government, which took the initiative of putting the question on the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Of course, the Spanish Government refused and continues to refuse to enter into such negotiations concerning the problem of sovereignty for the particular zones.

189. I quoted resolution 1514 (XV), which constitutes the Charter of the United Nations on the problem of decolonization. A few brief clarifications seem necessary in order to put an end to any sort of confusion that might persist, voluntarily or involuntarily.

190. Resolution 1514 (XV) was completed and made explicit on the very next day by resolution 1541 (XV) of 15 December 1960. In the principles approved by the resolution, particularly in Principle VI, the General Assembly affirmed:

“A Non-Self-Governing Territory can be said to have reached a full measure of self-government by:

(a) Emergence as a sovereign independent State;

(b) Free association with an independent State;

or

(c) Integration with an independent State”.

191. Thus the correct and loyal implementation of the principles of decolonization and self-determination does not necessarily and automatically lead to the status of an independent State. It all depends on the particular situations for each Territory, and particularly on the origins of colonial conquest, and imperialist deals to which some countries fell victim. Such is the case of Morocco, which witnessed its national territory, towards the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth, become a victim to the carving up into several zones of influence, as I have just mentioned.

192. Yesterday and today, we ask only for the just and correct implementation of the principle of decolonization, which should lead to the integration of the provinces of Río de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra into the national territory.

193. But let us come back to the other resolutions adopted by the United Nations. From year to year, ever since 1964, the same recommendations have been taken up, with the addition, according to the forms of the debates, of some paragraphs. But all come back to some basic ideas. First of all, Spain is called upon to hasten the process of decolonization. Secondly, it is constantly invited and called upon to adopt all measures which would allow the free and democratic expression of the local populations, which implies putting an end to the police measures and the evacuation of occupation troops. Thirdly, it is called upon and invited to allow the refugees who have been expelled by the Spanish administration to go back to their homes and participate in an eventual local consultation. Fourthly, it is invited and called upon, first of all, to negotiate, and then to proceed to the necessary consultations with Morocco, Mauritania and all the other interested parties, which implies that the United Nations does not admit that Spain should act alone and unilaterally, which also implies—as was said before—that the decolonization of the two Saharan provinces poses a problem of sovereignty, without which the negotiation and recommended consultation would have no valid justification. Fifthly, Spain is invited and called upon to allow a mission of the United Nations to ensure that the consultation of the local population will take place in a climate of freedom and democracy, and so forth.

194. What has been the behaviour of the Madrid Government throughout these 10 years? The Spanish Government throughout the years has shown how well it can profit from a certain confusion, fed by repeated discussions and the multiplicity of motions voted upon. The main idea of this behaviour is to make much play with the principles of decolonization and self-determination with the very purpose of maintaining colonial domination over and exploitation of these two provinces. Initially the Spanish Government simply disregarded the substance of the resolutions

adopted. It intended, and still intends today, to act alone and according to its own wish. This is a constant factor in Spain's policy. Thus, it has refused all negotiations or consultations concerning the problem of sovereignty posed by these Territories; it has refused to allow the refugees who have been expelled from their homes (numbering 20,000 persons, according to the Spanish press itself) to go back home in order to participate in a possible local, popular consultation; it has refused to allow a mission from the United Nations to go to the area to check the organization of this consultation and to make sure that it takes place in an atmosphere of free expression of views.

195. An array of military, police and administrative arrangements have been set up there: thus the occupation troops today number 70,000 to 80,000, for a population of approximately 45,000 to 50,000. If we assume that in a population of that size only 20,000 to 22,000 are adults—in other words, those who can effectively and theoretically participate in a consultation—then we note that there are more than three Spanish soldiers for each potential voter. That is how the Spanish Government intends to implement the United Nations resolutions and allow the local population free expression of its wishes.

196. Moreover, once the military and police machinery was strongly entrenched, an assembly, entitled Jema'a, has been purely and simply nominated by the Spanish authorities. It is directly under the authority of the military governor. The so-called Assembly has been authorized by the Spanish Government to speak for the population of the two provinces. It alone has been authorized to express its vision of the future. This has been very clearly stated: it does not accept the principle of decolonization. It wants the Spanish administration to continue for years. Meanwhile a "statute" is being worked out for the Sahara, and will be granted by the Spanish Government without, of course, any negotiation or consultation with the United Nations or the States concerned. But as the approval of the United Nations is absolutely necessary for the consecration of this pseudo-decolonization, the Spanish Government deems the time ripe to inform the Secretary-General of its intentions. These consist of defending the people of the Sahara against designs of annexation or expansionism on the part of certain neighbours and to "guarantee . . . the free and authentic expression of their wishes". That is the significance of the information notes in documents A/9655 and A/9736, transmitted on 11 July 1974 and on 13 September 1974 respectively. Spain goes so far as to promise to give all facilities to the United Nations so that it may participate in the projected process of self-determination. But even at this stage, it is only a promise: it is up to the Spanish Government alone to fix the date for this "in due course".

197. Such mystification seems to be really going too far. The Government of His Majesty the King of Morocco is convinced that the international community cannot endorse the unilateral policy of the Spanish Government. It amounts to creating out of nothing a fictitious entity, with an active population of 22,000 persons in a Territory of 280,000 square kilometres, and an Atlantic coastline stretching for 1,500 kms. This fictitious entity is destined to perpetuate the reality of the colonial presence, and the robbing of our

country of two provinces which have always been an integral part of our Territory. That is why His Majesty the King was forced to proclaim publicly on 5 July 1974 that the patience and moderation of the Moroccan people have their limits; that our people, who have struggled, weapons in hand, for their independence and the integrity of their territory, can in no way accept a *fait accompli* in the two provinces which fall under our sovereignty.

198. Thus, the unilateral policy of the Spanish Government being thus revealed in its crude reality, and the position of Morocco being what it has always been since 1956, since we were admitted to the Organization, the situation seems to be the same as at the outset. We are forced, if we want to safeguard peace in this area, to study this problem once more without questioning the principles of decolonization and self-determination. We must rather give these principles real content, and apply them honestly, with regard for the particular and specific character represented by the liberation of the western Sahara.

199. In seeking to find some justification for its unilateral policy, the Spanish Government claims that the provinces of Río de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra were originally Territories which did not fall under any sovereignty or administration. According to the Spanish Government, at the moment of colonial conquest they were *res nullius*, or Territories without a master, and that implies that the Spanish Government does not have to negotiate with Morocco for the process of decolonization.

200. As against that attitude, there is the attitude of Morocco, which, based on its historic, legal, ethnic and cultural rights, has always considered those two Territories as being an integral part of the national Territory. That is why the Moroccan Government is determined not to accept the artificial creation on its own territory of any entity whatsoever, particularly a fictitious entity intended to maintain the colonial system.

201. The formulation of these two attitudes allows us to discern clearly the basis of the dispute between Morocco and Spain since 1956. First of all, we must answer the following question: originally, were the two Territories of the Sahara in question, as the Spanish Government claims, *res nullius*, or Territories without a master, and open to occupation? Or were they at the moment of occupation under the sovereignty and administration of the Moroccan State? Only the answer to that question will make it possible to give real meaning, based on law and reality, to the principles of decolonization and self-determination. This is a prior question which we are all called on to settle, and it is of an exclusively legal character.

202. Using this analysis as a starting point, and anxious to safeguard peace, His Majesty the King has once more chosen the peaceful method of settling the dispute between Morocco and Spain. In his press conference of 17 September 1974 His Majesty Hassan II proposed to submit the case to the International Court of Justice, one of the most important bodies of the United Nations. The Court is competent to proceed to an arbitration between the parties concerned on a purely legal matter. As Members of the United Nations, Morocco and Spain are necessarily parties to the Statute of the Court. Further, it must be added that

the Charter of the United Nations lays down, in Article 36, paragraph 3, a general principle making referral to the International Court of Justice mandatory in all cases. That Article states that

“... the Security Council should also take into consideration that legal disputes should as a general rule be referred by the parties to the International Court of Justice”.

203. The Government of Morocco sent Spain a note dated 23 September 1974 inviting it to join Morocco in submitting a request in accordance with the rules of procedure of the International Court. If that step, taken by the parties concerned—Spain and Morocco—had been adopted, the prospects of a peaceful solution of the problem of the Western Sahara would have become clearer because they would have been based upon law and equity.

204. If for one reason or another that direct method had not been adopted, we would still have requested the Court, not for an arbitrary decision, but simply for an advisory opinion on a simple matter of law. It is for the General Assembly or for the Security Council to request such an opinion, in accordance with Article 96, paragraph 1, of the Charter, and Article 65 of the Statute of the International Court of Justice. The opinion given by the International Court of Justice on a point of law can have a considerable effect as a decision of arbitration. In any case the General Assembly would be in a position, on the basis of such opinion, definitively to find a solution to the political question of the future of the two provinces, Sakiet El Hamra and Río de Oro.

205. That is why my Government has decided, in case the first procedure might not be adopted by the Spanish Government, that it should ask the General Assembly, which is in a position to do so, to seek such an opinion of the International Court of Justice.

206. The dispute which opposes us to Spain has lasted for the past 18 years and it has been on the agenda of the General Assembly for the past 10 years. All the resolutions and recommendations which have been voted concern the main question: that of knowing whether the two provinces of Sakiet El Hamra and Río de Oro belong to a certain sovereignty and authority or whether they have been free territories, open to any occupation. My Government is firmly convinced that the members of the Assembly, particularly the peace- and justice-loving peoples, cannot remain indifferent to this last appeal launched by Morocco that international law and morality and the principles of the United Nations should prevail.

207. In the same context, may I now make the same appeal more directly to Mauritania, since we know that country is as anxious as we are to safeguard peace in the area and to undertake all measures in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, so that law and justice may prevail. Morocco and Mauritania are bound by historic, ethnic, economic and cultural ties and their peoples and leaders are fully conscious of the fact that the fraternal links which tie the two countries and peoples are harbingers of a future of development for both countries.

208. Basing itself on these facts, Morocco declares that Mauritania is concerned in the future of the Sahara and can surely be associated, because of its

rights, with the settlement of the disputes between Morocco and Mauritania and Spain. It is in that spirit that I call upon the Government of Mauritania to associate itself with us before the International Court of Justice to obtain the advisory opinion which the Moroccan Government is seeking.

209. My Government hopes to have contributed, as a Member respectful of the Charter of the United Nations, to the clarification of the problem of the liberation of the two provinces of the Sahara and their political future. However, I also owe it to myself to say, in the most courteous yet firm manner possible, that Morocco cannot accept being faced with a fait accompli imposed by the Spanish Government. That Government has been acting in such a way as to make final the dismemberment of our national territory and of the two provinces where the Moroccan Government has exercised sovereignty for centuries.

