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

*In the absence of the President, Mr. Datcu, (Romania), took the Chair.*

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

1. Mr. HOSSAIN (Bangladesh): Once again I have the pleasure of extending our sincere congratulations to Mr. Bouteflika, the President of the current session of the General Assembly. His unanimous election is an eloquent tribute to his great country, Algeria, and its heroic people which are universally admired and respected as champions of the cause of freedom, peace and justice. I would like to thank all the members who have welcomed us into the Organization for their warm expressions of solidarity and support.

2. I would like to reiterate our assurance that Bangladesh will do everything possible to promote the noble objectives of the United Nations. The strength of our commitment is reflected in our Declaration of Independence, which affirms the adherence of the Government and the people of Bangladesh to the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations. The valuable role which the United Nations family of organizations has played since our liberation in supporting our reconstruction efforts has served to deepen this commitment.

3. A gigantic task faces the overwhelming majority of mankind, those who inhabit the world which is emerging from servitude to freedom, from exploitation towards economic emancipation, from dependence towards self-reliance. The problems of centuries require urgent solutions, not in decades but in months and years. The world for which we all aspire is one in which men everywhere can enjoy the fruits of peace.

4. As I said earlier in the statement made at the time of our admission [2233rd meeting], the problems of Bangladesh represent, in microcosm, the problems of

the emerging world. We have 75 million people, growing at the rate of 3 per cent a year. Our land is fertile. We have abundant supplies of water and natural resources in the form of gas, forests, marine and inland fisheries. Yet we have to contend with hunger and poverty, malnutrition and disease, illiteracy and unemployment. Our economic potential remains untapped on account of centuries of neglect and exploitation. At present we produce about 12 million tons of rice. Investments in irrigation and supply of inputs, such as improved seeds, fertilizers and pesticides, could increase rice production to 50 million tons. Our natural resources have remained undeveloped owing to lack of capital, lack of application of science and technology and, above all, to a lack, in the past, of political power by the people to take the decisions to develop them. Millions of our people made the supreme sacrifice in our war of liberation so that they could win that power. Independence has generated hope and presented the opportunity of realizing this potential.

5. The expectations shared by us with many in the developing world have received a severe setback from global inflation, which has escalated many times the cost of development. For Bangladesh, as for others, global inflation has not only created an intolerable pressure on existing resources but has also meant serious shortages of essential commodities. An expert report published last week describes in human terms the impact of hunger in 1974. It reports that a thousand million or more people suffer from hunger and its consequences. It has been estimated that roughly 15 million children annually die before the age of five as a result of the combined effects of infection and malnutrition; these represent a quarter of all the deaths in the world.

6. Will the world look on helplessly or will it respond to this grim challenge? Will a third of mankind continue to suffer from malnutrition and 15 million children die each year from its effects? Such suffering can be prevented. Measures can be taken to ensure immediate supplies of food to the deficient areas while long-term solutions are implemented. Such solutions lie in mobilizing the necessary resources for increasing food production throughout the world. The land is there; the water is there; the people are there, ready and willing to devote their labour to producing the food which can overcome the problem of hunger. But will the necessary resources be found? The investment which can be expected to achieve such a global breakthrough in agriculture is estimated to be only a fraction of what is currently being spent on the production of armaments.

7. Natural calamities further aggravate suffering. The droughts in the Sahel, our own devastating floods and the recent cyclone in Honduras are some of the cruellest of the recent devastations that have taken

their toll. Peru has just been the victim of a terrible earthquake. We express our deepest sympathies to the victims of natural calamities in Honduras and Peru. The colossal death and destruction wrought by recurring disasters around the world should highlight the importance and urgency of adopting concrete measures for detection, advance warning and, where appropriate, preventive measures through concerted global action. Floods in certain parts of the world, such as our own, fall into this last category. The priority to be attached to the prevention of such disasters is all the more great in view of the fact that such calamities substantially negate national efforts at economic progress and development. The mandate of the United Nations Disaster Relief Co-ordinator is too narrow, and the resources at his disposal grossly inadequate to meet the challenge. We are convinced that all efforts should be directed towards full realization of the objectives for which the Co-ordinator's office was set up to enable him effectively to fulfil the task entrusted to him.

8. The problems have been identified. Solutions are within our reach. Everything now rests upon those who are to take decisions; and upon them rests a heavy responsibility. We in the United Nations can seek to influence those decisions by affirming, with the common voice of humanity, that this moment should not be lost, when mankind still has a chance to avert a global catastrophe, when it still has a chance so to arrange its affairs as to build a better future. The cost of failure is too fearful to contemplate. Let the voice of humanity reach the corridors of decision-making so that the old attitudes and the old frame of reference, according to which narrow national interests were regarded as the only sound basis for decisions, may be replaced by new attitudes and a new frame of reference which will underline the common interest in acting together to avert the crisis of tomorrow.

9. The sixth special session of the General Assembly was historic because it provided a dramatic focus on the problems which call for urgent action. The holding of a special session to discuss the international economic situation highlighted the magnitude and urgency of the problems. The deliberations of that session resulted in the unanimous adoption of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3202 (S-VI)]. It is therefore all the more unfortunate that the action that has been taken so far falls far short of what is needed. The prices of most commodities continue to increase; the required inflow of resources from countries in a position to render assistance to those who need them has not been forthcoming. Restrictive practices continue to obstruct the flow of trade from the developing to the developed countries. The special emergency measures recommended in the Programme of Action for countries most seriously affected by the current economic situation are yet to be implemented. The very character of special emergency measures is likely to be impaired if these are not implemented on an emergency basis. We do, however, appreciate the actions of those who have responded with promptness to the call of the special session and have made their contributions towards meeting the situation.

10. The shared objective which is sought to be advanced is to lay the foundation of a new international

economic order. This stems from the recognition that much of the suffering faced in the world today has arisen from maldistribution. Fifteen per cent of the world's population is enjoying 60 per cent of the world's wealth. National sovereignty over natural resources has to be effectively secured. Those who have natural resources often lack capital and technology. Those who have capital and technology face deficiencies in natural resources. Some suffer from over-supply of labour, while others from acute shortages. Some enjoy food surpluses, while others are fighting starvation. Modest reductions in waste and levels of consumption in the developed countries could release substantial resources for development. The new international economic order must essentially be founded upon a recognition of interdependence and co-operation. By conscious, rational and concerted action there can be a total improvement in the global economic situation, and some of the "nightmares of the twenty-first century" can be averted. We must commit ourselves to take such action on the basis of a common determination to alleviate human suffering. Let us recognize that a world which becomes callous to human suffering cannot be at peace with itself.

