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**Temporary President: Mr. Leopoldo Benites**  
 (Ecuador).

**AGENDA ITEM 1**

**Opening of the session by the Chairman  
 of the delegation of Ecuador**

1. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I declare open the twenty-ninth regular session of the General Assembly.

**AGENDA ITEM 2**

**Minute of silent prayer or meditation**

2. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I invite representatives to stand and observe one minute of silent prayer or meditation.

*The representatives stood in silence.*

Address by Mr. Leopoldo Benites, Temporary President, Chairman of the delegation of Ecuador

3. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): It is an unshakable custom, constantly followed at previous sessions of the General Assembly, that the Temporary President express his expectations regarding the new session; and, basing myself on that custom, I crave representatives' indulgence to make a few remarks.

4. I shall begin by expressing my conviction that the new President—who will be elected in a few

moments—will successfully carry out his complex and difficult task. He will be able to do that thanks to his high qualifications.

5. In almost all fields of United Nations activities, new problems have emerged that will challenge our imagination, our prudence and our tact if we are to find adequate solutions to them.

6. In the political field we have seen that the use or the threat of the use of force, prohibited by the Charter and repudiated by mankind which this Organization represents, has still not ceased to harvest death and to sow in the minds of men scepticism regarding the true effectiveness of the Organization. I am deeply convinced that the Assembly that is today beginning its work will find just solutions and return to horrified mankind its faith in the final abolition of force as a means of creating, destroying or modifying rights. We must carry to the minds and souls of people the conviction that their right to self-determination will always be respected with regard both to the achievement of full independence and to the full exercise of their sovereignty in setting up their own social and political régimes, and even that the rights of those peoples who for long years have awaited their moment of justice will be restored.

7. In the economic field the Assembly that is beginning its session today will have to deal with urgent problems, particularly those arising out of the sixth special session of the General Assembly, of which I had the honour of being President. The creation of the Special Fund to complement the emergency operation already undertaken by the Secretary-General to help the developing countries, particularly those most affected by circumstances that have injured their economies, will be one of the topics of greatest interest once the report of the Economic and Social Council based on the recommendations of the *Ad Hoc* Committee on the Special Programme, in accordance with resolution 3202 (S-VI), is taken up for consideration. Perhaps an assessment of the results of those conferences closely linked to development which were held in the course of the present year will help us to find more precise solutions concerning, for example, population growth and the ways and means to be developed, particularly in the assurance of a food supply, in order to avoid potential dangers.

8. One of the problems that may cause the greatest concern and dismay regarding the work of the United Nations is its present inability to act in the face of violations of human rights and fundamental freedoms, respect for which and safeguard of which constituted the very basis of the creation of the United Nations and which are set forth in the Preamble to the Charter and in the definition of the purposes and principles of that document.

9. Another item that will be the focus of attention in the session of the Assembly which is beginning today will doubtless be the consideration of the report of the Special Committee on the Question of Defining Aggression [A/9619]. I trust and hope that no divisive or confusing elements will be allowed to enter into that definition and that it will in concrete terms express what the international community has been awaiting for so many long years.

10. I shall not make a list of the problems, far less try to predict solutions that can only be arrived at by the General Assembly. I shall limit myself to expressing the hope that under the skilful guidance of the new President who is to be elected in a few moments, an outstanding son of Africa, the General Assembly will carry out serious and orderly work in its search for such solutions.

11. In closing the twenty-eighth regular session of the General Assembly yesterday [2232nd meeting], I said, and I now repeat, that we live at a moment when the course of history is being transformed; some systems are dying away, others are being born, particularly in the field of economic relations and in the establishment and strengthening of greater social justice.

12. In declaring open the present session of the General Assembly, I am imbued with the assurance that this body will do its historic duty.

### AGENDA ITEM 3

**Credentials of representatives to the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly:**

#### (a) Appointment of the Credentials Committee

13. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): Rule 28 of the rules of procedure provides that the General Assembly at the beginning of each session shall appoint, on the proposal of the President, a Credentials Committee consisting of nine members. Accordingly, I propose that, for the twenty-ninth session, the Credentials Committee should consist of the following Member States: Belgium, China, Costa Rica, the Philippines, Senegal, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United Republic of Tanzania, the United States of America and Venezuela. If I hear no objection, I shall take it that the countries I have mentioned are hereby appointed members of the Credentials Committee.

*It was so decided.*

### AGENDA ITEM 4

#### Election of the President

14. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I now invite the Members of the General Assembly to proceed to the election of the President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. In accordance with rule 92 of the rules of procedure, the election will be held by secret ballot.

*At the invitation of the Temporary President, Mr. Caicedo (Colombia) and Mr. Kaufmann (Netherlands) acted as tellers.*

*A vote was taken by secret ballot.*

<i>Number of ballot papers:</i>	133
<i>Invalid ballots:</i>	0
<i>Number of valid ballots:</i>	133
<i>Abstentions:</i>	0
<i>Number of members voting:</i>	133
<i>Required majority:</i>	67

*Number of votes obtained:*

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) ..... 133

*Having obtained the required majority, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika (Algeria) was elected President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.*

15. The TEMPORARY PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I extend my most sincere and cordial congratulations to Mr. Bouteflika on his unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, and I ask him to accept the congratulations of every one of the representatives who voted for him. I address particular congratulations to the Assembly on its wisdom in electing its new President. I am sure that in his expert hands and thanks to his strong personality, his brilliance and his ability as a statesman, the General Assembly will be able to carry out the great tasks before it.

*Mr. Bouteflika took the Chair.*

*Address by Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly*

16. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): Although it may appear to be false modesty to consider oneself unworthy of something which one has wished for in silence, the extent of the confidence which the Assembly has unanimously placed in me gives me an opportunity to estimate the importance of the merits which I do not possess myself and, at the same time, to try to become more aware, with both sincere and profound humility, of my own personal limitations. Yet, at one time or another in one's existence, who has not, quite legitimately aspired to being professionally recognized?

17. My friendly gratitude to all of you is enhanced by the fact that, over and above the contingencies and whims of fate, I should like to regard your verdict as a tribute paid to all the peoples of the continent which, by its unanimous choice, has so decisively burdened me with this new debt.

18. I should also like to regard your ruling as a recognition of Africa, which is in its full efflorescence. Moreover, certain as I am of your full agreement, I should like to regard it, above all, as a manifestation of your deference to all those generations of freedom fighters, who, like those in my country, have themselves shouldered the historic responsibility for making a decisive contribution to the advent of a better world, if necessary, with weapons in their hands.

19. If great empires have arisen from oppressive violence, what greater empire could there be than the realm of justice, which itself makes revolutionary violence legitimate—revolutionary violence, which is the only way for peoples to liberate themselves?

20. As the victim of an almost unjust fate which has lavished always unexpected favours on me,

I should like to explain to you, in simple terms, the reasons why I feel a special gratitude, in addition to the normal thanks I owe you. In so doing, it would have been my profound wish to rediscover words which have never been used, or at least to find some form of expression whose connotation has not been too eroded by usage and by time.

21. It has been nearly 12 years since I first arrived among you, a young plenipotentiary from my own country, harbouring as many illusions as I did hopes, and sustained by faith and an ideal which have never changed. Having had subsequently the rare, constant privilege of speaking in this prestigious forum on behalf of Algeria, a country which has been constantly renewed by revolution, how could I ever have imagined that one day, sitting in this chair, I would, with your consent, be called upon to assume the honour of presiding for a time over the destinies of the Organization? On the path which I am treading today, how many exceptional figures have I had the great fortune of meeting?

22. In an Organization in which, more than anywhere else, we like to respect the dictates of tradition, you have throughout the years valued wisdom, honoured talent, respected seniority, venerated knowledge, revered experience and devotion; and simply to refer to the imposing constellation of princes of politics, skilful economists, subtle diplomats and able jurists—all this forces us to be humble, and immediately excuses all the gaps and all the stumblings of its path.

23. I am succeeding, therefore, my illustrious predecessors without, naturally, having any claim to replace them. I am thinking in particular of all those who, from this seat, have been able, in very trying circumstances, to maintain dialogue at all costs, while at the same time revealing both their moral authority and their remarkable aptitudes as statesmen. In none of them, unfortunately, can I recognize my own inadequacies; indeed, their merits are so great that they cannot but be alien to me.

24. In the case of my eminent predecessor in particular, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, I was going to confess that probably each of us would have felt uncomfortable to be so closely associated with a man whom, by chance circumstances, I am now called upon to succeed. How could I, in effect, without your constant solicitude, feel at ease occupying the place of a humanist whom you will surely continue to miss, when I know for certain how gratified we all feel in constantly rediscovering the originality of his views on all the problems of the present and the future?

25. In this Assembly everything has been said; I am; as it were, a late comer. But, after all, this is the United Nations; I would already have had a chance to praise it in the past, had I not, from this very platform, devoted some time to criticizing it. Frequently I did so with a severity which I would still strongly defend, since it was based on sincere and still justified motives. Need I recall here that any challenge at that time was an act of renewed faith in the Organization and an act of noble adherence to the very ideal which presided over its creation and which has made it a centre of concord and alliance among all nations of the world? The three principles of justice, freedom and peace which it has in vain tried to

rely upon in seeking that universality which was so difficult to bring about have made the existence of the Organization even more indispensable by that very token. The fact that it had to exist could not obviously confer perfection upon it; but it is quite obvious that it can still be improved. Furthermore, it is already in the process of progressively reforming itself, without crisis and without disruption.

26. Furthermore, throughout the dangerous storms of contemporary history could we for one instant even dare to imagine that the international community could survive its own contradictions without the timely and indeed salutary intervention of the great institutions which watched over its own destiny? But in the world as it is, no one would be so bold as to claim that these institutions, however indispensable they may be, can be placed above and act equally towards all the Powers, great and small. It has even occurred that they have become so used to the problems of some that finally they overlook the vital concerns of the majority. Undoubtedly, in the solemn atmosphere of this forum all States are equal. But it would seem that outside it some are more equal than others. A fine tradition perhaps, but not one that speaks very eloquently in favour of the Charter.

27. Undoubtedly it would not be an exaggeration to state that today the oversubtle games of politics have become obsolete and that our responsibility is less to turn our backs on reality than, rather, to face up to it rigorously and vigilantly. In a world from which mystery is fading more and more and which is being penetrated through and through by science, is not the prime virtue precisely that of objectivity, scrupulous respect for the real and the patient search for truth? It is this self-discipline that will probably give the necessary moral impetus for the survival of a world that is becoming more unified day by day as it shrinks day by day. Underlying any politics, as it underlies any morality, we have the same principle which should prevail: that is, making the idea fit the thing, the word fit the thought, and the act fit the word. And what forum could welcome such a maxim better than ours? In adjusting its conduct faithfully to this ideal, the Organization would be simply keeping its promise of peace and universality.

28. The concept of universality is also a moral necessity. It means that in the face of the unity of human kind, racial barriers are crumbling away in the same way as differences in economic and social status are gradually fading.

29. Our era is in fact characterized by a constant move towards universality, which, in the initial phase, took the form of the gradual recognition of the equality of races, of nations, of States, and in the second phase, that of an ever-growing trend towards translating this equality into facts by striving to reduce the disparities created by the wealth of some and the poverty of the majority.

30. In the case of the first phase, who can deny that the United Nations has played its part? Of course, the application of the right of self-determination to colonized peoples has not been easy, and the example of my country bears witness to this. Of course, the restoration of the rights of the People's Republic

of China in the United Nations was something which we regard as having been held up for too long. Of course, other countries which are unfairly split up remain outside our deliberations. Of course, it is true that the Organization has not always been able to defuse conflicts and to resolve crises. However, it does remain a privileged place where nothing which affects the freedom of peoples and their dignity can be regarded as alien.

31. However decisive the distribution of power may be, moral considerations also have their weight, and this weight can be decisive. In recent years there has been a certain weakening in decolonization, but there has just been a giant step forward in the recognition of the right to independence of the remaining territories under foreign domination.

32. With the admission of new States during the present session, soon all peoples will be able to make their voices heard in this concert of nations.

33. But it is not enough to win a place in this Organization to be proof against hunger and insecurity. We do not wish to be deluded by the fragile appearance of freshly acquired sovereignty. We are people who have made a religion of struggle. The nations which seek to establish themselves always go through this painful tension which they impose on themselves and which they regard as being the inevitable price of progress and of freedom.

34. This gives us greater freedom to underscore international responsibilities regarding development problems. Here we have another task which has to be done, not one which affects the existence of States but one which affects the progress and well-being of peoples. At the present time the problems of development are spreading beyond national and continental limits. These are world-wide problems; in the same way as imperialist hegemony is a world-wide problem. It is not by chance that I have mentioned these two phenomena in the same breath, because it is modern capitalist exploitation which has brought about the divorce between the wealthy and the poor.