210. By persisting obdurately in a manner which seems to be irresponsible the Spanish Government is endangering the unity and territorial integrity of our country and threatening and jeopardizing the cause of peace and international co-operation. Resolution 1514 (XV) contains the following significant passage:

“Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.”

211. May I say to the Government of Spain that I quote that passage because it has been quoted relevantly by the representative of Spain in the United Nations on the question of the restoration of Gibraltar to Spain. The question of Gibraltar has been defined by the General Assembly as a question of the restoration of the national unity and territorial integrity of Spain and not as a question of self-determination. That is the case so far as we are concerned in the matter of the provinces of Sakiet El Hamra and Río de Oro, because they have always been an integral part of our national territory, as history, geography, culture and language bear witness and of which proof is given by numerous international treaties. Spain is in a position to understand that what it considered to be unacceptable for Gibraltar cannot be acceptable for the two provinces of the Sahara, and for the same reason.

212. The Spanish Government is in a better position than anyone else to recognize that the proper and loyal interpretation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) rests in the judicious application of the principles of decolonization and respect for the unity and territorial integrity of sovereign States. Our national territory as a whole was the subject of deeds behind its back at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this century, deeds which led to the carving up of these provinces into various spheres of influence. Those deeds and other *ententes cordiales* between colonial Powers cannot be accepted by us, as is underlined by international law and international morality.

213. Our people have struggled for centuries against foreign penetration, whatever it might be, in order to safeguard their independence and the integrity of our national territory. To give but an historic example, let us recall that the fighting Ma El Ainine, who came

from the provinces of Río de Oro and Sakiet El Hamra, undertook an armed struggle against the colonial conquerors in those provinces in order to penetrate as far north as Marrakesh in 1908. Is there a more striking historical example of the determination of the Moroccan people to preserve their national unity and territorial integrity?

214. There is a lesson which we have learned from this long struggle, similar to that drawn by other peoples under the colonial yoke: the liberation of peoples is above all accomplished by the peoples themselves.

215. Mr. PLAJA (Italy) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, I should like first of all, on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, Mr. Moro, and of the Italian delegation, to congratulate you upon your unanimous election. There are many reasons for my sincere congratulations: the ties which friendship and a common Mediterranean civilization have forged between our two countries; my Government's appreciation of the foreign policy of the Algerian Government; and admiration for your personal qualities as a statesman and a diplomat.

216. On behalf of the Italian delegation, I should like to pay a tribute to Mr. Leopoldo Benites and to thank him for having presided so ably and successfully over the proceedings of our twenty-eighth session as well as those of the sixth special session. In his person, the Italian delegation wishes to pay homage to the qualities of all the peoples of the Latin American countries, with which my country also has profound ties of friendship. And it is with feelings of solidarity that today I single out among them Honduras, which has just been struck by a tragedy which has deeply moved the Italian Government and people.

217. The Italian delegation also takes great pleasure in paying a tribute to the outstanding personality of the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, and in expressing its appreciation of his wise and persevering efforts, particularly in the search for just solutions to the crises which recently have again obscured the international political horizon.

218. As many other representatives who spoke before me pointed out, we are confronted with an international situation which gives cause for serious concern. The Middle East question is still full of grave unknowns; the Cyprus crisis has exacerbated the problems between the two communities on the island and has made relations difficult between two countries which are nevertheless bound by political ties; and the agreements on Viet Nam have not yet yielded the peace which was expected.

219. Furthermore, the disarmament negotiations have not so far fulfilled the hopes of mankind, which aspires to live in a world free from fear.

220. Finally, the economic situation—the seriousness of which was drawn to our attention by the President of the United States of America—has led the Secretary-General, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, to speak of problems “which now confront the world community with a global crisis of extraordinary dimensions”, of “upheavals” and ominous “portents” which, far from being isolated events, are “the symptoms of a profound malfunctioning of the global economy” [A/9601/Add.1].

221. Fortunately, we can also mention some encouraging events. These include, first of all, the admission of three new Members to the Organization, which gives us cause for great satisfaction because the United Nations is thereby drawing closer to one of its chief goals, namely, the universal representation of mankind.

222. The admission of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau has a special significance, because it is a sign both of improvement in the political situation on the subcontinent of South Asia—which gives good reason to hope for the future—and also of the acceleration of the process of decolonization, especially on the African continent.

223. In this connexion I should like to refer in particular to the Algiers Agreement between Portugal and Guinea-Bissau and to the Lusaka Agreement concerning the independence of Mozambique. These Agreements are important not simply because they will avert further bloodshed. The chain of events that brought to an end the authoritarian régime in Portugal and the joint communiqué concerning the implementation of United Nations resolutions issued at the end of the Secretary-General's visit to Lisbon, as well as the Algiers and Lusaka Agreements, show that freedom is an indivisible benefit which cannot be denied to others if it is sought for oneself. It shows, furthermore, the role played in the process of decolonization by the United Nations as a whole, by certain groups of States and by certain individual Member States.

224. In this respect I should like to mention three recent Italian statements.

225. On 10 June, the Italian Government indicated that it viewed as a positive development the opening of negotiations between Portugal and the liberation movements in its overseas Territories and pledged Italy's contribution “aimed at ensuring the speedy realization of the right of the African peoples to self-determination and independence, in conformity with the principles of the United Nations”.

226. On 12 August, in announcing its recognition of Guinea-Bissau, the Italian Government issued a statement stressing that it had “always expressed its support for the decolonization of the Non-Self-Governing Territories and for the granting of the right to self-determination and independence of peoples still under colonial rule”.

227. On 15 September, the Italian Government issued a statement which concluded with the following words:

“Italy is glad to have contributed to the process of negotiations between Portugal and FRELIMO, thus facilitating contacts designed to help towards a better understanding of the objectives and the viewpoints of the interested parties. This clearly reflects the full and constant adherence of Italy to the objectives of self-determination and independence of peoples still subject to colonial rule, and also Italy's recognition of the role that can be played in bringing about peaceful decolonization by political forces which express the aspirations of the peoples.”

228. All these statements were prompted by events connected with the decolonization of the Territories under Portuguese administration; but they have a broader significance because they reflect Italy's conviction that the gradual process of decolonization must be completed as soon as possible.

229. Similarly, Italy rejects all ideologies or policies based on racial discrimination, particularly *apartheid*. At the 2248th meeting, held this morning, again the Italian delegation demonstrated this rejection by voting in favour of the draft resolution in document A/L.731/Rev.1, although certain parts of its text give rise, in our opinion, to doubts of a legal character. My country reaffirms its commitment firmly to support the efforts of the Organization aimed at ensuring, as required of us by the Charter, "respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion".

230. Many changes have taken place in the almost 30 years of the life of the Organization. The Assembly will have to take account of these changes when it considers the proposals concerning the revision of certain provisions of the Charter, submitted by many Member countries, including Italy, with a view to enabling the United Nations better to face an international situation that is very different from the post-war situation, and which is evolving at an ever-increasing pace.

231. Meanwhile another useful, although more modest, objective could be attained, namely, the achievement of the maximum degree of rationality and efficiency in the use of the human and financial resources that the Organization already has at its disposal, paying special attention to the proper selection of staff and the prudent use of the Organization's funds.

232. I should now like to refer to the international economic situation. It is beset, as I have said, by disturbance of alarming proportions. On the one hand, *per capita* and national income are being eroded by a rate of inflation which the world has not known for more than a generation; on the other hand, we are facing the threat of a world-wide recession.

233. These developments are upsetting the political and social equilibrium of all countries and damaging their prospects of development. Furthermore, this could mean that, if everyone tries individually to limit the consequences of this situation or to escape them, we would all find ourselves exposed to a danger that might perhaps be even more serious: the danger that, as in the 1930s, international co-operation may give way to narrow self-interest and bring about a reduction in world trade which would be harmful to all countries without distinction.

234. To counter such a serious threat we must rely on the awareness we have today of the ties of interdependence which link the different economic systems. That interdependence, we must not forget, implies also a joint responsibility in the decisions we must take, either collectively or within the framework of our respective national policies, in order to build a world-wide commercial and monetary order which will enable us, on a more stable and above all a more just basis, to go forward together along the path of development.

235. The initiative taken by the President of Mexico for the elaboration of a charter of the economic rights and duties of States¹² is based on these fundamental principles of justice and stability. Italy welcomed this initiative with great interest, and the Italian delegation hopes that the contacts that will take place during this session will enable substantial progress to be made.

236. The need for a more stable and just basis for international economic relations was, moreover, recognized by the General Assembly when it held its sixth special session last April.

237. In the absence of a new commercial and monetary order, the present situation severely affects mainly those peoples who have not accumulated financial wealth and natural resources of their own, or have far too few, and so can offer, in terms of exports, nothing but their work. This is true of many developing countries, and especially the poorest among them. It is these that are most in danger of suffering from the irreparable consequences of the energy crisis, the monetary crisis and, perhaps, tomorrow, even from a serious economic depression. Italy has a feeling of solidarity with these countries because, while being at a different level of development, it is also lacking in natural resources and the world crisis is causing it problems out of all proportion to its own financial resources.

238. The future will depend on the extent to which genuine international co-operation and solidarity can be achieved in confronting the structural problems of the world economy with a view to ensuring a better and fairer distribution of the world's wealth, a more effective and better balanced utilization of resources and a better relationship between man and his environment. I am thinking in particular of such problems as energy, population, food, development financing, technological progress and the transfer of technology.

239. It was this conviction that prompted Italy to contribute, within the European Economic Community, to a positive response to the appeal by the Secretary-General for an emergency programme for the benefit of the countries most affected by the present economic crisis. Italy views in the same light the relations between the European Economic Community and the countries of the Third World, whether they are associated with or eligible for association with the European Economic Community, or whether they are other countries with which my country maintains ties of traditional friendship.

240. Only recently [2238th meeting] the representative of France, speaking as a representative of the country holding the current presidency of the European Economic Community, requested the inclusion in the agenda of the present session of the General Assembly of an item on the granting to the European Economic Community of observer status at the United Nations. This is an initiative which, among other things, will facilitate the task of associating the European Economic Community with the Organization in the quest for solutions acceptable to all.

241. As for the energy problem, the Italian Government has always felt that any confrontation between the oil-producing and the oil-consuming countries must be avoided by guaranteeing, on the one hand, the

right of each country to dispose freely of the resources of its own territory, and by avoiding, on the other hand, a crisis in prices and supplies whose consequences would ultimately disrupt the economies of all countries.