11. It is commendable that the world community has focused attention on two vital problems of our time, namely, food and population, through organizing world conferences on these subjects. The World Population Conference, held at Bucharest last August, adopted the World Population Plan of Action which we hope will be effectively implemented. It is also our hope that the World Food Conference which is to be held early next month will formulate concrete measures aimed at enhancing global production of food and establishing a just and efficient system of distribution so as to ensure that no person in the world falls victim to hunger. We hope that the special session of the General Assembly next year will be able to carry forward the work of the previous special session and of these conferences so that meaningful and urgent action may follow. In this context, the proposal [A/C.2/L.137] that the Economic and Social Council should hold meetings as necessary throughout the year merits support.

12. As a State with over a thousand miles of coastline, the adjacent sea and sea-bed constitute for Bangladesh a veritable lifeline for providing our growing population with necessary sources of protein, potential hydrocarbon and scarce mineral resources. Undoubtedly, for us as well as for millions of people in the world, the establishment of a just and equitable régime of the ocean constitutes a matter of high priority. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has made an auspicious beginning in this direction. Every effort should be pursued to achieve a universally accepted convention, which is the common goal of the world community.

13. The global co-operation needed to face the economic challenge of the future can be realized only within a framework of enduring peace; and peace, to endure, must be based on justice. It is, therefore, a matter of profound satisfaction that some of the historic injustices are being redressed. The process of decolonization has been significantly accelerated. We have celebrated the entry of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations. We welcome the prospect of indepen-

dence being attained by the people of Mozambique and Angola, and by others, who have been struggling so heroically to vindicate their right of national self-determination. We express our solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe and Namibia and urge that everything possible should be done to support their just struggle to realize their aspiration for national liberation.

14. The General Assembly decision regarding credentials of the delegation from South Africa [*resolution 3206 (XXIX)*] has clearly expressed the outraged feelings of mankind in relation to *apartheid* and racial discrimination practised in South Africa. Every effort to eradicate these practices shall have our complete support.

15. We continue to support the aspirations of the people of Indo-China to guide their own destinies and of the Korean people to realize peaceful reunification without outside interference. The Paris Agreement on Viet Nam has opened up promising prospects for peace in that country, but it is yet to be fully implemented. We hope the formation of the Provisional Government of the National Union of Laos will usher in an era of peace and stability in that area. War, however, continues in Cambodia. We express our solidarity with the brave people of Cambodia, and we are confident that they will ultimately realize their aspirations.

16. Although the heroism and valour of the Arab people has opened up the path to a just peace in the Middle East, this cherished objective can be achieved only when all the Arab lands under illegal Israeli occupation are vacated, and the legitimate national rights of the people of Palestine and Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem are restored. It is a source of satisfaction that the very first proposal we co-sponsored after admission was that of including the question of Palestine in the agenda of the General Assembly.

17. It is tragic that while the world is still grappling with the issues bedevilling this region, the island of Cyprus should have fallen victim to a new devastation. We cannot but express our sorrow at the death and destruction suffered by the people of Cyprus. There can be no doubt that the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be preserved and ways must be found to enable the two communities in that country to enjoy their full economic, political, social and other rights without fear and interference. We commend the efforts of the Secretary-General and express the hope that negotiations now in progress between the leaders of the Greek and Turkish communities will be successful.

18. We remain totally committed to peace—peace in our sub-continent, in our region and in the world. We believe Bangladesh has demonstrated by its actions since independence the strength of its commitment to peace. As members of the non-aligned group, the Commonwealth and the Islamic Conference, we have declared our support for every move aimed at the promotion of peace. We therefore welcome the general move towards East-West *détente* as reflected in the recent negotiations on European security and in the signing of agreements for limitation of production of strategic weapons. We shall continue to support the moves towards total and complete disarmament and the holding of a world disarmament conference to promote this objective.

19. Along with other non-aligned countries we have urged the adoption of measures for the complete prohibition of the use, development and production of nuclear weapons and for the destruction of existing stockpiles. In this connexion, we also support the prohibition of all nuclear- and thermonuclear-weapon tests. We have also supported the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [*resolution 2832 (XXVI)*] and the declaration of South-East Asia as a zone of peace and neutrality. In respect of such proposals, however, it is our conviction that these can be meaningful only if they are evolved through mutual consultations and consensus among regional countries and their sanctity is respected by all nuclear-weapon Powers.

20. In spite of universal recognition of the imperative need to control the arms race, the objective of general and complete disarmament is nowhere in sight. The future of humanity is as much threatened by thermonuclear war as by the deepening economic crisis and continuing domination of man by man. It is clear that only global co-operation based on a framework of peace and justice can avert a catastrophe. It is for this Assembly, representing the nations of the world, to pronounce on the course of action to be taken and to ensure that bold, wise and far-sighted decisions are adopted. And above all, to ensure that these decisions are translated into action before it is too late.

*Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) took the Chair.*

21. Mr. TAQA (Iraq) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is indeed a source of gratification to see the international community expressing its confidence in you by electing you to the Presidency of the current session of the General Assembly. Such confidence reflects the appreciation felt by the international community towards your fraternal Arab country, which enjoys an eminent position on the African continent and among the non-aligned countries. It also reflects the high status and the positive role of the non-aligned countries within the international community. Your unanimous election is in fact an expression of appreciation and respect for your person and for your capabilities as an astute and eminent statesman. While extending to you my heartfelt congratulations, I should also like to express our gratitude for the efficient manner in which your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, conducted the meetings of both the previous session and the sixth special session.

22. Our world today is facing grave situations and challenges which put the United Nations and its procedures to a test, the outcome of which will determine not only the Organization's effectiveness in fulfilling its mission but also its very existence. In spite of the positive developments in the climate of international relations in recent years within the context of the policy of *détente* and the diminished likelihood of a nuclear war, the majority of the peoples of the world are still suffering acutely from colonialist domination, from the threat of aggression, and from poverty. Furthermore, in various regions of the world there are still many hotbeds of tension and danger which threaten international peace and security. In the forefront of such regions is our own Arab area, which has over a long period of time been the victim of the worst forms of aggression. It has witnessed at the same time the continued inability of the international community

to find effective solutions to the problem. Representatives are no doubt well aware of the perils involved in this situation.

23. What is indeed most disturbing is the fact that this forum, which is supposed to be a forum of justice, should witness strange methods being applied by their authors to threaten States which are exercising their natural rights and defending their legitimate interests. This is one of the manifestations menacing the international community today.

24. Iraq, a country which has only recently rid itself of the last traces of colonialist domination and of the ugly manner in which its natural resources were being exploited, strongly believes that international relations should be firmly based on understanding and co-operation, on the solution of problems through peaceful means based on mutual respect, and on non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. It decidedly welcomes the steps already taken towards the relaxation of international tension and considers them as positive developments. At the same time, we also believe that *détente* cannot be fully achieved and will always remain threatened, unless the peoples of the world are guaranteed their full rights to freedom and sovereignty and to the pursuit of their legitimate interests. This cannot be achieved unless serious action is taken to remove the causes of aggression and tension throughout the world, particularly in our Arab region. Moreover, there is also the necessity of eliminating racial discrimination, from the evils of which many peoples are still suffering, particularly on the African continent.

