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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA (Algeria).

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. ARIKPO (Nigeria): On behalf of the Nigerian delegation, I congratulate you, Sir, on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is an appropriate recognition of your personal qualities as a statesman, an international diplomat and a fighter for human dignity. More importantly, your election symbolizes international recognition of the role of Algeria and its respected President, Houari Boumediène, in the struggle for equality, the right to self-determination and human dignity. It is a fortunate coincidence that you should be presiding over this crucial session, which will be faced with taking follow-up action on the decisions of the sixth special session, held as a result of the initiative of the President of your great country.

2. This session, which was devoted exclusively to the question of raw materials and development, was the culmination of a universal concern for the disastrous prospects of the existing international economic order. At that session resolution 3201 (S-VI) was adopted, which spoke of our united determination to work urgently for the establishment of a new international economic order based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States.

3. In that resolution we accepted then that the developing countries, which constitute 70 per cent of the world's population, account for only 30 per cent of the world's income. We declared that in order to safeguard every country's natural resources, each State is entitled to exercise effective control over them and their exploitation and that no State may be subjected to economic, political or any other type of coercion to prevent the free and full exercise of this inalienable right.

4. The Assembly also pronounced itself on the need to regulate and supervise the activities of transnational corporations by taking measures in the interest of the national economies of the countries where such transnational corporations operate, on the basis of the full sovereignty of those countries; and finally, among other matters, the Assembly declared itself in favour of a just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary commodities, and manufactured goods exported by developing countries and the prices of raw materials, primary commodities, manufactured goods, capital goods and imported equipment, with the aim of bringing about sustained improvement in the unsatisfactory terms of trade and the expansion of the world economy.

5. This resolution was adopted on 1 May 1974 as the basis for the establishment of a new international economic order. But only six months later, some of the countries which participated in the adoption of that resolution want to jettison the historic Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order which it contains.

6. One primary commodity—crude oil—has been singled out and made the villain of the piece; and the oil-producing countries are being pilloried before the bar of this Assembly as the culprits of international inflation and the wreckers of the national economies of the great wealthy nations. There is even talk of bringing back the gunboat to get oil prices reduced. Is it not sad that the international community continues to use nineteenth-century methods to solve late-twentieth-century international problems?

7. Of course, the price of oil has increased sevenfold, but even more so have the prices of wheat, automobiles, steel, cement, every type of machinery and every piece of electronic equipment. Stated bluntly, the argument of those who say that if only oil prices were reduced then inflation would be checked means that the highly industrialized countries are not prepared to make any sacrifice in the phenomenally high standard of living of their peoples in order to promote the development of the developing countries and ensure the adequate flow of real resources to those countries.

8. It is true that the non-oil-producing developing countries are the least able to pay the foreign exchange bill demanded by high oil prices; but that is precisely the reason why there has been so much consultation in recent months between countries of the third world for the purpose of working out mutual assistance agreements and the establishment of special facilities to assist the most hard-hit countries. That is the reason why oil-producing countries, like my own, in spite of their development needs, are responding to international appeals for multilateral assistance to the hardest hit.

9. In the sixth special session the Assembly recognized the role of transnational corporations in the fashioning of a new international economic order. The Nigerian delegation had hoped that at this session proposals would be brought forward for the reform of the policies and practices of transnational corporations to enable them to conform and assist in promoting the new international economic order. If we take that most abused commodity, crude oil, we know that transnational corporations, which control the oil industry, hold national governments to ransom on oil prices. It is common knowledge that for every dollar which the producer country earns, the international oil companies earn between 7 and 10 dollars. National governments seem incapable of controlling, in the interest of their citizens, the profits made by oil companies operating in their countries. Is this not a problem which requires international co-operation within the United Nations system for its solution?

10. Next, I must ask how we are going to establish a just and equitable relationship between the prices of raw materials, primary products and manufactured goods if we cannot "set our sights" above the current price of oil. It is my delegation's hope that the Assembly at this session will devote a considerable part of its effort to working out the implementation of the two resolutions adopted at the sixth special session, for, in the words of the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization:

"There can be no doubt that the nature and quality of life for future generations on this planet depends, as never before, on the ability of the community of nations to co-operate and plan effectively for the future in the common interest of all" [A/9601/Add.1, sect. I].

11. The full impact of the special session at which the Assembly sought to put world economic relationships in their proper perspective will take many years to unfold, but I want to assure you even now that the Nigerian Government takes very seriously the solemn resolve of Members of the United Nations to work for the establishment of a new international economic order. The Programme of Action adopted at the special session [resolution 3202 (S-VI)] outlined what is to be done in order to bring about that new order. It calls on the international community to replace an outmoded and lopsided structure of international economic relations with one based on full recognition of mutual interdependence and respect for the mutual interests of all parties. To do this, we must possess the political wisdom to recognize the need for change in our mental attitudes so that those who hitherto have been used to having every issue settled on their own terms can become accustomed to recognizing the legitimate aspirations of others. Inflation and supply shortages are real problems which we must deal with co-operatively and in a spirit of realism and mutual understanding, bearing in mind that we are living in a period of change, and that a period of change is sometimes accompanied by inconveniences to which we must learn to adjust. We must tackle these inconveniences through co-operation, not through confrontation.

12. Nowhere has the period of change manifested itself more clearly than on the continent of Africa,

over the past year. About this time last year the people of Guinea-Bissau, through their authentic representatives, the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC], took their fate in their own hands and declared their independence. We are happy that today the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a proud Member of the United Nations, thus fulfilling the prophetic message which my head of State, General Yakubu Gowon, sent to the Heads of State of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] in 1971, namely, that within three years from that date at least one African Territory must be liberated from colonial bondage. The spirit of liberation has gathered far more momentum than was anticipated in 1971, and we are happy to note the change in Mozambique, which has resulted in the installation in that country of a government of nationalists, poised to assume full sovereignty in 1975. We pray that the efforts towards conciliation which are now going on in Angola will result in the assumption of full sovereignty by that potentially great country before long. The Government and people of Nigeria congratulate the liberation movements of these countries on their sacrifices and their achievements. I should also like to place on record my Government's appreciation of the courage and wisdom of the masses of the Portuguese people in realizing that their long-lost freedom was inexorably bound up with the freedom of the peoples of southern Africa, who for 50 years had been the victims of political domination by a neo-Fascist clique from Portugal. I should also congratulate the new Portuguese Government for giving firm support to the new Mozambique Government in crushing the futile white minority coup in that country. One hopes that the lesson of the Portuguese Government's action will not be lost on their oldest allies, who continue to equivocate on Rhodesia.

13. These developments in Portuguese-held territories must give this Organization tremendous satisfaction. The support which the United Nations gave to Africa and the national liberation movements was indispensable for the final liquidation of Portuguese imperialism in Africa. However, vigilance is still required to ensure that the few reactionary elements in both Portugal and Angola and Mozambique are not permitted to reverse or even slow down the process of Portuguese decolonization.

14. Regrettably, Namibia still remains in the fetters of South Africa's illegal occupation. The well-organized brutalities practised on the indigenous population of Namibia in the hope of destroying their fight for freedom can be matched only by the Nazi horrors of the first half of this century. For how long will the United Nations watch such horrors helplessly? For how long will the Organization shy away from the firm measures that are needed to assert United Nations authority over Namibia? I do not believe that anyone here is still in doubt as to the unwillingness of the Vorster régime to withdraw gracefully from Namibia. Unless, therefore, this Organization is prepared to acquiesce in the illegal seizure of Namibia by South Africa, prompt and decisive action should be taken now to end South Africa's continuing defiance of the authority of the United Nations over Namibia. As in Namibia so in Zimbabwe; time is running out for the minority white oligarchies. One must pray that the white minorities in both Territories

will choose the alternative of co-operation in a multi-racial society before the deluge.

15. Before ending my remarks on decolonization, I wish to take this opportunity to congratulate the two other new Members of the Organization on their accession to membership and to the Charter. I refer, of course, to the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Grenada, both of which share membership of yet another organization with my country. Let me assure them that both in this and in every other forum my country will work in co-operation with them for the achievement of international understanding and co-operation.

16. The brief interlude or comparative calm in the Middle East since the cease-fire after the October 1973 battle has created the impression that the Middle East conflict can now be resolved by a meeting in Geneva between the big Powers and the adversaries, and that we, the small countries of the world, need play no role beyond that of cheer-leaders in the power game called the Middle East crisis. If doing nothing more than cheering the players could bring real peace in that area and, by implication, peace of mind to the peoples of the African region, my country would be happy to do just that and no more. Unfortunately, this attitude is based on a fallacy. That is why my delegation welcomes the inclusion in our agenda for this session of the question of Palestine [item 108], and the opportunity of a full debate on what the international community understand by the phrase "Reaffirms the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine" contained in General Assembly resolution 2535 B (XXIV) of 10 December 1969. Furthermore, the General Assembly ought to state what is meant by returning to the Arabs "the lands occupied by Israel as a result of the 6 June 1967 war", as stated in Security Council resolution 242 (1967).

17. One would have thought that these phrases would mean what they say. However, they have been subject to such varying interpretations that, unless agreement is reached by the parties on what resolution 242 (1967) means, months of meetings in Geneva will not bring the solution of the Middle East crisis any nearer. We should have no illusions about any solution which does not take into account the territorial integrity and sovereignty of the Arab people on the one hand and the recognition that Israel is a reality, a nation which can make its own contributions to world peace, on the other. As for the Palestinians, the international community cannot continue indefinitely to acquiesce in their remaining permanent refugees. Four million people rendered homeless as a result of the struggle in their land cannot be allowed to continue to live without purpose and without hope. These are the issues which must be settled in Geneva. These are the issues on which this Assembly must pronounce, as guidance for those who sit round the conference table in Geneva.

18. Reference to the situation in the Middle East cannot but draw attention to that unhappy island State, Cyprus. Whatever may be the rights and wrongs of the parties to the tragic drama in that island, we in Nigeria are convinced that Cyprus must be enabled to continue as one undivided sovereign State, and that the citizens of the sovereign State of Cyprus must learn to live together under one sovereign government. What arrangement the peoples of Cyprus

make to ensure the stability and territorial integrity of their country is a matter of their internal affairs. My delegation hopes that the United Nations will lend its authority to ensuring the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus.

19. The events of the past 12 months, whether political or economic, indicate more than ever before that at no other time in the history of mankind has the term "village" applied more appropriately to the world. It needs little perception, therefore, to recognize that this "village" world of ours has become too small for endless rampages. Peace in the world is as indivisible as its destiny. We live in challenging times, which equally offer us more opportunities to meet these challenges. Despite its weaknesses, the United Nations is one of man's greatest creations. It offers us a unique forum for sustaining universal peace and progress. Let all its Member States, therefore, powerful and weak alike, exercise the political self-discipline necessary for them to adapt the Organization and its rules to meet their present-day needs.

20. I would like to end this statement with a tribute to the Secretary-General, whose courage and sense of mission have averted disaster after disaster in the past 12 months, whether in the Middle East, the Sahelian region, southern Africa or Cyprus.

21. May I add as a postscript my country's sympathy for the victims of the disasters in Honduras and Peru.

22. Mr. ZERBO (Upper Volta) (*interpretation from French*): Taking the floor for the first time before this Assembly, I should like first of all to reaffirm unequivocally that the nation of Upper Volta has with determination, side by side with all nations represented here, assumed unfailingly the common responsibilities incumbent upon us all not only to free humanity from the spectre of war, but also to ensure for future generations a universe of justice and prosperity.

23. But permit me first, Mr. President, to associate myself whole-heartedly with the extremely warm congratulations which have been extended to you already on the occasion of your election. The decision of the Assembly to entrust to you the conduct of our proceedings is a glowing tribute to your special qualities as a veteran diplomat, to all Africa and to the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, your own country. Your considerable experience with the United Nations and the authority which is undeniably yours qualify you particularly to preside over the important discussions at this twenty-ninth session.

24. We should also like to extend our warmest congratulations to the other officers. There is no doubt that the competence of the team which has been elected, together with its far-sightedness, wisdom and talent for conciliation, is for us a reassuring augury of success in our work.

25. Our warmest thanks also go to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who, throughout the last session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly, was the perfect incarnation of the wisdom and skill which made it possible to bring our work to a successful conclusion. We would simply like to say to him that his vast competence won him the admiration and sympathy of us all.

26. My delegation would now like to pay a special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim,

whose role in the search for peace among nations and whose earnest desire to find solutions to the problems of the under-privileged countries have won him our admiration. We have seen in the areas concerned, wherever the circumstances have required, particularly in Africa, which is suffering from hunger, colonialism, under-development and racial discrimination, the Secretary-General contributing actively to the search for remedies for all these ills.

27. Our family has just grown by the addition of three new Members. I should like to convey to them my warmest congratulations.

28. My delegation also would like to mark enthusiastically the presence among us of the worthy representatives of the heroic people of Guinea-Bissau. The noble cause defended, at the cost of his life, with such intelligence, courage and perseverance by Amílcar Cabral, the work taken up by his brother Luis Cabral, have just been translated today into facts, to the great satisfaction of the whole of Africa and all freedom- and justice-loving nations. To our brothers from Guinea-Bissau, who have written, at the cost of their own blood, one of the most glorious pages in the history of African liberation, Upper Volta addresses here its warmest congratulations.

29. We should also like to welcome the delegation of Bangladesh, which represents a nation whose courage and wisdom have always compelled our admiration. We are sure that its presence among us will contribute greatly to the solution of the many problems facing our world.

30. Finally, I should like to express my warmest congratulations to the Prime Minister of Grenada and also to the important delegation he heads. We would ask him to be good enough to convey to the people of Grenada and to his Government our ardent wishes for peace and prosperity.

31. The importance of this twenty-ninth session is obvious to all, because it is taking place at a very decisive cross-roads in history. It is taking place at a time when humanity is becoming aware of the precariousness of its existence, which seems every day to be threatened by a shortage of food, the constant dangers constituted by the arms race and bloody confrontations between certain nations, and by the fact, too, that it is becoming aware of the limits of our world, whose interdependence among its members poses a crucial problem of coexistence and tolerance.

32. Moreover, this session is being held at a time when nations, great and small, are feeling the need to redefine the unequal relationships which have existed heretofore between them. In any case, the economic battle now being waged by the developing countries means that they are no longer prepared to remain the poor relations of development. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, the important resolutions on the new international economic order and the programme of action which flowed from it, testify to the urgent need for such a change in international relations.

33. But we do not expect miracles from this redefinition of international relations, just as it would be illusory to base a policy of national development on international aid, which is always fluid. The example of the struggle against under-development which

we have been waging since independence has taught us this. It is with this background in mind that Upper Volta is now planning its battle for development.

34. When at the time of independence young States had to gauge for the first time the enormous responsibilities bequeathed them by the colonial Power, they found themselves coming to grips with problems which they had of course foreseen, but whose scope they had never been able to appreciate. At the same time, they were obliged, with extremely limited resources, to think out and resolve very complex problems such as the appropriate political and administrative organization, economic development education, and social structures.

35. Faced with these problems of unprecedented complexity, the new Members of the United Nations family had to display a great deal of realism and wisdom, particularly in view of the fact that they were under-developed countries. They had to base their ideal on the great truth that any lasting development requires enlightened administration which shall be both honest and devoted to the common weal, and had to organize all their energies to undertake the most urgent research to ensure the welfare of the people. Administrative corruption, unjustified and prolonged idleness, favouritism, waste, ostentation and discrimination, all crowned by ignorance, were the worst evils which threatened these societies. Thus, from the very dawn of their independence, the new sovereign States needed a healthy state of mind directed to their national construction; in short, they needed a solid development ethic.

36. But we must be honest and realistic, and recognize that, unfortunately, in such an important area as national development certain young States have not always been able to demonstrate that an ethical approach could bear the appropriate responsibilities and play its role in setting standards. The fault lay essentially with the new leaders, who then had to watch their countries suffer the consequences of their poor administration of public affairs.

37. What has come to be known as the wave of military *coups d'état* can be explained by the need for changes following a deterioration in domestic situations and the resignation of certain political leaders. In Upper Volta, the revolution of 3 January 1966 obeyed the same rule. In the face of the lack of consistency and the corruption of the politicians of the time, a popular movement transferred power to the army, the only force which at that time could defend the people against omnipotent leaders. Of course, this change of régime was quickly classed with the whole group of military *coups d'états* which occurred, without any realization that it resulted solely from a contract between the popular masses and the army; the army had to restore order in public affairs, which had been seriously disturbed, and was sustained by the people in this work of rehabilitation.