242. This was the spirit in which Italy participated in international meetings on the energy problem, such as those of the Co-ordinating Group of Twelve, whose objective remains the rapid initiation of a constructive dialogue with the producing countries. It was also in the same spirit that Italy supported the Algerian initiative for the convening of the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

243. Italy, which depends for its energy resources almost entirely on foreign countries, and whose economic progress is closely linked to the development of international trade, is particularly sensitive to the needs of the developing countries, without whose co-operation and agreement no permanent solution to the economic problems of the world will ever be found.

244. To sum up: the right of the producing countries to utilize their own resources in a more rational manner; the need to stabilize prices at just and profitable levels for all; the channelling of earnings from oil exports into productive uses; stable economic co-operation between producers, industrial consumers and non-producing developing countries—these, in the Italian Government's view, are the principles that must guide us.

245. The need to adopt a global approach to these problems has, in any case, been recognized by the United Nations, as is shown by the three major initiatives which it decided with foresight to take this year. I am referring to the World Population Conference, the World Food Conference, and the Second General Conference of UNIDO to be held next spring.

246. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, whose second session was recently held at Caracas, is part of the same pattern of international co-operation. It is to be hoped that in this field, which is so important to mankind, equitable solutions can soon be worked out which will reconcile the legitimate interests of different States with those of the international community.

247. It is quite clear that an appeal for international economic co-operation will be possible only if the maintenance of peace in the various parts of the globe is assured. In this respect, we are well aware that the question of the Middle East and the Cyprus crisis are a source of particularly grave concern to my country in view of the geographical position it occupies in the Mediterranean.

248. In the Middle East the tensions persist, and even seem to be growing more acute, despite some progress made, thanks to the efforts of the United States Secretary of State; this progress has led to the establishment of a negotiating framework situated, appropriately, within the United Nations system and to the conclusion of agreements on military disengagement, the observance of which is guaranteed mainly by the United Nations. I believe that a new and decisive effort will have to be made to overcome the differences which divide the parties directly concerned: this calls, first of all, for a courageous

contribution from these same parties, in the conviction that their real interests require that a just and lasting peace, advantageous to all the peoples of the region, may be established through negotiations.

249. The purpose of such negotiations must be to ensure the implementation of Security Council resolution 242 (1967) in its entirety. In this decision the Security Council laid down the principles for a settlement of the conflicts that would ensure the sovereignty and the peaceful coexistence of all countries in the area, within secure and recognized boundaries. The withdrawal from all the territories occupied after 4 June 1967, in accordance with the principles of the inadmissibility of the acquisition of territory by force, is a basic requirement for the restoration of peace. The security of all States in the area—even more than in military equilibrium, which can never be adequate—must be sought in a political agreement based on the conviction that coexistence between those States is not only necessary but also possible.

250. The other main aspect of the crisis in the Middle East concerns the Palestinian people, who cannot and must not be further deprived of the opportunity to decide their own future. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Italy, Mr. Moro, already had occasion to state in 1970 that this is a problem of a political nature, since the Palestinian people cannot be denied the right to a land of their own. Hence the importance of the debate on the Palestinian question, which the Arab countries have placed before this session of the General Assembly. Let us hope that the debate will be constructive, that is, inspired by a sense of fairness and realism, and that really useful suggestions for the peace negotiations may emerge from it.

251. In any case, it is essential, as of now, that the progress of these long-awaited negotiations should not be jeopardized by military moves. In this context, we feel it is imperative to extend the mandates of the United Nations forces stationed in the Middle East, whose functions have been defined in the disengagement agreements. Italy hopes, moreover, that there will be no recurrence of terrorist acts—which the international community cannot allow, whatever the motives behind them—or of reprisals or preventive action, which we also strongly condemn, not only because these acts also cause innocent victims but furthermore because they mostly take place in the territory of Lebanon, whose integrity is an essential factor in the stability of the situation in the region.

252. As for Cyprus, the tensions which have punctuated the crisis with outbursts of violence—while this crisis was still latent—were aggravated by the tragic consequences of the coup d'état on 15 July. It is more important than ever to work out a solution that will take account of the legitimate aspirations of the two communities, affording each of them effective protection that will enable them to live together in peace and thus securely guarantee the maintenance of the island's sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence. This is the wish of my country, which has always lent its unconditional support to the efforts of the United Nations in Cyprus, and which has given its backing to the action of the Security Council—most opportunely seized of the matter by the Secretary-General—as reflected in resolution 353 (1974),

which forms the basis of subsequent recommendations.

253. In spite of the intervention of the United Nations, and the parallel intervention of various countries, the Conference held at Geneva did not produce the hoped-for results and we witnessed the recurrence in Cyprus of a tragedy which compelled tens of thousands of people to abandon their homes.

254. The talks recently started by the representatives of the two Cypriot communities, following *inter alia* the intervention of the Secretary-General, in order to remedy this tragic situation, deserve our encouragement, as there is reason to hope that political developments will emerge from them.

255. As to the substance of the problem, the nine countries of the European Community have made numerous efforts, both collectively and individually. These nine countries attach special importance to the speedy solution of a crisis affecting a region so close to Italy in consideration of the ties between the Community and the countries involved, which the nine members would like to see further strengthened. It is thus to be hoped that the parties will do their utmost to ensure the resumption of negotiations, with due respect for national dignity, on both sides, bearing in mind the changes that have occurred on the island since the Zurich and London Agreements—on the understanding that the independence, territorial integrity and sovereignty of the island are beyond question.

256. The problem of peace is not confined to its restoration in the areas in which there are conflicts or latent crises. It is, in fact, far broader in scope, being linked to the problem of security, which would be precarious if it continued to be based on the tenuous balance of mutual fear.

257. On the subject of disarmament, I have already spoken of the none-too-satisfactory results achieved thus far. It is to be hoped that the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament will be more successful than it has been so far in devising further disarmament measures, especially as it can count on the contribution of five new members.

258. With regard to the problem of nuclear weapons, the Italian Government reaffirms its support for the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons. It is still preoccupied by the obstacles which seem to impede the attainment of the goal pursued by the Treaty, that is, the non-dissemination of atomic weapons. It considers it both possible and necessary to safeguard the prospects of a fuller utilization of atomic energy for peaceful purposes; to this end it hopes that, at the Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty, the most careful consideration will be given to the possibilities of adapting the Treaty to the new international realities so that it can win the universal support which is an essential prerequisite for its success.

259. While on the subject of the non-proliferation Treaty, I should like to call attention to its article VI, which places in an overall perspective the problem involved in arriving, through measures in the nuclear and conventional fields, at general and complete disarmament under rigorous and effective international control, which the entire international community wishes to attain. That is still a distant goal, and it would

be naive to underestimate the obstacles to be surmounted before reaching it, although a major step has already been taken in that direction with the establishment of a climate of *détente* in East-West relationships.

260. World *détente* presupposes *détente* between the great Powers, but *détente* cannot achieve its full significance unless the understandings between them are accompanied by persevering and constructive contacts with all other countries. Conceived, as it was, as the only possible alternative to the appalling danger of a nuclear conflict, the *détente* is slowly but surely acquiring a fuller political content. As a result of that development, it is no longer simply a policy aimed at stabilizing international coexistence. The time has come to progress to an active phase of co-operation between States to seek a new model and new rules for the conduct of all international relations.

261. Those are the motives underlying the two major multilateral Conferences being held in Geneva and Vienna—the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe and the Conference for a Reciprocal and Balanced Reduction of Forces in Central Europe. At those two Conferences, the countries of Europe—given a common destiny by history, but so often made antagonists by the same history—are playing a leading role in the conviction that a way must be found to overcome the artificial barriers of mistrust and hostility.

262. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe aims at an in-depth discussion of the common problems of a group of countries whose understandings cannot be based on solid foundations unless they are accompanied by an improvement in relations between peoples and individuals. That European meeting, which is taking place as the first contacts are being made between the European Economic Community and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance, is the outcome of an awareness of certain realities that are now established and whose recognition constitutes the basis for a lasting peace. In that spirit, which implies the intention to end the state of political uncertainty that has prevailed since 1945, there can be no doubt that the provisions of Articles 53 and 107 of the United Nations Charter must be considered obsolete.

263. Security and co-operation in Europe cannot be dissociated from security and co-operation in the Mediterranean, which is a natural political and economic extension of Europe. Italy has consistently maintained that there is a link between the security of those two zones. It reiterated that view in June 1972, and particularly in November of the same year—that is, at the beginning of the preparations for the European Conference. That action resulted in the introduction into the resolutions adopted at Helsinki of several paragraphs which, in referring to that link, enabled some non-European Mediterranean countries to state their views at the Geneva Conference.

264. In this statement, which is already quite lengthy, I shall not touch on other topics, such as the Atlantic Alliance, in which Italy loyally participates, convinced that it still plays an indispensable role in the maintenance of international stability and in the progressive opening-up of broader and more fruitful prospects for co-operation between peoples, including peoples with different political systems.

265. Special mention should be made of the opening of a Euro-Arab dialogue, an initiative which resulted from the Arab Summit Conference of Algiers and the Copenhagen meetings in which you, Mr. President, and the country you represent played an important role. In encouraging that initiative, the European Community adopted an approach which is in keeping with its open character and which represents a logical development of the Mediterranean policy. The purpose of the dialogue is to concentrate efforts to bring about ever fuller understanding and more active co-operation within a framework both organic and complete. The new relationship resulting from it can thus be viewed in a long-term development perspective, taking account of historical, cultural and social ties and economic complementarity—or, in a word, of the interests shared by the two groups of countries.

266. I should like to conclude this statement by pointing out that the fact that I have referred to these many international problems proves that the European Community is a concrete and active reality in both the economic and the political spheres. The results achieved should encourage further achievements. In fact, Italy is convinced that continued efforts should be made to bring the process of European unification, begun 25 years ago, to completion so that a new political order can effectively emerge in Europe and so that the union of Europe may become an even more decisive factor in the stability and harmonious economic development of the international community as a whole.

267. Mr. AL-SABAH (Kuwait) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it gives me great pleasure to express to you, on behalf of the Government and people of the State of Kuwait, heartfelt congratulations on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your unanimous election is a tribute to the high status you enjoy in international circles as a statesman with wide experience. I had the privilege of working with you during Arab meetings and sessions of the non-aligned group of States and other conferences. May I say that my impression of you is one of a man of experience, acumen and ability appreciated by all. I have also had the opportunity to work with you as a colleague and a good friend during the past 10 years, and this has confirmed my earlier impression. I offer my congratulations, and wish you great success during the present session.