*Mr. Ghorra (Lebanon), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

25. It is a source of gratification that the current session should witness the admission to membership in the world Organization of a number of emerging States, namely the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. We should like to take this opportunity to extend our warmest greetings and best wishes to the new Members, in consonance with Iraq's consistent advocacy of the principle of universality for the international Organization. The admission of these States to membership in the United Nations is an affirmation of the fact that the struggle of peoples for freedom and sovereignty is bound to be crowned with success. It is also a full confirmation of the statement made by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report "that the march of colonial peoples towards self-determination and independence is an irreversible process of history" [A/9601/Add.1, sect. IX].

26. This is evidenced by the positive developments on the African continent during the past year. Following the accession to independence of Guinea-Bissau and the transfer of power to the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] as a prelude to the proclamation of the independence of Mozambique, hope has been further strengthened that the other Territories still under Portuguese domination will attain their independence. We consider these developments a triumph for the Portuguese people themselves, who, because of colonial policies, have incurred great losses and suffered many tragedies. Portugal now has the opportunity to establish normal relations

based on friendship and co-operation with all the countries of the world, including Iraq.

27. Yet, in spite of those positive developments on the African continent, the racist Government of South Africa persists in its defiance of the United Nations and of world public opinion by its continued occupation of Namibia and by the practice of its hideous policy of *apartheid* against the indigenous population. We are gratified at the resolution adopted by the General Assembly calling upon the Security Council to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa [resolution 3207 (XXIX)]. For our part, we call upon the Security Council to respond to that resolution and to reconsider the membership of South Africa in the United Nations. The very presence of the representatives of the racist Government of South Africa in the United Nations is a contravention of both the Charter and the principles of human rights.

28. With regard to Rhodesia, we wish to reaffirm what we have always declared concerning the necessity of supporting and implementing United Nations resolutions by making such resolutions binding, in the real sense of the word, upon all States. We believe that the British Government bears a special responsibility for the removal of the racist régime in Rhodesia, and that it should in all seriousness assume that responsibility. The presence of the racist régimes of South Africa and Rhodesia in our contemporary world constitutes an insult to the entire world and a shame which it must bear. The international community is called upon to employ all effective means to obliterate this insult.

29. Among the problems posing a threat to international peace and security and urging the international community to find just solutions for them is the continued tension on the Asian continent. The Vietnamese people still suffers from various forms of outside foreign intervention on the part of the United States, a situation which the Paris Agreement, signed two years ago, had supposedly terminated. The Vietnamese people is still bleeding profusely because the Saigon Administration, with encouragement from the United States, is not abiding genuinely and seriously by the terms of the Agreement.

30. As for Cambodia, because of the support given by the United States to an illegitimate régime controlling only a small area of the country, its people is still suffering from the evils and agonies of war. As a result of that situation, the international community should grant that people the rights to express its opinion, which includes occupation by its lawful Government—the Government of National Union—of its seat in this international Organization as the legitimate representative of the Cambodian people.

31. Regarding Korea, Iraq has welcomed the steps taken along the road towards the reunification of the Korean people and the removal of foreign occupation forces stationed in South Korea. We call upon the United Nations without any further delay to put an end to the exploitation of both its name and flag in covering up the continued presence there of the forces of occupation of the United States. We also demand that the Korean question be given a greater measure of attention which would provide conditions propitious for the reunification of the Korean people and the

removal of a centre of tension from that part of the world.

32. Among the new important events arousing the attention of world public opinion and constituting a serious threat to peace is the crisis in Cyprus. We wish on this occasion to affirm our basic position regarding this question and to express Iraq's support for the independence of Cyprus, its sovereignty, its territorial integrity and its continuance as a non-aligned State. We call upon all parties concerned, including Turkey, our friendly neighbour, and Greece, to which we are bound by friendly relations, and the inhabitants of the island to co-operate with each other with a view to finding appropriate solutions to this crisis in accordance with the foregoing principles and on the basis of respecting and safeguarding the rights of the Greek and Turkish communities in Cyprus.

33. Among the chronic questions included in the agenda of the General Assembly is the question of disarmament. Despite some achievements of the United Nations in the form of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*] and the Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies [*resolution 2222 (XXI), annex*], our world is still in need of further efforts and co-operation with a view to arriving at effective formulas and solutions in this respect.

34. There are numerous sensitive areas in the world which are now threatened with grave dangers because of the presence in them of nuclear weapons. While we support the designation of the Indian Ocean and its geographical extensions as a zone of peace and the South-East Asian area as a zone of peace and co-operation, we also support in principle all proposals relating to the elimination of nuclear weapons from those areas and from the entire world.

35. We wish also to stress that there is a very small margin of difference between the peaceful and non-peaceful uses of nuclear energy. That fact was also emphasized by the Secretary-General in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, in which he stated: "Available scientific evidence shows that there is little essential difference between explosive devices for peaceful purposes and those for nuclear weapons." [*A/9601/Add.1, sect. X.*] In the circumstances, we believe that equal rights and opportunities should be recognized for all countries in this respect. At the same time, an attempt should be made to arrive at a serious and responsible agreement on the peaceful uses of nuclear energy which would preclude its use for military purposes.

36. One of the distinctive features of the current session is the inclusion again in the agenda of the question of Palestine. There can be no doubt that Palestine is one of the major and most important issues of our time. Because of the question of Palestine, the Middle East has for more than a quarter of a century been exposed to a state of acute tension which has strongly affected and continues strongly to affect world peace on a large and serious scale.

37. While we express our satisfaction at the inclusion of that just cause in the agenda of the General Assembly, we should like to express our point of view in an unequivocal and specific manner.

38. At the outset, it must be pointed out yet again that the Palestine question is not a result of the Zionist aggression perpetrated against the Arab countries in 1967. The issue has not arisen only today. That aggression and the current grave situation in the Arab area are but consequences of the Palestinian problem. In our opinion, it can be summed up as the question of a people expelled from its homeland by force of arms and by foreign invaders who established in that country a Fascist, racist and colonialist régime, one that cannot be justified save by the perpetuation of aggression, expansion and the fanning of the flames of war, counting on the support of colonialist forces with illegitimate interests and policies in the area, foremost among which is the United States of America. In our opinion, any attempts to ignore that historical and realistic aspect of the Palestine question would lead to a complete failure to find an appropriate solution to the problem and failure to consolidate peace and stability in the Arab region.

39. Security Council resolution 242 (1967) unjustly and illogically refers to what it calls the problem of refugees without even a reference to their identity and to the causes and circumstances of their displacement. It has now become necessary to reconsider that historic injustice, and at the same time we deem it to be incumbent upon the world Organization not to commit another grave blunder when rediscussing the problem by overlooking the greater part of the truth in the interest of acknowledging merely just one part of it.