38. But whatever the resulting views and attitudes, nations of goodwill discovered with ever-growing satisfaction that on 3 January 1966 Upper Volta had gained a government and political leaders firmly resolved to prove that in the very important area of national development the ethical approach was to play its proper part to the full. The Government then undertook a vigorous effort to promote the harmonious

development of the young Republic, involving the placing of the financial situation on a sound basis, the liquidation of the public debt, the restoration of confidence in the business world, the lowering of salaries, patriotic contributions and the reduction of State expenditures. In a short time the world witnessed with admiration the financial rehabilitation of Upper Volta.

39. It is on the basis of these political and economic achievements that we have given Upper Volta democratic and parliamentary institutions permitting all shades of opinion a voice, so as to build a politically mature nation capable of undertaking the battle for development. But as the old adage says, "habit is second nature", for very soon the objectives of the revolution of 3 January 1966 were overlooked by the new leaders who had emerged from this new experiment. The result was a serious political crisis to which those who were anxious about the political future of the young State could not remain indifferent.

40. At a time when our country was going through the most difficult period of its history, at a time when it had to face the terrible scourge of drought, and at a time when international public opinion was becoming aware of our tragedy and mobilizing resources in order to support our efforts, morally and materially, it was out of the question to allow Upper Volta to be labelled as irresponsible and to become enmeshed in useless internal dissension. The President of the Republic, the Chief of Staff of the Army, faced the following dilemma: either to allow the crisis to develop without hope of a short-term solution, with all the danger that this involved of dividing the country into two rival factions, and demobilizing energies meant for national development, or, taking seriously his role as arbiter, to intervene to save the institutions, to revive the confidence of the working people, and to recall the objectives of 3 January 1966.

41. At a time when every nation is wondering about its future, at a time when economic uncertainty, the inexorable process of inflation and monetary disorder are monopolizing the attention of States and preventing nations from constructive activity and making reasonable provision for the near future, the choice was not in doubt. Taking seriously his role of guardian of the national security, the President of the Republic, General Sangoulé Lamizana, put an end to all political machinations on 8 February 1974 by taking the decision to suspend the Constitution, to dissolve the National Assembly and to dismiss the Government. In their place there was installed the Government of National Renewal, composed of young civilians and soldiers known for their probity and their industry, and the National Consultative Committee for Renewal, composed of members from all social strata, whose essential task was constantly to remind the Government of the needs of the people.

42. Of course, there are some who will regret that Upper Volta did not entirely meet the challenge of parliamentary democracy and a party system; others will take pleasure at seeing in these events a corroboration of their theses, which are based on simplistic premises. Be that as it may, we do not regret what we did. There was an urgent choice to be made, and in his statement of general policy the President of the Republic explained this choice as follows:

"The Army, without wishing to undermine democratic freedoms, could nevertheless not permit itself to play the role of an indifferent spectator at the execution, as it were, of our country for the sake of unreasonable respect for certain formulas satisfying to the mind but with pernicious consequences for everyone, when the application of those formulas was a threat to national cohesion."

43. But in Upper Volta citizens have enjoyed the benefits of democracy and they want to keep them. That is why it was the more necessary to guarantee, in the new institutions, all the democratic freedoms which were so dearly won on the morrow of the revolution of 3 January 1966. Thus, 8 February 1974 marked a new stage in the awakening of the people of Upper Volta, because that was the historic date on which new institutions were established, designed not only to ensure the general mobilization of the working people but also, consequently, to make possible accelerated and more harmonious development: in other words, Upper Volta was entering the era of renewal.

44. But what is this renewal of Upper Volta? Renewal means the end of the epoch of politicians outbidding each other, when demagogy was the only weapon in the battle for power. It also means the end of collective resignations. Finally it means the establishment of a true national development policy in the political, economic and cultural fields, all aimed at remodelling the face of Upper Volta in a way designed to promote its identity. In the final analysis, renewal is as much an ethical approach as it is a programme.

45. In a speech made on 23 February 1974 General Sangoulé Lamizana laid down the major guidelines for this new programme of action. He said:

"We must do everything we can to shake off this apathy and to awaken the citizens of Upper Volta so that they may rediscover their vitality and all the forces of the richness of their spirit. It is on those terms that we shall be in a position to present a better front in the struggle to bring remedies to bear for the lack of technical and financial resources, within the limits of our possibilities, in order to pursue a policy of social promotion, which remains to be defined, to rethink our educational system, the inadaptability of which leads more to failure than success and leaves on the street corners a potential for protest, to define a policy of industrialization in keeping with the interests of the nation, and to develop the cultural riches of our national heritage, which have hitherto been insufficiently developed—in a word, to conceive and undertake action designed to ensure economic development and the cultural and social promotion of the Upper Volta nation."

46. Renewal is, therefore, first of all a policy of our whole means, a policy essentially based on unity, work and justice. However, we are very well aware that in spite of all our good will this threefold national policy is not enough. As the President of the Republic stated in his guidance speech of 23 February, "However determined it is to succeed, Upper Volta cannot by itself overcome all the numerous difficulties it faces".

47. That is why the foreign policy of our country is intended to be at the same time the indispensable complement to its development efforts. That foreign policy is based essentially on the following fundamental principles: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, as defined in the charter of the OAU and the Charter of the United Nations; non-intervention in the internal affairs of other States; non-alignment; and equality and reciprocity in international relations.

48. The assistance given to Upper Volta by friendly nations and international organizations is an indispensable adjunct to our plan of action. Let us therefore take this opportunity to pay a tribute to all States and international organizations which have understood the encouraging meaning of friendship in the painful hours through which our country has been living, for, as is known, Upper Volta and the other countries of the Sahel are suffering from an unprecedented drought which has dealt a mortal blow not only to their economies but also to their peoples. From this very rostrum the President of the Republic, General Sangoulé Lamizana, had occasion to refer to this matter in a previous session [2145th meeting]. Furthermore, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, realized this when at Ouagadougou in February 1974 he made an appeal for assistance for the people of the Sahel, threatened with famine.

49. The upsurge of solidarity demonstrated on that occasion gives us grounds for believing that it is possible to create a unitary world on condition that all States and the whole international community are now aware of the solidarity of a world the limits of which are becoming ever clearer each day. That co-operation and international solidarity are the fundamental options of our Government of National Renewal. That is why Upper Volta has resolutely undertaken to work for integration—national, regional, continental and world integration. A land-locked country, it stands only to gain by such a policy, and it is in that conviction that one must seek the reason for our membership of various regional and interregional organizations. It is our view that that was in the minds of the States that created the United Nations itself. In creating the United Nations and becoming Members of the Organization we have undertaken the solemn responsibility not only to coexist in peace and brotherhood but also to seek ways and means of achieving a rapprochement among nations and effective solidarity.

50. It is also in that sense that from the very beginning we were the active militants of African unity represented by the great organization which is known to all. We intend to remain in that attitude, for we have placed too much hope in that organization to be disappointed; but we are convinced that with imagination it will be possible to find ever more original solutions to the problems of Africa. The struggle for African independence, the battle for economic development, the sheltering of the continent from the bloody upheavals of the modern world, political and economic integration—those are the subjects that concern us. This is indeed a programme, is it not?

51. It is, finally, in that sense that Upper Volta has adopted the ideas of non-alignment, the outlines and contours of which the distinguished President of this twenty-ninth session has so ably described to us at

the outset of our debate [2233rd meeting]. By supporting non-alignment, Upper Volta intends to reject the system of blocs and spheres of influence, while committing itself to finding original solutions to the many problems that beset us.

52. Extraordinary and varied discoveries have made it possible to provide our world with thousands of amenities, commodities and comforts, and it seems to us that we need only to enjoy in peace all this storehouse of wealth in order to live a better and happier life. Unfortunately, for more than 30 years—and this is indeed strange logic—we have been fighting each other. More than 50 wars have shaken and still share the entire world.

53. Today, at the opening of this session, we are compelled to note that the analysis of the state of affairs in the world does not allow us to take too optimistic a view, although there are some glimmerings of hope on the horizon.

54. True, the trend to dialogue that has emerged over the past few years has continued. Bilateral contacts and multilateral meetings, even if they have not always produced the happy results that we had expected, nonetheless are encouraging signs of détente and represent a lessening of tension in various regions of the world. True, in Europe the Quadripartite Agreement on Berlin, the Geneva Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the Paris-Bonn rapprochement, and the normalization of Germano-Czech relations are on record to show us that with a bit of goodwill it is possible to cast down the barriers of centuries-long prejudice. True, agreements on the separation of the forces confronting each other in Sinai and on the Golan Heights have been signed, thus making it possible to take a step towards the settlement of the conflict of the Middle East. True, the Organization is tending increasingly towards universality through the admission to its midst of new States. But what is all this in comparison with the sombre background against which these events stand?

55. Throughout the world, tragedies are still being enacted, spreading suffering, mourning and ruin among innocent peoples. It is an irony of fate that it should be the peoples of the poorest regions who meet death so tragically. But can one really talk about fate when one knows that in this cruel game all the strings are in a few hands that manipulate them as they wish?

56. And above all, there is the tragedy of colonialism and *apartheid*.

57. It is with unparalleled delight that all peoples that love peace and freedom have welcomed the overthrow of the centuries-old dictatorship that ruled the Portuguese people. This delight turns to rightful pride when we recall that it was as a result of the combination of popular forces, both African and Portuguese, that the foundations of that dictatorship were shaken. In Africa as in Portugal, hope has been born. The most recent statements of the Portuguese Government, in any event, allow us to be optimistic about the future. In his statement of 27 July 1974, did not General de Goulart say that Portugal was ready to entertain all initiatives for the preparation and implementation of the process of decolonization in Africa, involving the immediate acceptance of the right to political independence?

58. The agreements of Algiers and of Lusaka, fortunately, confirmed this hope, thus making it possible for the people of Guinea-Bissau to accede to full and complete independence and for the hostilities in Mozambique to cease. The democratic course on which Portugal has now decided to embark is of a sort to defuse the political atmosphere and to make a considerable contribution to peace. Through the voice of my delegation, Upper Volta wishes to pay a special tribute to the fine understanding of the Portuguese people and to the political courage and foresight of its new leaders.

59. Moreover, we hope that the Portuguese people, having uprooted fascism in its country, will better understand the position of our brothers who live in South Africa and in Rhodesia, and that it will convince the Portuguese Government to change its attitude towards the policies of South Africa and Rhodesia, which it should oppose, as was decided by all the nations that love peace and freedom.

60. However, the international community must remain vigilant. We must not accept any solution in the newly independent Territories that represents only a poor and lopsided compromise. Full and complete independence should be granted to all African Territories under domination. Nor will we accept a Rhodesian-type solution whereby a minority of white settlers tries to confiscate power for their sole benefit, as has already occurred in certain attempts.

61. As we know, indeed, in Rhodesia and South Africa a most abject and despicable lack of understanding continues to be displayed; I refer to racism and the policy of *apartheid*. In this connexion, as we address the entire world from this rostrum, let us also remember that today, 3 October, is the anniversary of a person who, throughout his life, was the incarnation of the soul of the movement for national independence in his country and who founded his actions on the principle of non-violence. I am referring, of course, to Mahatma Gandhi. It was he who was the first to rise up and rebel against the cruel practices of the South African Government. Let us recall that he led a movement to improve the lot of coloured people in South Africa even before he launched the civil disobedience movement in India to obtain the freedom and independence of his country.

62. Moreover, ever since India raised this question in the United Nations in 1946, almost every Member of the Organization, including the allies of South Africa, has severely denounced the shameful and ignominious policy of *apartheid*. In the midst of this twentieth century it is inadmissible that peoples who call themselves civilized should support and nurture the folly of a concept of inequality among human beings. The hateful policy of *apartheid* practised by the Fascist authorities of Pretoria, and by those who slowly but surely are imitating them, does honour neither to so-called civilized peoples nor to our age. My delegation hopes that this twenty-ninth session will not only condemn once again this policy of subjugation of man but will try to find the best means of putting into effect the decisions taken by the international community on this question.

63. In Namibia the United Nations has a special responsibility to the extent that legally this Territory should be administered by the Organization pending

its accession to independence. Upper Volta will continue to support the efforts of the United Nations Council for Namibia to discharge the task entrusted to it by the Assembly.

64. In any event, it should be known that if a satisfactory solution is not found to the problems of the African subcontinent within a few years, this region will be one of the hottest spots on the globe. A bitter struggle will be waged there and no one yet can know who will win and who will lose. What we can say is that the inhabitants of the region, be they black or white, will have to pay heavily for this. If it is true that might can prevail over right for a certain time, it is equally sure that this cannot go on indefinitely.

65. Our era is witnessing also the tragedies of brothers who are enemies. Thus the Middle East is still a serious source of concern to the international community, particularly at a time when a crisis has just erupted in Cyprus. If we are not careful, that tinder box will explode one day and endanger our entire world and its precarious balance.

66. The latent state of war between Israel and the neighbouring Arab countries has commanded the world's attention for some time now. Despite individual and collective efforts, no final solution has yet been found. Despite all the resolutions that have been adopted, and particularly Security Council resolution 242 (1967), a latent situation of war continues to exist.

67. We should like to state here once again, first, that all the States of the region have the right to exist and the right to their territorial integrity; secondly, that occupation or acquisition of territory by force is inadmissible; and thirdly, that the fundamental rights of the Palestinian people must be taken into consideration. Those are the three conditions for the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the region.

68. We are happy to note that during the past year a few glimmerings of hope have emerged that have rekindled our faith that a settlement can be found. Indeed, the international community's efforts have succeeded in achieving, in 1974, a cease-fire and a disengagement of forces between Israel on the one hand and Syria and Egypt on the other. Moreover, the Geneva Conference could be the appropriate framework in which to lay a basis for negotiations between the parties. We hope that that Conference will resume very soon, for if we take advantage of the chances for peace discernible on the horizon, there may be some grounds to hope for good results.

69. But so far the Middle East problem has seemed to concern only two parties: Israel and the neighbouring Arab States. But there is a third party, which should be regarded as the most deeply concerned: the people of Palestine. It is not possible to imagine any solution to the Middle East problem that does not take into account those very people who are the essential issue. For its part, Upper Volta has always stated that a final solution to the Middle East problem must in one way or another proceed on the basis of a recognition of the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, rights that would enable them to inhabit their land and prosper there.

70. The inclusion of the Palestine question in the agenda is likely to enable us to discuss that problem

seriously and not as a tangential issue, as has been done heretofore. We think that these discussions should lead to the emergence of a clear position which would make it possible to find a final solution.

71. Today a serious danger is also to be discerned in Cyprus, for the struggle being carried on in that island threatens not only its security but also that of the international community. The *coup d'état* carried out there created a new source of tension in the Mediterranean area. As members well know, the consequences were not long in emerging: Greeks and Turks began to fight each other, and the confrontation between the two communities went far beyond the expectations of those who had been moving them around like pawns on a chess-board. Indeed, the implications of the Cyprus situation have become so numerous and so wide-ranging that, in view of the disruption caused by the *coup d'état*, the forces involved could not but react, knowing full well that, unfortunately, in our world, a *fait accompli* can create rights.

72. Obviously the situation created in Cyprus has introduced a new factor that has not simplified the Middle East problem; it raises even more acutely the question that was already of serious concern—that is, the security of the Mediterranean region. We appeal to all the parties concerned to abide by the Treaty of Guarantee, signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960, which guaranteed the independence of the island, and we call upon them to work to normalize the situation, in accordance with the Security Council resolutions on the subject.

73. We find too that in Asia, Viet Nam, Cambodia and Korea continue to be dangerous areas of tension. Despite the 1973 Paris agreements, peace has still not come to Viet Nam. It is for us to ensure that all the parties fully and immediately abide by all the provisions of those agreements. But, we may ask, what kind of peace, when in Cambodia—Viet Nam's neighbour—everything still remains to be done. That country, which formerly was peaceful under the leadership of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, who practised a policy of non-alignment, today has suffered the fate that was meted out to Viet Nam. War has been brought to that country against the will of the people, who have undertaken to struggle in order clearly to show that if there is one course that their leaders should follow, it is that which they themselves have spelled out, and not one dictated from abroad. In any event, we can only note the rallying of the Khmer people around the person of Prince Sihanouk. The Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia, which he leads, is already administering the largest part of Cambodian territory. Hence, it goes without saying that it is the representatives of that Government who should represent Cambodia here. The choice that Upper Volta has made of recognizing that Government as the only legitimate one reflects our desire for peace and non-alignment and is also a clear condemnation of foreign intervention in any country.

