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

## AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*concluded*)

1. Mr. HLOPHE (Swaziland): Mr. President, those who have addressed this Assembly before me have ably expressed their congratulations to you on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Allow me, nevertheless, to add the cordial greetings and congratulations of His Majesty King Sobhuza II, the Government and the people of the Kingdom of Swaziland.

2. Your distinguished career as leader of your great country, Algeria, and your well-known and tested experience in international affairs are qualities that eminently make you suited to preside over the deliberations of this Assembly, convened as it is for the first time since the sixth special session, of which your country was the initiator and in which it played a very important role.

3. My delegation is confident that the deliberations of this Assembly under your able guidance will succeed and contribute towards removing the obstacles that lie in the way of peace, justice, progress and international understanding.

4. The onerous duties of your high office, Mr. President, were efficiently discharged last year by your predecessor, the representative of the Republic of Ecuador, Mr. Leopoldo Benites.

5. The maintenance of international peace and security, by efforts to harmonize the actions of nations through the Organization, is one of the principal aims of the Charter. In this regard, my delegation warmly welcomes the newly independent States of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau into the fold of free and sovereign nations. The admission of these three new Member nations, in the view of my delegation, is a silver lining in a sky overcast with clouds of dubiousness about the universality of this supreme body.

6. The serious thing for the United Nations is that problems of world peace, justice and progress, to the solution of which this Assembly rededicated itself at the twenty-fifth session, have not diminished. Our world has no shortage of problems. It is constantly being terrorized by war and local wars, division, oppression, poverty and hunger, inflation, unemployment, decline in production, social demands and financial shortages. All these are with us left, right and centre, and are sprouting all over the globe, like thorns in the flesh. Even before the recent increase in the price of oil and other commodities, the world economy was in a state of disorder. World-wide inflation and monetary instability are the major causes of that disorder.

7. Although the industrialized world experienced a remarkable economic growth during recent years, the developing countries never really participated in this development. In fact, their terms of trade constantly deteriorated, causing balance-of-payments problems and slowing down economic growth. At the same time, the relative magnitude of official development assistance declined.

8. The recent increase in oil prices and in the cost of essential products such as fertilizers, insecticides and base chemicals has aggravated the problems immensely. Already part of the world's population is experiencing severe food shortages, and every effort should be made to increase world agricultural output.

9. Now that even the developed world is experiencing acute balance-of-payments deficits and unacceptable inflation rates, the dangers of increased monetary stringency, even higher interest rates and a general economic recession are imminent. Imports of primary commodities, most of them supplied by developing countries, will fall, with the ensuing effect on prices and export receipts.

10. My delegation sincerely hopes that a solution will be found whereby capital may be recycled from the strongest world economies to the weakest. Whatever solution is found, it is essential that the resistance rendered to the less developed countries be equivalent to the loss incurred by them and that such assistance be given on concessional terms in order not to increase further the financial burden of the recipient countries.

11. In this connexion, my country attaches great importance to the co-ordination we expect will be achieved as a result of holding the sixth special session of the Assembly, and we look forward to reaping the benefit of the establishment of a new international economic order, which we trust will not become a dead letter to be found in the archives of this Organization.

12. Finally, my delegation feels that the difficulty in controlling the world-wide activities of multinational companies justifies examination by this As-

sembly. Although their provision of capital and know-how is important for the development of the less developed world, questions on the equal distribution of benefits and power remain.

13. With the independence of Guinea-Bissau, with the restoration of the rights of the people of Mozambique—which will soon lead that country to complete independence—and with the blueprint for Angola's independence now a reality, Africa has moved closer to its main goal of territorial freedom and unity. My delegation views the installation of the transitional Government led by the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] in Mozambique as a good sign for peace in southern Africa.

14. The disturbances in Mozambique that followed the historic Lusaka Agreement between the FRELIMO leadership and the Portuguese Government were unfortunate and uncalled for. The Lusaka Agreement itself, seen in its true perspective, is a brilliant victory of the vision and diplomacy of all those who have contributed by their sacrifices to the liberation of Mozambique. To Africa, the Agreement is an unmistakable prelude to the complete decolonization of the African continent.

15. The recent attitude of the Portuguese Government in facing up to the truth about the rights of people of their former Territories, particularly their right to self-determination and national independence, should inspire all peace-loving people of the world to cooperate in closing honourably the rather soiled pages of the history of Portugal. In this regard, my delegation joins those States which have called on the Angolan nationalists to close ranks and work for the immediate independence of their country on the basis of majority rule.

16. We in Swaziland sincerely hope for and look forward to a speedy solution of the political dilemma in Namibia. The people of Namibia, like any other people, are entitled to self-determination to allow them to achieve complete independence and majority rule. Swaziland's policy remains strongly that of non-interference in the domestic affairs of other States. But this policy is irreconcilable with any form of denial of fundamental human rights.

17. We have all of us, as Members of the United Nations, collective and individual responsibility to engender proper respect for the authority of the Organization, so that the brotherhood of men can be a practical reality in our world. All African States uphold the policy of good neighbourliness, and one would rightly assume that all desire to practise it. Racial and discriminatory policies militate against fundamental human rights and the establishment of fruitful and normal relations between men.

18. The settlers' régime in Rhodesia should learn the lesson of Portugal and settle for peace with the majority. My delegation is of the opinion that the British Government—which, after 10 years of illegal rule in Rhodesia, is still responsible for that Territory—is able and equipped to transfer power to the people of Zimbabwe. So long as the privileged minority is allowed political power, it will not voluntarily give it away. Yet self-determination is vital for the survival of Africa and independence a necessary base for its unity. All Africa must be free in order to unite.

19. In the unfolding panorama of the Middle East an uneasy calm still reigns. Attempts to secure and to confirm true national sovereignty for the Arabs as well as for Israel are being hindered by disharmony, suspicion and mistrust. These are human attitudes—attitudes of one State towards another, attitudes of one racial group towards another—attitudes of one power bloc towards another. Nevertheless, all of us should have long realized that in the Middle East, we as human beings are faced with one fundamental need, that is, for peaceful coexistence in that area so that the potential resources, both human and natural, could be harnessed to create a climate for a new society that should "learn war no more".

20. Peace in the Middle East has become a national issue for all of us, for the survival of an international society is inherent in reciprocity and interdependence of nations. The absence of peace in the Middle East means the absence of peace in the world. It is in this spirit that my delegation would like to express appreciation and admiration to all the parties concerned in the Middle East conflict for showing human understanding and seeking a solution through negotiation. We admire also the diplomatic efforts of the leaders in that area in co-operating with those of the United States and the Soviet Union in bringing about better prospects for peace. All men of good conscience who value human life are encouraged by these prospects of lasting peace in that war-torn zone.

21. Nor is the Middle East the only area of an increasing gravity that threatens such world peace and security. The continuing failure to reach a lasting solution in Cyprus through the apparatus set up by this Assembly is now an obvious handicap to the people of Cyprus in dealing with their own problems in their own way.

22. The fabric of national unity is being woven in countries still divided and torn by conflicts, and a pattern of national existence is being developed, but not with ease. In the spirit of non-alignment, my delegation applauds these processes and in no circumstances will it take any action that could be seen to prejudice their fuller development.

23. The Kingdom of Swaziland believes that the people of Cambodia are capable of solving their problems without outside intervention, and we maintain that they need the necessary encouragement from this Assembly to do so. This principle is equally applicable to North and South Korea in the present circumstances.

24. My delegation would suggest, in connexion with the Korean question, the following: (a) that the Secretary-General institute a special commission to find out what it is that bars South and North Korea from their declared desire to peacefully unite their country; (b) to ascertain whether, in the event of the withdrawal of the United Nations Command, hostilities would not escalate into another major war.

25. Mankind today is not only faced with the question of achieving and maintaining world peace; it is not only faced with the problem of ending local wars, it is not only faced with the dilemma of improving the conditions of life for millions of human beings who now suffer from dire poverty, disease and hunger. Mankind today is also faced with the danger of self-annihilation. The world must achieve complete disarmament in

order to re-channel human and material resources to those areas that will bear fruits of meaningful human fellowship for peace and progress.

26. In this regard, the Swaziland Government will continue to support efforts towards declaring the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace. I wish to repeat what His Majesty's Government said on this matter in this very Assembly only two years ago:

"The area of this [the Indian] Ocean, up until recently not regarded as a sensitive military zone, is becoming a target for the less peaceful attention of some Powers. The nations that rightly regard the Indian Ocean as being on their own door-step have no nuclear designs or any other hostile ambitions in the area. They are in the forefront in seeing that other Powers regard the Ocean in a like manner. Unless the seas and oceans of the world come to be regarded as areas of peaceful and economic development only, unpeaceful usage will become more and more difficult to stop."

27. It is common knowledge that all the big Powers and North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO] members have pledged themselves to "save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind". The scars of slavery, the wounds of colonialism and exploitation, are still all too fresh and painful to us Africans. Therefore, we view with great concern the military buildup in the Indian Ocean by the super-Powers and the military alliance of NATO members. Our continent should not be made a battlefield at a time when we are trying to rebuild it from the ashes of colonialism.

28. Finally, the Organization, despite the glaring ineffectiveness inherent in it, has many attributes. One of these is that it has the ability to talk and has been talking for the last 28 years. Talking to each other is a rare gift to man; but as we talk let us listen not only to other people talk; let us listen also to ourselves, so that together, as sons of man, we can rise to heights of freedom, justice, peace, happiness and prosperity to realize peace and security in our time. This can happen if the representatives here present see to it that the deliberations of this Assembly, in the circumstances of our troubled times, search for the highest common factor in peace efforts rather than elegant equations in resolutions.