40. The Palestinian people, which has been subjected to various forms of persecution and suffering over the last 25 years and which has struggled and is still valiantly struggling for the attainment of its legitimate rights, is fully entitled to return to its homeland and to exercise its right to self-determination in that land. Those rights must be exercised without any hindrance from the Fascist and racist hegemony of the existing Zionist military régime, and they must be exercised within a genuine democratic framework. In order to be faithful to the Charter of the United Nations and to its principles, the international community must extend full and undiminished recognition to those rights which have been attained and certainly will be attained by all the oppressed peoples of the world.

41. The Fascist racist régime now established in the land of Palestine constituted and still constitutes a hotbed of aggression and tension in our area. The perpetuation of that entity and the continuance of unqualified support for it from the United States of America expose our area to a very grave state of tension. They also threaten the peace and stability of the entire world with untold perils. The October war shook the world last year, but the world should expect greater dangers if present conditions remain unchanged. A great deal was said last year concerning the attempts to arrive at a peaceful solution to the problem of the territories occupied by the aggressors in 1967. That occupation, however, still continues; and the Zionist leaders still persist in the colonization and the annexation of territories in defiance of the resolution of the United Nations and of world public opinion. What really calls for condemnation is the fact that the United States of America is still acting irresponsibly, and contrary to its alleged intentions by providing the Zionist usurpers with enormous amounts

of arms and huge sums of money in addition to political support in all fields, including the support rendered within this very international Organization. Instead of discharging its international responsibilities, in cooperation with the international community, by forcing the usurper and aggressor to withdraw unconditionally, the United States of America continues the pursuit of its policies, thus exposing security and peace in the area and the entire world to the gravest perils.

42. Faced with such a situation, we wish to state our opinion that the Arab people whose lands were occupied in 1967 and the Arab people in Palestine which owns the historical right to its national soil are fully entitled to resort to all appropriate means to liberate their land and to recover their rights; it behoves the international community to stand by them and to give them all the support and assistance to which they are entitled.

43. If the international Organization has acted correctly and taken a concrete, positive step by its decision to reconsider its position regarding its relationship with South Africa, then it is high time that the United Nations reconsidered its position concerning the membership of the Fascist, racist régime established in the land of Palestine. By stating this, we call upon the General Assembly to recall the conditions of membership laid down in the Charter of the United Nations itself and to recall also the resolutions of the United Nations which have stressed time and again the rights of peoples to self-determination as well as the necessity of liquidating colonialism in all its forms from the entire world.

44. We have often spoken from this rostrum about the critical situation existing along the Iraqi-Iranian frontier ever since the Iranian Government unilaterally abrogated the frontier treaty concluded between the two countries in 1937, and by so doing, Iran was in contravention of the provisions and principles of international law and of the customs observed among the members of the international community and in international relations. Since then the Iranian Government has committed a long series of encroachments upon Iraqi sovereignty on Shatt-el-Arab and all along our land frontier. During the past years, the Iranian military forces have perpetrated numerous acts of aggression against our frontier areas. We were compelled to defend our land and sovereignty. Furthermore, the Iranian Government has openly and continuously interfered in the internal affairs of our country.

45. Bearing in mind the principles of coexistence between neighbouring countries, and with the genuine desire of resolving problems through peaceful means and of establishing good relations with our neighbours, we in Iraq have been pursuing throughout the past years a policy of self-restraint, and we have been trying to confine disputes and clashes to the narrowest possible limits. Accordingly, Iraq has always called upon the Iranian Government to negotiate with a view to resolving differences through peaceful means. Among the prominent steps taken within this context was Iraq's declaration of the resumption of diplomatic relations with Iran on 7 October 1973 and the fact that it called upon Iran to negotiate. Unfortunately, the positive attitudes of Iraq were not similarly reciprocated by the Iranian Government which pre-

cipitated matters to the point of creating crisis situations through military acts of aggression committed against our borders by the Iranian forces throughout these years. We were thus compelled to refer the matter to the Security Council which decided to send a representative of the Secretary-General on a fact-finding mission. The representative was requested to submit a report in this connexion, and he duly fulfilled the task entrusted to him.<sup>1</sup>

46. The result of the good offices of the Secretary-General was that the two sides did come to an agreement on four points which included the consolidation of the cease-fire, the withdrawal of military concentrations all along the frontier, and the preparation of propitious conditions for bilateral discussions without any preconditions.

47. In implementation of the foregoing agreement, Iraq took the initiative of inviting Iran to make the necessary contacts with a view to the withdrawal of the concentration of troops along the borders. However, the Iranian side has so far not responded to that initiative despite the lapse of five months since the adoption of Security Council resolution 348 (1974) of 28 March 1974. Iraq also took the initiative of inviting Iran to hold bilateral discussions. Meetings were indeed held between the representatives of the two countries between 12 and 28 August last in Istanbul, and this resulted in an agreement on an agenda for further talks to be held at a higher level. On this occasion we should like to express our thanks and appreciation for the positive efforts undertaken by the Secretary-General and his special representative, in conformity with the will of the Security Council as expressed in the resolution of March 1974.

48. The present situation constitutes a state of grave tension in the Arab area which is already fraught with danger. Such a situation, if allowed to continue, can lead to dire consequences. As an independent country, Iraq is determined to preserve its independence and its sovereignty. It will spare no effort and it will do its utmost to defend itself against any violations. At the same time, Iraq fully appreciates the urgent need to put an end to the hotbeds of tension in the area, and the need to establish friendly relations so that they may prevail among the peoples of the area which are already bound together by strong historical ties. Consequently, Iraq is fully prepared to exert all possible positive efforts in order to arrive at appropriate and equitable solutions to the problems pending between the two countries in conformity with the Charter of the United Nations and the principles of good neighbourliness and coexistence between countries.

49. The question of the Sahara now under Spanish administration requires an urgent settlement. The termination of foreign domination over the Territory is considered a basic matter which should not be postponed any further. It is our sincere hope that the Government of Spain, with which we have maintained close relations of friendship, will co-operate and respond positively to the Arab parties concerned in order to put a final end to its domination over that Territory. For our part, we consider the Moroccan intention, proposed at the 2249th meeting, to refer the matter to the International Court of Justice as a logical and sound move leading towards a solution to this problem.

50. A quick glance at the current international economic order clearly indicates the incapacity of that order to absorb the quantitative and qualitative changes which the world has witnessed during the last two decades. That order is now suffering, more than ever before, from the symptoms of an imminent collapse. The successive waves of economic inflation which the world has experienced and the plummeting of the rate of growth of national incomes, in real terms, in many countries, as well as the disturbed balance of payments of those countries are clear indications of the dangers ahead.

51. The international community has become fully conscious of this grave situation and has realized the responsibility incumbent upon it to consider the causes and find solutions. Iraq, as President Ahmed Hassan Al-Bakr has declared, was among the first countries to call for discussion of the question within the framework of the United Nations. The appeal was made in a letter addressed by President Al-Bakr to the President of the United States last February, and the discussion took place at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, which was held as a result of the initiative of our Algerian brothers. At the special session the Assembly adopted a Declaration and Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)*]. That Declaration represents, in the view of many developing countries, including Iraq, the minimum of what is required. However, some industrial States attempted at the fifty-seventh session of the Economic and Social Council to shirk their responsibilities by voicing their objection to the texts of documents already agreed upon at the special session, thereby seeking to create obstacles to their implementation. We call upon those States to reconsider, and reconsider carefully, the consequences which may result from such attitudes. We also urge them not to damage their own long-term interests for the sake of ephemeral benefits.