268. I should also like to pay a tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, for the manner in which he conducted the work of both the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and the sixth special session, which were marked by great efficiency and impartiality.

269. I should also like to commend the efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has worked hard to strengthen the role of the United Nations in maintaining international peace and security, and to express appreciation for his concern with the problems of the developing countries.

270. Kuwait welcomes the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations. I had the honour of taking part in the efforts which led to the conclusion of the agreement between

Bangladesh and Pakistan, as I led the mission which was sent to Dacca by the Islamic Conference in Lahore. I am very pleased to see Bangladesh among the Members of the United Nations.

271. I also welcome the admission of Grenada to membership in the United Nations. May I express the hope that the membership of those two countries will enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and its capacity to implement the principles enshrined in the Charter and to achieve universality.

272. I should also like to welcome the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations after the struggle of its people culminated in full independence. Kuwait was among the countries which first recognized Guinea-Bissau, because it had faith in the ability of its people to triumph in their struggle against the forces of colonialism and in the lofty principles which require the liquidation of the remnants of colonialism, wherever they may be.

273. The world has made great strides in various fields of activity since the establishment of the United Nations. However, the only sphere in which little progress has been made is that of international peace and security. The world is still threatened by war and the small countries are a prey to anxiety because they do not find in the Organization or in the pattern of international relations anything to reassure them about their existence, their destiny, and their right to maintain their independence and territorial integrity.

274. Two years ago I welcomed the symptoms of *détente*, which marked the relations between the big Powers, and I should still like to welcome this development, which minimizes the chances of the outbreak of a global war and saves the world from a great deal of fear and suffering. I should, however, pause to state that co-operation among the big Powers was limited in scope and did not include strengthening international peace and security, improving the efficacy of the United Nations and enhancing its prestige.

275. The best proof one can give of the failure of the big Powers to discharge their international obligations is the impotence of the Security Council, its constant inability to act in times of crisis and to provide peace and security to the small countries. The big Powers, especially the permanent members of the Security Council, are primarily responsible for undermining the Council, damaging its prestige and impugning its capacity to apply the principles of the Charter. The members of the Security Council should act in a conscientious manner as representatives of the international community. They must also realize that the prominent position they enjoy and the additional privileges assigned to them must have as their counterpart a sense of responsibility, honouring international obligations and adherence to the letter and spirit of the Charter.

276. Kuwait has consistently advocated complete and general disarmament in international forums because it believes that the arms race must lead to disaster. The quality of arms in this age and the progress of science and technology have rendered war a dangerous tool for settling disputes among the big Powers and an abortive method of gaining ascendancy. Complete and general disarmament is still a distant ideal and a far-fetched dream. The bilateral disarmament

agreements recently concluded between the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics have turned the arms race from a race of quantity to that of quality. Although 11 years have elapsed since the signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water,¹³ the nuclear Powers have not yet agreed to banning nuclear underground tests; and some Powers still conduct their tests in the atmosphere. The most significant step in the field of disarmament was the Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production and Stockpiling of Bacteriological (Biological) and Toxin Weapons and on their Destruction [resolution 2826 (XXVI), annex]. We still hope that the Powers concerned will reach an agreement on banning chemical weapons as well, so that this may yield earnest results in the field of disarmament by eliminating destructive weapons and not merely restricting their production and use.

277. My Government welcomed from the outset the proposal to convene a world disarmament conference, as we believe that this is a vital matter that concerns all countries. At the same time we commend the preparations being made for that conference; their thoroughness and comprehensive character are the best assurance for its success and for fulfilling the major task it is entrusted with.

278. We welcome the proposal to establish a nuclear-free zone in the region of the Middle East. We hope that this proposal will receive the attention it deserves and lead to the conclusion of an international agreement akin to the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which has proved its merit as a means of rescuing that continent from the dangers of nuclear war and an effective method for convincing the big Powers of the need to respect the aspirations of countries which do not wish to get involved in the conflict among big Powers.

279. Kuwait also supported from the outset the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. We hope that the report which the Secretary-General will make on the military and naval presence of the great Powers in the Indian Ocean will serve as an incentive to constructive debate that will lead to the conclusion of an international agreement aimed at dismantling foreign military bases in this ocean and preventing naval deployments near its shores. This naturally presupposes agreement, understanding and constructive co-operation among all the countries of the Indian Ocean, which must use solidarity and unity among them as a means to compel the great military Powers to respect their will and their craving for peace. We must be mindful of the economic aspects of disarmament which dissipate valuable human and material resources that should be used for peaceful purposes to produce houses, food, clothing and medicine for peoples afflicted with poverty and privation.

280. The organs of the United Nations were preoccupied last year with the appraisal of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade. The studies and deliberations conducted in this respect clearly revealed that the advanced countries did not fulfil their commitments but were rather reluctant to take the nec-

essary measures for providing aid to the developing countries and improving the terms of trade. So long as the Strategy is not applied one must come to the conclusion that the main obstacle is the lack of political will on the part of the developed countries. Kuwait is a developing country, and yet it has been devoting a large percentage of its gross national product during the past years to help less fortunate developing countries support their efforts to achieve self-sustained growth and extricate themselves from poverty and privation.

281. One must commend the United Nations for its efforts to accelerate the pace of economic and social development in the developing countries notwithstanding the meagre financial resources available. I should like to make special mention of the sixth special session, which adopted a Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, designed to strengthen the role of the United Nations in the field of international economic co-operation and further the objectives of the Strategy. I should also like to thank the Organization for its promptness in extending aid to countries afflicted with drought and natural disasters. The concern of the international community with the plight of countries afflicted with such disasters is a new manifestation of true international co-operation and evidence of the prevalence of brotherhood and amity among all nations.

282. Some industrially advanced countries have once more broached the question of the rise in the price of oil and its effect on the inflation which afflicts the international economy. Those countries may have either forgotten or deliberately ignored the incontrovertible fact that the oil companies, the interests they serve and the countries to which they belong had deliberately frozen the price of oil at a very low level for more than a quarter of a century, keeping it thus static in comparison with alternative sources of energy while the prices of all basic commodities, manufactures and services exported by the industrially advanced countries had been rising constantly throughout that period. Raising the price of oil was in essence the correction of an inequitable situation which persisted for a long time and which was dictated by the responsibility of the oil-producing countries towards their peoples. The insistence of the industrially advanced countries on keeping the price of oil low is designed to perpetuate the practice of depleting the natural and economic resources of the developing countries for the benefit of the industrially advanced countries without giving the developing countries a fair return.

283. The inflation which afflicts the world today is endemic in the industrially advanced countries, which are trying to evade their responsibilities by putting the blame on the developing countries. The last pretext they have thought up has been to ascribe their economic ills to the rise in the price of oil. Inflation has bedevilled the industrially advanced countries since the end of the Second World War. It is a problem created by the economic policies of those countries and their inability to manage their domestic affairs properly. The industrially advanced countries have even exported inflation to the developing countries through the constant rise in the price of their

exports of industrial equipment, foodstuffs and the various commodities and services on which the developing countries are entirely dependent.

284. The developing countries have been incessantly striving to regain sovereignty over their natural resources and their right to decide how to exploit these resources and use the revenues therefrom to build their economies and raise the standard of living of their peoples. The developing countries are still striving to establish an equitable relationship between the prices of their exports of raw materials, primary commodities, manufactures and semi-manufactures and the prices of their imports of food-stuffs, manufactures, semi-manufactures, industrial equipment and services.

285. The claim that energy is being used for political purposes is a cause of wonder. The countries which are heaping blame on the oil-producing countries now are the ones which started the practice of classifying goods, treating some of them as strategic materials subject to special trade rules which prohibit their export to certain countries. In that manner they have subjected trade exchange to political and ideological considerations, and used it as an instrument of pressure and intervention in the domestic affairs of other States. When the Arabs embargoed the export of oil to countries which support Israel and encourage it to persist in its wanton and aggressive policy, their real aim was to rectify a situation contrary to the basic principles of justice, to restore usurped rights and to remind those countries of their responsibilities towards the people of Palestine, who have been deprived of sovereignty in their homeland and divested of their national and human rights. Hence there is no room for comparison between the pressure exerted by the big Powers to achieve selfish ends and the efforts of the Arab countries aimed at ending occupation, resisting aggression and restoring usurped rights to their rightful owners.

286. Moreover, some industrially advanced countries are now striving to create a link between the so-called energy and food crises. Let us, then, examine the farm policy of these countries and their plans to reduce the area of cultivated land and restrict agricultural production. One can hardly believe that some of these countries pay a subsidy to farmers in return for their commitment to leave vast areas of their farms uncultivated in order to ensure that production is restricted and prices are raised. This policy has been applied in lands noted for their huge agricultural potential and equipped with the most advanced farming and irrigation techniques. One is therefore led to conclude that if the farmers in those countries were free from constraint and encouraged to increase rather than restrict production there would be a large agricultural output which would exceed the needs of the domestic market and make food available at low prices.

287. How unusual is the policy of those countries that would rather leave fertile land uncultivated and dump the surplus farm produce in rivers or leave it to decay in stores and warehouses than offer it to the developing countries which are in desperate need of it and whose only fault is that they cannot purchase agricultural products with hard currency. Removing existing restrictions on agricultural production in cer-

tain industrially advanced countries not only will contribute to alleviating inflation in those countries through a reduction in the prices of agricultural products but also will have far-reaching benefits for all the developing countries whose development plans are frequently disrupted and which strain their meagre resources to import food products on harsh terms.

288. One cannot place food and energy on an equal footing because the source of food is renewable and non-exhaustible while oil by its very nature is non-renewable and depletable. Oil is also the only source of income for many developing countries, and yet we are constantly subjected to pressure to expand its production though the consumption of one additional drop of it means depriving our future generations of a life of freedom and dignity.

289. Kuwait is keenly alive to the difficulties which international economic problems, including the energy problem, have created for the developing countries. Kuwait has always striven to promote development in the developing countries and help them to attain self-sustained growth. There is no need for me to enumerate the details of the aid extended by my country in the past. Suffice it to say that the aid provided by Kuwait, which is itself a developing country, has constituted about 7 to 8 per cent of its gross national product, which exceeds by far the volume of aid provided by the industrially advanced countries at any time and the obligations imposed by the United Nations Second Development Decade on the developed countries.