74. There is also, of course, the Korean problem. At the twenty-eighth session Upper Volta supported the consensus on the Korean question¹ in the firm hope that the contacts that were beginning between the two parties, following the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972, would achieve tangible results.

75. The Organization has a mission in Korea: it is to create by peaceful means a unified, independent and democratic Korea. The United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, whose terms of reference were to create conditions likely to promote that unification, has not accomplished the task assigned to it. What is even worse, it has always been opposed by one of the parties involved. The dissolution of that Commission, which we have always recommended, would encourage the two parties to meet. For we think that, in the final analysis, the solution of the Korean problem must be a Korean solution!

76. Very fortunately, Upper Volta has relations with the two parties. We believe, and we wish to state this clearly, that the Korean people, despite the many handicaps resulting from so many years of war and tension and political ups and downs, are sufficiently mature today to choose their own course.

77. While avoiding the dictating of a code of conduct to the two parties, our sacred duty is to help them to achieve the reunification they are both actively seeking. But if that reunification is to be effective and above any kind of suspicion, it must be carried out by the Koreans themselves, free from any foreign influence or intervention, and particularly through the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed there under the United Nations flag.

Mr. Inglés (Philippines), Vice-President, took the Chair.

78. There is, finally, the tragedy of the arms race, whose principal participants are the super-Powers.

79. Every year the Assembly discusses the problem of disarmament; and this discussion clearly reflects a major and legitimate concern. But it must be recognized that in this issue some discouragement and lassitude have crept in in view of the paucity of the results achieved up to now. Meanwhile, some countries are continuing to develop and to perfect quantitatively and qualitatively the most formidable weapons, and the small States are entitled to ask themselves—and not without fear—for what ultimate use these weapons are intended.

80. At the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held at Algiers in 1973, those countries worked out quite clear conditions for the solution of this problem: the dissolution of military alliances born of the cold war; the dismantling of all military bases throughout the world; the creation of zones of peace in the various regions of the world; and the convening as soon as possible of a world conference on disarmament with the participation of all States.

81. For we may be sure that in order to dissipate the threat which hangs over our world, we will have to have general and complete disarmament, which should be the object of serious discussions among all countries. Just so long as the problem remains the exclusive concern of certain great countries and at the level of club discussions, we fear that no serious solution can be found.

82. Moreover, what we are concerned about is collective security. Whatever precautions one may take, the catastrophic effects of a nuclear bomb will tran-

scend all frontiers. Our planet at the present time is vacillating between fear and hope: the fear of one day seeing the world engulfed in flames, and the hope that millions of human beings place in the development of international solidarity. The central feature of the existence of our generation need not always be this perilous course along the narrow corridor which separates fear from hope. We should think about this carefully.

83. But the survival of our civilization is not only threatened by the arms race, it is also threatened, perhaps even more so, by disparities in economic development. In this area, the developing countries are chiefly responsible for making the necessary effort. Unfortunately, in many sectors their effort meets with failure because of external forces which are completely beyond their control.

84. The world's economy is still prey to convulsions which have been occurring now for nearly a year. These upheavals have already prompted the wise and timely initiative of President Boumediène that led to the convening of a special session of the General Assembly. In our opinion the sixth special session was crowned by brilliant success, the impact of which will be revealed over the years. Upper Volta considers that it is particularly appropriate to emphasize the emergence of new fundamental principles which, if accepted by the international community, will constitute a further milestone towards a new era of more equitable and more consistent partnerships. The Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the related Programme of Action recognize the right of each State to adopt the economic and social system that it deems the most appropriate for its own development, to establish full permanent sovereignty over its natural resources and all its economic activities, including the right to nationalize industries and to restore and fully compensate for the exploitation and depletion of natural resources. That is one step forward towards a world economy based on a balance between the interests of all parties. The political sense and understanding of all will be judged according to how realistic they are in their resolute commitment to the attainment of those new horizons that promise greater justice for all.

85. All these new elements should have created a better economic climate on the international level. However, we are compelled to realize that our ills still beset us.

86. With respect to commodities, Upper Volta has always most firmly supported the efforts of the developing countries to commercialize their raw materials; we have done this at all international economic conferences and we intend to continue, for the demands of the third world for remunerative prices are timely and will make a decisive contribution to the introduction of a new international economic order which should not remain a dead letter.

87. That is why Upper Volta was pleased at the perceptible improvement in the terms of trade for the exporters of a limited range of commodities. Unfortunately, the general picture still leaves much to be desired, in particular for the African countries whose exports encounter very little elasticity of demand.

Serious efforts should be made to reach a new international agreement on coffee. With respect to cocoa, we support the legitimate claims of the producers, who feel that the range of prices fixed by the 1972 Agreement should be readjusted; these prices should be raised, duly taking into account the facts of the present-day markets.

88. We are gratified at the progress achieved with regard to a certain number of other products exported by the developing countries, owing to a resumption of the demand for industrial raw materials and to the upsurge in the economy in the industrialized countries.

89. My country's position regarding oil cannot be different from that taken with respect to other commodities. We should remember that oil is a non-renewable resource. It is in terms of price of this commodity and its availability that the present producer countries can promote their economic and social development.

90. The impact of the rise in prices of petroleum products on the economies in the developing countries is a problem which cannot be solved by a readjustment of the level of prices as they stand now; this is neither realistic nor desirable. In our opinion the solution would lie in the direction clearly pointed out by the General Assembly at its sixth special session, namely, by the taking of special measures in favour of the countries most affected to enable them to maintain their imports at desired levels. But the measures envisaged will be doomed to failure if the developed countries do not take action against the new situation created by the price of industrial products; indeed, the increase in the price of these products is completely out of proportion with the increase in the price of petroleum.

91. The price escalation thus set off by the developed countries and their multinational companies is an argument in favour of an immediate definition of the relationship to be established between the prices of raw materials, manufactured and semi-manufactured goods exported by the developing countries and the prices of industrial products, means of production and equipment imported by the third world. The establishment of such a relationship would guarantee to the developing countries the equivalent of the true value of their raw materials.

92. Upper Volta wishes once again to express its gratitude to the international community, both countries and public and private organizations, whose moral and material support, given so generously, has made it possible to limit the consequences of the natural disaster that has so sorely tried all the peoples of African Sahel. In particular, we should like to thank the Secretary-General and all his colleagues for their tireless efforts to mobilize international public opinion and help for the people of the Sahelian region.

93. However, there is still much to be done to enable Africa's Sahelian region to regain the pace and level of production it enjoyed before the disaster. The restoration of productive capital requires that the countries of the Sahelian region and the international community make an increased effort, in keeping with the scope and range of the disaster that must be corrected. As we have already said, means of production

must be repaired and improved in order to make it possible for them very quickly to reach a development level that will protect them from such calamities.

94. To that end, it is essential that international assistance should be reinforced and pursued in programmes ranging over a number of years. We are bound to observe that nothing has been done so far in respect of financing medium- and long-term projects worked out by the countries victims of the drought. Those projects are lying in desk drawers for lack of resources. The hopes they aroused have not been fulfilled, since those projects have called for investments of the order of \$1,000 million. It is hardly necessary to emphasize the incalculable consequences of such indifference in the face of the requirements of those countries in their efforts to bolster their economies.

95. My delegation believes it is time to draw to the attention of the international community the encroachment of the desert, which has caused lasting damage to the environment not only in Africa but also on other continents. This phenomenon calls for urgent and concrete action at the world level.

96. As the Secretary-General stated at his press conference in Ouagadougou in February 1974, "In less than 50 years from today, perhaps by the end of this century, the encroachment of the desert threatens to wipe off the map three or four countries of Africa".

97. The drought seems to have struck everywhere. According to some meteorologists, climatic conditions will continue to be bad for some time to come. Apparently a band of dry areas is being formed, and is spreading from the southern Sahara to northern China. Deserts and shrublands are spreading in the southern hemisphere. As evidence, let us note that the drought has also affected Nigeria, the United Republic of Cameroon, the Central African Republic, Guinea, Zaire, Angola, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania. The level of underground water shows a constant decline. Lakes are progressively drying up, and wells must be driven to depths as great as 200 metres. In Asia, regions that were formerly fertile have been struck by drought, and the monsoon rains have been falling into the sea.

98. In our opinion, it is urgent that the United Nations should convene an international conference in order to record and analyse available data in respect of scientific knowledge on the process of desert-encroachment and work out a world plan of action to fight against it through water-level research and tests on forest resources that may be adapted for this purpose, the regeneration of grazing land, and so on.

99. Such a conference could be preceded by regional and subregional meetings. Within that framework we could schedule an African regional conference, including all the countries bordering on the Sahara, which would bring together the countries of the Sahelian region as well as the Sudan, Ethiopia, Somalia, Nigeria, the Central African Republic, Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco. The preparatory work for such a conference could be entrusted to the United Nations Environment Programme, which would report back to the General Assembly at its thirtieth session through the Economic and Social Council.

100. Without such an over-all approach, any solutions one might be tempted to prepare at the national level would be doomed to failure. Indeed, as the President of Mexico said in his statement at FAO Headquarters on 9 February 1974:

"Soil erosion on a planet the limits of which are henceforth dramatically clear to us constitutes one of the major questions of our time which cannot be settled except within the framework of a supra-national organization. The investments required for this purpose are, without doubt, far beyond the means of most countries, which for that very reason should support programmes of common interest. There is nothing impossible about that task. We know that armaments are now costing the scandalous sum of \$22,000 million annually, whereas in 1972 the developing countries received, in the form of governmental assistance, only \$8,600 million, or precisely half the amount that was decided upon as part of the United Nations Programme."

101. The difficulties encountered in these last two years make it essential for the entire international community to examine its conscience. That is essential if there is to be a fair solution to the problem of food production. Indeed, we are not proceeding towards famine, as René Dumont has said; we have already reached that point, and it remains to be seen whether the world wishes to cope with this problem before any possible solution is ruled out because appropriate action was not taken in time.

102. In the past six years the increase in world food output has been approximately 2.6 per cent. It will reach 3.7 per cent in the next decade. In 1972, the world output of cereals amounted to 1,200 million tons, the annual rate of increase ranging around 30 million tons.

103. From 1959 to 1969, food production *per capita* for all of the countries of the third world remained more or less stagnant, the progress of a few being offset by the lagging of others. From 1969 until today, the general trend has been backwards. *Per capita* output has not ceased decreasing in the Sahelian region, in Latin America and in Asia, where the "green revolution" has not achieved the goals hoped for it.

104. Grain production in Africa was on the order of 34 million tons, or 97 per cent of total consumption. Over the past 10 years, output has increased by 2.6 per cent per annum, and it is estimated that it will amount to 50 million tons in 1985. But let us be clear and realize that if the world is threatened with famine it is more because of squandering by the wealthy than overpopulation in the third world.

105. In North America grain consumption is 1.8 tons *per capita* per annum; in the Soviet Union 1.4 tons; one ton in the member countries of the European Economic Community; whereas in India it is only one ton for seven persons; and in the other developing countries one ton for five persons. Thus it is clear that the impact of population growth in the developed countries entails the consumption of the world's resources at about two and a half times the rate resulting from the impact of population growth in the third world.

106. Hence the third world runs the risk of having to import 85 million tons of grain in 1985—or close

to the maximum of what the developed countries will be able to supply them with—if the latter do not agree to reduce their meat consumption. Indeed, as shown by René Dumont, the livestock of the developed countries in 1973 consumed 380 million tons of grain and fodder—or a thousand times more than the developed countries gave to the Sahelian region. Let us recall that the grain shortage in the Sahelian region amounted to 800,000 tons in 1973, and has reached 1,230,000 tons in 1974.

107. The Director-General of FAO has already repeatedly warned of the seriousness of the situation with regard to the world's stockpiles, which have fallen to 105 million tons, their lowest level in many years. We will of necessity have to double food production in the next generation, if only to maintain the present inadequate rate of *per capita* food supply.

108. The present shortage has led to a tripling in the cost of corn and other grains, thus placing them beyond the means of the least favoured nations. Indeed, in 1973, the developing countries received only 5 million tons of grain from the developed countries, as against 10 million tons in 1972. Those same developing countries had to spend \$10 billion in 1973 to import their grain, as compared with \$4 billion in 1972.

109. The World Food Conference offers the desired framework for the search for appropriate solutions to cope with the shortage and the production slowdown.

110. The substantial increase in food production in the developing countries requires action in four fundamental directions: increased investment, the availability of loans, research on adaptation to new conditions, and rural development. But it is the developed countries that must provide the extra measure of indispensable technical and financial assistance.

111. Experiments carried out in certain developing countries, particularly in Africa, have shown that it is possible to triple, and even quintuple, agricultural output in most developing countries by a rational use of phosphate and nitrate fertilizers, which are the most important elements in food production.

112. Unfortunately, with the demand for food-stuffs growing because of the growth in population and personal revenue, nitrate fertilizer producers have not been able to meet the demand. It is even expected that prices will remain high after supply has caught up with demand, because of the cost of the raw materials involved in this process. Hence there is every reason to believe that fertilizer needs will reach extraordinary levels towards the end of this century.

113. For all these reasons, the developed countries should take immediate and positive action to heed the appeal for setting up a common fertilizer stockpile fund; they should make substantial contributions to that fund, while at the same time significantly increasing their exports of fertilizers and pesticides to the developing countries, and at prices duly reflecting the serious balance of payments deficits of the developing countries. The developed countries, moreover, should supply the developing countries with the necessary financial and technical assistance to enable them to make full use of their present productive capacity. The World Food Conference

should similarly prepare a plan for the international management of stocks in order henceforth to avoid the tremendous fluctuations in prices and supplies which occurred, for example, in 1972-1973. The developed countries should undertake to make a serious contribution to the financing of strategic food reserves designed to offset shortages and the effects of natural disasters. Such stocks should be held in the developing countries to reduce maintenance and transportation costs. It is by such measures that development assistance can finally achieve its goal.

114. As you know, the general climate of development assistance has continued to deteriorate. Public assistance for the development of member countries of the Development Assistance Committee of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development has shown a drop in real terms and as a percentage of the gross national product. Accordingly, for all those countries the percentage of the gross national product devoted to government assistance fell from 0.34 per cent in 1972 to 0.30 per cent in 1973, even though the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade had established a target of 0.7 per cent [see resolution 2626 (XXV), para. 43]. Total contributions, including export credits, loans, private investments and donations from benevolent organizations, amounted to 0.78 per cent of the gross national product, the same percentage as in 1972.

115. In quantitative terms, the volume of government assistance for development rose 9 per cent in 1973, from \$8,700 million to \$9,400 million. However, allowing for exchange rate fluctuations and the effects of widespread inflation, aid from the developed countries dropped by approximately 6 per cent in real terms, representing a 30 per cent decline compared with 1963. It is worth noting that the element of aid generosity did rise from 84 per cent to 86.7 per cent between 1972 and 1973. On the other hand, the proportion of that government aid to the total net contribution of financial resources fell from 44 per cent in 1972 to 39 per cent in 1973.

116. In the face of the present economic situation, it is essential and indeed urgent for all developed countries to commit themselves resolutely to maintain the quantity and quality of their government assistance and to meet the goals set within the timetable established by the International Development Strategy, particularly with respect to assistance to those countries most affected by the present crisis. An appeal should be made to the developed countries to live up to their commitments and make a substantial contribution to restoring the resources of the AID Programme and to UNDP, which plays a remarkable role in respect of technical assistance and pre-investment.

117. With respect to the international monetary system, we are obliged to note also that restoration of monetary stability does not seem to be in sight yet. It is essential that member States of IMF should consider all necessary measures to put an end to the activities of international speculators, whose manipulations condemn us to ever-increasing fluctuations that dangerously dislocate the fragile economies of the developing countries.