52. It is indeed very regrettable to see some major industrial States failing to abide by the obligations of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [*resolution 2626 (XXV)*], in spite of the passage of several years since its adoption and in spite of the adoption by various bodies of the United Nations of resolutions recommending its implementation.

53. It is really regrettable that accusations and threats should be hurled from this rostrum at developing countries which are exercising their natural right to sovereignty over their natural resources and seeking equitable prices for such resources. Those developing countries have suffered for hundreds of years from miserable conditions, as a result of the dominance of the major colonialist Powers and their monopoly of those resources in blatant disregard of the legitimate interests of their owners and of the interests of the international community at large. It is strange indeed that the developing countries, notably the oil-producing countries, should be held responsible for the inflation which is now rampant in the industrial countries. In that connexion, we should like to mention the following facts.

54. First, the international economic order in general and the international monetary system in particular

have been suffering from chronic ailments for a long time. On the practical level, the international monetary system, the foundations of which were established by the Bretton Woods agreements in 1944,<sup>2</sup> collapsed in 1971 when the United States declared its relinquishment of its obligation to exchange the American dollar for gold, and vice versa, at the fixed parity laid down in the agreement—\$35 per ounce of gold. The United States adopted that measure under the pressure of a continuous deficit in its balance of payments which began in the early 1950s as a result of its military and non-military operations outside its territorial borders, and of the successive waves of economic inflation from which its economy has been suffering and is still suffering.

55. Secondly, the inflation from which the world is suffering today can be attributed in the first place to the nature of the economic order in the capitalist world. The recent wave of inflation began long before the oil-producing States started fixing more equitable prices for oil and oil products. This became only too clear in the prices of manufactured goods. In point of fact, economic inflation is a chronic ailment in the capitalist countries. It brought about ruin for many of those countries even before the discovery of oil in most of the countries which are now producing it.

56. Thirdly, the price of oil, like the prices of any other commodity, is determined by economic variables on a world scale. It is therefore unreasonable to view the energy problem and the price of oil in isolation from the prices of other raw materials, foodstuffs and manufactured and semi-manufactured goods. That is why we believe that what is called the energy crisis should be called instead "the cheap-energy crisis", because the price of oil, a commodity which is in the course of depletion, will always remain below its real value, not because it is a fuel used for heating but because it is a basic factor in running the machinery of economic life in the entire world.

57. Fourthly, the incredible profits made by oil companies constitute a major reason for the uneconomic increase in the price of oil in relation to the final consumer. To state an example, the profits of the seven major oil companies amounted in 1973 alone to more than \$8,000 million, most of which was made outside the United States. That amount exceeds the total investments made by the oil companies in the Middle East area in the period from 1954 to 1970.

58. Fifthly, the high taxes imposed by the Governments of the oil-importing Western States upon that commodity constitute the second reason for the uneconomic rise in the price of oil to the final consumer. Studies made by the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries [*OPEC*] show that the share received by the oil-producing countries from the price paid by the European consumer in 1967 was only 7.9 per cent, whereas the revenues of the oil-consuming Governments accruing from the taxes levied on oil accounted for 47.5 per cent of that price.

59. Some officials in the industrial countries say that we are using our natural resources as a weapon for exercising political pressure. That is indeed strange, coming from people who are using their own commodities to exercise political pressure. We wish to stress from this rostrum what we have always said: that American strategy in exploiting the energy crisis

in that way is aimed not only at the oil-producing countries, particularly the Arab countries, but also at the interests of Western Europe, Japan and all the countries of the third world. We believe that as a developing country we are capable of understanding and safeguarding the basic interests of the third world, to which we belong, at the same time as we respect the legitimate interests of all other States. We refuse the tutelage of States which have never proved that they are safeguarding the interests of poorer countries. We also refuse any kind of threat, whatever form it might take.

60. On this occasion I should like to say that the Government of the Republic of Iraq, through bilateral co-operation with many of the developing countries and the non-aligned countries, has given assistance of more than \$500 million to those countries throughout the current year alone.

61. We could have devoted more time to reminding those who are speaking at this session of basic axioms derived from modern and ancient history. But we prefer not to do so out of our belief that attempts at misrepresentation cannot deceive the struggling, developing countries which have known colonialism in both its old and new forms and which have experienced all its various methods.

62. If the United Nations has not been able so far, and for reasons that are beyond the power of most of its Members, to achieve the noble purposes enshrined in the Charter, we have not yet given up hope. We believe that despite all the foregoing problems, the Organization remains an indispensable instrument for the creation of an international community where security, peace and co-operation will prevail.

*Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) resumed the Chair.*

*Address by Mr. Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic*

63. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I now have the honour of welcoming His Excellency General Mohamed Siad Barre, President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, and I invite him to address the Assembly.

64. Mr. SIAD BARRE: It is for me a great honour and privilege to address this Assembly in my capacity both as current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity [OAU] and as head of State of the Somali Democratic Republic. It is a happy coincidence for me also to see this historic session of the General Assembly presided over by a great statesman and an outstanding son of Africa, Abdelaziz Bouteflika.

65. I take this opportunity to extend to you, Mr. President, our warm congratulations on your accession to the important office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Our satisfaction at your election to this high office arises first of all from the confidence we have in you because of the qualities of statesmanship you have so brilliantly demonstrated in the course of your long and distinguished career in international politics. It stems also from the close political and cultural ties that bind our

two sister countries, both of which are members of OAU, the Arab League and the group of non-aligned States.

66. My sincere congratulations go also to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, whose illustrious and wise chairmanship guided us all so ably in the United Nations during the momentous period of the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly held in April 1974.

67. It is always a pleasant task to welcome newly independent countries to membership of the United Nations, and we are happy to extend our congratulations to Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau on their admission to membership of the Organization. In acquiring these new Members the United Nations has been brought closer to its goal of universality, and it will undoubtedly be strengthened by the additional contributions that will be made to its work for peace, justice and progress.

68. The ideals which brought OAU into being and which have sustained its vigorous life and growth are those cherished ideals which inspired the Charter of the United Nations. Faithful to those lofty principles, OAU seeks to complement rather than supplant the efforts of the United Nations to produce an atmosphere of justice, freedom and progress for all mankind. The close co-operation between the two bodies should be intensified even more in the coming years to solve the vexing problems of our times and especially those which concern the twin scourges of racial and colonial domination and economic underdevelopment.

69. With OAU, as with the United Nations, achievements sometimes fall short of goals. But in working to promote peace and progress on the African continent through political, economic and social co-operation on the basis of African solidarity, and in using non-alignment as the governing principle of its external relations, OAU contributes to the consolidation of international peace and security and the development of co-operation among States.