290. During the sixth special session I had the honour of announcing that the capital of the Kuwait Fund for Arab Economic Development would be increased from \$600 million to more than \$3,000 million.¹⁴ Under its new constituent instrument the Fund will extend economic and technical aid to all developing countries, whereas in its old form its activities were confined to Arab countries. Kuwait has shown preference for extending its aid bilaterally rather than multilaterally because its long experience has shown that the majority of the developing countries prefer bilateral aid provided that it is not tainted by political considerations and no strings are attached to it. That can be fully appreciated if one realizes to what extent international organizations are burdened by a bureaucracy which hampers their delivery capacity and exhausts the bulk of their resources.

291. Though the assistance of Kuwait has always been of a long-term character, the recent difficulties of some of the developing countries have induced Kuwait to grant short-term assistance as part of the emergency measures designed to alleviate the lot of the adversely affected developing countries.

292. The salient feature of our age is the scarcity of natural resources and their inadequacy to meet the needs of the population explosion in some countries. The World Population Conference recently held in Bucharest adverted to this problem and recommended dealing with it as part of the economic and social plans of the countries concerned, which should seek to achieve a fair distribution of resources to provide prosperity to all sections of the population. The United Nations should be commended for treating the food problem as an urgent question whose solution requires a concerted effort and collaboration

among all countries. Kuwait welcomes the recommendations of the World Food Conference and will provide the necessary aid in conformity with its previous stand in support of the World Food Programme.

293. We attach special importance to the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, which also seeks to explore new natural resources in the sea-bed and to establish a legal régime regulating the exploitation of these resources, which have already been proclaimed by the Declaration of Principles Governing the Sea-Bed and the Ocean Floor, and the Subsoil Thereof, beyond the Limits of National Jurisdiction [resolution 2749 (XXV)], in which the General Assembly solemnly declared that the sea-bed and ocean floor, and the subsoil thereof, beyond the limits of national jurisdiction, as well as the resources of the area, are the common heritage of mankind. We hope that exploitation of these resources will help to bridge the gap between the developing and developed countries. The Conference is seeking also to settle the protracted disputes between countries in the area within the limits of national jurisdiction and draft new legal norms more suited to the spirit of our age and the wishes of the developing countries, which constitute the majority of mankind. We sincerely hope that the Conference will succeed, during its next session and in spite of the numerous difficulties it is facing, in reconciling divergent viewpoints and drafting a single convention on the law of the sea which will rectify historical inequities and establish a new legal order.

294. The developments that took place in Cyprus this summer bring to our minds the importance of the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, which proclaim the right of States to independence, territorial integrity and respect for their constitutional structure. Kuwait would like to voice its sincere hope that peace and amity may be restored to that island in a manner that would safeguard the right of the communities therein to a life based on equality and justice.

295. One must always be mindful of colonialism and *apartheid*, outmoded remnants of the past that should be discarded in this age. It is a source of great satisfaction to observe the policy of the new régime in Portugal and its efforts to recognize the liberation movements in Territories that were previously under its rule. We also hope that Portugal will, without further delay, recognize the independence of Angola, so as to complete the programme of work which it initiated when it recognized the independence of Guinea-Bissau and Mozambique. It is a cause of great regret that the racist minority régime in Southern Rhodesia still adheres to its inhuman policy and that the Government of South Africa tenaciously persecutes the indigenous patriots in South Africa and Namibia. We are confident that the cause of justice will prevail and that these oppressive Governments will soon realize that oppression and tyranny do not pay dividends any longer and that they must recognize the right of peoples to self-determination and renounce *apartheid*, which is a crime against humanity.

296. Discussion of colonialism, racial segregation and subjugation leads us once again to discussion of our region, the Middle East, which has been for more

than a quarter of a century a stage upon which those interrelated evils have played their sinister role.

297. Last year at this time the attention of the world was drawn with renewed earnestness to the events of our region. These events convinced those who were still unconvinced that security cannot be established in the Middle East—nor, indeed, in the world at large—as long as the evils of dispersion and deprivation, occupation of the territories of others, disregard for international law and for the principles of the Charter, and violation of the rights of man, the rights of peoples and the rights of States continue to exist in that region.

298. Although the battlefield is quiet today, it would be a mistake to conclude that the sources of turmoil and the causes for anxiety over the fate of the region and of the international order as a whole have disappeared. For as long as people continue to be displaced and deprived; the original act of usurpation which led to their dispossession and deprivation continues to be perpetrated; and as long as the territories of others continue to be occupied the original aggression which produced such occupation continues. The current state of relative quiet is no more than an external façade. Behind it lies an inadmissible situation, a situation which rests on an evil that has not been remedied and which is certain to generate further turmoil.

299. Ever since the General Assembly came to be seized of what has been referred to as "the situation in the Middle East" in the aftermath of the aggression of June 1967, we have emphasized, year after year, that a distinction must be drawn between the two principal facets of that situation, namely, the question of Palestine and its destiny, as a country and a people; and the conflict between Israel and the Arab States, of which the latest manifestation has been the occupation by Israel of territories of some Arab States.

300. In the statements I have made during the general debate at the successive regular sessions of the General Assembly since 1967, I have always emphasized that in dealing with the Middle East problem that distinction must be the point of departure; that the tragedy which befell Palestine and its people was the original sin and the underlying problem; and that no solution of any of the resultant, successive, grave problems which have arisen in the region since then can constitute a complete or a lasting solution to the Middle East problem, unless it is accompanied by a corrective and radical solution to the tragedy of the Palestinian people—a solution that restores rights, eliminates deprivation, puts an end to usurpation and dispersion, establishes justice where injustice and oppression now reign, and, through all this, creates the conditions for real peace, the peace that is just and lasting, and conducive to security and prosperity.

301. As I have analysed the manifold and interrelated aspects of the tragedy of Palestine in the past before the General Assembly, I shall content myself this year with recalling that that tragedy consists of the occupation of Palestine in its entirety and the usurpation of all its resources, the dispossession and displacement of the majority of the Palestinian Arab people and the replacement thereof by alien settlers who have been permitted to exploit the usurped Palestinian resources and to establish on the territory

of Palestine and at the expense of its deprived, displaced people an imported society and an alien régime which has subjugated those Palestinians who have remained in their homeland. In short, the tragedy of Palestine is the tragedy of an occupied and usurped land and of a people which has been deprived, through displacement or subjugation, of the opportunity to enjoy the most sacred and elemental of its human and national rights, and prevented from living a normal life. The tragedy of Palestine is the product of a process of colonial settlement which has been consummated in the age of decolonization. It is the consequence of the establishment of a racist régime precisely during that era in which the awareness of the evil of racism has spread throughout the world, and the conscience of mankind has rejected and condemned all racist régimes.

302. My description of the tragedy of Palestine would be neither complete nor fully candid, however, if I did not refer to one of the most painful aspects of that tragedy, namely, that the United Nations—and the Assembly in particular—bears a considerable portion of the blame for the fate of the Palestinian people and the tragedy of its existence. For, in the final analysis, the situation in which that people has found itself for over a quarter of a century and which constitutes a desecration of sacred principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, is a situation in the creation, aggravation, and perpetuation of which the United Nations itself has played a decisive part—whether through actions incompatible with the spirit and letter of the Charter, or through inaction at times when international action was an obligation prescribed by the provisions of the Charter.

303. Thus, the tragedy of Palestine, which has persisted throughout this period—a very long period in the life of the present Palestinian generation—has been since the beginning one of the facets of the tragedy of the United Nations itself. And the corrective solution of this tragedy has been an obligation of the United Nations, and will continue to be so for as long as the agony and deprivation of the Palestinians last. Time, by itself, neither mitigates the impact of the tragedy upon its victim nor absolves the United Nations of its duty to effect a bold and corrective solution.

304. It is our conviction that the consideration of the question of Palestine as a separate item on the agenda of the General Assembly, independently of other items dealing either with ramifications of that question or with other questions related to it, is more than a procedural matter. It is an act of substantive import that goes to the very essence of the question, for it corrects the previous approach by virtue of which the original question was ignored while some attention was paid to some of its ramifications.

305. It is also our conviction that, in order for the consideration of the question to be responsible and to reflect an earnestness of purpose and clarity of vision, it must be accompanied by inviting the Palestinian people to participate in the discussions through its legitimate representative, which alone can authoritatively explain its viewpoints, voice its aspirations and define its objectives.

306. It will be recalled that the tragedy of Palestine was born in circumstances in which the people of Palestine was prevented from participating in the dis-

cussions and decisions which subsequently exercised a decisive impact upon its being and destiny: under those circumstances, the absence imposed upon the people of Palestine was both a symptom and a cause of its tragedy. The pursuit of a corrective solution for that tragedy cannot be truly corrective, nor can it produce useful results, unless it begins by restoring the people of Palestine to its proper place, by ensuring its presence at and participation in the deliberations of the General Assembly as the party which alone possesses the right to express its own will, its aspirations and objectives.

307. It is accordingly imperative that the PLO—which my Government, along with the Governments of the majority of the Member States, recognizes as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine—should be invited to participate in the deliberations of the General Assembly on the question of Palestine. Extending this invitation must be the first action to be taken by the General Assembly when it takes up this item on its agenda.

308. It is our hope that the United Nations will begin, in 1974, to correct the mistakes which it began to commit in 1947.

309. Mr. SARDON (Malaysia): Mr. President, permit me at the outset to add my voice to the many that have preceded me, in most heartily congratulating you on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My delegation rejoices to see you in the Chair. We know you well for your accomplishments as Foreign Minister of Algeria, a great nation with which my country has close and friendly ties. We have come to respect you as well for the prominent role and positive contributions you have made to the non-aligned movement and the conferences of Islamic nations, movements whose aspirations and objectives my Government fully shares and firmly supports. We have every confidence that you will deploy all the wit and wisdom that we have so often witnessed from you, and exercise the infinite patience and perseverance that we know you to possess, to ensure the success of this session. For our part let me say, Mr. President, that my delegation stands ready to extend to you our fullest co-operation.

310. In welcoming you, Mr. President, may I also take the opportunity to pay tribute to Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, who as President, not only of the twenty-eighth session but also of the historic sixth special session of the General Assembly, contributed immensely to the fruitful deliberations of the sessions. May I, therefore, express my delegation's gratitude and admiration to Mr. Benites for the skilful guidance he had given us, the leadership he had provided and the wisdom he had shown which enabled us to bring the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session to their successful conclusions.

311. My delegation too, both on its behalf and on behalf of the Malaysian Government, would like to extend at the outset its warm welcome to the delegations and Governments of the Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and Grenada to this great assembly of nations. Their membership will bring us nearer to the attainment of the universality of the United Nations.