118. Inflation continues its corrosive effects and it is more necessary than ever to combine every effort

to strangle inflation; if we do not do this, the export earnings of the developing countries will continue to be drained off towards the developed countries for the purchase of industrial products at exorbitant prices. In almost all of the developed countries the rate of increase in prices was between 9 and 15 per cent in 1974. Some of them have already reached the level of 20 per cent. The over-all rate of inflation in the developing countries must inevitably limit their payments capacity and possibilities of acquiring a public debt.

119. With respect to the reform of the monetary system, there are grounds for satisfaction in the modest progress accomplished by the IMF *ad hoc* Committee on Reform of the International Monetary System and Related Issues, and in particular its decision to define the "unit" of the future monetary system, in terms of special drawing rights, on the basis no longer of gold or the dollar but rather on a "basket" of several currencies, each with a given weight. The definition of this new world monetary unit will gradually lead us to give gold and the dollar their proper place in the future monetary system.

120. In any case, my delegation feels that the framework for discussion and negotiation should provide for greater participation by the developing countries through their specially appointed representatives. We think that the new system will be very short-lived if it does not draw the necessary lessons from the erosion and downfall of the old international monetary system. The new system should take due account of the needs and concerns of the developing countries, in particular through the long-awaited setting up of a link between the special drawing rights and additional financing for development.

121. The industrial growth of the developing countries has continued to be characterized by considerable fluctuations, and by the inability of these countries to achieve sustained and continued progress. The fundamental reason for this is the instability of world trade, with sharp rises in the prices of industrial raw materials, as well as intermediary products and capital goods imported from the developed countries.

122. The industrialization strategy founded on import substitution applied by many of the developing countries gave rise to an industrial structure dependent on imports from industrial countries, which has served only to perpetuate the subjugation of the third world.

123. The Second General Conference of the United Nations Industrial Development Organization [UNIDO] will provide an opportunity for an examination in detail of the substantive problems which are frustrating the efforts of the developing countries to provide themselves with an industrial infrastructure. That Conference will have to give due consideration to the measures in favour of the least developed of the developing countries. It would be well to implement the recommendations already formulated within the framework of the special measures, as recommended at the time of the second Conference of the African Ministers of Industry. As of now, we should adopt new industrial growth targets for the least developed countries, as recommended in the relevant provisions of the Strategy. In addition to the objective of a 6 per cent annual growth in gross domestic product and an 8 per cent growth in the manufacturing

sector, the Strategy recommends a higher target of 7 per cent for gross domestic product and 10 per cent for the manufacturing sector of the least developed countries.

124. In the field of transport, Upper Volta has suffered seriously from the consequences of the almost continuing rise in the cost of transit and in maritime freight rates. In 1972, additional transport costs rose to almost 20 per cent of the value of our imports and 10 per cent of the value of our exports. The additional costs, due to our lack of a coastline, are estimated at one third of the assistance received in the form of gifts. Since the crises of 1973-1974, transport rates have increased between 15 and 30 per cent; thus one third of the cost of certain mass consumption goods reflects transport costs.

125. Upper Volta welcomes the adoption, on 6 April 1974, of the Convention on a Code of Conduct for Liner Conferences. This Convention is very timely, and should put an end to methods of decision-making which have become absolutely intolerable for the developing countries: the absolute secrecy surrounding the establishment of freight rates; the arbitrary raising of the general level of freight rates without prior notice; and the inability of Governments or the competent authorities to intervene to safeguard their trade interests. For a country like our own, which is already beset by appalling difficulties, the transport problem gave an added dimension to those difficulties. That is why we would have hoped that the Convention would deal more explicitly with the granting of special freight rates favouring the exports and imports of the developing, land-locked countries.

126. However, at the present stage of developments in this area, Upper Volta is prepared to support the provisions contained in that Convention, in the firm hope that the specific concerns of the land-locked countries will be duly taken into account at the first conference to revise that Convention, and in the instruments of application or any other instruments that may be adopted in this field.

127. Upper Volta has devoted special attention to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held under the auspices of the United Nations at Caracas from 20 June to 29 August 1974. In this general effort to codify a new legal order, our position continues as always to be guided by General Assembly resolution 2749 (XXV) of 17 December 1970, declaring the sea "the common heritage of mankind". That is why we firmly support the principle of the establishment of an international authority representing all the States which would undertake the exploitation and direct management of the resources of this heritage on behalf of all mankind; the resulting benefits should be distributed equitably among States, with due regard for the needs of the developing countries, particularly the land-locked countries, which should be given special treatment. We must ensure that history does not repeat itself, and that we do not replace an unjust system by a new system that is even more unjust, where the costs would be paid only by the poor countries. For this reason, with a view to justice and equity, the land-locked countries should be given the greatest possible guarantees, based on the following minimum priorities: the right of access to the sea and the zone of the sea-bed; and the right to

transit without restriction or discrimination on the part of the transit country.

128. The entire world is awaiting the forthcoming session in Geneva of a new conference on the law of the sea to enable all countries, large or small, land-locked or coastal States, to profit fully from the resources of the sea-bed.

129. Turning now to co-operation among the developing countries, recent studies in this field show quite clearly how important and useful it is for the international community actively to foster this type of co-operation, which offers a new dimension in co-operation for development. In our opinion, the recommendations of the Working Group on Technical Co-operation between Developing Countries² provide a very creative and promising framework. Upper Volta will spare no effort to see these recommendations implemented, thus making it possible to strengthen further the ties of co-operation among all countries, and in particular among the developing countries. We hope that the United Nations system will be able to adapt itself to this new requirement which is in the short- and long-term interest of all.

130. The problems which beset our community and in particular its most vulnerable members cannot and must not cause us to lose hope. We have the necessary imagination and material resources: all that is needed is that we all arm ourselves with the indispensable political determination to solve these problems in order to advance resolutely towards the building of a moral and material world worthy of our generation. It was in this spirit that the United Nations was conceived: it is in this spirit that this session of the General Assembly must work for the dawning of a better world.

131. Mr. SHEVEL (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mankind is approaching a memorable date—the thirtieth anniversary of the end of the Second World War. The years that have passed since then have been filled with a persistent struggle for the prevention of a new military catastrophe, for the strengthening of international peace and security. We can say with satisfaction that much has been achieved. The international situation today is increasingly characterized by important processes connected with the consolidation and deepening of *détente* and the extension of its sphere of influence. These processes affect a growing number of countries and continents and are beginning to exert a favourable influence on the advance of peoples towards socio-economic progress.

132. The favourable changes in the world have led to increased trust between countries and contributed to the creation of an atmosphere of mutual understanding of the interests of other countries and peoples. The adherents of dictatorial and coercive methods in international relations are becoming increasingly isolated. Changes are taking place in the very thinking of those whose lives and feelings have been inhibited for so long by the cold war.

133. For all these developments, history will pay tribute to the Soviet Union, the States of the socialist community, the non-aligned and other peace-loving countries and realistic political circles, which are striving together to strengthen peace and security and

embark on the high road of constructive discussion and the solution of outstanding problems.

134. An important role in the process of the relaxation of international tension is being played by the development of peaceful relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. The important agreements concluded between them in the past two years represent a major contribution to the cause of peace, and their implementation will undoubtedly promote the solution of many controversial problems.

135. It can now be stated with the utmost certainty that the new climate which is emerging in international relations is contributing to the settlement of various situations of conflict and making it possible for people to resist aggressive actions more effectively and defend their interests more successfully.

136. The conclusion of the Paris agreements on Viet Nam, the first steps towards a Middle East settlement, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, the talks on the reduction of armaments and armed forces in Central Europe, the negotiations on the limitation of strategic arms between the United States and the Soviet Union—all these important historical events have been and are possible only as a result of positive changes in the international situation. It should also be emphasized that it was precisely as a result of these changes that it became possible to discuss the timely questions raised by the developing countries at the sixth special session of the General Assembly on the establishment of just economic relations among States.

137. Notwithstanding all the complications and difficulties on the road to peace, and the roughness of that road, it is still fair to say that it is the process of relaxation of tensions that determines the development of current international relations. As was stressed by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Ukraine, V. V. Shcherbitsky, at a meeting with voters on 6 June this year in Kiev, “*Détente* is standing the test of stability, making constant headway and becoming ever more irreversible”.

138. At the same time, it would be unforgivably naive and misguided to suppose that in these new conditions the contradictions of the present-day world will settle themselves or that the threat of war has become an illusion. We must not forget that influential enemies of *détente*—military-industrial complexes and monopolies growing rich on the arms race—are still at work. Political adventurers from imperialist military blocs which thrived in the favourable climate of the cold war think even now in terms of a policy from a position of strength, provocations, military revolts and *coups d'état*. They try to use the tensions which still exist in relations among some States in order to poison the international atmosphere. A shameful contribution is made to this futile exercise by international zionism, the anti-Soviet emigré rubbish which has installed itself in the West and those bourgeois ideologists and journalists who have been so busy at the feeding trough of the cold war—a trough which for them remains to this day a source of sustenance.

139. In this unsavoury company we find certain politicians—politicians rather than statesmen—who under the guise of pseudo-revolutionary phraseology

are actually doing damage to the national liberation movements, the cause of peace and international co-operation. As at previous sessions of the General Assembly, the delegation of the Chinese People's Republic, headed by Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, is repeating all kinds of malicious anti-Soviet fabrications. We still find in the arsenal of the utterances of this gentleman the trumped-up slanderous theory of the super-Powers, the so-called regional super-Powers, and appeals to what he called revolutionary action, which, in fact, amounts to the fanning of the flames of military conflict. Doing everything he can to oppose *détente*, the Chinese representative still rejects all the constructive proposals of the Soviet Union, the socialist and other peace-loving States for the sake of the strengthening of international peace and security.

140. It is precisely the Maoists who are opposing proposals approved by the General Assembly, such as the convening of a world disarmament conference, a reduction of military budgets and the use of part of the funds so saved for assistance to developing countries, the non-use of force in international relations, the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, the calling of a halt to the testing of these weapons, and much else.

141. Now, what concrete proposals does Peking have for us for the solution of the questions of the strengthening of peace and disarmament which are so vitally important for the state of mankind? Nothing—apart from approving chaos in international relations, which is essentially the same as intensifying confrontation and stepping up the arms race.

142. In his statement yesterday [2252nd meeting] the Chinese representative once again attempted to cast the shadow of slander on the role of the Soviet Union in the granting of assistance to national liberation movements and the struggle of the Arab peoples for liberation from Israeli occupation of Arab territories. But we know that slanderous verbal outpourings cannot diminish the significance of the vast political, material and military assistance being given by the Soviet Union to the fighting peoples.

143. To paraphrase the Chinese proverb which we were offered by Mr. Chiao Kuan-hua, I could say that the flowers of slander wither, but the inexorable facts remain, and these facts are not in favour of the Chinese leadership.

144. To resist the forces of reaction and the opponents of the easing of tension is possible only through the adoption of concrete decisions and measures which would really lead to a consolidation of peace. Therefore, the United Nations must intensify its efforts in what is the key direction of all its activities—the maintenance of peace and the strengthening of international security. We must promote this at this session by discussing the question of the implementation of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. In recent years this document of fundamental importance has been reinforced by a number of new constructive proposals embodied in new decisions and resolutions of the United Nations which are currently in force in interstate relations.

145. At the same time it should be pointed out that the effectiveness of the strengthening of international

security has been decisively influenced by the consistent implementation of the Soviet programme of peace mapped out by the Twenty-fourth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and by the practical initiatives of the States of the socialist community.

146. In this connexion, I would like once again to stress the importance of the declaration on the non-use of force in international relations and permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons contained in General Assembly resolution 2936 (XXVII) adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union. At the present time there are favourable conditions for further progress in settling the question of the renunciation of the use of force by means of all types of weapons, including nuclear weapons. In our opinion, the time has come to take practical steps for the complete implementation of this declaration and to make the most important principles contained in it binding on all Members of the United Nations. We express the hope that the Security Council, in accordance with the recommendation of this resolution, will take an appropriate decision.

147. Recent events in the eastern Mediterranean reaffirm the necessity to fight ever more energetically for the renunciation of the use of force in international relations. The dangerous course of events in Cyprus provoked by certain circles of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] runs counter to the measures designed to strengthen international security and therefore affects the interests of all peoples. The vital interests of the people of Cyprus have been seriously threatened. The issue is nothing less than the very existence of this non-aligned State.

148. The Ukrainian SSR calls for a cessation of all outside interference in the affairs of Cyprus, a Member of the United Nations, for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from its territory, for the restoration of constitutional order, and for granting the Cypriots themselves a real opportunity to settle their own domestic affairs.

149. The wrongfulness and the failure of the attempts to solve the Cyprus problem within a narrow circle and in the interests of NATO, without regard to the will of the Cypriots themselves, only reaffirm the importance and the timeliness of the proposal of the USSR to convene, within the framework of the United Nations, an international conference on Cyprus. Such a representative forum could prepare decisions which would really ensure the existence of Cyprus as an independent, sovereign and territorially integral State, something which corresponds to the interests of the entire people of Cyprus.

150. There must be no further delay, either, in a political settlement of the Middle East problem, which for decades now has been poisoning the international atmosphere. The key conditions of such a settlement were and remain as follows: the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories occupied in 1967; the protection of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine in accordance with their national aspirations; the ensuring of the security, territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the States in this region. In the meantime, Israel continues its sabre-rattling. It is making attacks on Lebanon, attempting to freeze the situation which arose following the agreements

on troop disengagement on the Golan Heights and in Sinai, and is trying to replace radical political solutions by half-measures in order to entrench itself in the occupied territories.

151. But such a policy has no future. It can lead only to further exacerbation and conflict. The interests of peace, the interests of all the peoples of this region urgently require the immediate resumption of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East.

152. Recent events have made it ever more obvious that a Middle East settlement is impossible without a solution of the Palestinian problem and the ensuring of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine. For this reason, the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR supported the inclusion of that item in the agenda of this session.

153. The draft resolution submitted by a group of countries aimed at the withdrawal of all foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations [A/9703/Add.3] is also one of the measures aimed at strengthening international security. The presence of these troops is a major obstacle to the unification of Korea by peaceful means; it represents a source of constant military and political tension in this area and encourages the dictatorial régime of South Korea to carry out repression of democratic forces.

154. The Saigon rulers, who enjoy support from the outside, are continuing their bloodshed and their systematic violation of the Paris agreements. At the same time, it is absolutely clear that strict observance of these agreements is the major condition for the establishment of just and lasting peace in Viet Nam. The peoples of Asia are striving for peace, for the creation of a situation propitious for economic and social development, and conditions are becoming ever riper here for the establishment of a collective security system.

155. The memorable change which has taken place in the international situation from cold war to mutual understanding, from confrontation to negotiation, to the solution or the beginning of a solution of a number of the most important problems which only yesterday seemed insoluble, is creating real prospects for progress in the field of disarmament. The need to intensify efforts in this direction is dictated by the fact that in spite of the favourable changes in the world, the arms race continues. Swallowing up more than \$250,000 million every year, it is not only having an adverse effect on the security of all States but also diverting vast amounts of material and human resources from peaceful creative work. Therefore, the task of supplementing political *détente* with military *détente* is extremely timely. The well-known initiatives of the USSR and other socialist countries are designed precisely to achieve this goal.

156. Another important and concrete measure in this field is that contained in the item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" [item 103], which has been submitted at this session of the General Assembly by the Soviet Union [A/9702]. This proposal is based on due regard for the real situation in the world and the

prospects opened up by science and technology for creating new means and methods of warfare so far little known but potentially catastrophic for all mankind. The time has come to work out and conclude an appropriate international convention to outlaw action designed to influence the environment and climate for military purposes. Raising a new barrier to the arms race, such an agreement would also be an important contribution to the performance of the global task of protecting the human environment. The delegation of the Ukrainian SSR fully and wholeheartedly endorses this valuable initiative of the Soviet Union and calls upon the General Assembly to give it the necessary support.

157. We should like particularly to stress that constructive and positive participation of all States possessing important military potential and, above all, all the nuclear Powers, is extremely important for progress in the field of disarmament. The favourable trend in international development cannot of itself replace goodwill and the concrete contribution of each State to the cause of disarmament.