29. Mr. GANAO (Congo) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at the outset I should like to associate myself with the speakers who have preceded me at this rostrum and tell you how pleased the delegation of the Congo is to see you guiding the work of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In so doing, I am certainly following a tradition, but I am above all carrying out a very pleasant duty in expressing the deep joy felt by the people of the Congo on hearing the news of your unanimous election. The trust placed in you thus marks a new milestone in the career of a talented statesman and an experienced and wise diplomat, whom Africa is privileged to count among its sons—a militant, a fighter for freedom with unshakable faith and determination forged in the Algerian resistance.

30. Your election is also above all a tribute to the heroic Algerian people who, under the wise and

enlightened leadership of President Houari Boumediène, are striving for the liberation of the third world and the assertion of its character. The resounding success of the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-aligned Countries, held at Algiers 13 months ago, and the historic sixth special session of the United Nations General Assembly on raw materials and development, convened on the initiative of President Boumediène, are further proof of the ever-stronger attachment of your beautiful country to the cause of the third world.

31. But for the Congo your country has done much more, Mr. President: here I must try your modesty, known to all of us, and say that for more than a decade the Algerian people and the people of the Congo have extended their hands to one another in the grip of brothers and fellow fighters that has grown firmer as the years went by.

32. The heroic struggle of the Algerian people to regain their sovereignty serves as a symbol and an example to all oppressed peoples. The firm support which your country affords to all just causes, particularly the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, has made Algiers the universal capital of freedom and human dignity.

33. The current session is being held at a particularly important moment in our history, a moment when areas of light and shade are strangely intermingled, and nascent hopes die, and then re-emerge, so that mankind can never have a full sense of reassurance. I cite as an example the case of Viet Nam. It had been hoped that the lesson which the valiant Vietnamese people taught the army of aggression of the United States of America would have stripped away the last shred of illusion from all those who had not yet understood that all the peoples of the world, whoever they may be, have the right to choose their own path, that which best reflects their own ethos, and that they believe most likely to ensure the achievement of their deepest hopes and their happiness. We must note, unfortunately, that United States imperialism continues, and constantly violates the Paris agreements, agreements that gave rise to so many hopes which have now vanished, one after another, plunging both Viet Nam and the world back into increasing insecurity.

34. The Organization must act, and act promptly, to ensure that the Paris agreement is applied scrupulously and in full, because that is the only way in which lasting peace can be established in that part of the world, which has suffered so much from atrocities and wars of aggression.

35. Not far from Viet Nam, in neighbouring Cambodia, the Khmer people also are being subjected to an unjust war, which they are repulsing with courage and determination, daily winning important victories over the aggressor which are recognized by the entire world. Today the National United Front of Kampuchea controls virtually nine tenths of the country. What is the Organization waiting for, before assuming the historic responsibility incumbent upon it by expelling from the international community the traitors to the Khmer nation, and restoring the rights of the only legitimate Government of Cambodia, that of Prince Norodom Sihanouk?

36. It is also urgent to put an end to the imperialist aggression in Korea. While we welcome the decision

reached during the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly to dissolve the famous United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, the consensus reached in the General Assembly on 28 November 1973<sup>2</sup> serves the Seoul régime as yet another pretext to nullify the praiseworthy efforts of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea to bring about the peaceful and independent reunification of their torn country. But that vigilant people, overwhelmed by a series of acts of treason by the Government of Seoul, and despite an extremely ferocious machinery of repression, is increasingly insistent that all foreign troops be ejected, as an obstacle to peaceful reunification, free of all foreign interference, of the two parts of that beautiful country. The Organization can no longer be shackled by a consensus which serves as a pretext to prevent the realization of the deep hopes of the Korean people.

37. Nearer to here, in the Middle East, the same aggressors are attempting to subjugate peoples whose fighting tradition goes back for thousands of years. Everything has already been said about the Middle East, and the vain pretensions of the Zionist State have been revealed in this forum by outstanding speakers from all corners of the world. I, for my part, would merely invite the international community to be increasingly wary of allowing Israel and those who support it from distorting the nature of this problem by presenting it as a conflict between the Arabs and the Jews, whereas the substance of the question was, and still is, the right of the uprooted and despoiled people of Palestine to return to their country. We are pleased that an item permitting us to consider the tragedy of the martyred Palestinian people has been included in our agenda.

38. In the eastern Mediterranean the same international firebrands have sown war, mourning and misery in the island of Cyprus. We cannot remain indifferent to the crisis which has afflicted that country, a member of the movement of non-aligned countries. The Government of the People's Republic of the Congo believes that the United Nations has the duty of guaranteeing the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Cyprus.

39. In Africa the struggle for liberation is spreading and has achieved decisive victories. The heroic struggle of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau, which is a part of the war being waged by all oppressed peoples of the world, has made a decisive contribution—as Comrade Marien N'Gouabi, President of the People's Republic of the Congo said, a little more than a month ago at the Summit Conference of the Central and Eastern African States at Brazzaville—to liberating the Portuguese people from the Fascist yoke under which they had lived for more than half a century. This solidarity means that the new leaders in Lisbon will better understand the aspirations of the peoples of Africa who demand the unconditional and immediate independence of Angola and other territories under Portuguese domination.

40. Amílcar Cabral, one of the most valiant and incorruptible sons of Africa, wrote with his own blood one of the most beautiful pages of its history. A point of no return has been reached in the process of liberating Territories which remain under the colonial yoke. We must pay our respects to the memory of

Amílcar Cabral and give thanks for the lessons he has taught us all. And particularly, we must pay our respects to his country which we are pleased and proud to welcome to the Organization. May the representatives of Guinea-Bissau accept the congratulations of the people of the Congo which, on behalf of President Marien N'Gouabi, I have the pleasant duty of extending to them from this rostrum.

41. I should also like, on behalf of my delegation, to congratulate the representatives of Grenada and Bangladesh upon their admission as Members of the United Nations.

42. To return to Africa, Mozambique, which has just banished from memory an irrevocably condemned past, is merely a few months away from attaining international sovereignty. The United Nations must ensure that the Lusaka agreements are properly implemented. Africa itself must do everything to thwart the manoeuvres of the outdated colonists who are attempting to place in jeopardy the victories achieved in the struggle for liberation in Mozambique and Angola, where they are creating and encouraging divisions within liberation movements. This is a well-known method designed to delay independence in Angola, and to plunge the country into a civil war which would serve as a pretext for the neo-colonialists who do not wish to renounce their dream of conquest in Africa. All of this neo-colonialist agitation occurs against the background of the well-known wealth found in Angola. This is wealth which imperialism contemptuously wishes to continue to exploit to the detriment of the interests of the Angolan people.

43. The march of the Portuguese colonies towards independence must not make us lose sight of Namibia, Azania, the Comoro Islands, Djibouti, and all other territories under colonial domination aspiring to independence and sovereignty.

44. We think that the United Kingdom should accept its role and assume its responsibilities in Zimbabwe. Also, the NATO Powers, which are supporting the racist régime of South Africa now extending its policy of *apartheid* in Namibia, must make the white colonists understand that it is in their own interests to return forthwith to the path of reason. The Africans can take pride in the fact that they have thwarted the most recent manoeuvres of the Government of Pretoria which attempted to include puppets in a delegation which itself only represents a condemned policy. The General Assembly, by rejecting the credentials of this delegation [*resolution 3206 (XXIX)*], once again demonstrated its indignation at the criminal policy of *apartheid*. My delegation is pleased that a decision has been taken to stop the talks between the Secretary-General and the Government of Pretoria on Namibia, talks which the racists in South Africa were exploiting for propaganda purposes.

45. Finally, while on the subject of colonization, I should like to indicate another absurd subtlety in this criminal enterprise which would wish to have us accept the principle of the referendum. I don't know, and I should like to know, whether within this Hall there is a representative of a former colony who could tell me that the inhabitants of his country have been consulted by a referendum and, by so doing, had accepted foreign occupation. History teaches us that treaties prepared by colonizers were imposed upon

our peoples through traditional chiefs to whom the terms of the treaties were not even explained.

46. Simple logic and rules which have always governed societies would have required that permission be asked to come to a country, and not to leave it. Moreover, this is the method which has been imposed upon us by investors in our economic relations with them when they demand adequate guarantees that they will be allowed to repatriate their capital. Here we are touching upon one of the problems which will predominate during this session.

47. In the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General said that he had witnessed some signs "of a new determination to face up to the enormous challenges of a global society" [A/9601/Add.1, sect. XIII].

48. Need I stress the fact that my delegation heard with great interest this report. Its conviction, objectivity and thoughtfulness are a very important factor in our work. Unfortunately, as regards economic problems which the Organization must confront, some statements made from this rostrum dispel this optimistic vision. As we are going through irreversible changes it is rather disappointing to see that some great Powers still hope to practise the policy of the big stick and of invective. The development of proletarian nations is the greatest problem confronting our generation.

49. The sixth special session of the General Assembly, convened, as I said earlier, upon the initiative of the great leader of Algeria, President Boumediène, made it possible as regards raw materials and development to discern a new policy and to commit the international community to changing the asymmetrical features of international economic relations today. It is true that we cannot expect everything to change immediately, but these rearguard actions cannot make any less valid the lessons learned by the international community from the sixth special session, during which the third world, seeing its very survival threatened, was able to become fully aware of the fact that the fundamental reasons for its backwardness were not something it was predestined to put up with, but, rather, that its underdevelopment was organized and maintained by international imperialism which uses the poverty of the third world as a method of increasing its progress and wealth. This special session was an opportunity for the third world countries to reject the logic of the system of the division of labour which forced poor nations to supply raw materials at low prices, while the prices for capital goods were maintained at high levels.