70. The evil forces of colonialism and racism still remain the most pressing problems facing both OAU and the United Nations. The struggle against colonialism and racial discrimination in southern Africa and elsewhere has long presented a challenge to all men of good will. The major initiatives taken by the African Members of the United Nations in keeping these issues before the conscience of the world have been an important factor in establishing their prominence in international affairs. But the campaign against colonialism and racial discrimination is a world responsibility, not just an African responsibility, for the evils which the campaign seeks to eliminate run counter to the basic principles of the Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

71. The dramatic developments in the situation in southern Africa brought about by the change of Government in Portugal should elicit the support and sympathy of the world community. These developments have opened the way for extensive progress to be made towards the fulfilment of the long-standing goals of the world Organization in its pursuit of peace, justice and freedom.

72. The leaders of the new Portuguese régime are to be congratulated on realizing the futility of a colonial

war. In recognizing the sovereignty of Guinea-Bissau and promising full and orderly independence for Mozambique in June 1975, and in declaring its commitment soon to grant independence to Angola, Sao Tomé and Príncipe and the Cape Verde Islands, the Portuguese Government has shown political vision and wisdom. It is a matter of great pride for Africa—and for the United Nations, which has done much to further the cause of freedom and justice—that Guinea-Bissau is amongst us today as a sovereign State. In reality, Portugal has not given away anything it had not already lost, but that does not lessen its credit for averting further bloodshed.

73. While Africa will reciprocate the good will of the new régime in Portugal by ending decades of diplomatic isolation and centuries of African resentment towards that country, yet we are watching anxiously and with the utmost vigilance the pace of progress towards independence for all the Portuguese colonies in Africa. Thus, our degree of appreciation for Portugal will depend on how far it fulfils its solemn obligations and undertakings in implementing its policy of independence for the remaining African Territories under its control, namely, Angola, the Cape Verde Islands, Sao Tomé and Príncipe. The Assembly is aware of the fact that there are reactionary forces that may try to obstruct and sabotage the progress of emancipation for the African peoples concerned.

74. In addition, during the crucial period following their independence, the new African States emerging from colonial rule will require material, technical and even military assistance to consolidate their hard-won independence and to promote their economic development and national reconstruction. The United Nations—with its special committees on decolonization, *apartheid* and Namibia—should, in co-operation with OAU, prepare a comprehensive plan which will take into account all foreseeable requirements and eventualities. We feel strongly that only thus can we safeguard the newly emerging independent African States and provide them with an opportunity to consolidate their independence and national development.

75. Having given that solemn warning against undue complacency which might tempt hostile forces to reverse the policy of mutual understanding and co-operation now unfolding in Afro-Portuguese relations, I should like to state for the record, on behalf of OAU, that Africa is ready to extend friendship and co-operation to Portugal and its people. They should have no fear for the safety of their people, property and interests in liberated Africa. It is not in the nature of the Africans to be vindictive. Africa has amply demonstrated to the world that its former colonialists can live in peace and prosperity as long as they are willing to abide by the laws of the country in which they reside. The Portuguese are no exception, and we are confident that they will have greater peace in liberated Africa than they had in Africa under Portuguese colonial domination. We Africans have suffered for centuries from discrimination on grounds of racialism and so we are ever on guard against inverse racialism.

76. The current events in Africa have demonstrated beyond doubt the effectiveness of the armed struggle waged by African liberation movements against colonial and racist domination. When the colonialists and racists rejected our pleas and peaceful gestures,

as put forth in the Lusaka Manifesto,<sup>3</sup> Africa realized that armed struggle was the only avenue open to subjected African peoples to liberate themselves from colonial bondage and racist domination. It was in this spirit that the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU held at Rabat in 1972 endorsed the historic Mogadiscio Declaration.

77. The present developments in Africa have illustrated also the importance and effectiveness of the United Nations campaign against colonialism and racial discrimination. That campaign elicited from the world community a great deal of moral and material support for the liberation movements, which were given the means and the courage to continue their struggle in the knowledge that they did not stand alone. In this connexion, we would like to express our profound thanks and deep appreciation to the socialist and Scandinavian countries and the countries of the third world for their constructive attitude and support to the cause of African liberation.

78. The Organization of African Unity can take particular pride in the part its members played in working for United Nations recognition of the legitimacy of the liberation struggle and in making the organization a source of and channel for aid.

79. It is to be hoped that those lessons are now understood by those who have tended to underrate the effectiveness of the liberation movements, to discredit the international campaign and to question the value of the allegedly unenforceable resolutions of the United Nations. Those lessons should be taken to heart, particularly by the racist minority régimes which continue to operate in the remaining pockets of colonial and racist domination and which are even now attempting to undermine the progress attained in the decolonization process.

80. The momentum of these times must be used to press home a campaign that will complete the process of decolonization and to end the dehumanizing policies of *apartheid*. The United Nations must continue to expose South Africa's main trading partners, to condemn the violators of sanctions against Southern Rhodesia, and to identify those Governments and corporations whose activities in Namibia are in direct contravention of the findings of the International Court of Justice and the provisions of relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

81. There is no question about the extent and urgency of the task that still remains to be completed in southern Africa. In the case of Zimbabwe, the genuine political representatives of the people are either in prison, in exile or muzzled by the tyrannical régime which is steadily increasing the pace of its application of *apartheid* policies—and yet successive British Governments, whatever their political colouring, have not recognized their political, legal and moral obligation to use all means, including the threat or use of force, to end the tragedy that is unfolding in Southern Rhodesia.

82. The grave escalation of repressive measures against the people of Namibia must be of particular concern to the United Nations because of its special responsibility for that Territory. Here is another area where there must be an intensification of aid to the liberation movements which represent the oppressed

people of Namibia, and a universal campaign should be launched to inform international public opinion on this question. In this regard, attention must be directed to those financial and other interests which recognize and support South Africa's illegal administration over the Territory in order to exploit the Territory's natural resources.

83. We feel that the time has come for more drastic and concrete action to be taken by this world body against the racist régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. The presence of the South African régime in the Organization is unjustified, and indeed a liability to this world body. It is gratifying to learn that the Credentials Committee at the present session has taken a historic decision in rejecting the credentials of this régime. That decision reflects the state of high political maturity reached by the Members of the Organization, and we trust that the Security Council will accept it as reflecting the general consensus of this Assembly. I therefore appeal to the Member States to support the call for the expulsion of the racist régime of South Africa. This is the only meaningful step which can be taken in view of the chronic refusal on the part of the South African régime to comply with the rulings of the United Nations. This step should be followed up by economic sanctions and by the tightening up of the arms embargo.

84. We call especially upon the Western Powers to use their decisive influence to induce the racist régimes of Salisbury and Pretoria to accept the implementation of the just resolutions of the United Nations. We feel sure that without the material and economic assistance of those Western Powers the racist régimes of southern Africa would soon be brought to reason.