158. The purposes of uniting the efforts of all States in the world in this area would be served by the convening of a world disarmament conference, something which the General Assembly has repeatedly favoured. Under present conditions, the timeliness and need for the earliest possible convening of such a conference are more than ever obvious, and the report of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the World Disarmament Conference submitted to the General Assembly [A/9628] says precisely this.

159. The Ukrainian SSR is in favour of the convening of a world conference with the participation of all States of the world at the earliest possible time and calls upon all States to make a constructive contribution to its practical preparation and convening. All kinds of tricks aimed at slowing down and frustrating the preparations for such a conference can only be regarded as reluctance to participate in preparing measures of disarmament.

160. Consolidation of the multilateral agreements already attained and making them more universal is an extremely urgent task in the field of disarmament. Indeed, without the positive participation in these agreements of all militarily significant Powers, especially the nuclear Powers, it would be difficult to talk about ensuring complete and effective realization of the measures designed to limit the arms race and bring about disarmament contained therein or about further progress in this field. We have in mind such important agreements as the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963,³ the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [resolution 2373 (XXII), annex], 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], the Protocol for the Prohibition of the Use in War of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, and of Bacteriological Methods of Warfare, signed at Geneva on 17 June 1925,⁴ and others.

161. The prohibition of chemical weapons and the comprehensive prohibition of nuclear-weapons testing, the reduction and freezing of military budgets and

many other measures are urgent problems in the field of disarmament which could lead to the bringing about and achievement of the purposes of general and complete disarmament. There are really quite a few problems in the field of disarmament and all of them are important problems. But however difficult they may seem, they can be solved given the goodwill and the maximum exertions of States.

162. Each year is marked with new victories of the national liberation struggle of peoples. In this regard the delegation of the Ukrainian SSR welcomes with special satisfaction the new Members of the United Nations—the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. We wish the peoples of these countries success in the strengthening of their national independence and in their economic and social development.

163. New prospects are now being opened up in the world for the complete and final liquidation of colonialism and racism. The successful liberation struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau, Angola and Mozambique is further proof of the importance and effectiveness of the solidarity and unity of action, particularly in the United Nations, of the forces of national liberation, peace, democracy and socialism. The task of finally eradicating colonialism and racism requires further strengthening of this unity and cohesiveness. Attempts to undermine or split the united anti-imperialist, anti-colonial front by means of false slogans and theories of all kinds can only harm the cause of complete liberation of peoples from the shackles of colonialism and racism.

164. Indeed, it is precisely right now that favourable conditions are being created for the complete implementation of the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)]. To this end, it is necessary to intensify the struggle against the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury still remaining in Africa and against those who support these régimes and help them keep the peoples in conditions of colonial slavery. We must implement the decisions of the United Nations on South Africa, Zimbabwe and Namibia. There must be no procrastination and no manoeuvres designed to perpetuate colonial domination if we want once and for all to settle the question of decolonization of the remaining colonial Territories both in Africa and elsewhere in the world. Racism, *apartheid* and colonialism must be destroyed once and for all as early as possible. Our country has always supported and is prepared to continue providing comprehensive assistance and support to the peoples fighting for their freedom and independence, for the complete liquidation of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

165. A year has now passed since the bloody *coup* staged by the military junta in Chile. However, the anger of peoples who resolutely condemned the crimes of the Fascist junta has not subsided. The terrorist régime in Chile has been condemned by all peoples and constitutes a threat to the progressive achievements of Latin America. The hysterical demagoguery that the protégé of the hangmen of the Chilean people has been constantly resorting to here, under the pretext of the right of reply, will not wash from the hands of the Fascist junta and its henchmen the blood

of President Allende and dozens of thousands of the best sons and daughters of Chile.

166. It is our belief that the United Nations should raise the voice of protest against the suppression of democratic rights and freedoms, against the executions and the savage treatment meted out to the democrats and people of Chile, and demand that the Chilean junta immediately set free L. Corvalán and all other Chilean democrats and patriots languishing in the torture chambers of the junta.

167. With the support of the socialist community and all progressive forces of the world, the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are waging a struggle for genuine economic liberation, for the liquidation of neo-colonialism and the remnants of the colonial past to which the existing system of relations between developed capitalist States and the third world belongs.

168. A significant step forward towards the establishment of new, more equitable international economic relations was made at the sixth special session of the General Assembly of the United Nations, convened on the initiative of the developing countries with the support and active participation of the socialist States. The session demonstrated that the developing countries no longer intend to remain the object of exploitation by foreign monopolistic capital or the so-called multinational corporations. It is of special significance that, despite resistance on the part of the States to which those corporations belong, the Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order adopted at the special session embody the sovereign rights of each State to its own natural resources and to effective control over them and their exploitation, including the right of nationalization. In the course of the session the present system of plundering of the natural resources of the developing countries by imperialist monopolies was severely condemned. There are increasing demands for a consistent limitation to the intermediary role of international monopolies in world trade and the elimination from economic relations of all manifestations of neo-colonialist and imperialist exploitation.

169. We are firmly convinced that economic relations among States must be built on the basis of the new principles promulgated in the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order "based on equity, sovereign equality, interdependence, common interest and co-operation among all States, irrespective of their economic and social systems".

170. Putting those principles into effect will promote the democratization of international economic ties. The present session, we feel, should take measures to put into practice the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly on the strengthening of the economic independence of the developing countries. At the same time it must be stressed that the conquest of the economic backwardness and the economic dependence of young States will be facilitated if they carry out far-reaching socio-economic reforms with the aim of eliminating the obstacles to the development of their productive forces.

171. The resources which could be released as a result of effective measures in the field of disarmament could make a substantial contribution to the acceleration of economic and social development in all countries, including developing countries. The economic progress of peoples would be facilitated by the practical implementation of the proposal, adopted on the initiative of the Soviet Union, to reduce by 10 per cent the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council [*resolution 3093 (XXVIII)*], since such a measure would signify both a curbing of the arms race and the allocation of part of the considerable resources thus saved for additional assistance to developing countries.

172. The need to increase the effectiveness of the United Nations has been repeatedly stressed in the course of the general debate at this session. All the experience of the work of the Organization irrefutably shows that its effectiveness can be improved only on the basis of strict observance of the Charter and the implementation of decisions of the Security Council and other United Nations bodies.

173. The Charter of the United Nations enshrines the most important basic principles of contemporary international relations, principles which throughout the existence of the United Nations have been generally recognized in international law and further confirmed in relations among States. The Charter of the United Nations has stood the test of time and proved its viability under present conditions. At times, critics of the Charter question the principle of unanimity in the Security Council, but anyone who feels that way is either deliberately discarding the idea or in the heat of the debate is forgetting the fact that the United Nations itself is based on the principle of unanimity of the permanent members of the Security Council and that the effectiveness of its actions depends precisely on that unanimity. The abolition of that fundamental principle could be used in the United Nations system to serve the narrow interests of individual major States or groups of such States, which would undermine the principles of peaceful coexistence of States with different social systems at the very time when those principles are becoming ever more firmly established in international practice. We therefore resolutely oppose preparing plans for the revision—or what is known as the “correction”—of the Charter of the United Nations, which is the most outstanding international document of modern times.

174. In these days of October, when the world, in accordance with tradition, will be celebrating United Nations Day, it seems appropriate to refer to the time when the foundations of the United Nations were laid. The very creation of the Organization became possible as a result of the historic victory of the United Nations over the dark forces of nazism and aggression. In the great battle for a happy future for mankind, enormous sacrifices were offered on the altar of victory by the peoples of the Soviet Union, including the people of the Ukraine, which is now celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the liberation of the Soviet Ukraine from the Fascist invaders. The heroic exploit of the Soviet people is of world-wide significance and will remain forever in the grateful memory of a mankind firmly resolved to prevent any recurrence of the horrors of the past.

175. In these days we are continuously addressing ourselves to what is clearly and unambiguously defined in the Charter as the main and critical direction of United Nations activities: “to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war”. Quite a lot has been done in this respect, and what has been done represents a powerful thrust forward towards an ever fuller use of the possibilities enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations towards truly effective and fruitful activities by the United Nations in strengthening international peace and security.

176. We look to the future with optimism, for we are convinced that the forces of peace and progress are irresistible. All peace-loving peoples stand for *détente*, for rational forms of international relations on the basis of the principles of peaceful coexistence.

177. We are convinced that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will make a weighty contribution to the noble cause of strengthening international peace and security and to the cause of eliminating the threat of war and the creation of a world in which all peoples can live without war or the alarms of war, enjoying the benefits of social progress.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) resumed the Chair.

178. Mr. KHALID (Sudan): Mr. President, all of us assembled here have worked, negotiated or chatted with you at one time or another. We know that you are the outcome of prowess in war and peace in a country which is almost a latter-day Sparta. Algeria made history and made men. Guided and inspired by the genius of your people, you have cultivated over the years a talent for getting over the many hurdles you had to leap while operating at home in Algeria, in the OAU, in the League of Arab States, in the group of non-aligned States, and, indeed, in the councils of the Organization. What more could we ask of one who will preside over a session fraught with hope and risk, a session gathering together world leaders, bewildered by an era most certainly in the grip of a value-shift.

179. This is not just another session. Several memorable dates, many political episodes, and numerous battles have been called epoch-making or turning-points in history. A case in point is 1848, which was marked by the discovery of internal combustion, and 1815, which was marked by Waterloo. The mid-1970s will be looked upon as one such period. The decade between now and 1985 is bound to be a watershed in the long march of man, a decade of shifts and changes: shifts in the centres of economic power; changes in the chemistry of international politics—the crumbling of old colonial empires and the retraction of imperial outposts. For this reason it will be the decade in which the gravest decisions man has ever been required to make will be made. Man must make these decisions as a unit and not as individual centres for, after all, one centre’s decision ultimately affects all. And it is here that many of those decisions will be initiated or formulated. The Assembly is the only instrument, and with all its inadequacies the United Nations is our anchor.

180. The gravest of all these decisions is this: will the rich and the poor work out the new economic order we decided upon last spring? Some of us are frustrated—indeed, alarmed—because very little has been done

to further those proposals. There is a redeeming feature, however. The many sicknesses plaguing the world have been noted and pointed out by a world press awakened to responsibility. There was a conscious effort by intelligent, educated young men who have dared hunger and disease, in camps and tents, in drought-stricken regions of Africa, exposing the cynicism of some and showing the world what it is like to live in despair. Thanks to them we have had an abundance of books, broadcasts, brochures, seminars, symposia and conferences. The world is better informed and no longer blind to the need for proceeding with the decisions of the sixth special session of the General Assembly. But it remains for this Assembly to take stock of these ideas. Leaders of eminence are now in the thick of the battle to save a world adrift, and adrift it is. Let us help them.

181. The facts and figures are there. I realize that our heads are buzzing with figures and that they need not be disturbed further. A few figures, however, must be urgently considered to indicate the magnitude of the problem we face.

182. The ILO tells us that in 1970 2,542 million persons lived in the developing world, while 1,090 million lived in the industrialized world. In less than 30 years from now, twice as much food, water, power and jobs will be needed if present standards are to be kept. By then the labour force in the world will have increased by 30 per cent. There will be 457 million newcomers between now and 1985. The share of the rich countries from this influx will be a mere 10 per cent; that of the poor is staggering: 289 million new hands in Asia, 55 million in Africa, and 42 million in Latin America. This is the magnitude of the crisis that is shaking the world, and whose greatest impact is falling on the hard core of the developing countries.

183. The deliberations of the sixth special session of the General Assembly last April have identified the new opportunities as well as the new dangers that surround the world economy. And though the outcome was not entirely satisfactory, it is none the less conducive to optimism. If nothing else, we have examined and brought to a fruitful end ways and means of employing international machinery for bringing about a rapid transformation of the world economic system so that economic domination would yield to economic co-operation and confrontation in matters of trade, finance and technology would yield to negotiation and conciliation.

184. A much greater sense of interdependence has emerged. A healthy sign of balanced progress is already taking shape. Yet a range of adverse factors still persists. Negative symptoms tend to overshadow our efforts to create an atmosphere of goodwill and confidence, and many they are. To mention only a few: there are inadequacies in the flow of finance that hamper the emergence of a mutually advantageous international division of labour; rigidities in trade patterns that generate instability in currency markets; inadequacy in the rate of growth in the export earnings of the developing nations that impair their capacity to service accumulated debts.

185. Obviously, international adjustment will be impeded and rendered more costly so long as the policies pursued by some of us are mutually inconsistent. For a properly functioning adjustment pro-

cess, we require a minimum of conflict among national and international objectives. We require a high degree of awareness of the notion of economic solidarity. More than that, we require in this decade of change and shifts a will to accept the idea of change itself—change of roles and change of rights and duties. That is a necessary prerequisite for mutual confidence.

186. Statements we have been hearing of late reveal a lack of will to accept change and a tendency to fly in the face of reality. The oil crisis hit everybody bang in the face. It exploded old myths. But instead of facing the new reality with objectivity and reason we decided to obliterate the picture. We have practically been told that it was all milk and honey till the oil crisis dominated the scene. Nothing is further from the truth.

187. The operation of inflationary trends in the Western economy started long before the increase in oil prices. For years the rich industrial countries, particularly the erstwhile colonial Powers, have been balancing their budgets at home while exporting inflation to others, building welfare societies at home while perpetuating pauperdom elsewhere, engaging in wilful waste at home while prolonging woeful want in the poor countries of the world. And to the pleas of those who suffered most, there was lip service sometimes and cold economic justification often—if only to make the soul of John Maynard Keynes rest in peace.

188. The world economic system is dislocated today because the rules of the game have changed. The new facts are to be understood. Some of us cannot go on living with colonial and neo-colonial hangovers. When Franklin D. Roosevelt signed the devaluation bill, the first in the United States, his Director of the Budget cried, "This is the end of Western civilization". That was in 1935. Since that date many things have happened. The mighty economic horse on which some of us had been riding is no longer that mighty. Nor do its riders want to agree to dismount with grace. The fireworks we have been seeing in the past few weeks in Detroit and Washington, and indeed here in the Assembly, are but evidence of that attitude. In the face of those statements one cannot help asking, are we honestly ready to accept the new economic realities of the day, or do we wish instead, as I said, to fly in the face of those realities through wilful distortion? Do we really mean to engage in a sincere dialogue, or do we still think that we can change the world through Olympian declarations and veiled threats? Do we seriously wish to undertake an objective appraisal of the situation, or do we seek an alibi in the guise of such an appraisal?

189. The facts of the situation are not what those statements and declarations purported them to be. The record of the last two decades is a record of frustrated hopes and broken promises: the inconclusive first, second and third sessions of UNCTAD; the unaccomplished target of 1 per cent of the gross national product in aid to development; the unreplenished funds of the International Development Association; the empty coffers of UNDP; and the empty silos of the World Food Programme. The millions of dear souls that we lost in the Niger, in Ethiopia and in Bihar could have been saved if the "haves" had been more responsive—and, indeed, more responsible.

190. We understand that those established rich countries have their problems. We understand the impediments in the way of a change of heart and attitude. One of the most stubborn impediments—and we have said this time and time again—is the multinational corporation, the major culprit in the world economic crisis. That is not wild talk, nor is it unsubstantiated accusation. By the end of 1971, \$268,000 million of short-term liquid assets were held by private institutions on the international financial scene. These institutions were mainly American banks and multinational corporations. That sum represented more than twice the total of all the international reserves held by all the central banks and international monetary institutions in the world at that date. Those huge sums are called legitimate profits. To us in the third world they are unearned increments. One cannot help but feel sorry for the many Governments of the rich, tossed hither and thither by those who sustain them or mislead them: multinational corporations and groups of producers and consumers. Just think of the way in which Governments have been exposed by an intelligent world press over the past few years. More disquieting still is the way ideals and codes of behaviour that we conceived here have been mocked or dismissed out of hand as unrealistic fantasies of radicals. The new voices and forces will eventually prevail, as they must, as they have always done in the darker times of the past. But here again we have to move fast, for the world cannot wait any longer for the soldiers of justice and sanity to conquer the iron gates of greed and for the advocates of a return to codes of morality in public and international affairs to find their way.

191. The crisis cannot be solved by mutual recrimination nor by the apportionment of blame. We know that. The solution requires reconciling ourselves to the new realities; it requires the establishment of a modicum of mutual confidence between the rich and the poor; it requires our joining hands in a concordant effort to create a better world. And to that end, again we should move fast. The Assembly should move fast. The rich industrialized countries should move fast. The oil-producing countries should move fast. We all have a stake in acting with alacrity. The Secretary-General rose to the occasion and created the machinery to convert the ideas expressed then into action, both for aid and for trade. How much help that machinery received from those who hold the keys of the kingdom conceived by us all I would not like to say.