50. Many international forums have heard and condemned the disproportionate profits achieved by exploiting the peripheral regions. It is no longer possible merely to take note of the fact that one third of the population of the world holds seven eighths of the world's income, whereas third world countries, representing two thirds of mankind, must be satisfied with one eighth of that income. Despite the tragedy of this situation, the third world did not wish to choose confrontation as a means of dealing with the dramatic consequences of this system. We ourselves are convinced that dialogue on a strictly equal footing is the most appropriate democratic means by which to uproot the ancient system and replace it by a new order

that could give a vigorous impetus to fruitful co-operation among all peoples.

51. One of the primary tasks during the Second United Nations Development Decade it to open the eyes of the wasteful consumer societies of the West to the meaning of the phenomenon of underdevelopment. For, in fact, the basic causes of this scourge are to be found in the industrialized societies that are contributing to the economic backwardness of the developing countries. Today, through the joint efforts of all Members of our Organization, the international community possesses two documents of historic importance: the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New Economic Order [resolutions 3201 (S-VI) and 3202 (S-VI)], which indicate specific guidelines for new international economic relations and invite the Organization, in a spirit of much-needed solidarity, to contribute to the Special Fund established by the Programme of Action, for the least favoured Members. Thus we are at a crossroads. Are our efforts to bog down in sterile confrontation, or shall we rather, all of us, by demonstrating courage and daring, cross the bridge and take the path that leads to progress for all with fraternal co-operation among all peoples?

52. Today, there are certain principles that no one can uproot and that are the normal corollary of the independence and sovereignty of States: first, the permanent sovereignty of States over their natural resources, with, as a consequence, control by them of the mechanisms that enable the countries producing raw materials to establish the prices of their produce, and also the right of each country, if necessary, to resort to nationalization and, secondly, the legitimacy of the struggle that the developing countries are compelled to wage against multinational companies, whose often disastrously harmful activities are well known to all.

53. My country has already had an opportunity to indicate its solidarity with raw-material producing countries. Their struggle is the struggle of all of us. The seizure by the oil-exporting countries of the controls of the pricing mechanisms for their raw materials opens great vistas of hope for other third-world producers of raw materials. Our working masses are always ready to produce, but we cannot produce at any price. We must sell our raw materials at prices which make it possible to raise the standard of living of our workers and to meet the needs of our countries. That is why we can no longer let ourselves be abused by the campaign of hatred that has led the wealthy countries to establish "holy alliances" dedicated to exorcising the Organization of Petroleum-Exporting Countries [OPEC] and to dividing the ranks of the third world.

54. Leaving aside such activities as doomed to failure, let us set our sights towards the quest for effective remedies to the grave crisis gripping the world, first by abandoning our selfish, wasteful ways and then by inaugurating an era of justice and peace in international relations for, as several speakers have emphasized, the inflation that is eating away at the world like a cancer is a phenomenon generated by the industrialized countries, the brunt of which has been borne by the third world, countries in their capacity both of sellers of raw under-priced materials and of

buyers of the manufactured products of the wealthy countries. The energy crisis is an easy alibi all too frequently used by some developed countries as an excuse for raising the export prices of their merchandise. The spiralling inflation that is putting the world in a panic must therefore be more seriously and more objectively studied.

55. In view of its constant concern with the search for justice and peace in international relations, my country viewed with pleasure the convening of the third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, the Second Session of which took place recently at Caracas. The international community has thereby shown its recognition of the absolute necessity of making a fundamental change in international maritime law. Despite the attitudes of bygone times, we wish to express our hope of seeing these negotiations lead to a convention that will promote international co-operation on a basis of equal rights for States, of justice and of peace in this important field. For the time being, what is important is that discussions have begun on new terms that are full of promise for all the peoples of the earth.

56. The People's Republic of the Congo has participated and will continue to participate in the work of that important Conference, on the basis of proposals made jointly by the member States of the Organization of African Unity [OAU]. Here, once again, it is up to the wealthy countries to renounce those privileges that help to accentuate the structural dependence of under-developed countries on the industrialized countries. That is the only way our work can be successful. For the attainment of that aim we need more than the material and financial means which are, of course, necessary for the Organization to function well—we need to infuse greater authority into that Organization. That can be done only if we are courageous and impartial enough to make a resolute attempt to modify its structure—one which certainly responded to the needs of one era but does not correspond with those of today.

57. An undertaking of this nature is indispensable if we wish to speak seriously of disarmament, if we wish such destructive calamities as drought no longer to be used by some countries for propaganda purposes, and if we wish to put an end to the interference of great Powers in the political lives of small States, so that countries such as Cyprus can reach their own national concord according to the wishes of their inhabitants, so that peoples such as the heroic people of Chile, with whom we stand in full solidarity, may no longer be massacred for merely wishing to live for and by themselves.

58. I am thus reaching the conclusion of my statement. I know I have only repeated topics that so many outstanding speakers have enlarged on here, some with rarely equalled eloquence. But in so doing it has been my wish, with deep humility, and on behalf of President Marien N'Gouabi, to make this modest contribution of the People's Republic of the Congo to the work of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

59. Mr. PENJOR (Bhutan): Mr. President, it is my privilege and pleasure to convey from our Sovereign, His Majesty King Jigme Singye Wangchuck, and the Government and people of Bhutan their warm greetings

to you, Sir, and distinguished representatives. May I take this opportunity to offer our heartiest congratulations on your unanimous election to the high office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. My delegation is conscious of the fact that you bring to this important post years of rich experience in the field of international relations in your capacity as Foreign Minister of Algeria. We are particularly pleased about your election, since it was in Algiers that Bhutan was admitted to the non-aligned group of countries. We pledge our support to your endeavours in tackling the difficult and sometimes controversial items with confidence and diligence.

60. I should be failing in my duty if I did not refer to the valuable leadership provided by your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, during the twenty-eighth session as well as the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

61. Let me also place on record our deep appreciation of the tireless efforts made by Mr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, for implementing the lofty objectives enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. He has faced a difficult year, trying his utmost not only to implement the various resolutions of the United Nations but also to apply the principles and purposes of the Charter in order that situations of conflict, wherever they occurred, might be mollified by his vigilance and energetic action.

62. We are very happy to welcome the three new Members of the Organization, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada into this family of nations. With the admission of these three countries to membership of the United Nations, we are closer to the principle of universality. We hope that the remaining countries will soon find their way on the road towards this great Organization. My Government is particularly delighted that Bangladesh, a close neighbour, has now taken its rightful seat in this Assembly. It is pertinent for me to recall what my Minister for Foreign Affairs, His Excellency Mr. Dawa Tsering, said at the twenty-seventh session of the General Assembly:

“Bhutan welcomes the emergence of Bangladesh as an independent sovereign nation. We extended our sympathy and support to the people of Bangladesh during their struggle for national liberation and we are happy today that we were one of the first to recognize the reality of Bangladesh . . .”<sup>3</sup>

63. My delegation also had an opportunity to participate in the 1776th meeting of the Security Council, held on June 10 this year, when the Council adopted the decision to recommend to the General Assembly that it should admit the People's Republic of Bangladesh into the family of the United Nations, and we warmly welcomed that decision. With its ancient culture and heritage, we are confident that Bangladesh will make useful contributions in this Assembly and other forums with a view to strengthening this universal Organization.

64. Bhutan is fully conscious of the changes that are taking place in our part of the world, and we are taking the necessary steps to adopt our attitudes and policies in the context of these changes. We indeed compliment the leaders of the subcontinent for their courage and vision, and it is our sincere hope that this will con-

tinue to prevail in the interest of a durable peace in the region. Pakistan, displaying a sense of realism, recognized Bangladesh as a sovereign independent Republic, and Bangladesh, for its part, adopted an accommodating attitude towards Pakistan. We welcomed the New Delhi Agreement, under which this important event took place. We also hope that the spirit of the Simla Agreement of 2 July 1972, and the mood generated by it, will prevail between India and Pakistan, resulting in the achievement of a durable peace in the subcontinent. In this regard we are happy to note that direct talks between India and Pakistan have recently been held to restore communications and travel facilities.

65. Happily, Bhutan continues to enjoy close friendly relations with all the neighbouring States. These friendly ties were more recently strengthened at the time of the Coronation of His Majesty Jigme Singye Wangchuck, which took place on 2 June at Thimphu. The occasion was graced by the presence of the Heads of State from the neighbouring countries, representatives of the five permanent members of the Security Council and representatives from other friendly countries.

66. Our Monarch, young as he is, shoulders heavy responsibility with a great sense of maturity and wisdom. Under his direction and guidance, Bhutan continues to progress steadily and to forge friendly relations with all countries, based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and sovereign equality. Bhutan is wedded to the principle of non-alignment and adheres to the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. It is gratifying to note that our relations with India continue to be most cordial and friendly, with mutual trust and co-operation. We look forward to an era of still greater co-operation and friendship with India in the years to come.

67. My delegation also extends a warm welcome to Grenada on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations. Grenada's emergence as a sovereign independent nation was part of the evolutionary process set in motion by the administering Power, namely the United Kingdom, and the transfer of power by peaceful means is yet another landmark in the process of decolonization.