312. Partly because of our geographical proximity but primarily because of our common interest and pursuits, my country was one of the earliest to stretch out its hand of friendship to the people and Government of Bangladesh upon its emergence. We are therefore happy at the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations. Indeed as a country that bears nothing but good will and friendship to all the countries on the Indian subcontinent, we are even happier at the unanimous support that has been given to her admission.

313. It is in the same spirit and with a similar sense of familiarity that we welcome the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. My Government had no hesitation in recognizing the declaration of independence that the people of Guinea-Bissau proudly proclaimed last year. The tenacity, the courage and the conviction demonstrated by the people of Guinea-Bissau in their long and just struggle for independence will surely stand as an example for the colonized peoples of the world to follow and as a reminder to the world that the self-determination of peoples cannot forever be denied, much less delayed.

314. My delegation looks forward to working together with the delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau within this forum, as indeed we have been doing outside it, in various movements to which both our countries subscribe.

Mr. Potolot (Central African Republic), Vice-President, took the Chair.

315. If I left Grenada to the last, let me hasten to assure the members of the delegation of Grenada that we welcome them no less warmly to the United Nations, that we no less look forward to working with them. The admission of Grenada to full membership in the United Nations is surely another important step in the continuing process of decolonization.

316. We meet today in a climate less clouded by the threat of a global conflagration. This climate, although only slightly improved, is none the less comforting. As one of the many countries that had no part in creating the monstrous threat of a global conflagration and had no choice but to live in constant fear alongside it, we not unnaturally welcome the new relationship at the major-Power level that has contributed, as those Powers alone can, towards its reduction. *Détente*, if it is to remain welcomed, however, cannot merely mean an increased remoteness of a direct and total conflict at the major-Power level. Nor, if *détente* is to contribute to the making of cosmic changes, should it merely herald the beginning of co-operation between the major Powers on all issues in all areas of the world, to the exclusion and at the expense of others less powerful. All nations, be they big or small, fortunately endowed or unfortunately deprived, have the right to contribute to, indeed the responsibility to participate in, the creation of a more secure world order. Respect and restraint should form the relations between all nations regardless of their size or situation.

317. It is therefore encouraging for my delegation to see that what the major Powers have set in motion had led to major and important initiatives taken by smaller and medium-sized Powers to accept this new challenge and seize this opportunity to work towards

the solution of their own problems. And it is indeed heartening that, as a result, events that had taken place in the past year, and as recently as early this year, had on balance greatly contributed to the relaxation of international tension and increased the scope for peaceful coexistence and constructive relations. It remains our hope, and indeed our determination, to ensure that this will develop into a durable pattern of relations that would diminish the need to confront and increase the will to co-operate among all.

318. It is in this light that my delegation would like to welcome the salutary initiatives taken by all concerned to devote their best efforts and energies towards finding a just solution to the Middle East problem. We are even more encouraged to hear that the process of finding a just solution is continuing and will continue until the whole Middle East problem is resolved. We welcome the disengagement agreements and the separation of forces in the Middle East but, as is universally acknowledged, and rightly so, disengagement is only a point of departure. A just and durable peace in the Middle East will emerge only with the return of the illegally occupied territories, territories acquired by force, to the countries to which they legally belong, the return of the Palestinian people to their homeland, and, equally important, the end of Israeli occupation of the holy city of Jerusalem.

319. My delegation has always maintained that the crux of the Middle East problem is the question of Palestine. Today the Palestinians still continue to endure the existence of camp-living and enforced exile. Today the Palestinians are still denied their inalienable rights to self-determination. It is in an effort to redress this situation, to see that justice is done, that my delegation whole-heartedly supports the inclusion of the item entitled "Question of Palestine" on the agenda. It is also my delegation's hope that the item will be deliberated in the plenary meeting of the General Assembly, and that it will be brought up at the earliest possible opportunity, in order that the problem may be given the greater hearing and greater attention which it deserves. But above all it is my delegation's hope that it will remind us of the urgent task facing the international community and lead us to take speedy action to hasten the process of finding a just solution to the problem.

320. In many areas of the world the process of decolonization has yet to run its full course. In this regard we welcome the new and positive attitude adopted by the new Portuguese Government. Its willingness to recognize the independence of Guinea-Bissau and to concede the right of self-determination and independence of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola is an important contribution to the cause of decolonization in Africa and the world.

321. While my delegation welcomes the constructive and positive attitude of the new Portuguese Government, the action already taken by it in regard to the independence of Guinea-Bissau and the action which it promised to take in the future in regard to the self-determination and independence of Mozambique and Angola—all salutary action which, we are confident, will contribute greatly to global peace and security—my delegation is, however, constantly reminded that in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia white minority régimes representing nothing but their own

selfish interests and pursuing policies that are inhuman and abhorrent continue to remain in power. The brutality and injustice that are being committed in South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia, the systematic denial of human rights to the vast majority of Africans, permit no ambiguity of attitude towards *apartheid*. There can be no shade of grey in regard to a policy designed solely for the purpose of perpetuating domination of and discrimination against peoples whose skins happen to be black by those whose skins happen to be white. To refuse to condemn the régimes in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia is to condone their evil policies. To allow them to persist in maintaining their evil policies and to continue with their repressive actions is to allow them to erode the foundation of peace and security in that continent. And so long as South Africa remains in Namibia, so long as these racist régimes are allowed to exist, so long will peace remain but a promise. We would like to urge, therefore, that those who have it in their power to assist in removing these institutions of injustice should not claim powerlessness to do anything.

322. Events that have recently taken place on the Indian subcontinent gave us reason to rejoice. Within the improved climate and in the spirit of *détente* we see the fruition of continuing dialogue and constructive relations. And we earnestly hope that what has already been set in motion will continue and pave the way for greater co-operation among all the countries in that region and in the process will lead to the resolution of all the remaining problems.

323. It is in the same spirit that my delegation views the Korean question. We continue to urge that the constructive dialogue already begun, but regrettably interrupted, will be resumed at the earliest opportunity. We acknowledge again the many difficulties that have to be faced by both sides, but we who enjoy friendly relations with both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea strongly believe that while there is dialogue there is hope for the reconciliation of their differences that may finally lead to the reunification of the two Koreas. Any progress in this area will contribute further to the already improved climate in the international political scene.

324. But, while we recognize the improvement so far achieved, we also realize this is no time to be complacent, to be lulled by the new sense of reduced insecurity. If the dangerous antagonism of the major Powers has been reduced, the pursuit of aggression and confrontation and conflict is still very much a painful part of the present in many areas of the world.

325. In Viet Nam, despite the agreement to end the war, a war is still in progress. Although it is now less devastating, it is no less tragic. We continue to consider the agreement to be a realistic basis for the settlement of the problem and, more importantly, a basis for the building of peace in our part of the world. We continue, therefore, to urge its strict implementation and the adherence to it of all concerned. And we stress again that the people of Viet Nam themselves must be allowed to determine their own future without any interference from outside.

326. It is in this same spirit that we view the problems confronting the people of the Khmer Republic. My delegation's dearest wish for the people of the

Khmer Republic is the speedy return of peace to their country. The problem of the Khmer Republic, as my country sees it from close proximity—both Malaysia and the Khmer Republic being in the South-East Asian region—is basically a problem of contending leaderships and is, in my delegation's view, a problem that only the people of the Khmer Republic may determine. Herein lies a fundamental principle which throughout the length and breadth of our deliberations on this issue must never be lost sight of. The United Nations, whose principal mandate is the fostering and preservation of peace, should never allow itself to take positions that would be incompatible with this high ideal. This august body, in its anxious pursuit of peace, should not allow itself to disregard the very fine lines that are drawn between positions that are permissible and positions that are not.

327. It is my delegation's view that the Assembly should remind itself that, should it not tread with the utmost caution in the matter of the Khmer Republic's representation in this body, it stands in grave danger of compromising a sacrosanct principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign, independent State. The United Nations can best contribute to the well-being of the Khmer people and nation by expressing its genuine anxiety for the return of peace to that country and by affording every assistance within its power to the Khmer people to resolve their problem themselves.

328. Although tension and insecurity in old areas of conflict have been reduced, new ones have arisen. Recently, death and destruction have descended upon the island of Cyprus. This conflict is no less tragic and no less a threat to world peace. It is clear that a satisfactory solution in this instance must be left to the decision of the parties immediately involved. We are therefore encouraged by the fact that the leaders of the two communities in Cyprus have met and, as a result, the humanitarian aspects of the problem have, to a certain extent, been negotiated and agreed upon, much to the relief of those directly involved. My delegation in this regard would like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for the timely initiatives he has taken, initiatives which, in a sense, represent the continuing role that the United Nations plays and must play. But the prospect for peace in Cyprus remains dim. My delegation therefore urges that all parties concerned direct their efforts most urgently towards the early resolution of this problem in a just manner.

329. If I now turn to the subject of disarmament, it is because my delegation attaches great importance to it. I would once again like to reiterate my Government's support for a world disarmament conference under the auspices of the United Nations and would welcome positive efforts towards the convening of such a world conference. It may be fanciful now to speak of fear of a nuclear war. But let us not lose sight of the fact that nuclear weapons are still with us, that their capabilities are being constantly improved upon, that their possession is within the reach of an ever-increasing number of nations. The existence of nuclear weapons ensures that their use remains a possibility, however remote. The continuing development of such weapons of mass destruction and their acquisition by more countries increases the possibil-

ity of their utilization. Even if the threat of a nuclear fall-out that would destroy us all has lessened, the threat to the environment as a result of a fall-out from the "limited" nuclear tests has not. We must urgently seek an end to the suicidal course that we seem to have embarked upon; to fail to work towards disarmament now is to agree to face destruction in the future.

330. We welcome, in particular, the initiatives designed to create nuclear-free zones and zones of peace in various regions of the world, similar to our own aspirations to make South-East Asia a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality, for they reflect the real desire and represent one of the many efforts by nations to contribute towards a more stable international order.

331. We believe that the primary responsibility for contributing towards peace and stability in one region of the world should rest with those countries that belong to the region. Moved by such considerations, Malaysia, together with its immediate neighbours which are also members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations, has embarked upon a programme of study and consultation to establish a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality in South-East Asia.