192. As I speak here, 25 million poor are facing death in Africa alone. For them it is either now or never. And, equally foreboding, is it not likely that the poor of the world will rise in revolt and ruin whatever resources they happen to possess in their lands? Are these resources not geared to benefit others under their very noses? And in the same vein, why preclude another sinister possibility? Did not some catastrophe-bound minds interpret the sixth special session as a ganging up by the poor against the rich? Did not some "superior minds", in Washington primarily, plan counter-offensives? I assure you that there are rumblings among the not-so-very-poor. Some leading economists are asking questions that should jolt the established rich into action. One repeatedly hears of the inability of the industrialized rich to curb inflation or manage the vagaries of currency. The suggestion is to establish the Arab dinar as a new economic

basis. The idea is not to dislocate money matters further but to earn money that can be managed. Other moneys are managed by others. If that is not ganging up, what is it? And who is to blame for the fissure in the world community?

193. As I said earlier, there are few signs of awareness of some aspects of the problem. The World Food Conference to be held in Rome is certainly a sign in that direction. Many men and women are beginning to awaken to the perils ahead. The Sudan pledges here and now its support for the Conference. A large team of our experts on meat, grain, fish and related resources has for some time now been preparing itself assiduously for that Conference. We feel that our contribution must reflect both our potential and our will—for our sake, and the world's sake. In co-operation with some of our many friends, we have taken a few steps, but we realize that the road is long and that the more co-operation we get the more quickly we can help.

194. What we know of population growth and food shortage leaves us little time to maintain even the miserable standards of today. As I said from this rostrum last spring at the sixth special session [2219th meeting], the world food crisis is an artificial one. Perhaps the Sudan is one of the most striking examples to prove this. Its enormous untapped potential can substantially contribute to the alleviation of the world shortage if the necessary requirements are met. The Sudan is endowed with an abundance of water and 50 million hectares of land suitable for agricultural and livestock production. By contrast the population is only 18 million. The conditions for much faster agricultural development are inherent in this endowment of ample agricultural land free from the pressures of population. A necessary condition for harnessing this potential is the availability of adequate and concessionary financial and technological aid and particularly the intensification of investment in the agricultural sector.

195. We are discussing development and conditions for creating a better world economic order. But development and progress are not isolated concepts. We need peace and tranquillity to develop and to progress. Let us now ponder a little the conditions required to make effective the ever-increasing voice of sense and sensibility—the voice calling for peace, I mean. Every time we think one hot area of the world has cooled off, or is on the point of doing so, another area explodes. This has been the story of peace ever since that war to end wars ended in Versailles, sowing in its Peace Conference the seeds of wars to come.

196. An instance of this phenomenon is the predicament of Cyprus and the Middle East. Were the events that occurred in Cyprus really necessary, while the latter is trudging along a weary route to peace? I am not thinking of the few hundreds that descended on the island like thieves in the night. They could not have been anything but instruments of a design bigger than the biggest of them. I am not thinking of the other party, which went in on behalf of its kith and kin. It did that in a desperate effort to settle old scores. I am thinking of neither. I am thinking of the apparent waywardness of events. The great Powers sat watching the outcome, and the United Nations, hamstrung by obsolete limitations of the Charter, could neither foresee the oncoming gale, nor do much

about it when it was on. This is what I call the waywardness of events. Nobody seems to be in control.

197. For what it is worth, the Sudan would like to be explicit on the subject of Cyprus. First, the Cyprus question should be isolated from other entanglements. Land and sea frontiers, disputed areas and other problems have to wait, I hope not long, for a fair solution of the current crisis. A fair solution in our view would put the island on its feet; there could be minor rectifications, of course, but there must be a return to the sensitive balance so well guarded by Archbishop Makarios and his Turkish colleagues in the administration that ought to be restored even in its personnel, if that is acceptable to the Cypriots. One hopes it will be. The Cypriots will be giving a lesson to the world: force cannot be allowed as a means of making and breaking Governments.

198. It is a lesson relevant in the area. Israel, built and maintained by fire and sword, has thrown the area into a cauldron that often blazes and simmers all the time, working itself up to an explosion. I am afraid such a situation is prevalent in the area at the moment. The talk of war is everywhere, the smell of war is everywhere, and again the world is merely watching. Our indefatigable Secretary-General has been in and out of the area several times after the initial talks in Geneva but his clarion calls to hurry up to Geneva are drowned by the din and clash of arms pouring into the area and the bellicose pronouncements polluting the climate of peace that was worked out by protracted agony.

199. When I spoke here at the twenty-eighth session [2142nd meeting], I saw a glimmer of hope in the younger men at the helm in Israel, who were mostly born in Palestine, and who have their hearts in the right place regarding the Arabs. But alas! These young men must be under some constraint. The talk is the same. It has not yet dawned on them that there is no getting away from a Palestinian State, that the world—including the United States of America—is getting weary of a seemingly endless wrangle. The freedom fighters, in and outside Israel, have won the right to speak on behalf of all Palestinians. This right was not granted them; they earned their way to it by sweat, and shall do the same as regards Geneva.

200. The angry blasting of southern Lebanon and the carrying on with creating facts in Jerusalem and Sharm-el-Sheikh cannot undo what the sequence of events since 1967, culminating in the October war, has done. Like the older persons that gathered in Israel from the four corners of the earth, the younger ones count on the supposed rift between the Arabs. One day it is Sadat versus Arafat, another day it is Arafat and Habash, a third day it is Hussein and the *fedayeen*. It is true that points of view are not identical; how could they be in a situation that has been building up over generations? What is true and incontestable is that the goal is one: to retrieve their home. There is no quarrel over matters of principle; there is dialogue about matters of detail. If the Israeli illusion were right, Palestinian leaders would not have been here among us. Palestinians are no longer an appendage to a crisis. They are the nub of that crisis. And so said the world. They are here to tell their tale of woe and valour. They are nobody's wards now.

201. The role of the super-Powers is greater than that of any of us. And here is where *détente* comes in. If *détente* means peace for all, and not peace among the mighty, there is need for quick action in the Middle East. The traffic between Moscow and the Arab capitals is heavy; so is the traffic between those capitals and Washington. Nobody except the participants knows what goes on. The little that percolates to the press, however, leads one to feel that a cold war of sorts is now on. One often is led to think that *détente* seems to do with short-term trading of grain for vodka. How else shall we explain the fivefold increase in United States aid to Israel after the October war, at a time when all Israel's losses in that war had been replaced. The jittery atmosphere pervading the area is justified. The big Powers that take it upon themselves to handle the problem by themselves have to prove that they are doing it. Perhaps they are, but how do we know? What we know for certain is not reassuring. Israel's defence expenditure accounts for twice as much as its gross national product a year ago. Fire-brand generals, who retired or were retired after the war, are back in the service. The fiscal aid in the coming year will rise from \$50 million to \$250 million. The Jewish lobby is fuming and thundering—indeed, it is challenging a Secretary of State the like of whom the United States has rarely had, a man who fits the times. The head of the American-Israeli Public Affairs Committee could not have been more arrogant when he threatened: “. . . I am not going to sound the fire bell yet, but when I do you will hear it”. One wonders whether Americans have not grown weary of this kind of talk and behaviour. It is not prudent to say that the American citizen is taken too much for granted by such organizations and institutions, but it is too obvious a fact not to face up to.

202. This session must help. What is to be done is not that complicated. First, let us impress on Israel that it must refrain from acts likely to lead to another war. We have had four major ones and several minor ones. None of them brought the much cherished security to Israel. Geneva, if we ever get there, might do it. Secondly, let us urge the permanent members of the Security Council not to abdicate their right to know and help to the extent they see fit. They have a responsibility, and they have a stake.

203. Another area of the world should teach Israel a lesson. Salazar and Caetano lived ancient fantasies similar to those of Israel, but five centuries after their beginning, these fantasies turned to ashes. At the OAU, the Sudan had occasion to say many kind words about the new men in Portugal battling against impossible odds. We warned of settlers in Portuguese territories going the way of Ian Smith and his friends. I wish to maintain the sentiments we expressed in Mogadishu. We have all the more reason to do so because of our admiration for those who had the courage to subdue the insurgents instantly by force of arms. The new men have earned our respect, and Africa hopes nothing will interfere with their plans and endeavours. We are not ashamed to say that the hand held out by Portugal must be taken with sincerity. The Sudan sees more than the proffering of a hand in what has already been achieved. Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau have regained their independence, and the infighting in Angola cannot go on much longer. The way things are shaping up, a power-

ful State composed of Mozambique, Zambia and Angola might emerge in the years to come and deliver areas around them from an alien rule rejected by the majority of mankind.

204. What is happening in southern Africa today is bestial; it is provocative; it is an ever-present incitement to Africa. As a philosophy, it is a challenge to the very basis of African independence. The world did not fail to express its detestation. But in the face of global reprobation there was only crass defiance by South Africa and Rhodesia. South Africa had its reasons; Rhodesia had its reasons.

205. The United Nations sought to induce change through measures provided for in the Charter: sanctions. But the effectiveness of those measures was diluted, and the act itself was reduced to a mere political gesture. Sanctions are conceived to be forged into a viable instrument of collective action short of force. But that action was frustrated; it is frustrated. And who is to blame? The very monitors of international order, the very champions of human rights. Recent events in southern Africa are leading Africans to ask a number of questions which bear upon the formulation of western countries' policies towards southern Africa: the extension of their defence network to protect what they have come to perceive as their global system of interests and the belief that they have political, economic and strategic interests in the southern African subcontinent which should be defended at any cost. There now appears to be a clear commitment by NATO planners to work for the military defence of the southern African region. That crucial step carries NATO towards a *de facto* military alliance with the white settler régimes in southern Africa.

206. We do not question any country's right to perceive its own interests in its own light. What we ask those countries, however, is if it is in their interest to isolate themselves on the side of anachronistic régimes. Are they not really wearing blinkers as they look at realities in southern Africa? Are they not missing the whole lesson of 25 April in Portugal? The lessons of the last two decades go to prove that no single country or bloc of countries has mastery over historical changes. Those who thought otherwise have been proven wrong in Algeria; they have been proven wrong in Viet Nam; they have been proven wrong in Mozambique. And they will be proven wrong in southern Africa, and no less so in the northern part of the continent, where the question of so-called Spanish Sahara still awaits resolution in a manner consistent with the interests of the peoples of the region as well as with the provisions of the United Nations Charter and the successive resolutions on decolonization.

207. The Powers with special privileges in the Security Council must realize that there is a responsibility correlated to that privilege. The cynicism of Paris, the callousness of Washington and the vacillations of London are deplored by the whole of Africa, and they are deplored because of their short-sightedness.

Mr. Inglés (Philippines), Vice-President, resumed the Chair.

208. In an over-all assessment of global security we must guard against making partial references to realities with which the international community must

come to grips in order to ensure better prospects of a strengthened world order. Attention given to one set of facts which reflect incipient conflict must not mean relative neglect of another set of facts with a similar conflict potential. In a world made more precarious by the existence of nuclear weapons, it is wise to stress the need for international peace, the need for global peace. That need is certainly more apparent to those who have much to keep than it is to those who have little to lose. Destitute Africans in the shanty towns of Johannesburg or Bulawayo feel themselves somewhat closer to death because of the deprivation and the cruelty of the white settlers' régimes, rather than because of nuclear conflagration. What we have in southern Africa today is despair so deep among Africans, and resentment so passionate against racial oppression, that normal fears are ceasing to exercise their expected restraint on governments and people alike. Mr. Kissinger has told us that if the underlying causes of conflict are permitted to fester unattended until the parties believe that their only recourse is war, then we cannot guarantee that it will not explode beyond control [2238th meeting, para. 46].

209. The colonial and racial war will continue in that part of the world, however many new intimidating weapons and alliances the settlers' régimes acquire. The question confronting us, therefore, is whether we will permit the spread of violence until the whites and blacks, the dominant and the dominated, are engulfed in mutual annihilation.

210. Those are the challenges of the coming decade, the decade of shifts and changes. To face those challenges we need a contrivance of human wisdom rather than insane reactions arising from comfortless frustration. We need to accept with grace the reality of change. Facts do not cease to exist because we decide to ignore them. We need to recognize that the wealth of the world is big enough for everybody. The world will not endure half rich and half poor. We need to persuade our neo-Romans that vaulting greed will end by overleaping itself to fall on the other side.

211. We need to prove Nietzsche wrong. To him, "The world is beautiful but has a disease called man".

212. Mr. ALLON (Israel):* At the outset of my remarks, I wish to associate myself with all those who have expressed sorrow and sympathy at the disaster which has befallen Honduras.

213. Next, a special word of congratulations to the new Members of the United Nations—Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. The Jewish people, which was deprived of its independence for hundreds of years, is, perhaps more than any other, in a position to value the significance of national sovereignty and spiritual freedom. In the name of Israel and its people I wish them prosperity and progress.

214. Likewise, I cannot refrain from extending my warm greetings to Portugal, which has chosen the path of decolonization and of its own liberation from the burdens of empire.

215. And now, turning from those who have gained their freedom to those who have not, I am in duty bound, both from a human and a Jewish point of view,

* Mr. Allon spoke in Hebrew. The English version of his statement was supplied by the delegation.

to draw the attention of this Assembly, and, thereby, that of world opinion, to the suffering and distress of a small Jewish community numbering 4,500 souls, all that is left of the ancient Jewish community of Syria, which is subjected to unceasing oppression.

216. Human rights are indivisible, and the freedom of the individual concerns us all. I am "my brother's keeper": it is in this spirit of international solidarity that I express the hope that the Jewish community of Syria will, as an act of humanity, be finally allowed to go.

217. In turning now to the situation of another Jewish community—the Jews of the Soviet Union, numbering more than 3 million—I voice the hope that the Soviet Government will recognize and respect the national rights of this Jewish group and permit those who so wish to leave for Israel and be reunited with their families and their people. The Jewish people, divided as it is between East and West, has always been the first and principal victim of wars, both hot and cold, and is second to none in its yearning for peace and détente. Conflict with Powers great and small is not our desire, but we can neither keep silent nor rest until the right of every Jew to go to Israel is recognized.

218. The Soviet Union, as a multinational State, cannot—indeed it has no right to—ignore the aspirations of members of the Jewish national group to full national life in their historic homeland. It is not possible to solve the problem of the rights of the Jewish people in the Soviet Union, a problem anomalous from the national point of view, by means anomalous in human and moral terms. The granting of permission to go to Israel to those who want to go will not only solve an agonizing Jewish problem which is unique in human history, but, I believe, will also provide the solution for a Soviet problem with which the Soviet Government has struggled for many years.

219. In expressing appreciation for what has already been done, I appeal to the Soviet Government to show greater generosity, to cease harassing those who have applied to emigrate, to release the prisoners of Zion, to open the gates, and they will earn the praises of civilized men everywhere for their humanity.

220. Our world is at a cross-roads: on the one hand, affluence, waste and indifference; on the other, starvation, short expectation of life and untold suffering. Each of the States Members of the United Nations, and the Organization as a whole, must, as soon as possible, base its economic, technological and political co-operation on the concept of one world, all of whose parts and policies are interconnected. If not, the most gloomy of prophecies on the fate of humankind will be realized, and this at a time when man has reached the heights of scientific and technological advance. Unlimited resources to eliminate starvation and sickness are at hand. What is lacking is the goodwill, human responsibility and governmental understanding to establish a new international system which will advance mankind to lives of greater dignity and happiness, lives without war, lives of plenty and spiritual satisfaction. To this end it would be well to examine anew the existing international machinery in order to see whether it is able to cope with these great and urgent tasks.

221. Social justice is a concept which is no longer confined to the boundaries of States. Our world is now faced with stark alternatives: to proceed along the false path, whose end cannot be seen, of a widening gap between rich and poor nations; or to embark on constructive international co-operation.

222. As Jawaharlal Nehru so wisely put it: "The law of life should not be the competition of acquisitiveness but co-operation, the good of each contributing to the good of all."