85. I take the opportunity to mention other countries that are also being denied their right to freedom and self-determination, namely, Spanish Sahara, Seychelles and French Somaliland. These Territories are retained by the big colonial Powers primarily because of their economic, commercial and strategic value. Both OAU and the United Nations have long pressed for the complete and unconditional independence of those Territories. It is the earnest hope of OAU that the Assembly at its present session will intensify its pressure so as to attain self-determination for these peoples.

86. Before concluding my remarks on the African liberation struggle, let me also say a few words about those other parts of the third world suffering from imperial domination. The cause of the progressive forces in the pursuit of justice and freedom and their struggle against the evil forces of imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism is a reflection of contemporary world developments. The trend of world events demonstrates that the struggle of people for independence represents an irresistible force which can never be stopped or weakened. We are observing with admiration the many successes scored by the liberation movements and progressive forces in different parts of the world in their efforts to secure their freedom and human dignity. It is incumbent upon the Organization to support all subjected peoples in the attainment of their just cause and the fulfilment of their human aspirations.

87. In this connexion, we call for withdrawal of all foreign troops from Korea, Viet Nam and Cambodia,

and we demand that the people in these Territories be allowed to shape their own political future without any foreign intervention or external pressure. The right to self-determination and the fundamental principles of non-interference in the internal affairs of States, both enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, should be strictly observed and given full expression in our inter-State relations.

88. Another vital issue of immediate concern to us is the Middle East crisis. The Middle East situation is of particular importance to OAU, since it involves the Arab Republic of Egypt, a founding member of that Organization. The OAU has spared no efforts to reason with the Israeli authorities in the hope that they would change their callous negative attitude and comply with the relevant United Nations resolutions calling upon Israel to evacuate the Arab lands it is illegally occupying and to restore the inalienable rights of the people of Palestine. But Israel chose to turn a deaf ear to our appeals, and consequently almost all the OAU Member States have severed diplomatic relations with Israel. With the blessing of some Powers, that country continues to persist with impunity in its defiance of universal public opinion and international morality.

89. The disengagement of Arab and Israeli forces on the Egyptian and Syrian fronts is no cause for complacency. The situation in the Middle East will continue to be dangerously explosive so long as Israel remains in illegal occupation of Arab territory and so long as the rights of the Palestinian people are ignored and so long as Jerusalem remains in Israeli hands.

90. The illegality of Israel's occupation of Arab territory is compounded by its active promotion of permanent Israeli settlements on the Golan Heights, the West Bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip and the Sinai peninsula. In a policy of open expansionism, more settlements of Israelis have been established on occupied Arab territory since 1967 than in Israel itself. Israel has also made no secret of its intention to annex Jerusalem and to alter the demographic and Arab character of the City.

91. But that is not the end of these tragic developments. Israel continues to commit acts of aggression against the neighbouring independent Arab States. The frequent military incursions into Lebanese territory, in violation of that country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, and the indiscriminate bombing of Lebanon's civilian population illustrate how far the Israelis are prepared to go beyond the rule of international law and beyond the norms of civilized behaviour between States.

92. By acknowledging the Palestinian issue as a separate item on the agenda of this session, we are putting the Middle East conflict in its true perspective, and this reflects the mature development of the world body in coming to grips with the heart of the matter. The suffering and injustice inflicted on the people of Palestine for more than a quarter of a century is a tale of woe that defies any description. If there could ever be a crime against humanity in the same league as nazism and *apartheid*, it is this. What is even more tragic and depressing is that the principal perpetrators of this serious crime happen to be the very people who were themselves the victims of nazism.

93. The Organization of African Unity recognized long ago that the issue of the Palestinian people is a matter meriting special emphasis, and that is why the Palestine Liberation Organization was given observer status in that Organization.

94. Confronted by this problem, with all its implications for the countries of the area, we can no longer afford to bury our heads in the sand like ostriches. We should recognize the inevitability, indeed the desirability, of a Palestinian State; and once that is accepted in principle by all concerned, including the world Organization, then and only then can we hope to be on the threshold of peace in the area.

95. The solidarity of African States in support of the Arab cause has always been, and continues to be, solely a matter of principle. It constitutes a clear testimony to the determination of member States of OAU to support peoples fighting for their land, their freedom and their dignity, to support a member of the regional organization whose territory continues under military occupation and to support a cardinal principle of international peace and security.

96. The recent October war in the Middle East not only brought victory to the heroic Arab peoples, particularly those of Egypt and Syria, but also confirmed the bonds of friendship and solidarity between African and Arab peoples in their just struggle against imperialism, racism and zionism. The basis of Afro-Arab co-operation lies in the pursuit of common objectives by the African and Arab peoples in their commitment to achieve the total liberation of their territories and to speed up their economic development. The bonds between the two peoples have always remained firm and unshakeable. Africa and the Arab world have been and are linked by similar experiences; they are committed to the same ideals and principles and are facing a common enemy in their struggle for freedom, peace and justice. There is a special relationship between OAU and the League of Arab States both of which have common aims and principles. It is important to stress here that the two organizations are complementary to the United Nations and that they are firmly committed to the furtherance of the principles of international peace and co-operation set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

97. The tragic events in Cyprus are yet another major concern to the United Nations. It is significant that we should address ourselves here to the fundamental issues regarding the present crisis in Cyprus. In this connexion, we feel that all the parties concerned should meet under the auspices of the United Nations with a view to seeking ways and means towards an appropriate settlement. To restore peace and stability in the island, we should ensure that the Cypriot people are allowed to determine their own political future.

98. Regarding the international climate, we are satisfied with the efforts of the Soviet Union and the United States of America to reduce tension and eliminate sources of conflict in the interest of world peace and security. We have been following with interest the major steps taken by the two big Powers to lessen the threat of cold war and to normalize relations as a contribution to peace and co-operation. We also noted with appreciation the recent dramatic events in the international situation, notably China's recovery of its rights within the United Nations, the acceptance of

East and West Germany as full Members of the United Nations, the East/West summit meetings, and the convening of the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe.

99. While we welcome the progress that has been made towards East/West *détente*, we are also shocked by the tragic developments occurring in many parts of the world. It is significant to point out here that the accomplishment of peace within the industrialized world alone does not necessarily mean world peace.

100. I am sure that the Assembly is fully informed about the serious developments in the Indian Ocean where strategic naval bases of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization have been established. This is a direct threat to the peace and security of Africa and particularly of those countries adjacent to the Indian Ocean. The Indian Ocean should remain as it was in the past, a zone of peace, free from any big-Power confrontations. We therefore call upon all Powers that have strategic bases in the Indian Ocean and elsewhere to dismantle those bases immediately in the interest of world peace and security.