68. Another happy event for all of us is the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations. We welcome this nation from Africa whose people waged an unrelenting struggle lasting over a decade in order to attain their birthright of freedom and independence. The presence of the representatives of Guinea-Bissau in this Assembly represents a fitting monument to all their martyrs.

69. The dramatic change in Portugal, with the accession of progressive forces to the helm of affairs, has caused a new wind of change to blow in the Portuguese colonies in Africa. What Portugal has done and is definitely determined to do in Africa is, of course, of great moment in history. We welcome the recent transfer of power to an interim Government in Mozambique with the avowed purpose of granting independence to that country by June 1975. We hope that a satisfactory solution will be found for the Cape Verde Islands and that power will be transferred to the liberation movements in Angola with the least possible delay and without any local complications, either as to

ethnic differences or the rights of the minority settlers. We note with pleasure and satisfaction Portugal's far-sighted vision and acceptance of the reality of the situation, and also congratulate the Secretary-General for his initiative in facilitating the pace of change.

70. We hope that the Portuguese example will enlighten the illegal régime in Zimbabwe and the racist régime in South Africa. The flood-gates of change cannot be closed by any imaginary dam, that of *apartheid* or any other. We applaud the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal for his condemnation of racism and *apartheid* from this forum [2239th meeting]. If any lesson is to be derived from the current movement, it is that South Africa would be well-advised to surrender the administration of Namibia to the United Nations in order to demonstrate that it will also change its heart. Simultaneously, South Africa should take steps to repeal all the obnoxious, repressive and dehumanizing laws, abandon *apartheid*, which has been declared by the Assembly to be a crime against humanity [see resolution 3068 (XXVIII), annex], and heed the incessant calls of this Assembly. Such a change would contribute to world peace and stability. Those who oppose change will be the architects of their own decay.

71. Bhutan is a peace-loving nation. We should be happy to see a relaxation of tense situations wherever these exist. In the opinion of our delegation, *détente* at the present moment has held its ground, although it is fragile. With the best will in the world we have still to work hard to strengthen and make it lasting. We feel that the trends towards *détente* are encouraging, but that is only one aspect of the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)], and the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex]. My delegation attaches great importance to the implementation of these declarations. Many steps have been taken towards strengthening international security. For example, the limited agreement achieved by SALT is already in existence. We hope that the resumed SALT talks will make further significant progress. The Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe is well under way. Certain important principles have been thoroughly thrashed out by the European countries which, we hope, will soon lead to worthwhile results.

72. While the major Powers are determined to securely anchor *détente*, the results of the Disarmament Conference are not very encouraging. We believe that the goal should be universal and complete disarmament. In the recent past, various proposals on disarmament have been made to the Assembly. Progress is painfully slow. My delegation last year also supported the resolution calling for a reduction of the military budgets of States permanent members of the Security Council [resolution 3093 (XXVIII)] in the hope that the production of destructive armaments could be minimized and that the developing countries to that extent might benefit. In spite of these efforts, unfortunately, certain nuclear-weapon Powers are proceeding to accumulate deadly nuclear weapons. In view of this, a comprehensive disarmament conference has become more urgent than ever. My delega-

tion would welcome the holding of a world disarmament conference to create conditions under which real progress could be made. Such a conference, in our opinion, might strengthen the foundations for a lasting peace, which is the highest aspiration of mankind.

73. My country does not favour nuclear proliferation. However, it seems essential that there should be a distinction between the military and the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The military use of nuclear energy would be catastrophic, while its peaceful use could accelerate much needed development activities. Under existing conditions it is understandable that a developing country must search for solutions to the complex problems of development, even including the development of peaceful nuclear energy potential. It is in this spirit and context that Bhutan confidently appreciated the assurances given by India that it would use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes.

74. We are happy to note that the truce in the Middle East is in force together with the disengagement of forces, and that UNEF is playing a valuable part in maintaining the truce conditions. The situation is still marked by uncertainty. My delegation believes that Security Council resolution 242 (1967) is still a good basis for settling the problem in the area peacefully. We hope that the parties concerned will show great understanding, and a spirit of accommodation and compromise in abandoning all claims to territories occupied by force, and in taking into account the legitimate rights of all the parties concerned, including the Palestinians.

75. My delegation viewed with deep concern the recent events in Cyprus. It is gratifying to note that the two communities in Cyprus have started exchanging prisoners of war, and we hope they will engage in a fruitful dialogue. We are of the conviction that the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus must be restored without the use of any outside force. That will be the only way in which to demonstrate that small States, specially the non-aligned ones, can enjoy the protection of the Charter as well as fulfilling its principles and purposes.

76. Bhutan also favours the creation of areas of peace in all regions. It is in this spirit that my Government supported the principle that the Indian Ocean should be declared a zone of peace. This question has been engaging the attention of the Assembly since 1971. The Secretary-General's factual statement of the effect of the great Powers' military presence in the Indian Ocean is well known [A/9629 and Add.1, annex], and we hope that the work of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Indian Ocean will be fruitful. My delegation fully recognizes that the Indian Ocean should be maintained as a zone of peace. If great-Power rivalry is allowed free rein, it will affect the vital interests of all the littoral States, and could also help bring about political instability and social and economic difficulties, which will also be felt by the hinterland States.

77. The situation in Indo-China is a good example. Although the war has officially ended, the countries concerned are still ravaged by the after-effects of war. We earnestly hope that the various parties concerned in those countries will soon find a peaceful solution with a view to ending all tensions and building a lasting edifice of peace in that region. In this spirit my delega-

tion would support any move that could ensure stability and peace in the area.

78. We noted with satisfaction the consensus on the question of Korea that was reached at the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately, the circumstances have not been propitious for translating the consensus into positive action. We hope that the authorities of both North and South Korea will start a dialogue in pursuance of the consensus so as to achieve peaceful reunification without outside interference.

79. The international economic situation is gloomy. A perusal of some of the statements made earlier in this Assembly indicates that an economic catastrophe of a global nature is just around the corner. At the sixth special session held in April to consider the item "Study of the problems of raw materials and development", my delegation stated our case for international compensation to those countries that could not withstand the pressure of the inflation brought about by the general increase in prices of the key inputs required for development. May I be permitted to quote some observations from the statement I made at the special session. I said:

"Owing to their reserves and their vast resources backed by modern technology, the rich nations have been able to cushion the shock of the crisis. On the other hand, the worst victims are the developing countries, in particular the land-locked least developed countries, which find themselves in a situation in which their survival is imperilled unless immediate remedial measures are set in motion."<sup>4</sup>

80. My delegation also made the suggestion that the United Nations should seriously consider the creation of a special fund for the payment of international compensation to all the severely affected countries to tide them over the present crisis.

81. The special session of the General Assembly also indicated the countries which have been most seriously affected as being those which are at the greatest disadvantage in the world economy: the least developed, the landlocked and other low-income developing countries, and so on. But the provisional list of countries to benefit from the Special Fund of the Special Programme excluded a number of land-locked and least developed countries. We hope the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme set up within the framework of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order will not fail to recommend the States which are in need of immediate assistance to mitigate their difficulties.

82. Although the process of socio-economic development was initiated in Bhutan only in 1961 we have achieved good progress within a short span of time. In spite of this progress, we are at present confronted with difficulties in implementing the projects envisaged in the Five-Year Plans. These problems have been caused by runaway inflation, the increasing cost of transportation and the present rise in the cost of key materials and commodities. These difficulties tend to retard the progress of our development efforts towards self-reliance. Bhutan has no key materials to export which could alleviate the burden.

83. Bearing all these factors in mind, my delegation will watch with interest the shape of things to come

and the framework of the global economic order which emerges, including the reforms of the world monetary system.

84. Countries which are producers of a single commodity have become fabulously rich overnight. The transfer of monetary reserves, not only from the rich countries but also from the poor countries, to the few producers of that commodity does not appear to conform to any generally accepted economic or moral principles as understood in this decade. If the world economy is not to collapse—although signs of its collapse are not wanting—bringing in its wake untold sufferings for the millions of people in the third world, drastic remedies on an international scale are called for.

85. Bhutan was unable to attend the United Nations World Population Conference held at Bucharest in August. Nevertheless, we have made a preliminary examination of the report on the world Programme of Action finally adopted by the Conference.<sup>5</sup> While some of the principles of the world Programme of Action are generally acceptable to us, we require more time to scrutinize the implications of the report. It is realized that a land-locked State like Bhutan should view the problem of a population explosion with due caution. In the view of my delegation the population question is linked with the problem of world food, and we look upon the interconnexion as an inevitable corollary to the increasing population and gradual decline in resources. We are happy that the World Food Conference will be held in Rome next month. Our delegation will be participating in the deliberations with keen interest to find solutions to the grave problems facing such a large portion of mankind.

86. My delegation has been taking a keen interest in the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The sea-bed and ocean floor and the subsoil thereof beyond the limits of national jurisdiction have been declared by this General Assembly to be the common heritage of mankind [*resolution 2749 (XXV)*]. There is no doubt that this should be the key concept of any legal order that is to govern the sea and the ocean floor. Indeed, any efforts to deviate from this principle would jeopardize the hopes and the fulfilment of the needs of the developing countries, particularly the landlocked States and other States at a disadvantage geographically. The session of the Conference held at Caracas has contributed a great deal towards bringing about a comprehensive legal order. It is the hope of my delegation that during the next session, which will take place at Geneva, the needs of the various interest groups will be taken fully into account irrespective of their size and geographical position. The urgency of the situation demands that international agreement be arrived at as early as possible. However, this should not be taken to mean compromising unduly the legitimate aspirations of the developing countries. We must bring into existence a strong international régime on rational and equitable lines for the benefit of all nations. My delegation would like to stress with all emphasis that we must not make the heritage of mankind the subject of unilateral acts by either coastal States or major maritime Powers. My delegation would be willing to contribute towards bringing about a just and equitable law of the sea.