35. The awareness which has now crystallized around these problems is not simply the expression of a philanthropic impulse; it proceeds from the growing belief that in an organically cohesive world, no one's destiny is isolated. In this connexion, it is obvious that development cannot be simply viewed through the cold calculations of utilitarianism; rather it must be viewed as the function of fundamental needs for justice and equity.

36. For the first time this year these crucial matters have been set down as the subjects of specific debate. Acting at a particularly delicate moment in the international economic situation, Algeria considered this forum to be the most appropriate one to establish a genuine dialogue and to look for constructive solutions. The debate is still open. It will continue during the present Assembly, and then during the next special session of the Assembly.

37. By dint of their scope and complexity, the problems which have been raised by the Group of 77 developing countries form the very warp and woof of the historic evolution of our times. The fact that this year they have taken on an unprecedented breadth and political acuteness in the Organization, where

they continue to enjoy special treatment, can in itself be regarded as considerable progress, because it is less a question of looking for *ad hoc* recipes than of leading the international community progressively to see problems as they actually are, quite apart from any selfish clichés and short-sighted strategies.

38. The United Nations, after almost 30 years of existence, has now entered a decisive phase in its life. The action of the United Nations in today's world, in order to safeguard international peace and security, to defend the right of peoples to self-determination and the sovereignty of States, to act in favour of the development of multilateral co-operation at the level of humanity, all this is one of the *leitmotifs* of the profound needs of our civilization, in which it has become an irreplaceable factor. But its solidity, its ability to become rooted in the awareness of this era, undoubtedly increase its responsibilities and militate in favour of even greater effectiveness in the way it carries out its mission. This means that a greater democratization of its structures and their rigorous adaptation to the realities in which we live today not only would be consonant with an imperative need but would open to the Organization new and undoubtedly heartening prospects.

39. We know, Mr. Secretary-General, everything that you have already done to ensure that the Organization shows its face wherever there is any danger to world peace. Your personal action has helped to make the Organization a tool which is being resorted to more and more by countries in search of a settlement of their disputes. The confidence which, once again, world public opinion has placed in the United Nations gives us new opportunities both to develop the activities of our institutions and to promote a climate, a method and a system which will make it possible to ensure that the existence among States of more harmonious relations and thus to guarantee our generation and coming generations a future which will be marked by peace and understanding.

40. This is not the first time that this wish has been uttered from this platform. This wish formed the very thinking of those who drafted the Charter and it continues to prevail in the policies and the activities of the Organization. Need I say that today, perhaps even more than in recent years, when peace is being so threatened in various ways and when new storm clouds are gathering over certain parts of the world, the vocation of the United Nations to guarantee peace and security remains more urgent than ever and is a yardstick of the continuing responsibilities of the Organization?

41. The international context in which the present session is opening is, unfortunately, not free of sources of concern which, from year to year, form, as it were, the backdrop of our work. But before I actually turn to those problems, I should like to welcome an event which is of the greatest interest in the international community and a source of legitimate satisfaction to the Organization, and that is the accession to independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau as well as the progress which is being made in the liberation of other Portuguese colonies. We are very pleased to see that Portugal, which had so long been outlawed by the international community because of the stubborn way in which it pursued a

universally condemned colonial policy, has now become reconciled with the cause of liberty and has thus regained its place among us, a place which we had not despaired of seeing it occupy one day. We are following, alertly and with sympathy, the efforts which are being made by its leaders in order to conclude successfully this policy of decolonization and to triumph over last-minute difficulties, the magnitude of which our own experience has taught us to respect.

42. This final phase of decolonization, which has required so much sacrifice and so much perseverance, is a fitting culmination to the struggle which the African peoples have maintained for so many years in order to affirm their rights and their attachment to liberty. It also represents one of the most striking achievements of the Organization and one of its real claims to glory, since it marks the completion of the vast undertaking which it began just after its creation. Thus, while serving directly the cause of peace throughout the world, the Organization has been able to give a new dimension to its prestige and a practically unlimited field for its activities.

43. But over and above this success, which in the eyes of all will once again confirm the unquestionable moral authority of the Organization, there will be no lack of reasons for anxiety about the present international situation. Practically everywhere in the world there are still trouble-spots existing or coming into being, the aftermath of problems which have been improperly settled or situations which are deteriorating, simply because they were not confronted at the right time and were not tackled with the necessary courage and far-sightedness.

44. If in South-East Asia imperialist aggressions have uncertainly crept back beneath the legal camouflages of the Paris agreements on Viet Nam, we are certain that the defeat of the aggressors is assured, as is also the victory of the peoples of Indo-China. The fact that international public opinion has slackened its attention as a result of this has meant that the question of the Middle East has gained the limelight—and quite rightly. And this is because the destiny of the Middle East affects that of all of Europe. And the fate of Europe has world-wide repercussions. Less than ever can the Mediterranean now be regarded as a lake of peace; because the Middle East has become the stake for major rivalries. The repercussions of events in that region which is a nerve-centre will undoubtedly be felt even beyond adjacent continents. Already, the attention which is being paid by Africa, Asia and Europe to the development of the struggle of Arab peoples is a harbinger of developments of which it is difficult today to measure the full impact. It is my earnest belief that the problems involved here require from us solutions which may well run counter to the traditions which are most strongly anchored in our institutions.

45. No one could ask us to be optimistic, as long as the conquered territories have not been restored, and since the Palestinian homeland has been given up in the circumstances we are aware of, no one can expect the international community to bargain with its solidarity with the Palestinian people, until, in accordance with the principles of the Charter and the pertinent resolutions of the United Nations, it has

had, like other peoples, the opportunity to exercise freely its right to self-determination.

46. The events in Cyprus have added further anxiety as far as the situation in the Middle East is concerned. If some hidden hands manipulated this operation only to make it possible for Western Europe to become reconciled to itself—as part of some sort of planetary strategy, I imagine—we can say that the Cypriot people has once again paid a tragic price to safeguard its independence, the integrity of its national territory and its attachment to the policy of non-alignment. The Greece of the colonels is no longer the Greece of the colonels. The Iberian peninsula is undergoing changes which we are following very attentively. Countries which up to now have been in isolation seem to be leaving their quarantine. We have seen that the Atlantic Alliance has been reformed. Since the newly created situation is likely to favour what has been won as regards European security and therefore to strengthen the chances of *détente* and co-operation between East and West, we cannot but express our gratification at the results which have been obtained; but is the time not now ripe for all foreign troops, including of course British troops, to begin seriously to envisage their withdrawal from the island of Cyprus in order to make it possible for the State that founded the non-aligned movement to meet finally all the criteria which mark out a country as being non-aligned? However complex this situation is, it is quite obvious that making things clearer can only favour both the intra-European initiatives and the possibilities for there being a more fruitful and more promising dialogue between Europe and the Arab world on the one hand and between Europe and Africa on the other.

47. Naturally, a crisis such as the Cyprus situation can be seen to be rooted first and foremost in the imperfections of the international system born of the Second World War, which during the cold-war period was based on dividing the world into antagonistic blocs and into zones of influence which were further consolidated by the setting up of military bases, but since then profound changes have marked international life, particularly in the relationships between the major Powers, which have been greeted as a harbinger of *détente* in international relations.

48. The slackening of East-West tensions has made the chances of dialogue more promising. The saying “to know is to understand” is something which many appear to have taken as their motto, and the direct communication established between those who yesterday were the protagonists of the cold war now reveals all the signs of clear understanding, sometimes even surrounded by the solemnity conferred on it by a summit meeting, military negotiations or an important event which frequently gives rise to accord.

49. Thus we can see understanding gradually taking shape, and it is in this framework that we should see the military negotiations on the limitation of strategic weapons, the mutual reduction of forces in Europe and the Conference on European Security and Co-operation.

50. We should not wish to minimize the importance of such changes which, if they developed normally, might effectively spell the creation of a new era, one



where co-operation would replace confrontation, one in which each member of the international community would bear his measure of responsibility in international affairs. But what is happening in the world today and the legitimate concern for it demonstrates the present fragile balance and the dangers which may grow from upsetting it.

51. The crises that have occurred in different continents, whose development led to the very threshold of a general conflagration, attest to the flaws and the dangers of an international order which rests exclusively on the will of a few powerful nations and is the offshoot of the nature of their relations. That order, however, is the one that has prevailed since the end of the Second World War and for 25 years has shown its virtues but also proved its limitations and its inadequacies.

52. The movement of the non-aligned countries was born of the gradual awareness of the flaws in that international system, controlled as it was by the great Powers. Its primary objective was precisely to guarantee to small countries safety against the abuses of such a régime.

53. The movement of the non-aligned countries is constantly being strengthened in the crucible of its difficult undertaking; it is as close to an ideal on which it depends as to an international reality which it cannot ignore. Whenever both a commitment and a pressing need were faced, the movement has chosen. It has chosen unequivocally for the sake of those men whom a fleeting event condemned to suffer history, regardless of the dangers that might flow from all the centres of decision which make history on the basis of the strategic estimates of the moment, merchant interests or the will for power and domination. The service of truth and the service of freedom, which make up the greatness of its vocation, cannot be shirked. It must keep cool and at times confront the upheavals of a decadent period because, however seduced the third world may be by spectacular acquisitions of brilliant technology, it has learned not to divide itself from the human and to be convinced that mankind has a right to expect things that are perhaps more elementary but more in keeping with needs that are as pressing as they are vital.

54. Through the ideological clashes philosophies multiply, vary, harden and become very tempting. But who could contend that civilization has yielded all its secrets? If ideas advance resolutely, we still have not acquired the right to fall back into optimism. Now that science has conquered such heights, prodigious treasures of knowledge are so carefully guarded that the world which aspires to perfection and unity has become complex. Such a situation means that through the misleading paradoxes of international relations, we are always termed barbarians by someone. It is true that right is not now the sole possession of the pontiffs, and significant progress has been achieved in many fields thanks to the proliferation of international meetings and the enriching exchanges of view that take place there. Events have quickly assumed a universal scope. Policies used to be decided without us, against us, despite us. But we have conquered the right to make ourselves heard, to be allowed to participate actively and helpfully. It is true that we are merely at the first stages of the inevi-

table movement of ideas. But the ideas are moving, and they show us a foretaste of the architecture of tomorrow's society. Having always by all means encouraged *détente*, and, later, understanding, we were able to understand a synthesis of politics and economics.

55. As history is forged, so the urgency of conflicts decrease, and already unbelievable changes have taken place, changes that have upset the traditional combinations. Because the contradictions that flowed from the adventures of the past are being observed with a universal awareness, today man's concerns have become planetary. In a world in constant sight of a future, invective has given way to dialogue; dead space has come to life, and suddenly man has entered the flow of an ever increasing historic process. Both in what is being done and what should be done, the movement of non-aligned countries plays a responsible role since it has become an undeniable fact. Confronted by the shield and buckler in the international arena, it does not consider itself the alpha and omega, far from it.

56. It would not be reasonable, at a time when we are living at the end of one exhausted era, because freedom has chosen a difficult road across the intersection of ideas, to try to suspend history at an arbitrarily chosen moment. Such a venture could be equalled only by the danger inherent in it. Yet there is reason to believe that the times have changed since material power alone could lead to the primitive idea of "the world, that is I". Some changes are barely perceptible; but reconciliation and tolerance are now admitted. The notion of chauvinism is now outmoded and has given way to a larger concept of the community. It was high time that these changes took place. Is it not true that for more than 25 years man suffered the vicissitudes of a turbulent history, inflamed by the cold war, the balance of terror, brinkmanship, localized wars that divided States and shattered nations which were faced with distant and particularly unjustifiable expeditions? For an entire generation, that was the era of madness, filled with uncertain promises and disquieting moves. But the present changes fortunately are more reassuring. Yet, can a world without war ever become a world without conflict? Alone, moral consent cannot completely redress and change fundamentally contradictory situations. Though less opaque, the world is not entirely transparent.

57. The development of the movement of non-aligned countries in the course of the last few years must be considered as a phenomenon whose importance and ramifications yield in no way to those of the *détente* that has taken place in the relations between the super-Powers. The new dimensions it has acquired and the dynamism which is constantly shown by it make it a weighty participant in world affairs.

58. The appearance of this new piece on the world chessboard was not favourably welcomed by all, particularly by those who were troubled by this intrusion of the small nations into a system that thus far had been managed by the great. Others expressed some doubt regarding the solidity and effectiveness of the movement, because of the number and vulnerability of the countries it brought together.

59. But the movement of non-aligned countries does not plan to rival the great Powers, still less does it wish to quarrel with them. Its acts are based upon the solidarity of the countries of the third world and thus are intended above all to bring into relations among nations this new factor of justice and humanity which the prodigious development of the power of some had obscured. What is non-alignment but the expression of the attachment of our peoples to their own independence, but also an expression of their dedication and total devotion to the cause of peace in the world?