223. The alternatives faced by our generation are co-operation or decline. Let us co-operate. Israel, though small in size and limited in resources, and itself still in the stage of development, is doing its best to cope with the manifold problems of a poor and semi-arid land, and with the integration of hundreds of thousands of refugees. Nevertheless it has in the past provided such assistance as it could to other developing countries in all continents in the fields of science, education and economic and social development, and will gladly extend such aid in the future.

224. One year has passed since the Yom Kippur War—a bloody encounter started by Egypt and Syria, reinforced by contingents from other Arab States, and enjoying the material and political support of the Soviet Union. More than 2,500 Israeli soldiers lost their lives in that war, more than 12,000 Egyptians and more than 3,000 Syrians and others. Most of them died in the bloom of youth and left bereaved parents, widows and orphans behind them. Israeli prisoners were savagely maltreated in Syrian and Egyptian prisons. More than 40,000 men were wounded, and many permanently disabled. The agony of bereavement of the widows, of the orphans and of the disabled is shared equally by the peoples on both sides of the lines.

225. Following this war the Security Council adopted resolution 338 (1973), paragraph 3 of which reads:

"The Security Council

"Decides that, immediately and concurrently with the cease-fire, negotiations shall start between the parties concerned under appropriate auspices aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East."

226. It is not to the credit of the Security Council that it was only in October 1973—24 years after the signature in 1949 of the General Armistice Agreements between Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria—that it specifically called for peace negotiations. That, at any rate, was progress and it is better late than never. But why did so important and essential a resolution have to wait until the end of the sanguinary war of October last?

227. The disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt, and between Israel and Syria, also represent a measure of progress. Since the 1967 Arab Summit Conference in Khartoum, with its triple negatives—no peace, no recognition, no negotiations—this was a first positive step. It was taken in the light of the experience of the war, and as a result of the constructive initiative of the United States and of the remarkable efforts of its Secretary of State, Mr. Kissinger.

228. But here, too, the same grave question presents itself: why did that come so late, and why only after bloodshed? After all, partial arrangements could have been reached without war, and before the war, both in the Suez Canal area and on the Golan Heights. In 1971 Israel responded affirmatively to the American proposal for proximity talks for a partial agreement with Egypt, and there was no reason why, as time went on, we should not have responded in the same way to proposals for similar talks with the other neighbouring States. It was the other side that rejected the proposal and thus killed that constructive initiative for no good reason. In the event we did finally have face-to-face talks, that is to say, something more than proximity talks, at the first session of the Geneva Conference, at the negotiations between Israel and Egypt at kilometre 101 on the Cairo-Suez road, and on the occasion of the signature of the agreement with Syria in Geneva. Why then should this have been done at the cost of tens of thousands of casualties on both sides?

229. If further proof were required, the October War showed clearly that there is not, there cannot be, and there never will be, a military solution of the Arab-Israel conflict, which persists beyond all reason and beyond all political realism: a conflict which saps the very marrow from the bones of all the peoples of the area and, despite the extensive resources of our area, debilitates their economies and their societies.

230. Let us look at the facts. In this war the aggressors enjoyed three marked advantages which, under normal circumstances, should have been decisive: first, overwhelming strength in manpower and modern sophisticated weaponry; secondly, initiative; and, thirdly, surprise. Yet despite these great advantages the citizen army of Israel rapidly overcame the effect of the surprise, halted the forward movement of the attacking forces and passed over to a bold counter-offensive which brought Israel troops well beyond the former cease-fire lines in the Golan Heights and into large areas to the west of the Suez Canal, thus surrounding the Egyptian Third Army. I do not think that any particular military expertise is required to realize what would have happened to the aggressors' forces if, at that stage, the Security Council had not hurriedly called for a cease-fire, which, of course, it did not do earlier, before it became clear that the wheel had turned in Israel's favour.

231. That is the essential difference between an Israeli victory and an Arab victory. If the Arab armies had triumphed, the world would have witnessed an act of genocide, whereas the Arab defeat was limited to the field of battle, and in fact opened the window to the beginnings of reason and to a small step, a very small step, in the political sphere.

232. If, despite the advantages which the Arab armies had in manpower, armaments, initiative and surprise, these were the results of the October War, what could another war bring, besides more victims, and more suffering? Another war like that would only create new complex problems the solution of which will be infinitely more difficult.

233. I do not mention these things with joy, but with sorrow. I do not wish to exult in the Israeli victory nor to embarrass Egypt and Syria. On the contrary, at this time when it is the duty of us all to

make a special effort to advance towards a political settlement, it is incumbent that all refrain from provocative statements and disparaging slogans. I recall these things only because I want to repeat, and to emphasize, that there can be no military solution to this pernicious conflict. Reinforcement of the armaments of the Arab countries might encourage new aggression but it cannot decide the issue in a new war.

234. After the October War, there can again be no doubt that not a single one of the problems encompassed in the Arab-Israeli dispute can be solved by war, and that, in the same way, there is no problem, including the question of the independent identity of the Palestinians, which cannot be solved by sincere negotiations between the parties. Let us therefore do our utmost to ensure that the unnecessary war of Yom Kippur 1973 will be the last war ever to be fought between Arab and Israeli.

235. Israel has naturally drawn its conclusions from the last war. But we wish to continue to progress along the political road, which opened after the war. However, if a new war is forced on us, we shall be ready. I hope and pray that our neighbours have also drawn conclusions from October 1973, and that they agree with us that it is time to finally abandon the course of armed force so as to devote their efforts consistently, patiently and seriously to the political option.

236. The disengagement agreements between Israel and Egypt on the one hand and between Israel and Syria on the other, in which the emergency forces of the United Nations under the leadership of the Secretary-General are playing a praiseworthy part, may provide a suitable opening. These agreements are not only military in character; they also have their political aspects.

237. First, the very fact of negotiations, sometimes indirect and sometimes direct, is a political and psychological step forward for all those who desire peace in our area and in the world.

238. Secondly, an extended period of tranquillity at the fronts has also made a contribution to the creation of the new climate and also possibly of a new dynamic for a political solution.

239. Thirdly, the disengagement agreements include the following paragraph:

"This agreement is not regarded by Egypt and Israel as a final peace agreement. It constitutes a first step toward a final, just and durable peace according to the provisions of Security Council resolution 338 (1973) and within the framework of the Geneva Conference."⁵

There is a similar paragraph in the Israel-Syria agreement.⁶

240. But the disengagement agreements and mutual observance of the cease-fire are not enough. We must go forward with negotiations, without prior conditions, keeping constantly in mind the idea of peace and mutual tolerance in order to plant the seeds of trust which are vital for the creation of an atmosphere of conciliation, compromise and understanding.

241. This objective is at cross purposes with the continuation of a state of belligerency, which not only contains within itself the dangers of renewal of hostilities, with all their horror and suffering, but also

diverts the major part of the human resources and the wealth of the area to the build-up and maintenance of huge armies at the cost of its social and economic development. This useless aberration has already held back an entire generation, and its persistence will cause further suffering to millions.

242. There is a historical paradox here. The Middle East is one of the richest areas of the globe. It has natural wealth, fertile soil, abundant water for irrigation, international lines of communication, incomparable sites for pilgrimage and tourism and old, historic peoples possessed of ancient cultures and modern skills alike. But this bountifully endowed area is still, from the social and economic point of view, one of the most backward in the world.

243. It would not be difficult to prove that the expenditure of vast treasure on weapons of war and on the maintenance of huge armies is one of the main factors in this backwardness. The Soviet Union is doing no service to the people of the area when it counts weapons of war among its main exports to some of the countries of the Middle East as if these, and not means of production and technological agreements, can raise these nations from their misery. This Soviet policy, which is inspired by a one-sided, anti-Israel attitude and by incitement to intransigence and inflexibility, is one of the principal causes of tension in the Middle East and is used deliberately as a major means of Soviet implantation in a number of the countries of the area at the expense of their sovereignty. It is a policy that stands in stark contradiction to the spirit and objectives of *détente*, on which the hopes of all of us rest.

244. I am bound to state with emphasis that either *détente* will be global and apply to the Middle East as well, or there will be no *détente* at all. *Détente* which does not include the Middle East is without political or strategic meaning.

245. Peace and co-operation between the peoples of our region are needed not only to strengthen our economies and develop our societies but, not less vitally, to ensure the true independence of all peoples of the Middle East. There is no validity in a peace which serves the interests of one side only; and there is no substance in a peace dictated by one side to another or by a third party extraneous to both. Such a peace will always be precarious and temporary. As Albert Einstein once said: "Peace cannot be kept by force; it can be achieved only by understanding". Only a peace founded on respect for the interests of both parties can be genuine, stable and durable. The geo-strategic conditions which have evolved in the Middle East make such a peace possible, that is to say, a peace which will provide on the one hand a satisfactory solution for the interests of all the Arab States and also for the needs of the Palestinians, and on the other a solution for Israel's vital need for defensible borders.

246. Israel would be prepared to give favourable consideration to a significant territorial compromise, but it cannot compromise on its security. In short, I sincerely believe that it is possible to achieve peace agreements which will serve the reasonable interests of the parties to the dispute and will open a new chapter in the history of each of the States of the Middle East and of the whole region. But up to now the Arab States

have, regrettably, pursued a sterile policy of "not an inch", while Israel has set her face towards peace, a peace of equitable compromise, even though it might be painful to both sides. In order to reach this lofty objective we would prefer negotiations for a full and integral peace agreement. But, if it transpires that the conditions are not yet ripe for this, the possibilities might be examined of reaching interim agreements, based on compromise, which will put an end to belligerency in its various components, that is to say, interim agreements providing for effective mutual security arrangements that in the course of time will lead to negotiations for a peace treaty which will determine, *inter alia*, the final borders.

247. Israel is cognizant of the existence of the question of Palestinian identity. It holds that it can and should be resolved in the context of the settlement of the dispute with its neighbour to the east. It is there, on both sides of the Jordan, that the great majority of the Palestinian population is concentrated. Moreover, most of the citizens of Jordan are Palestinians and most of the Palestinians are Jordanian citizens. It is also a fact that the area east of the Jordan is an integral part of the historic land of Israel or Palestine and that it is already the national home of the Palestinians. If there is any ethnic significance in the Palestinian concept it applies equally to the peasant, the townsman and the Bedouin east of the Jordan and to the peasant, the townsman and the Bedouin to its west. It is in the light of these considerations that the Israel Government, on 21 July 1974, resolved that:

"The Government will work towards negotiations for a peace agreement with Jordan.

"The peace will be founded on the existence of two independent States only—Israel, with united Jerusalem as its capital, and a Jordanian-Palestinian Arab State, east of Israel, within borders to be determined in negotiations between Israel and Jordan. In this State, the independent identity of the Jordanian and Palestinian Arabs can find expression in peace and good-neighbourliness with Israel."

248. However, the Palestinian community in general must in no way be equated with the terrorist organizations. From my own personal acquaintance with this community I refuse to identify it, or at least its great majority, with the terrorist group known as the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO], which is not a national liberation movement but the roof organization of disunited and splintered terrorist groups whose pretensions are not supported by the broad masses of the Palestinian population. It is a fact that more Arabs than Israelis have been killed by these organizations. It is also a fact that more terrorists have been killed in the armed clashes between regular Arab forces and the terror gangs and between the rival terror gangs themselves than by Israeli security forces.

249. These facts are obvious to anybody who cares to examine them. We refuse to recognize the PLO and we will not recognize it, because of its doctrines and of its deeds alike. The charter of Palestine, which embodies the political ideology of the PLO, stands in direct contradiction to the Charter of the United Nations. It denies absolutely the right of Israel to exist and postulates its destruction as a principal objective.

250. This ideology is accompanied by the criminal methods of warfare used by the organizations which make up the PLO, methods such as indiscriminate terror, deliberate murder of women and children, pupils and teachers, athletes at the Olympic Games, passengers on a Swiss airliner, chance visitors and Jewish and Christian pilgrims at airports, and Arab women workers in Galilee. In reality the situation here is not that of a subject people trying to liberate itself with its own underground forces, but of gangs of desperadoes imposing themselves on a people and attempting to form and dominate it by means of the destruction of another people: this at a time when there is ample room for two States, Jewish and Arab, to coexist in peace in the historic land of Israel or Palestine on both sides of the Jordan, their common border to be determined by negotiations.

251. It is of course no secret that with the parliamentary situation existing in the General Assembly, the preconceived ideas held by a great number of those taking part here, and the irrelevant considerations which guide many delegations, a majority might concede the PLO demands. A resolution that would do so will be regarded by Israel as an arbitrary resolution, one impinging on its fundamental rights, illegal and not binding in any way. Every representative here would reject a resolution which strikes at the foundation of his country's being. One cannot ask of any nation to agree to its own elimination or to commit suicide.

252. Understanding for the needs of the Palestinians—certainly; satisfaction of the demands of arch-murderers who appoint themselves as saviours—decidedly not.

253. I regret that many Members of the United Nations do not delve into this problem thoroughly, with the consequence that, either deliberately or through misunderstanding, they reward these murderers and in so doing stoke the fires in the Middle East. Israel will not submit to violence and terror. Terrorism is an infectious disease which knows no national frontiers. Many States have already paid the price of submission to terrorism, and I am afraid that the last word has not been said on the subject. Following the latest terrorist attacks in Paris and at the Hague, President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing said: "Violence, which is sometimes presented and justified as an *avant-garde* act, is nothing but the rising to the surface of those depths of barbarism and primitive cruelty of which humanity has devoted all its efforts to rid itself." These are trenchant words, but there is need for action and for courageous co-operation in order to put an end to manifestations of terror before further disasters occur.

254. The essence of the PLO is terror. It is no coincidence that whenever a concrete proposal for a political solution is put forward, the PLO leadership rises up against any such peace initiative. Its insistence on including the question of Palestine in the agenda of this General Assembly session is designed, above all, to destroy the prospects of the political efforts at the very beginning. A debate on this matter cannot fail to poison the international atmosphere. Acceptance of the PLO demands may well condemn the prospects of the negotiating process to failure, just when the first ray of light has been glimpsed on the horizon.

255. Palestinians who wish to give constructive expression to their independent identity can be helped to do so in the context of the negotiations with Jordan. Moreover, I would not agree to a general settlement without including in it the satisfaction of the needs of the Palestinians. It is, after all, not Israel which has prevented the crystallization of what is known as "Palestinian identity". To the extent that such a desire existed among the Palestinians, it is the Arab States that have frustrated it during all these years. If not, how can one explain the fact that during 19 years of Arab rule in the Gaza Strip and on the West Bank, this identity never achieved any definite form or full expression?

256. The joint communiqué by Egypt, Syria and the PLO in Cairo, on 21 September 1974, also deals a blow to the prospects of a constructive solution to the issue of Palestinian identity. In the same way that the PLO bends all its efforts to prevent political progress in the area, certain Arab States are whittling down the hopes for a solution of the Palestine question by granting the terrorist organizations the monopoly of representation of the Palestinians, when they know perfectly well that these organizations are not able to be a party to negotiations because of what they are.

257. There is no sadder example of the heartless attitude of the Arab Governments than the freeze they have imposed on the status of the 1948 refugees. It is true that many of them have been absorbed in the economies of the Arab States in which they now live, but there has been a deliberate policy to prevent a constructive solution to this sore problem in order to exploit human suffering for political and propaganda ends. If the problem in itself were not so sad I would say that there is nothing more ludicrous than the annual fund-raising efforts of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East to make up the deficit in its budget, and this at a time when the Arab oil States command the biggest monetary reserves in the world.

258. Israel did not adopt this course—not towards the 600,000 Jewish refugees who fled the Arab States stripped of all their possessions and not towards the survivors of the millions of Jews destroyed by the Nazis, with the blessing of the Mufti Haj Amin el Husseini, who found refuge among his own kind in Nazi Berlin and Fascist Rome. All of these were fully absorbed in Israel—economically, socially and culturally.

259. In the light of the vast economic opportunities which now exist in the Middle East, the refugee problem must and can be solved. Far more difficult refugee situations in other parts of the world have been solved long ago. Given goodwill—without which no problem can be resolved—the question of compensation for both Arab and Jewish refugees can be settled. Israel is contributing and will continue to contribute its share in the solution of this painful human problem.