87. My delegation maintains that the United Nations is doing the best it can with the contributions of the

Member States. Its achievements, whether in the political, economic or social sphere, are many and varied. For the economic and social development of the third world it is imperative that conflict situations, local wars and violations of human rights be eliminated. On the question of eliminating them, and ensuring human survival in reasonable conditions, the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, in the introduction to his report on the work of the Organization, has stated:

“The basic question for the United Nations and its Members, therefore, continues to be whether the necessary effort and political will can be mustered in time to make the Organization effective in meeting the overwhelming problems of our time.”  
[A/9601/Add.1, sect. I.]

88. I earnestly hope that the necessary efforts and the political will be forthcoming, and I would like to conclude my statement on this note of cautious optimism.

89. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it would be ungracious of the representative of Algeria not to associate himself with all the compliments which have been paid to you, and perhaps he is best placed to estimate how much those compliments were justified and to what extent they were personally merited. Perhaps it will suffice to say how honoured we feel, as Algerians and Africans, and to express our assurance that, under your enlightened guidance, the work of the twenty-ninth session will indeed be crowned with success.

90. We would also like to express our deep gratitude to Mr. Leopoldo Benites and assure him of our admiration and friendship for having presided so competently and with such courtesy over the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

91. It is a formidable task for me to speak at the end of the general debate, after everything has already been said by distinguished previous speakers, and at best my statement could be only a pale reflection of what the Assembly has already heard. The problems have been posed and analysed, suggestions have been put forward, advice has been given and solutions proposed. I hope, therefore, that no one is expecting from me an originality to which I cannot lay claim nor any infallible recipe for solving our difficulties. However, I must stress the feeling of concern in the face of the serious dangers threatening the world which marked most statements. These dangers arise not so much from the actual problems faced by the international community—problems which it can now clearly see and of which it is now keenly aware—as the fact that it has so far found it impossible to produce a satisfactory and lasting solution to them.

92. The striking contrast between this tragic impotence and the prodigious development of the powers of man and his mastery of his environment is, I believe, a paradox typical of our times, when the disparities by which our world is torn stand out more starkly than ever under the glare of powerful lights.

93. There is no doubt that, a quarter century after the Second World War, we are entering an era where not only the international order which has hitherto prevailed, but also the principles which are its very foundation and the philosophy from which it derives

its very essence, are now being challenged. In terms of people, the challenge was expressed by the wave of protests which stirred the younger generations throughout the world. It is no doubt to the credit of the old order that it has at least forged the new framework of international society; but this very evolution dooms this old order to oblivion unless it is able to adapt itself rapidly.

94. This new world is supposed to be, above all, a world of mature and responsible people, free from all tutelage and rejecting all paternalism. The rules of the game can no longer be those that decree that only the most powerful can play. The lesson we can learn from history is that nothing lasting can be built against the will of the people. This lesson has never been better illustrated than in our times, which have in addition confirmed that this will of the people is as sacred and as invincible whatever the latitude or continent.

95. It is against this background that we should assess the changes that have occurred in international relations. While we would not dream of diminishing the importance of *détente* between the great Powers, we cannot, however, be more keenly aware of how much further we have to go before we can bring international morality into line with the new structure of our society.

96. The claims of all these young countries which have just made their entry into the international arena and have suddenly become aware of their responsibilities cannot be met indefinitely by the prohibitions of an obsolete order, an order which they are all the less inclined to honour precisely because it was that order which permitted their enslavement, the plundering of their resources and the destruction of their identity. Obviously, one cannot build any new order without first attempting to wipe away all wrongs and to restore rights which have been disregarded or suppressed.

97. Whether it be a political or an economic crisis, the situation is in fact the same. There is the same conflict between outmoded concepts and the exigencies of the modern world. Decolonization, for example, fits precisely into this context and, at the same time, is an inevitable stage on the road towards that society of free and sovereign peoples that will be the international community of tomorrow.

98. Progress achieved in the process of independence for the Portuguese colonies gives us a rare occasion for satisfaction within the present world context. While we were happy to welcome here the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, we also greeted with relief the substantial changes which have occurred in Portugal itself and which, if they have to prove something, at least demonstrate that the freedom of the Portuguese people is intimately connected with that of the African peoples which, like it, have been subjected to the domination of the same régime, Fascist at home and colonialist abroad. A very valuable lesson must be learned from the Portuguese experience which shows that one cannot destroy the freedom of others without affecting one's own freedom. Other countries besides Portugal have also had occasion to learn this lesson, to their cost. If this lesson were digested properly, humanity would, I am sure, find itself free of the threats to its tranquillity.

99. These victories in the anti-colonialist struggle should not conceal from us everything that still remains to be done not only to complete the liberation of colonial territories, but also and above all to put an end to the attacks on human dignity and human values, constituted by the policy of *apartheid* of South Africa and the racist minority régime of Rhodesia. This year the General Assembly has once again rejected by a larger majority than ever the credentials of the South African delegation, thus reflecting international public opinion, which is unanimous in its repugnance of *apartheid*. The Assembly wanted to make its condemnation more effective by asking the Security Council to review the relations between the United Nations and South Africa. But no one should be deluded by this. It is above all a test, a test of the determination of our community to impose respect for its principles, but a test also of the sincerity of its Members, particularly the most powerful, in their attachment to these principles.

100. Since I am talking about African problems and decolonization, I should in my turn say a few words about the Sahara under Spanish domination. The Assembly has long been familiar with this problem and is aware of the interest attached by Algeria to all problems of liberation, an interest all the greater when there are involved—as is the case here—obvious geopolitical considerations, and when the desire of the peoples of this region for unity is founded on so many links of all kinds which have always existed among them despite the vicissitudes of time and history.

101. Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania have long been calling upon Spain to decolonize this Territory and allow its population to exercise its right to self-determination. For many years, in fact, these three sister States have co-ordinated their efforts towards this end in the OAU, in the non-aligned group and in particular at the United Nations.

102. The General Assembly has always supported this action and, in resolutions adopted at the last few sessions, it has constantly called upon the administering Power to organize, in agreement with the countries concerned, a referendum of self-determination, under the control of and guaranteed by our Organization. While affirming its attachment to the principle of the self-determination of peoples, the Spanish Government has, however, embarked upon a course of procrastination which has given rise to doubts as to the sincerity of its intentions and has even gradually led to a highly regrettable deterioration of the situation.

103. Although the international community has noted the most recent statements of the Madrid Government, whereby it has undertaken to implement the decisions of the General Assembly, the concerted and common position of Algeria, Morocco and Mauritania has been clearly expressed throughout these years, and it cannot be the subject of any possible misunderstanding: as to the natural interest of these three countries in a peaceful, satisfactory and lasting solution of this problem; as to the need to permit the Sahrawi people to exercise their self-determination and, finally, as to their wish to prevent this problem from degenerating into a source of insecurity in a particularly sensitive area. Stated thus, this position can accommodate any suggestion which would respect its principal elements.

104. Morocco has just expressed its wish to place this matter before the International Court of Justice. Mauritania, to our pleasure, has agreed to this procedure. Algeria can see nothing but advantage in an arrangement which has been agreed upon by its brothers and allies, a procedure which would clarify the juridical and historical aspects of the problem by means of an opinion of the Court. That procedure will, of course, facilitate the search for a final agreement and will show the way to it. In any case, it goes without saying that the opinion of the population directly concerned will always be the most important element and the decisive factor in any settlement. Algeria's interest would be entirely satisfied if the decolonization of Sahara were to be achieved rapidly, thus enabling all the peoples of the region to strengthen and to promote their ties of co-operation, brotherhood and good neighbourliness.

105. The Palestinian problem, which this year is on the agenda of our session, may seem somewhat strange because of some of its features and the emotional nature of its content. It belongs, in fact, by its origin, its nature and its ramifications, to the same category of problems which we have already mentioned, and which can be defined in simple terms: denial of justice and infringement of the freedom of peoples and their most sacred rights.

106. The rights of the Palestinian people, its legitimate claims to justice, are being thwarted by a situation of *fait accompli*, based not on law but on force, a situation which is being perpetrated thanks to uninterrupted aggression and the benevolent complicity of the international community. Ever since this people was driven out of its country, denied its land, stripped of its goods, regrouped in refugee camps or dispersed all over the world, attempts have been made, wittingly or unwittingly, to deprive it of its identity, to deny it its national character and to reduce the scale of its tragedy to the eking out of a wretched daily existence.

107. How can we be surprised, therefore, that the situation created in this way in Palestine has been rapidly transformed into the Middle East crisis we know, which a quarter of a century of effort has not been able to settle, and which is now attaining such gravity that it is directly threatening peace in Europe and in the world? It is not enough to say in explanation that it is a complicated problem, nor is it enough to seek in history, religion or sociology reasons for the failure in the Middle East of methods of settlement which have proved their worth elsewhere.

108. It is becoming increasingly obvious now that the problem has only appeared insoluble because no one wanted to understand the central fact, its very core, which is the situation of the Palestinian people. We could even say that the Middle East crisis is the Palestinian problem, because that problem is the source of the crisis, and will determine its outcome. It is time for the United Nations and international public opinion as a whole to recognize at last something we have ceaselessly represented here as axiomatic. The Organization must understand that its duty is not so much to provide humanitarian relief for a people it has allowed to be struck down and dismembered, but to help it to preserve its identity, regain its homeland, and recover from a disaster which almost wiped it off the map.