60. In allowing the smaller nations to assume their part of the responsibilities in the management of world affairs, non-alignment appears as an undeniable component of international balance. In so doing, it also plays the role of promoter of *détente*, not only by breaking up a confrontation between the super-Powers, often a dangerous one, but more particularly by participating actively in improving relations among States. In setting aside the static and defensive attitude it adopted in the first few years, today it shows a vitality through which it proves that it has achieved maturity and the clarity of its objectives which now allows it to introduce a better harmony into the world.

61. The voice which the movement of non-aligned countries raises may at times still be too feeble, and not always persuasive. But it cannot purely and simply be disregarded when we propose to free the world of the dangers that threaten it. The international community is becoming gradually aware of us and we are happy to note that among the suggestions that were put forward to solve the Cypriot question, some depended upon the effective contribution that might be made by the group of non-aligned countries. It is no longer that witness whose assessment of a *détente* was sometimes sought, one that had been decided upon without consulting it and very often a *détente* which bordered on its own frontiers.

62. Everything is happening as though recent history had once and for all endorsed the vocation and aptitude of the third world for partnership in the determination of the elements of international balance. This is an undeniable qualitative change. The restrictions allowing for a sort of monopolization of initiatives bearing on the security of the entire international community will gradually be removed, and in the task of building peace, no seigneurial rights will be allowed to one or another region of the world, or one or another political family, so that the search for peace now becomes the search of all.

63. The United Nations offers the non-aligned countries the right arena wherein to affirm their principles and contribute best to the tasks of safeguarding and strengthening security in the world.

64. The emergence of the non-aligned movement and its affirmation as the authentic spokesman for the third world have had considerable influence on the activity of the United Nations, on its orientation and its effectiveness. And it is not one of its minor merits that it has contributed to giving the Organization new life and renewed confidence in its own mission.

65. To understand and realize this, suffice it to glance at the provisional agenda [A/9700] for this session which starts today. While we find on that agenda many items that have been debated for many years and for which solutions must still be sought progressively and prudently in order to preserve the cohesion and understanding of all countries, new problems also appear on that list, problems of a different nature and of differing urgencies, but all of which require our attention and once again test the good will of the international community, the skill of the representatives and the efficiency of the Organization's machinery. I do not, I think, need to assert here that we are ready to face this task with the firm determination that the twenty-ninth session will make a positive contribution to the progress of our world and that it will meet the hopes that our peoples have always placed in the United Nations. As President of this Assembly, I shall bend every effort to that end, and particularly since I have the privilege of being honoured by a unanimous election. But these efforts would be futile were I unable to count on your trust and co-operation, your friendly understanding and your own dedication to the cause of mankind.

66. I know that it is not customary for a President to address the General Assembly with the directness and frankness to which I have resorted today. From the bottom of my heart I thank you for having allowed me this exceptional privilege, which again I consider to be proof of your friendship and admiration for the Algerian people. Naturally, it is to it, through the person of President Boumediène, that I will transmit your homage and the signal honour which today you have conferred upon me. And since I have allowed myself some personal comments on the United Nations and the third world, it would not be wrong to borrow my concluding words from the Algerian head of State himself, who today assumes the responsibility of presiding over the movement of non-aligned countries:

"Because of the innumerable threats which lurk around it, the world in which we live leaves little room for optimism. But that is the major reason why we must exorcise from our spirits the doubt that weakens our will and banish from our hearts the disquiet which leads to discouragement. The great problems which we must face and in the search for whose solutions we may find ourselves confronting even harsher tests than those of the past will force us to have greater faith in our future, must uphold us in our enthusiasm and will nurture our belief in the solidity and the greatness of the destiny both of each of our countries and of the international community as a whole."

## AGENDA ITEM 22

### Admission of new Members to the United Nations

67. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): In accordance with the procedure followed in the past, I should now like to invite the General Assembly to consider, under item 22 of the provisional agenda entitled "Admission of new Members to the United Nations" the positive recommendations by the

Security Council in documents A/9642, A/9652 and A/9712 for the admission to membership in the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

68. This special procedure has been applied previously in order to give States recommended by the Security Council for membership in the Organization the opportunity, if the General Assembly acts favourably on their requests, to participate from the outset in the work of the session. If there is no objection, we shall proceed in this manner.

*It was so decided.*

69. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I would remind the Assembly that the Security Council has recommended the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh [A/9642], Grenada [A/9652] and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau [A/9712] to membership in the United Nations.

70. We shall consider first draft resolution A/L.728 and Add.1 on the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and unanimously adopts the draft resolution?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3203 (XXIX)).*

71. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I declare the People's Republic of Bangladesh admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the People's Republic of Bangladesh was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.*

72. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to draft resolution A/L.729 and Add.1 concerning the admission of Grenada to membership in the United Nations. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution unanimously?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3204 (XXIX)).*

73. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I declare Grenada admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of Grenada was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.*

74. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): We turn now to the draft resolution A/L.730 and Add.1 on the admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. May I take it that the General Assembly accepts the recommendation of the Security Council and adopts the draft resolution unanimously?

*The draft resolution was adopted (resolution 3205 (XXIX)).*

75. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I declare the Republic of Guinea-Bissau admitted to membership in the United Nations.

*The delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was escorted to its place in the General Assembly Hall.*

76. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I think members will easily understand my natural embarrassment at having inflicted such a long statement upon the Assembly at the beginning of the twenty-ninth session, but I thought it might be helpful if I threw off the cloak of anonymity, as it were, and revealed myself as I am and as I think I should be seen, through the personal reflections I made regarding the United Nations, the non-aligned movement, the third world and the world as I see it in the light of the international situation.

77. On this occasion it is my privilege to say, before anyone else, how overjoyed I am—and I speak on behalf of members of the General Assembly because I enjoy their trust—to see the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau take their place among us in accordance with recommendations of the Security Council, as fully fledged Members of the United Nations.

78. All those who were absent when the Charter of the United Nations was drawn up and the Organization was established and who arrived later in this forum in order that both their national sovereignty and their independence would be recognized in the eyes of the world have understood that this moment is precisely a very special kind of turning-point both in the life of nations and in the life of the Organization to which we all belong.

79. Had I had sufficient time I would have had a great many things to say about the People's Republic of Bangladesh, with which my country is spiritually and culturally linked; I would have had a great deal to say about Grenada also because distance has never separated Algeria from the Caribbean region and Algeria has always been very attentive to the evolution of problems in that region. Naturally, as an official and a representative of Africa, I would have had a great deal to say about the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. I shall content myself with wishing them, on behalf of all of you, a very hearty welcome and saying that at the very outset they have our sympathy, our confidence and our friendship and that, faithful as we must always be to serving the principles of the Charter of the United Nations and the Organization, they will find in each and every one of us—both collectively and individually—someone to stand by their side.

80. I am also quite certain that their special contribution will mark an important turning-point in the life of the Organization and will thus help speed up the admission of other countries which are also waiting their turn to join us.

81. Mr. KINENE (Uganda): Mr. President, may I first of all take this opportunity to congratulate you upon your unanimous election to the high office of President of the General Assembly during its twenty-ninth session. This is a great honour which the United Nations accorded the Government and the people of Algeria in particular, and all Africa in general. It is a clear recognition of and respect for your personal, intellectual and diplomatic qualities. Speaking for the African group of States, I am particularly honoured and delighted to see that you will be directing important deliberations, especially the burning economic issues which are going to occupy the minds of representatives for the next



three months. As a group we look forward to working closely with you, and we are quite confident that the problems which are of particular importance to the developing countries and which were discussed earlier this year during the sixth special session will be re-emphasized by the Assembly during the period when you are President.

82. Today is a great moment for Africa. The General Assembly has just admitted three new States, namely, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, to full membership in the United Nations. In welcoming them we particularly note that Guinea-Bissau is the forerunner of the independence struggle throughout Africa. In joining in the rejoicing and celebrations on this solemn occasion, we the Africans should like to pay a tribute to the memory of a great and dedicated son of Africa, the late Amílcar Cabral, Secretary-General and founder of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde [PAIGC]. He fought and gave his life for the sacred principle of the dignity of all mankind. Today Guinea-Bissau is a free nation, and it is our hope that it will not be too long before the Cape Verde Islands join this sovereign State.

83. We are fully aware of the fact that the birth of Guinea-Bissau is not the result of a peaceful political process but rather the fruit of sweat and bloodshed in the bitter struggle which its valiant and dedicated sons and daughters had been waging for more than a decade. To President Luis Cabral, his Government and the entire people of Guinea-Bissau, the attainment of independence marks the beginning of a long struggle, a struggle for survival, a war against disease, illiteracy and hunger, for, although Portugal had been ruling Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands since the middle of the fifteenth century, nothing was done in the way of alleviating the social and economic conditions of the masses. However, we are confident of the ability of the people of Guinea-Bissau to consolidate their struggle, which they have rightfully won.

84. Yet this is not the end of the struggle for self-determination in the continent of Africa. Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Namibia, the Spanish Sahara, São Tomé, French Somaliland are not yet free. We welcome the new approach of the new Portuguese authorities with guarded optimism.

85. We are gratified at the signing in Zambia of an agreement between the Lisbon Government and the leaders of the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique [FRELIMO] on 7 September. This agreement, which specifies independence for Mozambique by 25 July 1975 and guarantees a transitional Government during the interim period, is a commitment by the Portuguese Government to live up to the promise it made when it came to power earlier this year in April. However, we are all aware that there have been recent demonstrations by a few misguided minority whites and an abortive take-over of one or two buildings by the so-called Dragons of Death group—and that is really what they are, as has been demonstrated by the number of lives that have been lost. We hope that Portugal will not allow a handful of white extremists to embarrass it in its endeavours to transfer the political power into the hands of the majority of Mozambicans. It is now imperative

that Portugal take precautionary measures to prevent any repetition of this irresponsible behaviour from occurring in Angola. We are confident that those two African countries will get their independence irrespective of any artificial obstruction engineered either internally or externally.

86. The independence of Guinea-Bissau should serve as a clear warning to the racist, white-minority régimes in southern Africa, which are under the illusion that they will continue to oppress the majorities of the indigenous peoples in those areas and deny them their inalienable rights through the use of the repugnant policies of *apartheid*, policies which have already been denounced by world public opinion as an affront to human dignity and a crime against humanity.

87. The whole of Africa will be free. To achieve that goal, the African peoples are committed to continue the struggle to the end. The members of the Organization of African Unity [OAU], through its Liberation Committee, and other freedom-loving countries and organizations will do everything possible to assist all recognized liberation movements in Africa morally and materially until every inch of African soil is liberated from foreign subjugation. No African country will regard itself as free so long as some parts of our continent still languish under the yoke of colonialism and racial discrimination.

88. As I mentioned earlier, the admission of the two other, friendly States of Bangladesh and Grenada gives us great happiness. These two States have a common purpose with that of Africa: to develop themselves to a level of standards comparable to those that are regarded as satisfactory for the well-being of their entire populations. We look forward to a fruitful co-operation with them here at the United Nations and on a bilateral basis.

89. Finally, we should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for the personal interest he has shown in the process of decolonization, and to all organizations and agencies which are in various ways involved in the fight against imperialism, colonialism and racial discrimination throughout the world in general and in Africa in particular.

90. Mr. EHSASSI (Iran): On behalf of the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, I wish, in my capacity as its Acting Chairman, to express my deep gratitude and appreciation for the opportunity to address this august body in connexion with the admission of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations.

91. Mr. President, since the head of the delegation of Iran will have an opportunity subsequently to welcome you to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly on behalf of the Iranian delegation, I should like at this stage to confine myself to expressing the Special Committee's satisfaction, and my own, at seeing you elected to that important post. Your country's outstanding and consistent contributions to the cause of decolonization are too well known to require elaboration. Suffice it to state that the successful

series of meetings held by the Special Committee in Algiers in 1966 at the invitation of your Government are still fresh in the memory of many of its members. The Committee's achievements at those meetings, in close collaboration with your Government and under your personal and dynamic leadership, were indeed a corner-stone in the annals of the Special Committee's endeavours to assist the peoples of colonial territories in the ultimate attainment of their liberation and full independence.

92. The admission today of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the Organization brings particular joy and pleasure to those of us in the Special Committee who have, since the inception of the Committee's work, followed closely the courageous struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau under the heroic leadership of the PAIGC. Having proclaimed in September last their full national independence, the people of the newly born Republic demonstrated to the world in no unclear terms the unshakable determination of oppressed peoples to regain their human dignity and their fundamental rights, whatever sacrifice might be required, in order to live their lives free from colonial and alien domination.

93. The victory and progress achieved by the people of Guinea-Bissau serve as a source of great inspiration and encouragement to all those engaged in the liberation struggle elsewhere, particularly in the southern part of Africa. Let us all hope that we shall soon be welcoming among us not only independent Mozambique and Angola, but also free Zimbabwe and Namibia. Grenada has also engaged the continued attention of the Special Committee since the inception of its work.