332. Our own proposal, which is embodied in the Declaration of Kuala Lumpur, as the Assembly has been informed on previous occasions, seeks within the context of the prevailing improved international political climate to prevent South-East Asia from being an arena for major-Power conflict. It seeks also to enhance co-operation among States in the region, and further seeks to develop a sense of regionalism, so that all who belong to the region need not feel nor find themselves in a hostile environment. We hope to evolve from this a solidarity that will prevent our differences assuming proportions which, in the past, have resulted in their exploitation by others outside the region, to our terrible cost.

333. While we continue to support proposals for the establishment of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace, and while we continue to be sympathetic to such proposals, it is also my delegation's view that such proposals and initiatives should first have the support of countries in the proposed zone. Convinced of our belief that the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones of peace will contribute greatly to global peace and security, Malaysia stands ready to give support and encouragement to similar initiatives and proposals by others.

334. We would expect also that the major Powers, which are equally convinced and equally concerned with global peace and security, would likewise support and encourage any such proposals and contribute positively towards their implementation. My Government, therefore, views with grave concern and deeply deplores the increasing military and naval activities of the major Powers in the Indian Ocean. Adherence to and respect for the United Nations declaration of a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] by the major Powers is imperative.

335. While efforts have been made to reduce the risks of war in the pursuit of peace, no comparable effort has been made to solve the economic and social problems facing the world. On the one hand, there

is the problem of spiralling inflation which continues to pose a serious threat to world economic and financial stability as each nation tries its own method of coping with it. On the other, there are the problems posed by the realignment and floating of exchange rates, the rise in the price of fuel, shortages of food grains and fertilisers, and a slow-down in the growth rates of the industrial countries. For the developing countries, these problems have been compounded by a drop in prices of many of their primary commodities. When the prices of these commodities had been high, they had helped to cushion the effects of inflation. But now, as the prices have come down, and the prices of capital goods imported from developed countries remain high, the burden imposed upon the developing countries has become intolerable.

336. The problem of how to cope with inflation is indeed a complex one, especially as there is no single agreed method of arresting it. Wage and price costs and their effects on employment make it an acute political problem for all nations. Furthermore, the problem cannot be treated in isolation, for whatever measures are taken by the industrialized countries in particular, developing countries will be invariably affected. Never before has the world community been faced with a problem of such magnitude during peacetime.

337. We in the developing countries are most concerned that while the developed countries grapple with the immediate problems posed by inflation, they will relegate to the background the more basic issues that have concerned us for well over two decades. Issues such as the attainment of the level of official development assistance of 0.7 per cent of gross national product by 1975 by the developed countries; the reform of the international monetary system with greater participation by the developing countries; trade liberalization measures; remunerative prices; access for our primary commodities, semi-manufactures and manufactures to the markets of the developed countries, and a greater share in world trade are in need of urgent attention, in addition to the ever-present problems of hunger, disease, illiteracy and mass unemployment.

338. All these problems were given an airing once again at the sixth special session held here in April this year, on the initiative of the President of Algeria. This session was a landmark in the efforts of the developing countries to redress the imbalance in the economic relations between the developed and the developing world. At the meeting, the General Assembly unanimously agreed, by resolution 3201 (S-VI), to establish a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interests and co-operation among all States. In doing so, the Assembly clearly recognized that the old system, which had been established long before developing countries had become independent, was not adequate to meet the new challenges facing the world, especially the developing countries. The Assembly, therefore, proclaimed its united determination to work urgently for the establishment of a new economic order. This implied greater co-operation between developed and developing countries.

339. Increased co-operation is, in fact, imperative because the problems that we face are interrelated

and their effects are world-wide. Any solution to them must be found in the global context. If there is to be genuine co-operation, then there is no doubt that it must be based on partnership and mutual advantage. It cannot be otherwise. However, it must be recognized that, according to the rules of the game, the developing countries are the handicapped ones and therefore deserving of preferential treatment and special consideration. If this is not recognized, then terms such as "interdependence" and "mutuality of interests" are merely euphemisms for the exploitation of the poor and the weak by the rich and the strong.

340. We have also very often heard that political will is necessary if developed countries are to fulfil their obligations and commitments under the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade and help create a truly new economic order. Indeed, the problem, in essence, is a political one, and the time has come for the developed countries to show greater statesmanship so as to translate the various resolutions, strategies, declarations and programmes into actions. The problem is also a moral one, for the developed countries owe it to the developing countries, as their former colonial masters who exploited their human and natural resources, and thus built the foundations of their own prosperity, to bring about economic and social stability. As you, Mr. President, so eloquently put it in your address to us, "However decisive the distribution of power may be, moral considerations also have their weight, and this weight can be decisive" [2233rd meeting, para. 31].

341. One issue on which it is necessary to bring the political will to bear is the level of official development assistance. It has been known, for instance, that instead of reaching the prescribed target of 0.7 per cent, official development assistance has fallen to about 0.35 per cent of the gross national product of developed countries. In asking that that level be maintained or even increased, we are not asking the developed countries to give up their prosperity. What is asked of them, as Mr. McNamara, President of the World Bank, pointed out, is that they just dedicate a tiny fraction of their incremental income, that is, income over and above that which they enjoy that will accrue to them in the 1970s. The present problems that developed countries face should not be used as an argument against foreign aid, as these countries are in a stronger position to weather the storms they experience.

342. Developing countries, on the other hand, with a weak resistance, will only sink deeper and deeper into the quagmire of difficulties. Then even a salvage operation on a global scale will be too little, too late. Developed countries should consider that instead of giving millions for disaster assistance it would be more beneficial if the developing countries were instead granted fair and remunerative prices for their exports. This would have a greater salutary effect on the economies of developing countries. On the other hand, the rise in price of an essential import item or a decline in the price of their primary export can erase all the benefits they would get from foreign aid.

343. Another example of the "aid fatigue" is the response to the emergency operation launched by the Secretary-General in response to resolution

3202 (S-VI) to meet the immediate and urgent needs of the countries most seriously affected by the current crisis. To say the least, the response has been poor. It has been estimated that economic assistance to these countries would amount to US \$3,000 to \$4,000 million for the first 12 months. Yet bilateral and multilateral assistance already announced by Governments only amounts to \$1,000 million.

344. On the question of external assistance for agriculture in developing countries to help alleviate the food crisis, it has been estimated that assistance in the years ahead would have to be increased to \$5,000 million from the \$1,500 million that is currently available. It has been mentioned that more than 460 million people are "permanently hungry" and their capacity for living a normal life cannot be realised. At least 40 per cent of them are children. The question we ask is, what sort of a world are we building for these children?

345. The World Bank carries an even more ominous warning in its report for 1974, in which it forecasts that many developing countries will experience a decline in their gross national product growth rates below the 6 per cent target set for the International Development Strategy and that for the poorest countries the growth rates will be so low that per capita incomes will either be stagnant or rise very little between now and 1980. For these countries, especially those with high population growth rates, the prospects look terrifying indeed. The report also talks about the bleak prospects of mobilising additional capital and says:

"It appears almost inevitable that at least in the short run, the flow of concessionary aid will decline even further in real terms. This will happen at a time when the needs of countries which depend heavily upon such aid will be greater than ever."

What prospects do these countries have for social and economic development?

346. President Ford of the United States of America said in his address before the Assembly that "we need new approaches to international co-operation to respond effectively to the problems we face" [2234th meeting, para. 22].

347. Yet the Secretary-General in his press conference given on the eve of this session said, "there was not a trend towards better international co-operation, but rather a trend back again to nationalism . . .".

348. It is clear therefore that what we really need is a firm commitment from the developed countries that they will negotiate in earnest and genuinely have the interests and the welfare of the developing countries at heart. Nowhere is this more applicable than in the multilateral trade negotiations, where the whole question of an improvement in the trade position of the developing countries is being discussed. Progress on these negotiations has been slow. We in Malaysia set great store by these negotiations because our export trade constitutes more than 40 per cent of our gross national product. Yet the multilateral trade negotiations, for example, have barely got off the ground, though they are to be concluded by 1975. Further delays in the negotiations are expected while developed countries preoccupy themselves with their own problems. Such delays, as our Prime Minister

pointed out when he addressed the special session of ILO in Geneva in June this year, are "morally untenable". He called on the developed countries to negotiate in earnest with the developing countries.

349. Progress in bringing about reforms of the international monetary system has also been slow. In calling for an early reform of the monetary system we, together with the other developing countries, have called for greater participation by the developing countries in the decision-making process, the establishment of a link between special drawing rights and additional development finance and the transfer of real resources from the developed to the developing countries. These issues, important as they are, seem to be overshadowed by the current developments on the financial scene. Yet the need for these reforms could not have been greater.

350. The negotiations on the charter of economic rights and duties of states have also been stalled because of the lack of agreement on such key questions as the permanent sovereignty over natural resources, foreign investments, transnational corporations, nationalizations and compensation. The charter will be an important document governing the economic relations between States. Success in settling the outstanding issues depends on whether a political decision has been reached by some of the countries concerned to proceed with finalizing the charter. Otherwise the discussion of this item at this session could turn out to be another long drawn-out affair with little progress to report at the end.

351. We seem to have reached a stalemate in our efforts to establish a more just and equitable socio-economic order. We all know how this is to be achieved. It only remains for the developed countries to change their attitudes so that we can break this stalemate. We are encouraged by the fact that a few of these countries have come out in support of the aspirations and hopes of the developing countries and have taken concrete steps to fulfil their commitments and obligations. The efforts of such countries are worthy of our praise. This leads us to believe that all is not yet lost.

352. If we are to build a durable structure of peace, it is imperative not only to improve the political climate but, along with it, to make a genuine attempt to achieve economic and social justice for the developing countries. Otherwise, as the Secretary-General pointed out in his introduction to the report on the work of the Organization, we will risk destroying even the very gains made on the political front and usher in a new period of desperation, chaos and confrontation. We believe that there is too much at stake to allow this to happen. Malaysia pledges to do all it can within its means, and asks that others do the same.

353. Mr. AGUSTSSON (Iceland): Permit me to congratulate the President on his election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I wish him all success in that high office, and he can feel certain of the full confidence and support of my delegation.

354. Allow me also to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and his staff for their tireless efforts in promoting the cause of the United Nations and thus the cause of peace in the world.

355. I would also take this opportunity to join my colleagues who have welcomed the new Members of the United Nations: Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. We look forward to their co-operation and contributions to the work of the Organization.

356. A new Government was recently formed in Iceland. Participation in the United Nations is a basic element of the foreign policy of that new Government, as has been the case of all Icelandic Governments since we joined the United Nations in 1946. The Icelandic people fully realizes the necessity of global co-operation in all fields of human endeavour. We feel that the United Nations is the proper instrument to make that co-operation successful. We also realize that that co-operation is possible only with the full and effective political backing of the United Nations by the international community.