109. In approving the inclusion on its agenda of the question of Palestine, the Assembly has taken the first step in that direction, and the debate that is to be held on this subject will, we are sure, make it possible now to deal with the problem of the Middle East within a realistic context, with full awareness of how much clear thinking, courage and sacrifice will be required for a true settlement. But this result will be possible only through a broad and sincere discussion which would involve all interested parties and, of course, first and foremost the Palestinians, through their authentic and best qualified representatives. Thus conceived and carried out, that debate will without doubt represent the most substantial progress that has been achieved since an attempt was first made to seek a solution which would be one in more than name.

110. The crisis that broke out last July in Cyprus and has since then undergone some dangerous developments is one more of the problems engendered by the Middle East situation. This is a serious crisis, because it affects the independence of a non-aligned country, threatens its sovereignty, and is destroying its national unity. It is also complex because of its international ramifications and the strategic considerations involved. I believe that this is not the time for apportioning blame for the events in Cyprus that eventually led to the present situation. There are more important things to do at this time: firstly, to relieve all the sufferings that have been inflicted upon the people, to contain the conflict and prevent it from worsening, and to explore ways and means of achieving a progressive settlement which would respect the independence of the island and its sovereignty, and create conditions for a restoration of confidence between the two communities on the island.

111. Initially peaceful coexistence and later, we hope, fraternal coexistence between the Greek and Turkish communities of Cyprus—that, when all is said and done, is the essential objective of any attempt to find a true solution. It is only by eventually sharing the same national feelings, by coming to consider themselves the children of the same motherland and placing their loyalty to that motherland above all other allegiances, that the Cypriots will really be able to exercise their sovereignty and spare their country of all threats of division. This, of course, is something that will take a long time to learn, and it is only possible if all sides demonstrate the same sincere will to succeed. Yet the strongest nations have been forged in misfortune and division, and there is no reason to rule out optimism with regard to the communities of Cyprus.

112. We feel, too, that the contacts taking place between their representatives will be able to overcome present reservations, remedy the errors of the past, and pave the way for the reconciliation of tomorrow. For this it is essential to free Cyprus from its involvement in international strategies and to put an end to foreign intervention from whatever quarter. All foreign troops must be withdrawn and military bases dismantled, in spite of the humanitarian role that they can play in situations like those in which the Cypriot people has just found itself.

113. Once those initial conditions have been met it will be the task of the two communities to determine what system seems to them the best to guarantee the equality of rights at the present time and to promote

the gradual forging of those communities into a single nation. The United Nations has spared no efforts to achieve that result and will undoubtedly have a role of primary importance to play in the restoration of confidence and the encouragement of progress towards a fruitful dialogue.

114. I am sure no one will be surprised at the extreme interest in the situation in Cyprus of the non-aligned group of countries, which could not possibly reconcile themselves to seeing the very existence of one of their members being threatened. The attacks against Cyprus, against its sovereignty and its national unity, is felt by the entire group as an attack against all the non-aligned countries and as jeopardizing the very policy of non-alignment. That is why the non-aligned group has been following so closely the development of the crisis and why it would like to assure the Cypriot people of its total solidarity. It is ready to do anything which would permit the rapid restoration of peace on the island and facilitate agreement between the two communities.

115. The current disturbances in international economic relations are the best illustration of what I described at the beginning of my statement as a confrontation between an old order clinging desperately to its privileges and a new order wishing to demolish the obsolete structures of the past and establish a scale of values more in keeping with the principles which should govern the modern world. It is there, fundamentally, that lies what some have called "a world economic crisis" and which others would like to limit to what they misleadingly describe as "an energy crisis".

116. The international economic order which has prevailed hitherto has made possible the extraordinary rise of the industrialized world, facilitated primarily by the availability of raw materials and cheap labour in colonial territories and in the third world generally speaking. That system, originally based upon a similarly serious imbalance in the distribution of wealth, could not but facilitate the enrichment of the most highly developed countries to the detriment of the poorest countries. When the poor countries finally awoke to this abuse and, taking their own destinies in hand, wanted to make up their economic lag, underdevelopment began to appear to be a threat to world peace, and world public opinion began suddenly to understand the seriousness of the situation.

117. To remedy that situation, no doubt important changes should have been made in the international economic system which, by reducing to reasonable limits the advantages of the industrialized countries, would have established a greater measure of justice in the world and given the under-developed countries an opportunity to restore their economies. But that was not the course followed. The rich countries preferred, while preserving their privileges, to respond to the claims of the third world by the granting of aid in various forms.

118. I shall not dwell on the serious shortcomings of such assistance, which in any case was not always understood or presented as a duty towards those who had been exploited, and which if it had been left to the initiative of individual countries would never have exceeded an extremely low percentage of the national income of the developed countries. The result was

that not only was the economic lag of the under-developed countries not reduced but also that their situation became more desperate with each year. To that should be added the difficulties which the economic system of the developed world had begun to experience, difficulties which derived primarily from an unbridled rate of growth in the industrial field, unprecedented waste and fabulous expenditures entailed in the pursuit of imperialist policies.

119. The world economic crisis is the result of a combination of two phenomena: inflation in industrialized countries, under-development in the rest of the world. The energy crisis has only made more apparent the cracks in the system, but the dimensions of the evil far transcend the mere consequences of a rise in the price of oil.

120. What is the meaning, then, of all the fuss about the price of oil, to which people are attempting to attribute their current difficulties and on the basis of which a solution is sought? I shall not revert to arguments already put forward here by which it has been amply demonstrated that such assertions are inane. The most dangerous aspect of this manoeuvre against the petroleum-producing countries is that it attempts, first, to introduce division into the ranks of the countries producing raw materials and, secondly, to discourage any attempts to readjust the prices of raw materials by tying them, particularly, to the prices of industrial products. The surprising insistence on the tragic situation of the poorest countries, and the sympathy which is suddenly being lavished upon them cannot conceal from us the deep-seated motivations which are, in any case, fundamentally selfish, and which underlie this approach.

121. The seriousness of the troubles today is such that it should encourage all of us to face up to our responsibilities and not to seek a scapegoat for our sins. If we are convinced that it is only by joint efforts that we can rectify the situation, why, then, issue such incongruous warnings and threats and thus make even more difficult any attempt at understanding and co-operation.

122. It must be that it is easier to find wisdom among the humblest, for it was precisely in the hope of finally seeing the international community embarking upon a course of co-operation that we called for the convening of the special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development. The primary objective of this meeting was to be, in our view, that of stressing the extent to which the world economic crisis had highlighted the solidarity of the industrialized and the underdeveloped worlds, and the extent to which the prosperity of the rich countries was vulnerable if it remained limited to those countries. Secondly, the debate was intended to bring out the real causes of the crisis and thus to define the precise perspective in which the energy crisis itself should be placed. This was thus a unique opportunity for the third world countries to set forth their problems, claims and suggestions in a new context, and for developed countries, rendered by the trials they themselves were undergoing more sensitive to and more heedful of these complaints, an opportunity to become more keenly alerted to the dangers of underdevelopment.

123. The work of resolving the crisis could not be confined to finding partial solutions, which, by not calling into question fundamentally the inequalities and disparities inherent in this system, would have only allowed a postponement of the consequences and would have left the situation to get even worse. Courage and clear sightedness demanded that we get to the bottom of things and discover that the roots of the crisis lay in the economic order itself, and that it was by working on the economic order itself that one could really expect to obtain positive results.

124. This is, in fact, what happened, not without difficulties in the attempt to establish an open and sincere dialogue between the developed and the underdeveloped countries, and also not without reservations on the part of the industrialized countries. However that may be, and whatever may be said of this result, it could reasonably be considered as a point of departure along a path which had already been traced, along which there was some ground for hoping that we could make even more progress.

125. The trends that have recently emerged and that would have us focus all our attention on the energy crisis and on the petroleum-producing countries, are aiming in fact at destroying everything which had been so arduously achieved at the last special session. We do not think that such initiatives, by disturbing the harmony which had begun to establish itself between developed and underdeveloped countries and by propelling them towards a confrontation which would be harmful to the interests of everyone, can really help us to get closer to a rapid, satisfactory solution of the economic crisis. We feel, rather, that we must continue to act within the framework laid down at the special session in the Declaration and the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order, and attempt to increase what common ground there is, to overcome differences and to prepare practical measures for the application of that Declaration and Programme.

126. Since the end of the Second World War the world has undergone profound changes in its structure, in its potential and in its environment. What for so long appeared as a remote ideal difficult of attainment is now within our grasp and can be achieved, if only we want to achieve it and are prepared to pay the price. We could then build an entirely new world based upon principles which have, so far, constantly been proclaimed, but which today must be applied and respected. The years we are now passing through are crucial in this process of metamorphosis, in which we see the strengthening and acceleration of trends towards change and renewal. It is no surprise to see the parallel and contrasting development of forces of resistance to this trend which are attempting to preserve and prolong the old order and of the revolutionary forces which want to force the pace of change.

127. It is up to us, the international community as a whole, whether we want the new world society to be born without confrontation and without violence. It is up to us whether we do not wish it to give way to resentment and rancour which arouse feelings of vengeance and the desire for revenge. To be frank, that has been said by all previous speakers in the general debate, and I cannot better conclude my statement

than with the consoling observation that such unanimity represents a hope for the whole of mankind.

128. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I shall now call on those representatives who wish to exercise their right of reply.

129. Mr. MALDONADO-AGUIRRE (Guatemala) (*interpretation from Spanish*): In exercising its right of reply the delegation of Guatemala now comes before the General Assembly to set forth once again its position in relation to Belize, which constitutes an integral part of the territory of the Republic by virtue of history, law and international justice. The representatives of Guyana, Jamaica and Barbados have made a point of ignoring the situation or have deliberately omitted mention of it in their statements in the general debate and have expressed mistaken judgements on the question in order to defend known interests.

130. In his statement to this Assembly on 26 September 1974, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Guatemala indicated the conduct and policy of my Government and country on the matter of Belize. He was very clear and explicit when he said:

“As is well known by the States represented in this Assembly, the position of Guatemala has always been in solidarity with that of the countries of Latin America and other continents in the struggle to attain the liberation of all peoples under the yoke of colonial régimes and particularly to eliminate that system from American territory. There are numerous proofs of this attitude in the records of various Committees of the General Assembly, particularly the Fourth Committee, as well as of the plenary meetings of the Assembly.

“In the same spirit, Guatemala took part in the work of the group of countries that drafted the supremely important resolution 1514 (XV) of the General Assembly, which included a paragraph stating that ‘Any attempt at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations’.

“With that single reservation, which excludes the secession of territories from its scope, Guatemala continues to maintain its anti-colonialist position unwaveringly and its firm adherence to the principle of the self-determination of peoples. In that spirit it will support every Assembly resolution aimed at freeing peoples that are still under colonial oppression.

“The obsolete, anachronistic system of colonialism still persists in the Americas and in some enclaves occupied by Powers from ‘outside Latin America, despite the fact that sovereignty over them legally belongs to American States. Such is the case of the Guatemalan Territory of Belize, the restitution of which by the United Kingdom has been demanded by my country for more than a century. This claim has been maintained uninterruptedly, based as it is on unimpeachable legal principles and all kinds of efforts have been made, within the canons of international law, to find a solution.

“In the last 10 years new roads have been zealously explored, and numerous formulas have been tried in an effort to reconcile the just claims of the

Guatemalan nation, as well as its legitimate rights over the territory which was taken from it, with the most honourable aspirations of the people of Belize, who also are interested in freeing themselves from colonial domination, and to whom my Government reiterates its feelings of sincere friendship and of respect for their local traditions and institutions.

"We trust that the dialogue will continue between the parties to this century-long dispute, with no efforts spared that might lead to a solution which would satisfactorily reconcile Guatemala's territorial rights with those of the people of Belize.

"In the mean time, until there is such an understanding that will permanently ensure the peace of the region, Guatemala once again expresses its definite reservation with regard to its sovereign right over the Territory of Belize, at present occupied by the United Kingdom." [2245th meeting, paras. 184 to 188.]

131. The only basis for the presence of the United Kingdom in Belize is the "free utilization" which Spain granted it in 1783 and 1786, so that English nationals could cut lumber in a limited area of 6,000 square kilometres, which extended from the Hondo River in the north to the Sibun River in the south, with the explicit provision that this concession in no way affected the Spanish rights of sovereignty in that region, a reservation of sovereignty which was firmly reiterated, in particular in 1814 when the Madrid Treaty renewed the same concession of simple utilization.

132. The proclamation of independence of Central America in 1821 encompassed the territories of the old Captaincy General of Guatemala, as well as all the sovereign rights of Spain over the territory, which without exception passed in their entirety to Central America according to the principle of *res inter alios acta*.

133. When the Central American Federation was dissolved, the territory of Belize remained within the State of Guatemala without any limitation by the principle of *uti possidetis jure* and, furthermore, Central America, and thus Guatemala, came into being as independent States free from any commitment contracted by metropolitan Spain, in accordance with a basic principle of international law.

134. The United Kingdom has several times recognized its lack of sovereignty in Belize: first in 1836 when Guatemala was already independent, in requesting from the Spanish Government the transfer of its sovereign rights in Belize, a request denied on the basis of the fact that the territory was already independent and that it was no longer for Spain to decide and, later, in 1847 when it concluded with Guatemala the Treaty of Trade and Navigation, in which it accepted the explicit reservation of the sovereign rights of the Republic of Guatemala over Belize.

135. Central America, which had just recently attained independence, was then politically and militarily weak, and represented areas most vulnerable to the territorial ambitions of the Powers which were interested in building and controlling the inter-oceanic route which would unite the Atlantic and the Pacific. That is why, without its consent, the territorial integrity first of Central America and then of Guatemala, were affected.

136. Because of the obvious inequalities between the Powers and the weak young Republic, the Anglo-Guatemalan Convention, as it is called, was imposed on Guatemala in 1859, a convention which had been agreed to by two great Powers in 1856 without the consent of Guatemala. That Convention contained a compulsory yielding of territory, which extended the invasion of the woodcutters from England from 6,000 square kilometres of the original concession to 22,000 square kilometres of the territory of Guatemala, which were illegally usurped, thus violating the territorial integrity of a small State. Under that illegal Convention, the limits of the concession were extended to the Sarstún River in the south, a zone which was never included in the official geographical maps of England, which were repeatedly drawn up to terminate their use, now called "establishment". A compensation was offered to Guatemala in article VII of the Convention, which was never complied with by England, and for that reason Guatemala declared that the Convention had lapsed on 9 April 1946. The legitimate claim of the compulsorily dismembered territory is called "expansionist ambition" by one representative. Certainly, this expression cannot be applied to Guatemala, but it can be applied to the other party to the dispute and to those who cover up its interests.

137. Guatemala has since then sought to recover its territory of Belize within the framework of the mandate of the Charter of the United Nations, the charter of the Organization of American States and international law—in order to submit its claim through peaceful procedures for the settlement of disputes. Thus it proposed submitting the question to the International Court of Justice for a decision (*ex aequo et bono*), as provided in paragraph 2 of Article 38 of the Statute of that Court, so as to start a broad consideration of the dispute in all its implications; but this was not agreed to by the other party. Many years of direct negotiation have elapsed, sometimes with the good offices of the United States of America, sometimes through mediation and, until a short time ago, again by direct negotiations, which were interrupted when, with a great display of land, air and sea forces we were the target of intimidating manoeuvres. In all these efforts by my country several plans have been drawn up as a result of the exercise of the peaceful means by which my country has earnestly sought to settle the dispute in terms that are equitable to all parties, naturally taking into account the characteristics of the population of Belize. These attempts have failed but the cause of these failures cannot be attributed to Guatemala.

138. We must make it clear that this dispute is between clearly defined parties and that we will in no way permit the interference of other States in the internal affairs of our country, nor will we allow anyone to violate our territorial integrity, whatever pretext may be used, whatever concealed interests are being defended. Belize, as a part of the territory of Guatemala, is called upon to share in a historic, social and economic union through a process of integration which we all earnestly seek for the joint Central American effort of integral development. An equitable solution must be based on realities that are just for all.

139. My Government has officially expressed its unchanging resolve to continue direct negotiations with

the United Kingdom so as to attain that end honestly and firmly.

140. The Charter of the United Nations and General Assembly resolutions 1514 (XV) and 2625 (XXV) enshrine the principle of territorial integrity in irrevocable form as being fundamental in all international relations for the maintenance of international peace and security.

141. The Charter states in Article 2, paragraph 4 that:

“All Members shall refrain in their international relations from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state, or in any other manner inconsistent with the Purposes of the United Nations.”

142. Resolution 1514 (XV) which I have mentioned and which is the basis for the self-determination of peoples, states the following in paragraph 6: “Any attempt aimed at the partial or total disruption of the national unity and the territorial integrity of a country is incompatible with the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations.” One cannot, therefore, speak of self-determination at the expense of the territorial and national integrity of a Member State.

143. General Assembly resolution 2625 (XXV), which contains the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations, establishes the principles of equal rights and self-determination of peoples and surrounds this with all the guarantees and conditions for its specific determination, but on the basis of clear and unmistakable assumptions. This resolution, which was unanimously adopted by all members of the General Assembly on 24 October 1970, in the last of the principles clearly and unequivocally states:

“Nothing in the foregoing paragraphs shall be construed as authorizing or encouraging any action which would dismember or impair, totally or in part, the territorial integrity or political unity of sovereign and independent States . . .”

144. The Ninth Inter-American Conference which met at Bogota in 1948 made the most clear-cut anti-colonialist continental declaration. It clearly and specifically determined the status of the Territories of the Malvinas Islands and Belize as integral parts of Argentina and Guatemala by describing them as being illegally held by an extra-continental Power and as having the status of occupied territories, the connotation of which is totally different from that of a colony or territory under trusteeship.

145. In 1968, at the request of the General Assembly, the supreme organ of the inter-american system which at that date was the General Secretariat, prepared a study on the non-self-governing territories which were still subject to a colonial régime and likewise the Territories of the Malvinas Islands and Belize were not included in that category because they were considered to be territories which were integral parts of the territory of Argentina and Guatemala, respectively, and that again gave them the status of “occupied” territories.

146. This year the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, at its fourth session held

in the City of Atlanta, again took cognizance of the situation of the territories subject to colonial rule, and established the fact that the Malvinas Islands and Belize continued to be territories which were occupied by an extra-continental Power, and therefore were excluded from consideration as colonial territories or territories subject to trusteeship.