94. We, the members of the Special Committee, wish to express our confident hope that the process of peaceful evolution towards self-determination and independence taking place in the smaller colonial territories in the region will be further expedited by intensified efforts on the part of the members of the world community, particularly of those responsible for their administration. Let us take this opportunity to redouble our efforts to comply fully with the provisions of the relevant United Nations resolutions and to extend all moral and material assistance to the peoples concerned, for the achievement of the goals set forth both in the Charter and in the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples [resolution 1514 (XV)].

95. I should like also to take this opportunity to welcome, as representative of Iran, the admission of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, as well as of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, with which my country enjoys excellent relations, to membership in the United Nations. We are sure that Bangladesh, as a new State, will play an important role in international affairs with the maturity of the ancient nation it is. We hope that, with membership in the world Organization finally achieved by the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the memories of conflict in the subcontinent will soon disappear. It is our sincere hope that Bangladesh will grow in strength, in friendship with its neighbours and indeed with the world community as a whole.

96. On behalf of the Special Committee, I should like to express our best wishes for peace, harmony and prosperity to the peoples and the Governments of the newly admitted Members. I am confident that the Special Committee will receive their full co-operation in the important task of decolonization entrusted to it by the General Assembly.

97. Mr. HUSSEIN (Somalia): First of all, I would like, on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU, the President of the Supreme Revolutionary Council of the Somali Democratic Republic, Jaalle Mohamed Siad Barre, to join those who have spoken before me in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

98. On this occasion I should like also to express our appreciation and admiration of your predecessor, Mr. Benites, the representative of Ecuador, for the excellent manner in which he conducted the work of both the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session. His skill, experience and wisdom were indeed a factor contributing to the accomplishments of those two sessions.

99. In my capacity as representative of the Chairman of the OAU, it is a cause of special pride for me to see a son of the continent of Africa presiding over the current, important session of the General Assembly. Taking into account your vast experience in international politics and diplomacy and also your already proven ability and wisdom, I am confident that this session, under your guidance and leadership, will be a success.

100. Allow me, on behalf of the current Chairman of the OAU, to seize this opportunity of welcoming to membership in the United Nations the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Grenada. We have no doubt that the membership of those nations will bring a further useful contribution to the work of the Organization. The admission of those countries is a further step towards the implementation of the cherished principle of universality enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations. We are looking forward to the day when all peoples under the yoke of colonialism and *apartheid* will take their rightful places in the community of nations.

101. Finally, Mr. President, I would like to pledge our unqualified co-operation and understanding, as well as our assistance in lightening the heavy responsibilities that we have just placed upon you.

102. Mr. RAHAL (Algeria) (*interpretation from French*): Since I am speaking as representative of Algeria, it would ill behoove me to follow the example of previous speakers in congratulating you, Mr. President, on your election or in listing those qualities which have earned you the new and important responsibilities that have been vested in you. However, I take advantage of this privilege of speaking among the first here to echo you in saying how honored Algeria feels at the General Assembly's decision to elect you its President, and in extending our sincere gratitude to all Members.

103. Our twenty-ninth session is beginning with the admission to membership in the United Nations of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-

Bissau; and our work could not start under better auspices. On behalf of the non-aligned countries, I wish to tender our fraternal congratulations to those three countries and express to them the hopes we have for the prosperity and welfare of their peoples.

104. Even before taking its place in the Organization, Bangladesh had already been recognized as one of us by the non-aligned countries and, as such, had participated as a full-fledged member in the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, held in Algiers from 5 to 9 September 1973. Its admission today to the United Nations gives us even greater reason for satisfaction, since we should like to see in that act the end of an era that was marked by the tragic sufferings and painful confrontations of the peoples of the region. We know well that the wounds left by those events cannot suddenly be healed, and that there must be great courage and goodwill on the part of all concerned in order that, with the passage of time, the scars may disappear.

105. The friendship that we feel equally for all the countries of the Asian subcontinent leads us to a cruel realization of their sufferings; it also prompts us to pray, from the bottom of our hearts, for a rapid return to an atmosphere of confidence and relations of fraternity among them for the welfare of all.

106. In becoming a Member of the Organization, Bangladesh is completing its entry on the international scene, joining us now in the exercise of our responsibilities for the present and future of the world community. That is a demonstration that for Bangladesh, the page has been turned and that it must now turn its sights and its efforts to the future. It can be sure that it can count on having us at its side and on always enjoying our active understanding and effective solidarity.

107. The non-aligned countries are also happy and proud to greet with great satisfaction the admission to membership in the Organization of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The admission of that State is the culmination of the lengthy struggle waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau for liberation; it consecrates the merits of the PAIGC and its leaders, who, through their wisdom, courage, dedication and example, succeeded in leading that struggle to the attainment of its ultimate goal.

108. The non-aligned movement, of which the PAIGC, as a liberation movement, formed part, must regard this victory as one of its own. In it we see additional encouraging reasons for continuing unflinchingly in our work to achieve the liberation of all peoples and the establishment of an international society of equal and sovereign peoples united in a freely accepted solidarity.

109. The Organization itself can rightfully be proud of this latest progress on the road towards decolonization, which is one of the greatest victories in its history. It is thanks to its determined and persevering actions that, through worthy efforts and despite the many difficulties of which we are all aware, it has managed to enable colonized peoples to exercise their right to self-determination.

110. The independence of Guinea-Bissau marks the beginning of the evolution towards freedom and

self-determination of the territories under Portuguese domination. We now expect that Portugal will continue to wind up the policies of decolonization which it has now undertaken and that it will not let itself be distracted by the magnitude of the efforts to be made, by attempts at obstruction by those who stubbornly wish to uphold a régime that is doomed to disappear.

111. The moment when the flag of the independent Republic of Guinea-Bissau is raised among those of the members of the international community will be an historic moment for the people of Guinea-Bissau, as it will be for all those who have devoted themselves to the cause of freedom. At this time we would wish to pay a heartfelt tribute to the one who dedicated his entire life to bring that sacred moment to pass, a tribute to the memory of Amílcar Cabral, who was our comrade-in-arms and whose name will be closely linked to that of his people and to that of Africa. May his example continue to inspire the leaders of Guinea-Bissau and to guide them in the task of creation which awaits them.

112. Mr. SIDDIQ (Afghanistan): Mr. President, on behalf of the States members of the Asian group of States in its capacity as Chairman of that group for this month, the Afghan delegation would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you, on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a well-deserved honour for your country, the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, and for Africa, of which your country is a part.

113. I also wish to avail myself of this opportunity to welcome the new Members, namely, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and Grenada on their admission to the United Nations. The admission of these three new States is a continuation of the steps being taken by this world body towards a fuller representation of the peoples of the world. This auspicious moment in the history of the United Nations, in my view, is not due to a mere historical accident but is rather the outcome of a long and difficult struggle by the people of these new Member States against colonialism, foreign occupation and alien domination.

114. As members of the Asian group of States, we take special pleasure in seeing a State from our region, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, taking its rightful place among the sovereign States in this world Organization. The heroism and self-sacrifice of the people of Bangladesh in the legitimate struggle which they waged for their freedom has served as a clear indication of the fact that the struggle of people everywhere for independence will ultimately triumph and the world will respect the will of the people.

115. The Asian States are equally pleased to welcome the membership of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. The long struggle of the people of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of its national leaders has culminated in the success which we witness on this auspicious occasion.

116. The accession to independence of Grenada and its joining the United Nations reflect the fruit of the efforts of its people and are positive steps in

the process of decolonization, the certain reality of our era.

117. The Asian States believe that the admission of these three new States to membership will further strengthen the United Nations as it continues its endeavours towards the goals of world peace, security and human welfare. We look forward to co-operating with them in the Organization.

118. Mr. President, having had the pleasure of delivering this statement on behalf of the Asian group of States, I wish to conclude by stating that the Chairman of the delegation of the Republic of Afghanistan, in the course of the general debate, will convey to you the congratulations and felicitations of the Government and the people of Afghanistan on your assumption of office as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Likewise, he will extend the congratulations and welcome of Afghanistan to the new States on the occasion of their admission to the United Nations.

119. Mr. GROZEV (Bulgaria) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, despite the fact that the leaders of our delegations will be greeting you from this rostrum, I should like to avail myself of the opportunity which has been given me most sincerely and warmly to congratulate you on your election to this extremely responsible post and to express our conviction that, under the skilful, competent and wise guidance of such an eminent representative of the Algerian people, who are our very close friends, the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be conducted successfully and will yield the results expected of it by world public opinion.

120. A clear testimony of this is the very beginning of the session itself, at which the admission to our membership of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and Grenada has marked a new step forward towards the implementation of the principle of universality of the Organization.

121. I have the honour and great pleasure on behalf of the group of socialist countries of Eastern Europe to welcome heartily and to congratulate delegations and peoples of these countries on this occasion and to wish them full success and prosperity in constructing their new independent States, which, without any doubt whatsoever, will make their own valuable contribution to achieving the aims of the Organization.

122. We welcome the admission of these three new Members to the Organization as a victory for the sacred right of peoples to self-determination and independence and as a victory of the peoples of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada in their struggle for national freedom and independence, for democracy and social progress. These three new Members, geographically speaking, belong to three regions in which in recent years a number of independent States have been created, States which have emerged victorious after the lengthy struggle with the colonizers and foreign enslavers.

123. The admission of these Members to the United Nations is occurring in a particularly important period in the development of the world political situation. The process of *détente* in international relations,

which is becoming further affirmed as an irreversible process, has created and continues to create genuine conditions for tangible assistance to be given to peoples in their struggle for national independence and the implementation of democratic and progressive social reforms.

124. Self-sacrificing indeed has been the struggle which has been waged by the people of Bangladesh to win their liberty and to start to shape their life along the lines of social progress. This heroic people has made enormous sacrifices and fought in bitter battles in order to win their right to create their independent State. Over three years have passed now since the independence of the People's Republic of Bangladesh was proclaimed, a period which has been filled with events and which has shown the viability of the new young State. The efforts of the people of Bangladesh to strengthen their independence and to rebuild a new life on the basis of peaceful co-existence, have confirmed the international authority of the country. It has now been recognized by more than 100 States and is a member of numerous international organizations, both specialized agencies and others.

125. We should remind members of the importance of the tripartite agreement which was signed in Delhi on 9 April 1974 and which is a genuine contribution to the normalization of the situation in the subcontinent. The steps which have been taken by the leaders of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan in order to overcome the radical causes underlying disputes and conflicts and in order to establish good-neighbourly relations undoubtedly are of great significance. The entire world has now witnessed the resolution, the resolve and the perseverance of the people and Government of Bangladesh to follow a policy of peaceful coexistence and to support actively the universal struggle for the strengthening of peace.

126. Our socialist States have given full support to the national liberation movements of the people of Bangladesh. After the proclamation of the independence of the country, we established comprehensive and mutually beneficial relations and co-operation on the basis of the principles of peaceful co-existence. Those relations are yielding the expected excellent results redounding to the benefit of the people of Bangladesh and to the peoples of our countries mutually. We have never had, nor could we ever have, any doubt that the People's Republic of Bangladesh is fully entitled to occupy its legitimate place among us and we are firmly convinced that it will play an important part in the United Nations in order to consolidate peace and security on the Indo-Pakistani subcontinent and throughout the world.

127. Our countries and peoples have admired and continue to admire the heroic and self-sacrificing struggle waged for 11 years against colonial domination by the brave people of Guinea-Bissau under the leadership of its party, the PAIGC; for its struggle which culminated in full victory was an integral part of the universal national liberation struggle of the peoples of Africa against the colonial yoke and cruel exploitation by colonialists and neo-colonialists and for the development of their countries along new progressive lines.



128. In this great struggle for freedom and independence the people of Guinea-Bissau made tremendous sacrifices. So that its independence and freedom would triumph the faithful son of the people of Guinea-Bissau, Amílcar Cabral, gave his life—Amílcar Cabral, a person whom we recall and whom we cherish in our memories as being a great revolutionary and a tireless warrior for the freedom of his and other African people.

129. From the very outset, as the Assembly knows, our countries gave their unreserved support to the armed struggle being waged by the people of Guinea-Bissau and their efforts on the diplomatic front in order to win their independence and national recognition. After the proclamation of the independence and the forming of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the countries of the socialist commonwealth immediately recognized the new sovereign State and established diplomatic relations with it and insisted on its being admitted to the United Nations. The new young and vital State of Guinea-Bissau at the very beginning received international recognition from the overwhelming majority of States Members of the United Nations. Its admission to the United Nations last year was thwarted by the then Fascist and colonialist régime existing in Portugal with the support of some of its allies in NATO.