357. Recent events have again shown the necessity to make the United Nations more effective in times of crisis. It is indeed tragic that the problem of Cyprus is with us again. The solution of 15 years ago was found only after much bloodshed, and the recent fighting has added a new chapter to a story already sad enough. We hope that all parties concerned will scrupulously respect the cease-fire now established and will make it possible for the peace-keeping forces of the United Nations to carry out their important and difficult task.

358. Allow me at this point to offer my sincere condolences to those Governments whose soldiers have been killed or wounded in carrying out their peace-keeping duties for the Organization.

359. It is our firm belief that a lasting solution of the Cyprus problem can be found only through peaceful means and in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations, and it is of utmost importance that in all further negotiations the resolutions of the Security Council be fully carried out. And, of course, any solution must be based on respect for the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus itself.

360. The situation in the Middle East remains enormously complex and precarious. The wisdom and patience shown in the recent disengagement agreements indicate a welcome trend which we hope will lead towards a solution of a more permanent nature. Any solution should take into account all relevant considerations, including the legitimate rights of the Palestinians. Here again, in this area, the most useful role of the United Nations peace-keeping forces cannot be over-estimated.

361. The question of decolonization has been on the agenda of the United Nations for many years. At this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly we are in the happy position of being able to welcome Guinea-Bissau as a Member and to welcome the establishment of a provisional Government in Mozambique. We have in the past in this forum heard severe criticism of the Portuguese Government for its colonial policy. Today it is most gratifying to be able to praise the new Portuguese leadership for the important steps that are being taken in conformity with the basic principles of the Charter of the United Nations to grant independence to the populations of the colonized Territories.

362. Unfortunately, in other parts of southern Africa the African population is still being severely suppressed. All reasonable steps must be taken to bring to an early end the flagrant violation of human rights which is being committed in the area.

363. The Korean question was discussed at the last session of the General Assembly more usefully, perhaps, than could have been expected. The conclusion, acceptable to both parties to the dispute, expressed the hope that further bilateral discussions aimed at peaceful reunification could take place. Regrettably, that has not been so. Whether discussions during this session will carry the question any further towards a solution remains to be seen. But, in any case, it is to be hoped that some further progress on this long-standing problem can be made in the nearest future, leading to a peaceful reunification of Korea.

364. The world situation demands that all efforts be made to enhance *détente*, to increase co-operation and to bring about effective disarmament. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe has not yet—despite long discussions—produced satisfactory results. There is some uncertainty as to the outcome, but we feel it is of great importance that solutions be found to the weighty questions the Conference is now dealing with.

365. The situation is similar as regards the even more complex talks in Vienna on mutual force reductions in Central Europe. Progress has been slow. But we hope that those discussions will at an early date have positive results as we consider the outcome of both those series of discussions as a significant test for future developments.

366. Little headway has been made in the Strategic Arms Limitations Talks between the United States and the Soviet Union since the last session of the General Assembly, but the resumption of the negotiations renews our hopes for an agreement.

367. Nuclear tests have been continued and expanded. This sounds a new warning and shows the urgency of reaching an international agreement on a comprehensive ban on the production and testing of nuclear armaments. It is of course essential that disarmament agreements also contain provisions for a ban on the production and possession of chemical weapons.

368. While attempts are being made to solve all these armament problems, overwhelming as they sometimes seem, it is also important to look ahead and try to envisage what kinds of new problems in this field we might possibly be faced with in future years—and then try, if possible, to avert them before they become acute. For this reason we look with favour upon the initiatives taken for the discussion of potential new threats in this field during this session of the Assembly.

369. Never before in the history of the United Nations have economic matters been discussed at such a high level as they were in the sixth special session of the General Assembly. That special session has helped deepen the awareness of the increasing economic interdependence of the whole world. It is our hope that we can speed up significantly the efforts aimed at reducing the economic gap which exists between the industrialized and the developing countries. This is one of the most urgent questions that the international community faces.

370. The Special Programme to provide emergency relief and development assistance to the developing countries most seriously affected [*see resolution 3202 (S-VI), sect. X*] has got off to a slow start. A serious economic dislocation is now affecting most countries of the world, some to a disastrous degree, stifling their economic development and adding to the hunger and misery of millions of people. The Icelandic people are most sensitive to this human suffering and the Icelandic Government therefore in June this year contributed to the Special Programme of emergency assistance.

371. My country has been severely hit by these recent economic developments. We are to a greater extent than most countries dependent on international trade, having to import all the oil products we use, much of the food, and practically all our requirements of raw materials. Our principal export item—fish and fish products—has generally suffered a considerable reduction in price. This turn of events has led to serious economic difficulties in my country with tremendous inflationary pressures.

372. It is evident that an important aspect of these problems is the question of a rational and just utilization of the world resources, which has never been more urgent than now, given, on one hand, the technical means we possess and, on the other, the rapidly increasing world population.

373. The problem of energy resources has been highlighted lately by the greatly increased prices of petroleum products. The limitations in the potential supply of these products seem to make it imperative that other sources of energy be developed. May I suggest that the United Nations has a role to play in this field by acting as a co-ordinator of research to this end. In this connexion, I wish to point to the tremendous latent geothermal potential, the utilization of which has only just commenced.

374. My country, which depends almost entirely on the resources of the sea for its economic survival, is, as many representatives know, especially interested in the work of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. In the view of my Government the recently concluded session in Caracas achieved its purpose in clarifying basic alternatives and reducing their number. We are all indebted to the Government of Venezuela for providing excellent facilities for the Conference and also for providing the services of Mr. Andreas Aguilar, who performed his functions as Chairman of the Second Committee of the Conference with great distinction.

375. Sixty States which had not been members of the preparatory committee for the Conference had the opportunity of explaining their views and being brought into the negotiating process and that objective was admirably accomplished. It was clear that no final solutions would emerge from the Caracas session, since the work proceeded on the basis of the consensus principles, and that further time would be required for the negotiating process. However, in all fields the basic issues are now reasonably well established and it is to be hoped that the forthcoming session in Geneva next spring will proceed to adopt a reasonable package solution.

376. On the basis of the discussions at Caracas it is now already possible to visualize the outlines of such a package solution. In our view it will consist of a territorial sea of 12 miles, an exclusive economic zone of up to 200 miles, a reasonable solution with regard to the continental shelf area beyond 200 miles, freedom of navigation in the economic zone, unimpeded passage through straits used for international navigation, a balanced solution for coastal State jurisdiction in connexion with pollution and scientific research, the recognition of equitable rights for land-locked States and a strong authority for the international sea-bed area which would safeguard the interests of developing countries in the proceeds from that area.

377. To my Government the most important issue is the formal adoption of an exclusive economic zone of up to 200 miles, which is now a firmly established concept that enjoys the support of the overwhelming majority of the Members of the international community. I want to use this opportunity to express the satisfaction of my Government with regard to the policy of many Governments that previously were opposed to this concept but have now given their support to it. We look forward to the continuation of the Conference on the Law of the Sea and we are confident that a solution of these matters is now well within reach. It is our hope that agreement will be reached next year with regard to an exclusive economic zone of up to 200 miles and other related matters at the Conference on the Law of the Sea, that Governments which plan to extend their coastal jurisdiction to that distance can proceed on the basis of an international convention.

378. I am not saying that the alternative would be utter chaos, because there already exists sufficient support for unilateral action in this field, if the co-operative efforts should fail, an eventuality that we all should strive to prevent. A solution in the near future along the lines now indicated through the work of the Conference on the Law of the Sea would be the logical and reasonable result of the tremendous work which has been devoted to the problems involved. In view of this fact I want to use this opportunity to express my Government's admiration for the leadership provided by Mr. Amerasinghe, President of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The international community is greatly indebted to him for his endeavours which, I am sure, will culminate in the successful completion of the task of the Conference. Our thanks also go to the chairmen of the committees of the Conference and other officials of the Conference who have shown great devotion to duty. I wish them luck in the further exercise of their great responsibilities.

379. This is the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Twenty-nine years is indeed a very short period of time in the history of civilization. Admitting that, we all realize how important a foundation the United Nations has created in this relatively short period of time to increase and strengthen co-operation between the nations of the world for the benefit of mankind.

380. It is the most valuable recognition of the importance of the United Nations that none of us would like to see the world today without the Organization. As long as we all have this firm belief in the necessity of the United Nations, we are indeed on the right path leading us to a better and more just world in spite of the fact that we have not been able to progress as fast as the more optimistic had hoped and therefore we have sometimes had considerable disappointments through the years.

381. In this connexion I think it is encouraging for all of us if we recall the world situation 29 years ago. Then, almost two thirds of the 138 Members now represented in this Hall were colonies and their peoples were without the freedom, sovereignty and independence they now fortunately enjoy. Then there was very little international co-operation for the furthering of human rights and very few efforts to avert hunger and poverty in the world. And then there was no international institution to mediate in armed conflicts between nations and act as a peace-keeping force.

382. Because of the existence of the United Nations we are now living in a much better world than existed 29 years ago. Therefore we all must continue to strengthen the Organization, in the firm belief that we are contributing to a better world of tomorrow. That belief can and will, if we let it guide us in our work here, bring us each day closer to our goals. That belief is of the utmost importance for us all, since it is equally acceptable to the developing and the developed States, to the poor nations and the rich, and therefore we can unite under its banner for the creation of a more peaceful and a more just world.

The meeting rose at 10.25 p.m.

NOTES

¹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 402, No. 5778, p. 72.

² See *Basic Documents of Asian Regional Organizations*, edited by Michael Haas, Oceana Publications, Inc., Dobbs Ferry, New York, 1974, vol. IV, p. 1269.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

⁴ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-ninth Session, Supplement No. 24*, para. 84.

⁵ *Ibid.*, para. 73.

⁶ See A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 85.

⁷ See *Rhodesia: Report of the Commission on Rhodesian Opinion under the Chairmanship of the Right Honourable the Lord Pearce*, Cmd. 4964 (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).

⁸ *Legal Consequences for States of the Continued Presence of South Africa in Namibia (South West Africa) notwithstanding Security Council resolution 276 (1970)*, *Advisory Opinion I.C.J. Reports 1971*, p. 16.

⁹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, agenda item 41.

¹⁰ Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues, of the International Monetary Fund.

¹¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Nineteenth Session, Annexes*, annex No. 8 (part I), document A/5800/Rev.1, chap. IX, para. 112.

¹² Subsequently adopted as resolution 3281 (XXIX).

¹³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

¹⁴ *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2217th meeting, para. 164.