260. There are those who foresee the approach of war on this or that front in the Middle East. As far as Israel is concerned, we shall faithfully observe the cease-fire and the separation of forces agreements, on a reciprocal basis, until they are replaced or supplemented by new agreements. But in the same way as we shall display the utmost goodwill in seeking

to achieve balanced and constructive progress in the political sphere, we shall neither submit nor lend ourselves to the blackmail of threats of war or even of war itself.

261. We want to see progress in the efforts to achieve a political solution, both as an end in itself and as a means of avoiding war. In the face of the rapid rearmament of the other side, we shall strengthen our forces in order to prevent war or to gain victory if, God forbid, it should break out anew. At the same time, we shall continue to seek a settlement of the conflict by peaceful means. In other words, we shall prepare for the worst and hope and work for the best.

262. In one of his recent speeches, President El-Sadat said that our generation must be satisfied with the end of belligerency and that the treaty of peace would be signed by the coming generation. I am astonished that so distinguished a statesman should renounce the great and historic opportunity to bring about peace and co-operation. I trust that this was not his last word. Peace should not be postponed to the next generation. It is the duty of the generations which have taken part in the war to overcome their differences and to assure peace for their descendants. Let us all do our best to secure peace speedily in our time. It is possible. In order to achieve it, one needs perhaps more courage than is needed for the decision to go to war. Let us all demonstrate both wisdom and courage for the benefit of all the peoples of our region.

263. Mr. N'JIE (Gambia): It is indeed a pleasure and a privilege for me to take this opportunity to join all those colleagues who have spoken before me to express the deep satisfaction and sense of fulfilment which we all share in Ambassador Bouteflika's assumption of the high and responsible office of the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. His unanimous election is a clear testimony to the high personal regard, esteem and confidence which he enjoys in the Assembly, as well as the recognition of the great respect and consideration which we all have for his great country and people. We are proud indeed of the leading role which Algeria, a sister African country, has always played and continues to play with tenacity and devotion in the cause of freedom, justice and peace for all mankind. We are fully confident that with his experience and background, and his total dedication to peace, freedom and justice, his term of office as President of this august Assembly will be crowned with success.

264. May I also pay tribute to and congratulate his distinguished predecessor in office, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, for the efficient and successful manner in which he directed the work of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly as well as the historic sixth special session.

265. On behalf of my Government, I would also wish to pay tribute to our able and distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, whom we had the pleasure of welcoming in the Gambia earlier this year, for his unswerving dedication to the principles and purposes of the Charter and his constant and untiring efforts for peace and justice throughout the world.

266. It is with great satisfaction that my delegation welcomes the admission of three new Members to the Organization during this session. Considering the close

proximity between the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau, and the affinity and complete solidarity between our peoples, I take particular pleasure in welcoming the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Throughout their struggle for freedom and national sovereignty, we have always stood by our valiant brothers and neighbours. I am certain that our two small but determined countries will continue to co-operate in every field for the advancement of our peoples and for the maintenance of peace and justice. As we welcome Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, we cannot help but express our hope that very soon Angola and Mozambique will also take their rightful place in the community of nations.

267. I also wish to welcome Grenada and Bangladesh, two sister countries in our great Commonwealth, and look forward to closer relations and positive co-operation between our countries and peoples for creative works of peace and progress for all mankind.

268. We extend our deep sympathy to the Government and people of Honduras in the disaster which has brought distress and suffering to that country. We sincerely hope that timely assistance by the world community will enable the brave people of Honduras to surmount their present difficulties and that life will soon return to normal in that great country.

269. I should like to reiterate here today the abounding faith which the Republic of the Gambia places in the United Nations for achieving, maintaining and guaranteeing global peace. At the same time we realize that world peace is hard to attain without freedom and justice for all. But freedom and justice cannot be realized in an international economic system fraught with inequities, exploitation and indifference. We therefore believe that the present world economic system needs to be drastically restructured to reflect the aspirations and expectations of the vast majority of mankind, particularly the peoples of the developing world.

270. The recent sixth special session of the Assembly, which met to discuss raw materials and economic development, demonstrated the growing concern with which those problems are viewed. The United Nations has a vital role to play, not only in ensuring world peace and security, but also in redressing the present inequitable world economic system. In effect, the two things are inseparable, for without doing the latter we cannot succeed in the former.

271. The developing countries are struggling to build up their economies with a view to improving the standard of living of their people; but inequitable terms of trade, imported inflation and, recently, the energy crisis are together neutralizing all efforts in that direction. More needs to be done to find lasting solutions to those problems; and while the search for such solutions goes on, let us not forget the plight of the least developed countries, which are the hardest hit of all.

272. In these days, when war has become so costly and destructive, so terrible in its impact and so unpredictable in its results, it is incredible that Members of the Organization still resort to it to settle their disputes. My Government is totally opposed to the threat or use of force for the settlement of disputes, believing

as it does that in the United Nations we have the machinery for the peaceful settlement of differences among nations.

273. We welcome the change in attitude evinced by the new régime in Portugal towards the liberation of the Portuguese territories in Africa. The recognition of the inalienable rights of the peoples of those territories to freedom and self-determination has not been achieved without much suffering and sacrifice. But the suffering and sacrifice have not been in vain. It is to be hoped that the United Nations and its specialized agencies will in due course rally to the call of those countries for assistance in the difficult task of nation-building.

274. The freedom and independence of Angola and Mozambique will, of course, create a new situation in the southern part of Africa. The struggle against the bastion of racial repression, *apartheid* South Africa, is bound to be intensified and a confrontation between black and white appears to be inevitable unless South Africa changes its *apartheid* policy in time. It is sincerely to be hoped that the leaders in South Africa will see reason before it is too late. Similarly, the racist régime of Ian Smith in Rhodesia should take stock of the situation and come to honourable terms with the African majority, to avert a holocaust.

275. The international community has a heavy responsibility in ensuring that the fundamental rights of peoples everywhere are respected. Enslaved and oppressed peoples will always fight to assert their freedom and their rights. The theatre of hostilities could therefore shift from Indo-China and the Middle East to southern Africa. My Government accordingly believes that the struggle against racism and oppression is a global responsibility which no Member of the United Nations can escape.

276. In referring briefly to the situation in the Middle East, I would again call for a speedy solution to the problems of that area. The present state of uneasy peace in that part of the world should not divert our attention from the necessity for Israel to withdraw from all occupied Arab lands, and to respect and restore the rights of the Palestinian people. A people cannot be forcibly ejected from its territory and be expected to acquiesce in the illegal and immoral acquisition of that territory. So long as the basic cause of the conflict in the Middle East—the forcible ejection of the Palestinians—remains, the region will continue to be a hotbed of hostilities, war and destruction.

277. When the sixth special session convened, thanks to the far-sighted vision of the President of the great country which the President of this Assembly represents, there was a glimmer of hope that at last the consciences of Member States had been awakened to the array of grave economic and social problems which threaten the very existence of the third world. It was expected that this would impel the developed world to demonstrate a greater moral and political commitment to the realization of our development goals. Despite those hopes, the international monetary crisis, imported inflation, the deterioration in the terms of trade and aid, and prevalent drought conditions continue to pose grave problems to the third world. No one will deny that the least developed countries are having to bail out fast in order merely to keep afloat. For the developing countries it would appear

that aid will have to be accompanied by a disproportionate amount of high-quality technical assistance, to execute rather than to advise. Emergency aid must also go hand in hand with broad development efforts. Such development efforts, if immediate, will have to be based on inadequate data, with relatively high risks. But for many of us poorer nations it is that or nothing.

278. On the question of inflation, it is unfortunate that in the industrialized countries this phenomenon is not only showing signs of gaining renewed strength but may well be accompanied by a sharp slow-down of economic activity—in other words a general recession in the industrialized world. The consequences of a persistent fall in export earnings, coupled with soaring prices for imported commodities, could be disastrous for the economies of many of us.

279. The Gambia, along with the other members of the Sudano-Sahelian subregion and other parts of Africa, has been facing for the past few years the problems of severe and prolonged drought conditions. In the Gambia, annual rainfall has decreased to an alarming extent over the past three years. This has resulted in reduced yields in some parts of the country and complete crop failure in others.

280. While local food production has drastically decreased, it has been revealed by our recent population census that approximately 10 per cent of the population are non-Gambians, representing a rapid increase in migrants from surrounding countries over the last three years. That increase, which has no doubt resulted from the drought, has compounded our problems of procuring food, precipitated land problems relating to settlement and farming, and put an immense strain on our social and medical facilities. While friendly countries have been responsive to the critical and urgent needs of our drought-stricken populations, continued and intensified international effort will be needed for the foreseeable future if those populations are to be brought back on the road to recovery. The drought conditions in certain parts of the world today must be regarded as a global problem, thereby strengthening the sense of solidarity and genuine good will that is required if we are to meet the challenge of such natural calamities.

281. In Caracas, a little over a month ago, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea adjourned its work at the end of a 10-week session. I am pleased to reiterate our sentiments of admiration and gratitude to the friendly Government and people of the Republic of Venezuela for the warm hospitality, solicitude and attention which characterized the stay of our delegation in that country.

282. The Gambia is a developing country, dependent predominantly on an agrarian economy and under difficult constraints of Sahelian soil and unfavourable climatic conditions over the last few years. Nevertheless, my Government continues to ensure that the resources available to support our dense population and to provide for its material progress and protection are utilized to the full. Thus, we attached a great deal of hope to the deliberations and outcome of the Caracas Conference. The reports we have received so far on the work of the Conference have given us cause for guarded and cautious optimism. I regret to say, however, and without prejudice to the positive achievements of the Conference, that we have been persuaded to suspect

that noble and well-intended declarations made at the Assembly were not given full practical effect at the Caracas Conference. It is the view of my delegation that the rich industrial and technologically advanced nations, which for so long dominated the world and commanded its resources, aimed at maintaining at Caracas a virtual *status quo* between the rich and the poor countries, thus serving to perpetuate the domination of the disadvantaged by the rich and powerful. My delegation regrets this attitude, but hopes that when the Conference resumes its work in Geneva next spring the rightful aspirations of the developing countries for a balanced and just régime for the exploitation of the resources of the seas and oceans beyond territorial limits will be matched by the appropriate political will of the rich, technologically advanced and privileged nations. If these hopes are fulfilled, the result would then augur handsomely for peace, justice, and the orderly exploitation of the resources of the global sea and for the equitable sharing of the proceeds for the benefit of all mankind.

283. The problems of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, however, do not rest here. There is also the situation among the developing countries: the coastal vis-à-vis the landlocked and other geographically disadvantaged States. It is therefore the view of my delegation that, with regard to the proposed exclusive economic zones, the only sensible and realistic approach would be to adopt the OAU Declaration on the Law of the Sea⁷ adopted by the Council of Ministers of the OAU at its twenty-first session, held at Addis Ababa in May 1973, and at its twenty-third session, held at Mogadiscio in June of this year. This Declaration not only recognizes the sovereignty of the coastal States over the proposed exclusive economic zones and all their resources but will also allow the full participation in the exploitation of the living resources of the zones by neighbouring landlocked and other geographically disadvantaged States.

284. We remain confident that in the present circumstances the continued efforts of the United Nations under its noble Charter represent a fountain of hope. The tenets of the common heritage of mankind, the equal sovereignty of all states and peoples, and the peaceful, orderly settlement of disputes, if given full rein, will surely bring peace, progress and prosperity to all. It is in this context that the Gambian delegation welcomes and supports the proposal, put forward by Morocco [2249th meeting, para 204] and Mauritania [2251st meeting, para. 162], that the problem of Spanish Sahara be referred to the International Court of Justice.

285. Finally, I should like to register my Government's support for the untiring efforts that are being made to usher in a new era of international peace and understanding. It is my conviction that the prevailing spirit of *détente* between the super-Powers will be further extended to cover the politico-economic relationship between the developed and the developing worlds. Global peace cannot endure in the midst of affluence for the few and poverty and penury for the many, and it behoves us all to rededicate ourselves to the search for solutions to the vexatious problems confronting the international community.

286. The PRESIDENT: The representative of Chile has asked to be allowed to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

287. Mr. PRIETO (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, in line with the conduct imposed by its Moscow master on all its satellites, has repeated the insults already heard here in regard to the Government of Chile.

288. We are grateful to Soviet imperialism for this further opportunity to make known to the free peoples of the world the true facts regarding my country. Without any serious grounds or scientific justification the Government of Chile is accused of being Fascist. Let us then start by defining the term. Fascism, according to Benito Mussolini himself, means the following: everything within the State, nothing outside the State, and nothing against the State.

289. I invite you to reason and to decide who the Fascists are: we or those who attack us.

290. Fascism implies the concept of totalitarianism, and it is this totalitarianism which the Soviets have imposed in many parts of the world. And yet these men, the new czars of our time, have the gall to speak of democracy.

291. It is obvious that in addition to accusing the Government of Chile of being Fascist, they would like to accuse it of being Nazi. But they do not use that term, because they are terrified that the world might recall the criminal Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939, which enabled Hitler to ravage Western Europe—and Western Europe was really democratic. Of course, the Soviets and their satellites have always been prepared to reach agreements with the devil himself if that meets their imperialistic interests—indeed they have done so.

292. It is incredible that Governments which constitute the very essence of totalitarianism, which combine the most negative values of fascism, nazism and imperialism, should appropriate the word "democracy". And it is even more incredible that Governments that are truly democratic should accept the intellectual tutelage of such people and thereby go along with this dangerous game. In the long run it is they who will be the victims of their short-sightedness. We have had enough experience in my country of that kind of thing. We can truly call ourselves living witnesses of Chile's longest night.

293. With the same hypocrisy they speak of the self-determination of peoples. Czechoslovakia and Hungary are qualified witnesses to that new fallacy.

294. The Government of Chile is accused also of not observing human rights. Nothing could be further from the truth. I myself had the honour and privilege of being the Minister of Justice in the Cabinet appointed on 12 September 1973, and I can therefore state from personal experience that from the very outset, at the height of the struggle, the main concern of the military junta was to observe every human right. Even at a time when heads were the hottest, the voice of eternal Chile prevailed and no methods were allowed, for any reason, to be used that were not in conformity with our fundamental humanistic and Christian principles.

295. If one wishes to judge a country's conduct in respect of the observance of human rights, one should

not limit oneself to isolated or individual cases, cases outside the control of any Government, no matter how strong or democratic. The basic consideration must be the philosophy, the style of the Government. Therein lies the clear difference between what is happening in Chile and what is happening in the countries of the Soviet orbit.

296. Because of our humanistic philosophy and our full respect for basic human values, those who were threatening the very soul of Chile were judged by courts established more than 50 years ago, and they had all the guarantees necessary for their defence, guarantees in conformity with the substantive and procedural rules that have been in force for many years in my country.

297. How different it is in the countries of the Soviet orbit! The procedures followed there are a mere farce. No legal rule followed by all civilized countries is observed when the State considers it in its best interest not to do so. The best fate that can befall a person who is indicted is to be sent to a psychiatric clinic. I need cite only the testimony of Solzhenitsyn.

298. All the words, speeches and statements before the Assembly cannot wipe away the blood, dry the tears or relieve the suffering of the persons who have been assassinated, persecuted and humiliated. All the speeches made at all the sessions of the General Assembly would not suffice to relieve the pain of those who have been and are still being persecuted within the frontiers of the Soviet Union and the various nations subjected to its criminal imperialistic action. To prove what I have just said I need mention only one witness—not one of ours, but one of theirs: a

Ukrainian, Nikita Khrushchev, who at the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party laid bare all the crimes of the Soviet Communist system.

299. How much independence and sovereignty are in the hands of that peculiar State, one of the Republics which at one time attempted to become autonomous and later became the victim of the imposition of force, that State that is now part of the Soviet Union?

300. With regard to the unnecessary death of ex-President Allende, referred to by the representative of the Ukrainian SSR, I would say only this: As Chileans we regret that death, but it is the exclusive responsibility of those who encouraged hatred and handed over the weapons that were used to commit that crime.

The meeting rose at 8 p.m.

NOTES

¹ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.

² DP/69, sect. II.

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 480, No. 6964, p. 43.

⁴ League of Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. XCIV, No. 2138, p. 65.

⁵ *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for January, February and March 1974*, document S/11198, annex.

⁶ *Ibid.*, *Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1974*, document S/11302/Add.1, annex I.

⁷ *Official Records of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea*, vol. III, document A/CONF.62/33.