130. However, the constructive changes which have occurred in Portugal and the coming to power of a new Government which has recognized the right to independence of peoples in colonial territories, first and foremost among them the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, have paved the way for the swift and final abolition of the colonial régime in the southern part of Africa. A genuine expression of this was the recently signed agreement on the granting of independence to Mozambique. The statement made by the new Government of Portugal to the effect that it is prepared to co-operate with the United Nations in order to implement all those provisions enshrined in the historic Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples gives us every reason to believe that the granting of independence to Angola will not be far behind. Thereafter, without any doubt whatsoever, the day of the abolition of the racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia will come. Freedom and independence will be given to the people of Namibia and all other peoples of the world who are still under the colonial yoke and foreign dependence, a situation which is such a disgrace to the twentieth century.

131. The delegations of our countries warmly welcome also the admission of Grenada and wish its delegation a successful and fruitful participation in the activities of the United Nations. The proclamation of the independence of Grenada once again bears out the irreversible nature of the ongoing process of the elimination of colonialism and the granting to the remaining colonial peoples of the complete opportunity to enjoy their inalienable right to self-determination and independence in accordance with the decisions of the Organization and as is demanded by all the peoples of the world.

132. I should like to conclude my welcoming words by quoting the Chairman of the Council of State of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, Todor Zhivkov,

who, in expressing the point of view not only of the People's Republic of Bulgaria but also of the entire socialist commonwealth at the solemn session held in Sofia, celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the victory of the socialist revolution in our country, on 8 September 1974, stated:

"I should like to assure the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that in their struggle against the colonial and neo-colonial policies of imperialism, and also in the implementation of democratic and progressive social reforms, they can always count on our understanding, our solidarity and our support."

133. Mr. MARTÍNEZ ORDÓÑEZ (Honduras) (*interpretation from Spanish*): On this solemn occasion I am speaking as Chairman of the Latin American group of States.

134. Mr. President, the General Assembly has begun its work at its twenty-ninth session by entrusting you with the responsibility of presiding over it. This event is of fundamental importance because it takes place at a time when all mankind seeks new guidance to attain a better standard of living for man and more stable structures for the various social and political groupings in the world.

135. The Latin American group through me would like to state to our President, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, that we feel confident that under his skilful guidance we shall be able to overcome all the obstacles on the path we must necessarily travel in order to meet the universal aspirations to peace, harmony and progress.

136. For the Latin American group, which has always held the aspiration of universal representation in the United Nations, it is a source of special satisfaction to know that henceforth we shall have the co-operation of three new States which, in different circumstances and in different ways, today finally have seen satisfied their just aspirations to occupy a place in the General Assembly. We are very pleased indeed to welcome cordially the legitimate representatives of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. Each of these nations, following a long path of effort and sacrifice, has bravely won this place of honour.

137. The admission of Bangladesh to the Organization is a definitive step on the path which ensures a better understanding and a stable peace in the subcontinent of which it is a part. That peace and that understanding are essential elements for success in the efforts towards progress and human dignity to which the peoples and Governments of that region are committed. Latin America, which for reasons arising from its own social problems and structures knows how rocky the path to progress is and knows what devotion is required at every step, can indeed be satisfied at this achievement, which it deems essential.

138. The Latin American group, through me, would especially like to express its satisfaction to the delegation of Grenada on the occasion of its admission to the United Nations. We should like to state that we feel sure that it will make a valuable contribution throughout its participation in the work of the Organization.

139. The unanimous acceptance by the General Assembly of Guinea-Bissau as a Member is a landmark in the history of decolonization. It is a triumph of a people and its ideals, achieved at the cost of so much blood. It is a genuine achievement for all the African peoples which have shared efforts, sacrifices and aims with it. It is a source of a feeling of victory for all of us, men and nations, that have shared its purpose of freedom. To complete the picture, there is reason for legitimate pride on the part of the Government of Portugal, which, interpreting the historic moment that mankind is living through, has definitively taken the path of honourable amends.

140. The opportunity is propitious to express the wish that in the very near future we shall welcome the legitimate representatives of Mozambique and Angola, thus completing, to the honour of Portugal and those nations, the process of decolonization.

141. Mr. President, in congratulating you on the distinction conferred upon you and the Government of Algeria on the responsibility entrusted to it, I pledge to you the co-operation of Latin America in the common enterprise to implement fully the high human aims that inspire the ideological foundations of the United Nations.

142. Mr. CARAYANNIS (Greece): Speaking in my capacity of Chairman of the group of Western European and other States, I feel great joy and deep emotion in conveying on behalf of this geographical group sincere congratulations to the new Members on their admission to membership in the United Nations and I wish to assure them of our complete support in the pursuance of the common objectives of the Organization. Three countries of three different continents will be among us from now on: the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. Their membership is an important example of the fact that whatever the differences, ideological or otherwise, there is always a margin for finding peaceful solutions.

143. By the decisions taken this afternoon the United Nations has achieved an important step forward towards the universality of the Organization and recognition of the right of all peoples to be represented in this supreme international forum. The process towards the universality of the Organization is an irreversible evolution of history. We all realize this evolution and we are most glad to combine in our minds today's historic decisions with the irrefutable fact that with new people one is entitled to expect a freshness of ideas and trends.

*[The speaker continued in French.]*

144. Mr. President, permit me to offer you on this occasion my personal congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the General Assembly. If I say "personal congratulations" it is because I am certain that the foreign ministers of the European countries who will speak in a few days in the general debate will be particularly pleased to offer you the official congratulations of their respective countries.

145. Mr. GHORRA (Lebanon) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, on behalf of Lebanon, in its capacity as head of the Arab group of States at the United Nations for this month, and in the name of the Arab group, allow me to present to you our

warmest congratulations on the occasion of your election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. The head of the Lebanese delegation and the heads of the Arab delegations will express in due time not only their congratulations but also their appreciation of your talents and your merits, but I should like to avail myself of this opportunity to express our confidence that you will administer the work of this session with great vitality, wisdom and ability.

146. It is indeed a source of pleasure that the election of an African and an Arab Foreign Minister as President of the General Assembly should coincide with the acceptance of Arabic as an official language at the United Nations, and I find myself happy to be given this opportunity to become a spokesman for the Arab group, and to speak in the language of its member countries. The acceptance by the United Nations of Arabic is a recognition of the status of the Arabic language and its contribution to the spread of science and knowledge and its contribution to human civilization throughout a long history.

147. The Arab delegations deeply welcome the admission of the three new Member States which have joined the international family. These new Members represent three continents, three ancient civilizations, and they have a deep desire to co-operate within the framework of the Organization for the achievement of principles embodied in the Charter for the consolidation of peace and security in the world and the strengthening of international co-operation in all domains.

148. The admission of these States gives the Organization a wider universal character which is in keeping with one of the basic principles of the Charter. The Arab countries have always worked for the implementation of this principle as widely as possible, and therefore we hail Grenada, which belongs to the vigorous Caribbean area and to the group of Caribbean countries which have great aspirations for a better future, for its admission consecrates not only the principle of the right to independence and sovereignty but also the principle of equality between all Member States small and large.

149. We should also like to hail Bangladesh, a country which is linked to the Arab countries by friendly ties. Bangladesh appeared in the world in an atmosphere of difficulties and it was able, thanks to the wisdom of its leaders and the leaders of the subcontinent of South Asia, to overcome those difficulties. Because of its enormous human capacities and its important geographical position, it is now called upon today to make a great contribution to the activities of the United Nations in its endeavour to promote peace all over the world and to contribute to the processes of development and progress. Bangladesh, which is suffering, along with another group of countries, some economic and social problems, is worthy of meeting with every possible support from the Organization, support which would enable it to overcome the problems facing it.

150. The Arab delegations warmly hail Guinea-Bissau because the achievement of its independence is a crowning of the struggle of its people for freedom and for self-determination which are sacred rights

enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. We also hail the heroism of the people of Guinea-Bissau and their sacrifices for the achievement of their national aspirations and the fulfilment of the aspirations of peoples and countries which have worked within and outside the framework of the Organization in support of national liberation movements in order to put an end to colonialism and racial segregation.

151. On this occasion I cannot but view with the greatest satisfaction the change that has taken place in Portugal and the new course taken by its Government with regard to African liberation movements. These movements have recorded conspicuous victories and are on the way to achieving all their aspirations. The age of colonialism as a force of history has ended and the real force is the force of right, the right to live. The will of peoples to liberation, independence and sovereignty is unconquerable and the course of contemporary history is the course of liberation from colonialism and the eradication of all its consequences. We are looking forward to the liberation in the near future of all other countries which are still suffering under the yoke of colonialism and military occupation, so that they may occupy their proper place in the Organization and so that the United Nations may truly become universal in accordance with the principles of the Charter.

152. Finally, I have to refer to the important and effective role played by the United Nations since its creation in responding to the aspirations of peoples towards liberation and independence. The United Nations started its life with 51 Members and now it has 138 Members. All indications show that this figure is likely to increase until the aspirations of all peoples to freedom and independence are realized. Therefore, we have to recognize the great efforts undertaken by the United Nations in this connexion.

153. At this time when we are hailing the admission of the three new Member States, we would ask their delegations to convey to their respective Governments the Arab delegations' good wishes towards them and their peoples and hopes for their constant progress and prosperity.

154. Mr. PETRIĆ (Yugoslavia): Mr. President, in congratulating you on your election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, I wish to state—only briefly, because my Minister in his statement in the general debate will have more to say about it—how proud we are to see a distinguished representative of a non-aligned country, indeed the co-ordinator of the non-aligned movement, assume such a high office.

155. Let me also use this opportunity to state how impressed we were by the wise and dedicated way in which the President of the last session of the General Assembly, the representative of Ecuador, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, guided us through both the twenty-eighth session and the sixth special session of the General Assembly.

156. Today, when we are admitting three new Members to the United Nations—the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada—is a solemn day. The entry of these

new members into our ranks constitutes the crowning of their long struggle for an equal place in the world community as fully independent, equal and active subjects in international relations. We have to pay unreserved and due credit to their peoples and leaders, because their admission to the United Nations was not an easy, routine operation, but the result of difficult struggles and great sacrifices.

157. My delegation greets the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh with the greatest satisfaction because of my country's close relations of friendship and co-operation with it from the very first day of its establishment. In the same way, my country lent full support to, and exerted very active efforts for, Bangladesh's early admission to the United Nations.

158. The wisdom and realism of the leaders of Bangladesh—and we have particularly in mind the distinguished leader, our friend Mujibur Rahman—together with all others directly involved, have contributed to the growing normalization of relations between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan.

159. Now, we are all well aware of the extraordinary difficulties with which the people and the Government of Bangladesh have had to grapple from the very outset under the arduous conditions of war devastation, natural catastrophes, and extremely unfavourable world economic trends. Therefore, it is not sufficient for us merely to admit Bangladesh to our ranks; we should utilize this event to redouble all our efforts—whether bilateral, through the United Nations, or other—to provide the assistance indispensable to Bangladesh, both urgent aid and long-term assistance for its all-round development.

160. The entry of Bangladesh will give added strength to the world Organization. Bangladesh has already made a great contribution by opting for socialism and non-alignment and by its support of the idea of transforming the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. Bangladesh is already an important and active factor of progress, peace and stability in the region and generally, and we are sure that the role of Bangladesh in that respect will continue to grow.

161. The admission of Guinea-Bissau is undoubtedly one of the brightest moments in the life of the world Organization during the present decade. Its admission—after the long and successful fight of its people for freedom, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity—marks the definitive beginning of the end of the vestiges of colonialism. From the very beginning Yugoslavia has done its utmost to assist directly the liberation struggle of PAIGC and it recognized the Republic of Guinea-Bissau on the very first day.

162. Many of the best sons of Guinea-Bissau lost their lives in the struggle led by the revolutionary leadership of PAIGC, and I cannot but evoke on this occasion the heroic figure of Amílcar Cabral—founder of PAIGC and father of the revolution in Guinea-Bissau—who fell victim to international reaction and whose shining example provides an inspiration for all those who are still oppressed. We are very happy that this struggle has been brought to a successful end by his brother, President Luís Cabral.

163. The struggle of the peoples of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde, Mozambique and Angola undoubtedly had a positive effect on developments in Portugal and the events of April of this year. The new Portuguese Government has taken significant and substantive steps towards the liquidation of colonialism and towards granting to all the peoples under its colonial rule the right to self-determination and independence. We expect that it will in the very near future grant full independence to Mozambique and Angola as well. We also expect that the question of the Cape Verde Islands will be settled on the same basis as that of Guinea-Bissau.

164. At the same time it is to be regretted that there is an absence of any signs of positive evolution on the part of the reactionary régimes of Pretoria and Salisbury. The African populations of Namibia and Rhodesia continue to be deprived of their most elementary human rights, not to speak of their right to self-determination and independence. However, the armed struggle of these peoples is gathering momentum and we are convinced that, with the assistance of the whole of progressive mankind, they will soon achieve those rights.