147. Guatemala has always followed the conduct of respect for human rights and respect for the independence and sovereignty of nations. There are many historical precedents which show how this small country has been in the vanguard in defence of the principles of justice and law. We have also proved our genuine link with those principles by condemning the policy of *apartheid*, and every kind of domination, demanding respect for the legal equality of States, calling for the economic security of developing countries, and adhering to policies which promote the peaceful solution of international disputes.

148. For these reasons we feel certain that the just claim of Guatemala over an integral part of its territory will enjoy the support of peoples who uphold the same principles of peace and justice.

149. Mr. PAZHAWAK (Afghanistan): At the end of yesterday's MEETING [2263rd meeting], the representative of Pakistan made a statement. The Afghan delegation reserved its right to correct the distortion of facts by the representative of Pakistan. Since the question of Pakhtunistan, the land under the occupation of Pakistan, is not yet on the agenda of the General Assembly, my statement will be brief at this stage.

150. First of all, I should like to fully reciprocate any expression of sincere good will that may be found in the statement of Pakistan toward the people of Afghanistan. Secondly, I would like, with greatest emphasis, to reiterate and confirm the statement made here on 7 October by the Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan [2258th meeting] to which the representative of Pakistan replied.

151. The representative of Pakistan expressed the willingness of his country to “discuss with Afghanistan any matter which has a bearing on the relations between the two countries” [2263rd meeting, para. 218]. I welcome this statement but at the same time emphasize the undeniable fact that fortunately there is no matter whatsoever affecting the relations of the two countries to be discussed between Afghanistan and Pakistan, except the matter of Pakhtunistan and the legitimate and irrefutable rights of the Pakhtuns and the Baloochis. We have constantly stated that it is only this political difference between the two countries that should be discussed and resolved through peaceful negotiations.

152. The representative of Pakistan said that the Afghan Deputy Foreign Minister has left them with the unfortunate impression that Afghanistan had a claim over certain territories of Pakistan. Afghanistan has no claim whatsoever to any part of Pakistani territory. When the Deputy Foreign Minister of Afghanistan referred to the usurped land he obviously did not mean any part of Pakistani territory: he clearly had in mind the territories which were severed from Afghanistan by the military force of a colonial Power long before Pakistan ever existed—namely, those territories which after the partition of India were

claimed by Pakistan and are still under Pakistani occupation. These territories have never been recognized as a part of Pakistan by Afghanistan.

153. The Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan said exactly what appears in the verbatim record of the plenary meeting on 7 October, that Afghanistan "had the right to reclaim its usurped land" [2258th meeting, para. 62], but that Afghanistan refrained from doing so because Afghanistan believed that the rights of the people of these territories should be recognized and respected strictly on the basis of their own will and determination.

154. This is not a recent position taken by Afghanistan even in this Assembly. On 30 September 1947, on the occasion of Pakistan's admission to membership of the United Nations,<sup>6</sup> Afghanistan took the same position and explained the same point of view.

155. The representative of Pakistan proceeded to refer to the demarcation of a border between Afghanistan and Pakistan [2263rd meeting, para. 220]. At the time of the demarcation of the so-called Durand line there was no Pakistan. That border was imposed on Afghanistan by the military force of a mighty colonial Power and the agreement referred to was imposed on Afghanistan under duress in the face of the strongest indignation by the Afghan nation. Never since the usurpation of the territories of Afghanistan have the inhabitants of these territories lived in peace with the colonial usurpers, and until today they continue their struggle against Pakistan.

156. The representative of Pakistan said that at the time of the emergence of Pakistan as an independent and sovereign State a referendum was held and over 99 per cent of the votes cast were in favour of Pakistan [*ibid.*, para. 222]. All the records show that less than 50 per cent of the population of the area under British administration voted. No one participated from what were called the Independent Tribal Territories outside the administrative line. The leaders and population of the part of the territory under British administration officially boycotted the so-called referendum on the ground that they were only given two alternatives based solely on religious grounds—either to join India or to join Pakistan. Thus they were deprived of all other alternatives, particularly the formation of an independent State.

157. The policy of oppression of the Pakhtuns and Baloochis by the Government of Pakistan is a well-known current matter. The justification by the Government of Pakistan of this policy as explained by the representative of Pakistan based on the argument of "liberating certain backward tribes from centuries of neglect and the shackles of a feudal system" [*ibid.*, para. 223], is the repetition of the old colonial argument with which the majority of the members of this Assembly are so well acquainted.

158. The representative of Pakistan said that: "It is not the Government's intention to pursue its aims by the use of force against its own people" [*ibid.*, para. 224]. I wish this did not remind us of what took place in Bangladesh.

159. Before concluding, I should like to reject the statement of the representative of Pakistan in connexion with "the supply of arms and infiltration of

trained guerrillas from across the border" [*ibid.*]. This is an utterly baseless allegation.

160. It is only to lessen the uncalled for concern of the representative of Pakistan that I take it upon myself to refer to the part of his statement in connexion with democracy and social reform in Afghanistan. Social reform is the basic aim of the Republican régime in Afghanistan. Social reform and democracy have not only been promised, but it is the firm determination of the Government and the people to fulfil this aim. What could have possibly been achieved in the relatively short period between 17 July 1973 and the present time has already been achieved to a great extent.

161. With full awareness that the general debate has come to an end and that the hour is late, I reserve my right to speak again if I am compelled to do so.

162. Mr. EL-SHIBIB (Iraq): I have asked to speak to exercise my delegation's right of reply to some of the remarks made in the previous meeting in the statement by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran.

163. As a demonstration of Iraq's good will and genuine desire to settle the problems with neighbouring Iran, I shall only say that those to whom the Minister for Foreign Affairs referred as refugees are in fact persons who have been lured or forced to leave the country and for whom, among other things, the Iranian frontiers were kept open. Be that as it may, motivated by purely humanitarian considerations and by our responsibilities towards any Iraqi national, we are fully prepared to receive back the displaced persons at any time and at any agreed place along the frontiers.

164. The Iraqi Red Crescent Society had already informed its Iranian counterpart last September of our offer, of which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran is undoubtedly aware. The International Committee of the Red Cross and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees have also been informed accordingly. While we reject any attempt at interference in our internal affairs, we hope that our neighbour Iran will respond to the offer made by the Iraqi Red Crescent Society.

165. While this is all I wish to say at the moment, I reserve my delegation's right to put before the General Assembly all the facts and information about the well-known machinations that have led to the situation to which the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iran referred today. At the same time, my delegation sincerely hopes that the forthcoming talks between Iraq and Iran will settle the problems along our borders, as well as all bilateral issues, and help restore friendly relations between our two countries so that they reflect the historical ties that bind our two peoples.

166. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran) (*interpretation from French*): The General Assembly was able to note this morning the restraint with which my Minister for Foreign Affairs spoke, in particular on the subject of the acrimonious statement made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Iraq who made unsubstantiated allegations against my country.

167. Representatives will have observed that my Minister limited himself to saying that there was nothing new and, taking cognizance of the meeting to be held here between himself and the Minister for

Foreign Affairs of Iraq, thought it not worthwhile repeating things that were already known to all.

168. The representative of Iraq nevertheless saw fit to come back to this rostrum [2262nd meeting]. Well, I have come to clarify what he has said. Actually, he has facilitated my task, because what he has said goes beyond the realm of credibility. What is the issue? In substance, he accuses us of having created a refugee problem out of nothing. What interest would we have in burdening ourselves with the subsistence of 100,000 people? By what means would we attract them to our country? Is it we who make the Iraqi Kurds flee, or is it the cruel bombings that are carried out in that part of Iraq? Perhaps the representative of Iraq would like to insinuate that it is we who are doing the bombing. What does the representative of Iraq expect from us when such a flood of refugees come? Is it not the humanitarian duty of every responsible State to receive refugees and to do what it can for them? What does the representative of Iraq expect us to do, close our frontiers and turn a deaf ear to the cries of their suffering people? We have received them and have allocated more than \$100 million for their subsistence. We have reported this to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, as well as to the International Committee of the Red Cross.

169. With reference to what the representative of Iraq said about a letter sent by the Red Crescent of Iraq to the Red Lion and Sun of Iran, to the best of my knowledge the reply to that letter was sent by the Red Lion and Sun of Iran to the Red Crescent of Iraq.

170. I should like to remind representatives once again of what my Minister said before this Assembly this morning:

“ . . . our position in this respect has been stated on numerous occasions from this rostrum, and I shall therefore not dwell on these matters. Nevertheless, I am prepared to provide all the necessary clarifica-

tions that may be called for, should the intention of the Head of the Iraqi delegation be to enter into further controversy.” [2264th meeting, para. 48].

171. We thought that, in accordance with the very spirit of the bilateral agreement, to which we referred this morning, and in order to create an atmosphere favourable to the negotiations, we should refrain from repeating that of which every Member of our Organization is aware. But, if it is the wish of the representative of Iraq to engage in polemics then I should like to request the Assembly's permission to return to this rostrum to deal with the matter.

172. Mr. GUTIÉRREZ MACÍAS (Mexico) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My delegation has stated several times at past sessions of the General Assembly Mexico's position on Belize. We do not think it necessary to repeat our position today, but we do wish to place on record, because of the statement made by the representative of Guatemala in this, that our position remains the same.

*The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.*

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#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2056th meeting, para. 14.*

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30, p. 25, item 41.*

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, *Twenty-seventh Session, Plenary Meetings, 2053rd meeting, para. 6.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, *Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings, 2222nd meeting, para. 5.*

<sup>5</sup> *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.*

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Second Session, Plenary Meetings, 92nd meeting.*