101. Speaking on the role and the functioning of the United Nations, it is important to emphasize the need to review the basic structures and institutions set out in the Charter. The United Nations cannot continue as a static Organization. It is imperative that we assess its current structural weaknesses and suggest remedial measures. The scope of its powers should be widened, some of its basic organs should be made more representative and, above all, it must be vested with more effective authority to satisfy the demands and aspirations of mankind. The role of the Organization in its quest for peace and progress calls for a new approach as well as firm dedication in dealing with pressing international problems. What we urgently need is a genuine world body vested with the powers and authority required for the realization of its declared aims and objectives.

102. In this connexion, the big Powers have a major part to play. Instead of acting individually or unilaterally in their peace efforts, it would be more desirable if they supported and co-operated with the United Nations in its peace-keeping operations. This would be a major contribution to a more effective discharge of its functions by the Organization.

103. Despite its legal and practical limitations, the United Nations has on many occasions demonstrated its capacity to deal with major international issues. As an experiment in universal co-operation among nations, its capabilities and potentialities for world peace cannot be underestimated. It is our only hope for survival in our time. I am confident, therefore, that it will continue to be a major source for peace, progress and prosperity of mankind.

104. I should like now to say a few words on some of the major economic and social problems that are facing not only the African countries but also most of the developing countries.

105. The important and historic resolutions adopted by the Assembly during the sixth special session on raw materials and development, convened on the initiative of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria, provided an equitable basis for future international

economic co-operation. We have high hopes that those resolutions will be fully implemented.

106. The road to social transformation is long and arduous and the constraints to real development have both internal and external dimensions. Developing countries are fully prepared to tackle their own internal problems. The situation is, however, made all the more difficult and complicated by the volatile nature of certain factors outside the control of the developing countries. These are international trade, inflation, monetary crises, the insensitivity of the world's richest countries to the problems of the poor and, above all, aggression and insecurity. The world's consciousness of these problems has been heightened and the developing countries are completely aware of the causes of their plight. This is a great achievement. Once the true diagnosis is made, the most effective remedy can be prescribed.

107. Economic and social transformation of developing countries is the responsibility of those countries themselves. That responsibility cannot be delegated. Transfer of resources from developed countries to developing countries can only supplement domestic effort; it cannot supplant it. Only through self-reliance and complete commitment to economic and social transformation can developing countries be the masters of their destiny. It is imperative that agriculture, industry and human development be given top priority in consolidating national economies and in striving to abolish complete dependence on developed countries for markets, technology and manpower.

108. The unfavourable economic position of the developing countries is the result of the inequitable position in which they have been placed by the capitalist international division of labour.

109. The developing countries are raw material producers whose prices in the world market have been declining in relation to those of the more sophisticated manufactured and processed goods. Even with today's unprecedented rise in prices for all commodities, the relative increase in raw-material prices in general is far less than the rise for manufactured goods, and consequently the terms of trade of developing countries have deteriorated even further.

110. The situation is untenable, and in the absence of an international mechanism to solve the problem, it can be redressed only through concerted action on the part of the developing countries. It is only logical that developing countries should form producers' associations and exert pressure jointly for fair returns on their real resources, so that they may achieve equality in international and economic relations among nations.

111. In establishing a new international order, the method by which the transfer of resources is affected, and its magnitude, should be changed in conformity with the real needs of developing countries. Developed countries have both a moral obligation and a self-interest in participating in the development of developing countries. In order that such participation may be meaningful, the transfer of resources has to be adequate in volume, reliable in supply, and soft in terms and conditions. Aid must be free from military alliance and be completely untied to purchases from

the donor countries. It is also appropriate to ensure more transfer of resources to areas where needs are felt most acutely. I have in mind here the least developed among the developing countries, and the areas that have been hard hit by natural catastrophes, especially the Sahel, some of the east African countries, Bangladesh and Honduras.

112. Another major problem is inflation. It is a phenomenon which has arisen entirely in developed capitalist countries and has been transmitted to the developing countries. The dominance of the multinational companies, their struggle for markets, raw materials and investment opportunities in developing countries, and the high degree of militarism aimed at stifling national independence and social revolution in the third world, have introduced a world-wide inflationary pressure that is robbing developing countries of their real resources. The so-called oil crisis has been projected as the cause of world inflation. This is a calculated move to divide developing countries and to negate their new gains. If the fundamentals are to be tackled, it is imperative that we direct our attention more to the major capitalist exploitations, especially the enormous profits of oil companies; to the introduction of a more equitable division of labour in international trade; to a reduction of militarism abroad; and to genuine reform of the international monetary system.

113. A major problem that confronts most African countries in their development efforts results from the constraints imposed by the smallness of their markets and by the lack of genuine common markets at sub-regional levels. As a first step towards greater integration, the water tight compartments into which African countries are placed in respect of telecommunication networks, airlines, postal services, banking, highways and sea transport have to be dismantled. We see an urgent need for quick and fruitful action in this direction.

114. An immediate and pressing task for international action is that of dealing with the effects of the drought that has been experienced in countries all around the world but which has been a disaster of incalculable proportions in the Sahelian countries and in Ethiopia. African States are grateful for the generous assistance that has been received from many countries and many international organizations. However, since there are strong indications that the drought has become a permanent phenomenon because of fundamental changes in world climatic conditions, it is necessary that this phenomenon continue to be studied, that regional and international machinery for dealing with its effects continue to operate, and that relief programmes be established on a permanent basis.

115. Although positive developments have taken place in Africa and in international affairs as a whole, the difficult problems which lie ahead continue to pose a serious challenge to the Organization. We still live in a world divided between rich and poor; a world where imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and racism still exist in many of its parts; a world which is still under the threat of nuclear war; a world that is governed by economic systems which are unjust. I am sure that none of us has any illusions about the magnitude of these problems.

116. In dealing with these pressing issues there is a need for closer co-operation and understanding among nations at both regional and international levels. All countries, particularly the big Powers, should have greater faith and trust in the United Nations as a peace-keeping organ, thereby increasing its strength and effectiveness. In an interdependent world there must be a global approach to the solution of international problems. The Organization of African Unity will continue to make valuable contributions to the United Nations by promoting its international role and increasing its effectiveness.

117. Before I conclude, I wish, in the name of OAU and in my capacity as Somali head of State, to pay special tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for his dedication to the work of this great Organization. Since his accession to the office of Secretary-General, he has exerted determined efforts in promoting the cause of peace, justice and freedom. May I extend to him and his staff our warm congratulations.

118. I am fully confident that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will bring about adequate solutions to the pressing international problems facing us, thus fulfilling the hopes and aspirations of

mankind. I wish you every success in your work and I thank you for giving me this opportunity to address you here.

119. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I wish to express our warm appreciation to His Excellency the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic and current Chairman of the Organization of African Unity, Mr. Siad Barre, for the important statement he has just made.

*The meeting rose at 1 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, Supplement for April, May and June 1974, document S/11291, annex.*

<sup>2</sup> Adopted at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference, held at Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, from 1 to 22 July 1944. For the texts, see United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 2, p. 39.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Annexes, agenda item 106, document A/7754.*