165. Yugoslavia, having itself emerged from an epic liberation struggle, will continue to help politically, morally and materially the struggle of all oppressed peoples and their liberation movements for freedom and independence.

166. Finally, let me express our satisfaction at the admission of Grenada to the United Nations. The proclamation of the independence of Grenada and its entry into our ranks constitute one more step leading to the final elimination of foreign domination and its most reactionary form—colonialism—and further strengthen the role and contribution of the great Caribbean region to the Organization and to international relations in general.

167. The admission of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada constitutes a new, major and almost final step of the Organization in the direction of full universality. The fact that all countries, all new States, wish to enter the United Nations proves the vitality of the Organization as an irreplaceable forum and place where everyone can assert his identity, make his contribution and become a part of this great community of nations.

168. I wish to say also how gratified we are that two of the new Members admitted today are distinguished and active non-aligned countries. This will contribute even further to the strength and prestige of the non-aligned movement in the United Nations. The non-aligned countries, as well as the United Nations as a whole, are faced at this session of the General Assembly and in general with extremely responsible and difficult tasks, and the admission of three new Members constitutes a major contribution to our joint strength for exerting successful efforts for the achievement of new and required solutions.

169. Mr. RAE (Canada) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, at this stage, and before Canada makes its statement in the course of the general debate, I wish to congratulate you, on behalf of the Canadian delegation, upon your accession to the post of Pres-

ident and to assure you of our delegation's entire co-operation in the execution of the important tasks that have been entrusted to you.

[*The speaker continued in English.*]

170. On behalf of the Government of Canada, it is my privilege to welcome the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership in the United Nations. We were pleased to join with our fellow members of the Commonwealth and with others in sponsoring the draft resolutions relating to the admission of Bangladesh and Grenada, and also that concerning the admission of Guinea-Bissau.

171. For many years the peoples of Bangladesh and Canada have been involved in forms of co-operation in the economic, social, cultural and humanitarian fields. The ties between our two countries are varied and our relations are friendly. It is thus with confidence that we look forward to the participation of this new State in the many activities of the United Nations. Let me say in passing that the Government of Canada has followed with the closest attention and understanding the progress that has been made towards the normalization of relations among the States of the subcontinent, progress which has had as one of its happy consequences the support of all the parties concerned for the admission of Bangladesh to membership.

172. Grenada, too, is a country with which Canada has had many contacts over the years and with which it is carrying out a number of programmes of co-operation for development. Grenada is one of our Caribbean neighbours and we will welcome its presence in this world body. It is perhaps timely for us to mention our pleasure at the growing number of Commonwealth countries that have reached independence and joined the ranks of the United Nations in a steady flow since the admission of Ghana in 1957.

173. My delegation has also sponsored the draft resolution proposing the admission of Guinea-Bissau. The prospect of that country's membership in the United Nations is one which we greet with enthusiasm. Guinea-Bissau is a country with which we have had little contact in the past, but we look forward to close co-operation with its Government and with its delegation here in the years ahead. Guinea-Bissau's independence and membership in the Organization have raised the curtain on a new scene for southern Africa, one which holds great promise.

174. We have noted the progress being made by the Government of Portugal, working in co-operation with the liberation movements of the remaining Portuguese African territories, and we look forward to developments which will result in the further growth of our membership.

175. The welcome extended to the three new Members carries with it a deep sense of gratification and the conviction that the General Assembly's decision will serve to strengthen the world Organization. This act also marks very significant progress towards that universality of membership to which you, Mr. President, referred so eloquently today and to which many of us have for so long attached importance.



176. Mr. FRAZÃO (Brazil): In his statement at the opening of the general debate, the head of the Brazilian delegation will convey to you, Mr. President, the congratulations of the Brazilian Government on your unanimous election to the presidency of the General Assembly. May I be allowed, though, on this occasion to extend to you my personal compliments on your assumption of that high office.

177. It is with great pleasure that the Government of Brazil welcomes today the admission of three new Member States to the United Nations: the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau.

178. For two years now Brazil has maintained diplomatic relations with Bangladesh. Those relations are becoming more and more active. I am certain that the United Nations will profit from the wisdom and the initiative of its new Member.

179. The entrance of another sister country of the Americas into the Organization is also a justifiable cause for rejoicing. We sincerely congratulate the Government of Grenada on this significant event, and look forward to working in close collaboration with its delegation.

180. The admission of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is a source of particular satisfaction to the Brazilian Government and people. Brazil lent its whole-hearted support to the application for membership of that State to the Organization as soon as it was requested by the authorities of Guinea-Bissau.

181. The Minister for External Relations of Brazil, Mr. Antonio Azeredo da Silveira, will duly elaborate on the significance of this historic moment in his address to a plenary meeting next week. Today, on the very day of the admission of this Portuguese-speaking sister nation to the Organization, my only purpose is to join the heartfelt congratulations of the Brazilian delegation to those that are being extended to the delegation of Guinea-Bissau.

182. Mr. TREPCZYŃSKI (Poland): While addressing the Polish Parliament last July, the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party, Mr. Edward Gierek, said that we attached great significance to solidarity and co-operation with the developing countries. He stressed that with many of these countries, such as Algeria, Poland had long been tied by bonds of kinship and broad collaboration. In invoking that statement by the leadership of Poland in the realm of its foreign policy, I wish to point to the weighty political context in which we view and congratulate you, Mr. President, on your well-deserved election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

183. May I assure you, Mr. President, before our felicitations find their fuller expression in Poland's main speech before the Assembly, that we see in your unanimous election evidence of the well-founded recognition of your personal merits, of the peaceful policies and successes of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria and of the whole of Africa, which is bravely marching towards its full liberation from the colonial yoke. In the spirit of all its accomplishments so far, the Polish delegation wishes to offer

you, Mr. President, its loyal and constructive co-operation for the good of the Organization and the purposes it serves.

184. May we also join in the assurances of appreciation addressed from this rostrum to the outgoing President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, whose work, perseverance and experience, demonstrated both during the twenty-eighth session and at the sixth special session of the General Assembly, represent a valuable contribution to the cause of international co-operation and understanding.

185. Greeting in our midst the three newly admitted Member States, we trust that their active involvement in the work of the United Nations will strengthen the Organization and the foundations upon which it is based. Indeed, the unanimous admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada is yet another step in the implementation of the principle of universality, and one to which Poland has consistently attached undiminished political importance. It is at the same time evidence of the successful materialization of the principle of self-determination of peoples and nations, achieved at the cost of frequent sacrifices in their relentless political and armed struggle.

186. We therefore rejoice today that the just aspirations of the people of Bangladesh have finally come to a successful fulfilment. We rest assured that the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations will serve well the cause of peace and friendly co-operation of all States of the South Asian sub-continent.

187. We congratulate the people of Guinea-Bissau on having achieved the goal of independence for which its great son and outstanding leader of the national liberation struggle, Amílcar Cabral—our guest during the twenty-seventh session—gave his young life.

188. We are happy that progress in the implementation of the right to self-determination of peoples is an outcome of the concerted efforts of the world community, and it confirms that, given goodwill and political realism, it is possible to eliminate conflicts, tensions and prejudice. In this spirit, the delegation of Poland wishes Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada ever fuller utilization of the advantages of their newly won independence for the benefit of their own peoples and that of international co-operation. In pursuing these goals our new Members can always count on the friendly and constructive co-operation of the Polish People's Republic.

189. Mr. de GUIRINGAUD (France) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first of all congratulate you on your assumption of the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly and express the particular pleasure I feel personally in seeing you sitting at this distinguished rostrum, to which I have no doubt you will bring additional lustre. My Minister, your colleague Mr. Sauvagnargues, in a few days will express his own feelings to you, as well as those my Government and all your French friends feel in seeing you occupy the high office which the Assembly has just unanimously conferred upon you.

190. It is in my capacity as the representative of the country which at the moment is exercising the functions of the presidency of the European Economic Community, and on behalf of the nine States forming part of it, that I have the privilege of now extending a welcome to the three countries which the Assembly has decided to admit to the United Nations by unanimously adopting three resolutions, of which, incidentally, our nine States were sponsors.

191. To Bangladesh, which has today at last reached the end of a process started some two years ago, I would first of all wish to express the profound satisfaction of our delegation. In spite of the considerable difficulties left by the dramatic circumstances surrounding the birth of this young State, of which the Assembly had at other times heard the echo, today we note that all the parties concerned have decided to embark upon the course of peace, conciliation and reconciliation. We have followed their efforts with all the sympathy justified by the genuine friendship which binds our nine States to each one of them; we encouraged them each time we were able to do so. Thus, noting that our friends of the subcontinent have resolutely turned towards a future for which they have laid the foundations together with courage and dignity, we are happy to see Bangladesh now take up its rightful place and join here the countries with which it is called upon to forge its destiny.

192. To the solicitude which the United Nations has displayed towards it since its creation, we are convinced that it will now be able to respond with a positive contribution to our work. For our part, we may assure it that from our nine delegations it will always meet with mutually advantageous assistance and warm sympathy.

193. In pursuing the realization of the goal of universality of the Organization, to which we are all attached, we likewise today welcome Grenada. This State attained independence at the beginning of this year, at the conclusion of an evolution conducted with realism and clear-sightedness by one of the members of the European Economic Community on behalf of which I am speaking today. Thus, I shall limit myself to emphasizing how the other eight States members are pleased, together with the United Kingdom, to see here the representatives of this hospitable land whose destiny has now been taken over by its own population.

194. At the meeting held on 12 August last, the Security Council unanimously recommended that the General Assembly admit the Republic of Guinea-Bissau to membership [A/9712]. The European Economic Community followed with particular attention and interest the course of events that culminated at that historic meeting. On 9 June, the nine countries of the Community had issued a communiqué in which they had expressed their pleasure at the democratic developments in Portugal and at the policy designed to bring to an end the protracted armed conflict in Africa. They had declared their confidence in the results of the negotiations between the parties concerned aimed at the exercise of self-determination with all its consequences, and had indicated that they were prepared to support that action. As the talks proceeded, a second joint communiqué announced, on 12 August, the positive results that

had been achieved, results leading to the recognition of the new State.

195. Since then events have occurred that justify the confidence thus expressed by Europe. A new stage has been overcome. The policy of decolonization that Portugal adopted has been brought to reality by the signing of the act legally recognizing the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. Thus, as a result of negotiations in the course of which the two parties demonstrated the extent of their political wisdom, an end has been put to a period, which lasted far too long, of armed confrontation. That confrontation has been ended, as we have always wished it to be, by a political solution in keeping with the principle of the right of peoples to self-determination and an independent life.

196. Today, the French delegation is happy to welcome, on behalf of the European Economic Community, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau in the presence of the representatives of the entire international community. We rejoice to see among us at the United Nations a new State from the African continent, which is already so broadly and so positively represented here. We are convinced that its leaders, loyal to the spirit of generosity that has always been the hallmark of Africa, will contribute usefully to the labours of the Organization. Finally, we express the hope that the Republic of Guinea-Bissau will maintain with Europe, from which it is not so distant geographically, the same relationships of friendship, trust and co-operation that exist with other countries of Africa.

197. May I be permitted, in concluding, to say that the entry into the United Nations of Guinea-Bissau, the first country of Africa to which the Portuguese Government has returned control of its destiny, gives us grounds for viewing the future with confidence. The agreements recently signed at Lusaka and the decisions that have followed them have demonstrated a political will to which we pay a tribute and which convinces us that the process now undertaken will run its full course to the greater benefit of Africa and of Europe, eager as they both are to work together for peace.

198. Mr. RICHARD (United Kingdom): Mr. President, my Foreign Secretary will, I know, wish to congratulate you personally on your election as President of this Assembly session when he speaks in the course of the general debate next week. I should like to anticipate him, however, by offering my own personal congratulations to you on the assumption of this important office. The prominent part that was played by your country, and by you yourself, Mr. President, in bringing us together in this spring's historic special session gives us every hope that the twenty-ninth session will indeed be a successful one.

199. Once again we have met at the outset of a new session of the General Assembly to admit new Members, this time three in number, to the United Nations, and it gives my country very great pleasure indeed to be a sponsor of their admission. Britain has had close historical ties with two of these nations, the People's Republic of Bangladesh and Grenada. It gives me, therefore, special pleasure to welcome Bangladesh and Grenada to membership

in the United Nations. Our countries are already associated with each other through the medium of that free, equal and multinational association known as the Commonwealth of Nations, and we are particularly delighted today that those close links will be further reinforced by our partnership here at the United Nations.

200. My country's involvement with the peoples of the Indian subcontinent goes back, of course, far beyond February 1972, when diplomatic relations between the United Kingdom and Bangladesh were first established. It was with the deepest sympathy and concern that we followed the difficult events of the autumn of the previous year which led to the establishment of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. The process of re-establishing peace and good-neighbourly relations between countries of the area has not been an easy one; and may I pay a public tribute to the high degree of statesmanship that has been manifested on all sides. But, most important of all, we welcome the fact that Bangladesh, the eighth-largest country in the world, will now be able to fulfil the role as a Member of the Organization which its size, its importance and its position in the Indian subcontinent require. We are sure that it will play an important part in our discussions here and we look forward to the very closest co-operation with the delegation of Bangladesh.

201. Grenada's admission adds one more voice to the impressive group of Caribbean nations already here. It is a group, as we know, that is well known and respected for its eloquence and its ability, and I am sure we will hear Grenada's ideas expressed in a similar way. The links between the United Kingdom and Grenada date back well over 200 years, and we hope that they will continue to prosper through our joint association in the work of the United Nations.

202. Finally, may I say that my delegation welcomes unreservedly the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations, about which my French colleague has already spoken in the name of the European Economic Community. We were, of course, just as anxious in the Security Council to welcome Guinea-Bissau as we are here, and once again I give its leaders our best wishes for the new State's future prosperity. As the memory of war fades, the work of redevelopment takes on crucial importance. The United Kingdom will be glad to help in any way it usefully can, and indeed we have already offered to meet the new Government of Guinea-Bissau to see how we can help with its development programme. Guinea-Bissau takes its place in the Organization as a result of negotiations which have succeeded thanks to the wisdom, the statesmanship and the far-sightedness of those concerned. My Government whole-heartedly congratulates both Guinea-Bissau and Portugal on their joint success. We believe that it augurs well for the future.

203. Mr. Swaran SINGH (India): Mr. President, first of all let me offer you our warmest felicitations on your election to the high office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. This is not only a recognition of your outstanding contributions in the field of international relations but also a tribute to the great and dynamic country that you represent. I have had the privilege of knowing

you for several years and I have always admired your steadfast adherence to principles and your ardent advocacy of the cause of national liberation, progress and development. Your personal contribution to the cause of non-alignment is truly historic. We have every confidence that under your distinguished leadership and wise guidance, this Assembly will prove to be forward-looking in its achievements.

204. May I also take this opportunity to pay our tribute to the outgoing President, Mr. Benites, who guided the deliberations of the Assembly through a particularly difficult period with characteristic wisdom, courtesy and understanding.

205. The General Assembly has taken a historic decision today in admitting the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. We are happy to welcome them and we offer them our warmest congratulations. Their admission will contribute further to the universality of the Organization—an objective to which India has always lent its support. Each of these three countries has passed through a different historical process in attaining its independence and gaining recognition by the international community. It is only fitting that the three Members should be admitted to the Organization on the first day of this General Assembly session. This will enable them to participate in the proceedings of the current session, especially in matters of great concern to them, and we look forward to their contribution.

206. It is a source of particular satisfaction to my Government that our close neighbour, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, has joined our ranks. Bangladesh is now recognized by over 120 countries and it has already taken its rightful place in a large number of international forums, where its delegation has been playing a most useful role.

207. Bangladesh was warmly welcomed at the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries held at Algiers last year. At that Conference the membership of Bangladesh in the United Nations found widespread support. Bangladesh is the eighth most populous nation in the world and enjoys a democratic government, freely elected by its people on the basis of universal suffrage. Bangladesh is fortunate in having a great leader and Prime Minister in Sheikh Mujibur Rahman, who enjoys immense support and prestige within his country and abroad. Under his inspiring leadership the people of Bangladesh bravely faced unprecedented trials and tribulations and suffered untold hardship before finally liberating themselves. The entry of Bangladesh into the United Nations is an occasion of great pride for its people, and we who are their friends salute them and remember also those who fell in the struggle for national liberation.

208. Bangladesh is fully committed to the cause of global peace and co-operation. The magnanimity and statesmanship of Bangladesh were largely responsible for the conclusion of the Delhi agreement and the tripartite agreement between India, Bangladesh and Pakistan. Those agreements provide the basis for the normalization of conditions and the establishment of a durable peace in our subcontinent.

209. The admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is also a matter of great satisfaction to us. India was among the first countries to recognize the new Government of Guinea-Bissau after it proclaimed its independence last year. The agreement that the leaders of Guinea-Bissau have arrived at with the Government of Portugal regarding the withdrawal of the remaining Portuguese troops from Guinea-Bissau has been welcomed by the Government. We welcome the new policies and trends in Portugal and we believe that they are irreversible. We hope that it will not be long before we have among us Mozambique and Angola as sovereign independent States. The admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is a significant step and it will undoubtedly give encouragement and strength to freedom fighters in southern Africa.

210. Grenada's admission to the United Nations is most welcome. Though the islands of the Caribbean are far away from India, their progressive decolonization is a matter of great importance in the fulfilment of the objectives of the Charter. We welcome the independence of Grenada and we look forward to co-operating with its delegation here.

211. Mr. FLORIN (German Democratic Republic) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, may I first be permitted to congratulate you very warmly on your election to the highly responsible post of President of the General Assembly. The achievements of your esteemed country in the realization of the purposes of the United Nations enable us to express our conviction that, under your guidance, the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be crowned with success.

212. On behalf of the Government of the German Democratic Republic, I should like to voice our profound satisfaction at the admission to the United Nations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and also of Grenada.

213. It is with particular pleasure that we welcome the delegations of Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau, with whose countries my own enjoys close friendly ties. Like all the other States of the socialist community, the German Democratic Republic has given its active support to the struggle of the peoples of Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau for their national independence; it recognized these two States immediately after their founding and has worked for their entry into international life on a footing of equality.

214. The People's Republic of Bangladesh is making a precious contribution to the stabilization of the political situation in southern Asia and to the continuation of the process of *détente* on the Asian continent.

215. The admission of Guinea-Bissau to the United Nations is the culmination of a long struggle against colonial oppression and exploitation waged under the direction of the PAIGC at the cost of enormous sacrifice, and is yet another step forward on the path towards the implementation of General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV) on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples. All progressive and peace-loving forces in the world are encouraged thereby to continue with even greater determination their struggle for the elimination of all forms of imperialist oppression. In this regard,

we hope to welcome as soon as possible in the United Nations the representatives of other peoples of Africa when they accede to their national independence.

216. The decision of the General Assembly at its present session to admit the three sovereign States to the United Nations clearly shows once more that *détente* promotes the struggle of peoples for their national independence and the development of inter-State relations on the basis of respect for State sovereignty and non-interference. The decision on the admission of these new Member States is a promising start in the work of the twenty-ninth session, which we expect will make an important contribution to the further improvement of the international situation.

217. Mr. DENNIS (Liberia): Mr. President, at a subsequent and more appropriate time, I shall convey to you the congratulations of the Liberian delegation and of myself on your election, as an outstanding son of Africa, to the high office of President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

218. Liberia, as the first independent African Republic, has always taken the position that all peoples should be represented in this world forum through the admission to membership of their respective nations and the active participation in its deliberations of their legitimate representatives. This is not only an important principle but an essential component of our unwavering belief in the democratic process. Inasmuch as the grave issues which we debate here and resolve to take action upon do for the most part affect the peace, security, well-being and, indeed, the continued existence of our world, it is entirely just that every nation, whether large or small, rich or poor, developed or less developed, should play its part in arriving at these decisions and that the voice of each people should thereby be heard.

219. There is another, connected principle which complements that of the universality of the Organization and is applicable here, and that is the right to self-determination, independence, self-rule, human dignity and the unimpeded determination of its own national destiny which each people should enjoy. All systems of colonialism, racism, *apartheid* and alien minority rule tend to undermine these basic principles. Rather, such systems are based on inequality, oppression, suspicion, fear, hatred and, most deplorable of all, on the unconscionable exploitation of others in our world.

220. What we seek instead, what our world must have if the noble enterprise of building a sane and prosperous, peaceful and secure life for all mankind is ever to be achieved, is co-operation, trust, equality, an attitude of give and take, and the ability to see with ever greater clarity that we are all a part of the family of man, irreversibly interlocked by our common existence on this planet, and linked by our dependence on its resources.

221. It is therefore in this spirit and with genuine conviction and profound joy that, on behalf of the Government and the delegation of Liberia, I extend a hearty welcome to the three new Member States which have now been admitted to membership in the United Nations. To the people of Bangladesh, who have faced with courage and determination the



great and difficult task of nation-building, compounded by recent natural disasters, I express sincere greetings. We are certain that your contributions to this our common Organization will be most positive and reflect the commitment to peace and co-operation which you have so ably demonstrated in the past.

222. We share a special link of cultural affinity and friendship with the island State of Grenada. It is our fervent hope that we shall work closely together in the United Nations to advance its high purposes, and that our relationship in every respect will grow from strength to strength as the feelings of friendship and brotherhood which bind us become ever firmer. Heartiest best wishes on this notable occasion which heralds the arrival of a new voice for peace, understanding, equality and justice in this great Assembly of nations.

223. Finally, we greet our sister African State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, into these ranks with the highest sentiments of brotherly regard and affection. Its long night of colonialism has come to an end. The national independence, which nearly one year ago it won by toil, blood and sacrifice, has now been consolidated and preserved. It takes its rightful place, with sovereign equality, among the nations of our world. As a people that has been in the recent past denied freedom, I am certain that it will be among its strongest defenders at this forum and elsewhere. As a people that has suffered from the devastations of a war to secure its freedom, it will, I am sure, be among the strongest advocates of international peace and justice. Possessed of hope and confidence in the future of mankind, this nation and people will inspire hope and confidence in others.

224. Yet, as we celebrate this solemn day, let us not forget that other peoples in southern Africa remain subject to racism, oppression, suppression, repression and alien domination; that they are denied the opportunity to speak here or, indeed, to be free men in their own land. So our joy is tempered with sorrow, and the Organization remains lamentably incomplete. And yet we do have the sure confidence that in the end mankind will triumph, that these evils will be abolished, and that the United Nations will truly represent the world—the home that we know of the family of man.

225. Mr. BENNETT (United States of America): Mr. President, permit me at this time to offer my sincere congratulations and those of the United States to you as you assume the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

226. As representative of the host country, I now have the great honour of welcoming three new Members to this parliament of the world. Although Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau are located in three very different regions of this planet, they jointly share a desire, and have done so most convincingly, to participate in the Organization. Nothing could symbolize more dramatically the universality of man's aspirations, for which the United Nations stands.

227. The United States recognized the Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh on 4 April 1972. Formal diplomatic relations were estab-

lished on 18 May of that year. My Government has had continuous representation in Dacca since 1949. Through these years, ties of trade, shared concern for economic development, and personal friendships have grown ever stronger. Consequently, the United States Government has taken particular satisfaction in the development of the friendly bilateral relations which now happily exist between our two countries.

228. The American and Grenadian peoples have had warm and co-operative relations through the years. We share a deep interest in the affairs of the Caribbean region. We have been and will continue to be good neighbours. On 7 February this year, my Government welcomed Grenada into the family of independent nations, and we wish Grenada well as it travels the road of independence.

229. And now Guinea-Bissau joins the world Organization as the culmination of a major historic process. As President Ford stated, the United States Government looks forward to a productive and friendly relationship with the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which we recognized on 10 September. In the months and years ahead the United States hopes to broaden and strengthen the bonds between the Governments and peoples of our two countries. We look forward to the constructive contribution that we are confident Guinea-Bissau will make to the important work of the United Nations.

230. The President of the United States will speak to the Assembly tomorrow, and I would at this time, Mr. President, like to express the hope of my Government that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly will be a productive one where we will take new steps to move from ideological confrontation toward resolving of differences among nations.

231. Mr. SICLAIT (Haiti) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, it is with pleasure that, joining the speakers who preceded me, I extend my warm congratulations to you, a great and brilliant statesman at the service of peace, a son of Africa, and, awaiting the speech of the head of the Haitian delegation from this podium, I should like to state that the Haitian delegation is pleased at your election to the presidency of the General Assembly and that we pledge you our entire co-operation.

232. We should also like to express our profound admiration for and our deep gratitude to Mr. Leopoldo Benites, the outgoing President, for having skilfully and competently guided the work of the twenty-eighth session. Under the able presidency of that eminent son of Latin America, the General Assembly adopted resolutions of broad political, social and economic scope which, with the consent of peoples and Governments, can lay the foundations of peace and co-operation in the international community.

233. Now, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to welcome the States of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau, which have just attained their independence. It is with great pleasure that the Haitian delegation welcomes them as States Members of the United Nations. I am pleased to congratulate them warmly on behalf of my Government and to express to them our best wishes for success in their enterprises and in their future work in the Organiza-

tion to promote international peace and the well-being of their countries. May I also assure them of our desire for co-operation in the achievement of the common ideals of social progress and economic development.

234. Mr. MALIK (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): Mr. President, in due course the head of the delegation of the Soviet Union in his statement in the general debate will congratulate you on your election to the post of President of the General Assembly. Today I should like to express my sincere satisfaction at the fact that you have been elected to this important international post by a unanimous decision of the General Assembly. May I sincerely wish for you as you occupy this important post that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly may go down in the history of the United Nations as the Assembly for the strengthening of peace, security, disarmament, development and decolonization.

235. May I likewise pay due tribute to your predecessor, Mr. Benites, the President of the twenty-eighth session, which achieved great results under his expert leadership.

236. The twenty-ninth session has begun its work with the admission of new States to membership in the United Nations; thereby, a further important step has been made towards genuine universality in the United Nations. As is known, the Security Council unanimously recommended that the General Assembly at its twenty-ninth session accept into the United Nations community three new young States: the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. In this connexion, the delegation of the Soviet Union expresses great satisfaction. We already had an opportunity of welcoming those three States when the question of recommending their membership was considered in the Security Council. Today we are particularly pleased again to congratulate them on the unanimous approval of that recommendation by the General Assembly. All of them have gone through the complex and difficult course of struggle for their liberation and independence, and this event is bound to produce satisfaction among all the peace-loving forces of the world.

237. The founder of the Soviet State, the great Lenin, constantly emphasized the bond between the struggle of the workers of the country of the Soviets and the successful development of the national liberation movements of enslaved peoples. He wrote:

"The revolutionary movement of the peoples of the East can be resolved only through direct contact with the revolutionary struggle of our Soviet Republic against international imperialism."

238. The principles of the policy of the Soviet State, as formulated by Lenin in relation to the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, include full equality of rights and respect for the sovereignty of States, the development with them of friendly relations, the early provision of all-round assistance to formerly backward countries in their struggle for their political and economic liberation from oppression by colonial Powers.

239. The General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, when he was awarded the International Lenin Prize "for strengthening peace among peoples", stated:

"We have always believed, and believe today, that it is our inviolable duty, deriving from our communist convictions and our socialist morality, to give the broadest support to the peoples who fight for the just cause of freedom. That has always been and always will be."

240. The application of the People's Republic of Bangladesh for membership in the United Nations was fully substantiated from the time it was sent to the Organization more than two years ago. For reasons known to all of us, the question was not resolved positively at that time. But, as was pointed out at that time by the Soviet delegation, the victory must be and, of course, will be on the side of the people of Bangladesh. Today we share the happiness of the Republic of Bangladesh, on the occasion of its admission to membership in the United Nations. Our conviction has been confirmed by the unanimous decision taken today by the General Assembly to admit this young Asian State. The Soviet Union is proud of the fact that from the very first day it was on the side of those who were in favour of the acceptance of the People's Republic of Bangladesh to membership in the United Nations.

241. During the short period of its independent existence, the People's Republic of Bangladesh has justly acquired considerable authority and recognition in international affairs. From the first days of the proclamation of the independence of that country, its Government and people have exerted tremendous efforts to put an end to tension and to normalize the situation in southern Asia. Favourable transformations in the world situation and the relaxation of international tensions, which is in accordance with the vital interests of the peoples of all countries, have made a favourable impression upon the relations between the States of that region as well. Thanks to the joint collective efforts of the leaders of India, Bangladesh and Pakistan, considerable successes have been achieved on the way towards ensuring a stable peace and tranquillity in that important part of the world. It is precisely those purposes that are being served, in our opinion, by the agreements signed by the countries concerned in Simla and Delhi. As was stated recently by the Foreign Minister of India, Mr. Singh, loyalty to the principle of the speedy implementation of the Simla agreement of 3 July 1972 is the only way to normalize relations between the States of the subcontinent and to establish a lasting peace in the region. The Soviet Union is sincerely interested in those countries resolving the problems existing between them in a spirit of friendship, mutual understanding and peace.

242. The Soviet Union is building its relations with the People's Republic of Bangladesh upon the principle of total equality, mutual respect, sovereignty and independence, without any interference whatsoever in the internal affairs of each other. The Soviet people have great sympathy and respect for the people of Bangladesh and for the policy of non-alignment and co-operation which is practised by the

People's Republic of Bangladesh. That policy is aimed at the relaxation of international tensions and the development of friendly relations and co-operation among peoples.

243. I should like to take this opportunity to point out likewise that co-operation between the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of Bangladesh is being successfully developed and strengthened. The Soviet Union is providing assistance in the economic development of that young developing State whose people have suffered exploitation and plundering for centuries. A number of agreements have been signed between the Soviet Union and Bangladesh concerning co-operation in the building of industrial projects, the conduct of geological research and the restoration of its fleet and fishing industry. The Soviet Union is also providing assistance in the restoration of rail transport and the training of personnel in various branches of the national economy.

244. There is no doubt at all that Bangladesh, a State with a population of 75 million, has all the necessary elements to enable it to carry out the obligations placed by the Charter upon States Members of the United Nations. Acceptance of Bangladesh for membership will contribute to the attainment of the universality of the United Nations. Full-fledged participation by this new Asian State in the life and activities of the United Nations will enable it to make a positive contribution to the solution of important problems before the United Nations, to the strengthening of international peace and security and to the development of co-operation among States.

245. The General Assembly has likewise today accepted into membership the youngest African State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. For 11 years the patriots of Guinea-Bissau, under the leadership of the PAIGC, weapons in hand, have waged a heroic, selfless struggle for the liberation of their country from international colonial domination. This struggle was difficult and complex, but the hour of liberation has come. I quote the words of the founder of the PAIGC, and the leader of the liberation struggle, Amílcar Cabral, who spoke at the eighth Pan-African Conference of Heads of State and Government:

"Individuals and fighters may despair, but peoples never lose their hope . . . We cannot fail to believe in the future of Africa and the ability of any African people fully to liberate itself from colonialist and racist oppression to become master of its own fate."

These prophetic words have become the truth, these prophetic words of a gallant patriot, a talented son of Africa, a fighter who has given his life for the freedom and happiness of his people. His long-suffering country has now become a free and independent State, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. During the year that has passed since the proclamation of its independence, the young Republic has already been recognized by approximately 100 States of the world. The struggle for freedom and national independence, headed by the PAIGC, is now nearing its triumphal conclusion. The people of this young country have new questions before them which are just as complex: the building and development of an independent sovereign State in peace, and the solution of economic and political tasks.

246. Proceeding from its consistent anti-colonial policy, the Soviet Union has always supported the heroic struggle of the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for full liberation and national independence and has provided it with moral and political support and material assistance in this just struggle. The Chairman of the Council of State of Guinea-Bissau, Luis Cabral, speaking at a meeting of the People's National Assembly of Guinea-Bissau, stated:

"The victories won by our people, and the proclamation of our new State were likewise the fruit of the concrete assistance given us throughout these long years of struggle by the socialist countries. Our sincere thanks therefore go to the peoples and Governments of those countries for their assistance and solidarity, which are the natural expression of the principles governing the way of life and the actions of those countries in the international sphere. In particular, we have to express our thanks and solidarity with the people, the Party and the Government of the Soviet Union, whose unconditional assistance was and will continue to be decisive for the defence of our emerging State and the total liberation of our people."

"The sacrifices made by the great people of the Soviet Union to provide our people, and all peoples struggling against colonialism and racism, with the assistance they need for their defence and the development of their liberation operations, place the Soviet people, its great Party and its Government in the vanguard among the unconditional friends of the oppressed peoples."

247. In a congratulatory telegram to the General Secretary of the PAIGC, Aristides Pereira, in connexion with the proclamation of the independence of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Mr. Brezhnev, stated:

"The success of the national liberation movement, inspired by your Party, in an important contribution to the struggle of the African peoples and all anti-imperialist forces for the national liberation of oppressed peoples, for peace and social progress."

248. After the proclamation of the independence of Guinea-Bissau, the Soviet Union was one of the first to recognize that sovereign State as a newly independent State and to establish diplomatic relations with it. Bearing in mind the relations of friendship and comprehensive co-operation that are being developed between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, the Soviet Union has actively supported in the Security Council, as well as in the General Assembly, the application by the Government of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau for admission as a Member of the Organization. It is difficult to over-emphasize the significance of the achievements of the people of Guinea-Bissau in their struggle for national liberation and freedom.

249. In their message to the Chairman of the eleventh session of the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, Mr. Podgorny, and the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Mr. Kosygin, stated that the

year which had elapsed since the previous session of the OAU had been marked by major attainments by the African peoples in their struggle for the strengthening of national sovereignty and the strengthening of political and economic independence and the elimination of the last remaining hotbeds of colonialism, racism and *apartheid*.

250. The delegation of the Soviet Union expresses confidence that in the near future the Security Council and the General Assembly will consider the applications for membership of other sovereign States which will be created upon the territories of former colonial possessions of Portugal: I refer to Angola and Mozambique.

251. The Soviet delegation voted with great satisfaction in the Security Council in favour of recommending to the Assembly the admission of the State of Grenada to membership in the United Nations. This event in the life of the people of Grenada is an important step towards the total liberation of peoples from the secular colonial past.

252. In congratulating the people and Government of Grenada upon their independence, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, Mr. Kosygin, in a telegram of 1 February 1974 addressed to Mr. Gairy, the Prime Minister of Grenada, wrote:

"The Soviet Government, proceeding from its steadfast policy based upon the principles of equality of rights and the self-determination of peoples and aimed at the development of friendship and co-operation among all States, states that it recognizes Grenada as an independent and sovereign State and expresses its willingness to establish diplomatic relations with it."

253. In welcoming three new States to membership in the United Nations, the Soviet delegation wishes to say that the Soviet Union has supported and will in future support all peoples that are waging struggles for freedom and national independence.

254. Mr. KARKI (Nepal): Mr. President, allow me to extend to you on behalf of my delegation and on my own behalf our hearty congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly.

255. It gives my delegation immense pleasure to welcome heartily one of our sister nations, Bangladesh, into this world body. In view of the most cordial and friendly relations existing between Nepal and Bangladesh, we have been fervently looking forward to this momentous occasion.

256. We are also happy to welcome the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, whose entry into the United Nations brings us much closer to the eventual elimination of colonialism from the world. This accelerated process of decolonization is a great victory for all peoples struggling against colonialism and imperialism in all their forms and manifestations. It has once more proved the invincibility of the peoples fighting against injustice and colonialism. We hope to welcome the independent nations of Mozambique, Angola and Namibia to the United Nations and thus mark the elimination of oppressive régimes from the African continent.

257. Finally, we should like to take this opportunity to welcome to our midst the newly independent country of Grenada.

258. The addition of these three new Members will, we believe, go a long way towards making the universality of the United Nations a reality and will make the Organization effective in solving the problems facing the world today. We should like to assure the new Members of our full co-operation.

259. Mr. ALARCÓN (Cuba) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, may I first of all express the satisfaction of our delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your election is a recognition of the role played by the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria in the international arena in defence of the rights of peoples to their full independence and in defence of international peace and security. In your election we also see a personal recognition extended to you, who have been able to guide brilliantly Algerian foreign policy, and who have played and continue to play a very important role in the movement of the non-aligned countries, and particularly that of progressive forces in the third world which, with Algeria and with you, have attained the clearest expression of their commitment to independence.

260. Now, on behalf of my delegation, I should like to congratulate the three new Members of the United Nations, the People's Republic of Bangladesh, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau and Grenada—three States from three regions in the world which symbolize the struggle of peoples for their independence in the face of colonialism, three regions where the historic process of colonial oppression has developed concurrently with the hard struggle of peoples to defeat that process. They come today to the Organization as a proof that peoples subject to a foreign yoke will always and everywhere attain undisputed victory.

261. Today we rejoice at the admission of the People's Republic of Bangladesh because we were one of the first States to recognize that State and to support the right of its people to claim their national independence, to conquer their full rights, rights which as the Assembly knows it attained through a difficult and painful process.

262. We also rejoice in welcoming the delegation of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, a people with which we have maintained the closest relations of brotherhood since the time when the Republic of Guinea-Bissau was occupied and oppressed by foreign colonialism. Through its glorious party, the PAIGC, we have given the people of Guinea-Bissau all the political, moral and material support that it was within our means to offer throughout its long and arduous struggle for independence. That is why we consider the admission of Guinea-Bissau to the Organization and the full recognition of its national independence and sovereignty as also a victory for our own people, as a source of pride and satisfaction for us.

263. We should also like to express our satisfaction at the admission of Grenada, our neighbour island in the Caribbean, and we express our confi-



dence that the new State will fully join the general process which seeks the full independence and the consolidation of the freedom of all the countries of Latin America and the Caribbean.

264. In admitting as Members of the Organization three States coming from three continents which for centuries have been victims of colonial exploitation and the imposition of the foreign yoke upon their peoples, we should like to say that we are certain that the struggle of those peoples will culminate in the complete eradication of colonialism throughout the Caribbean, throughout Africa and throughout the world.

265. We would be remiss if, on behalf of our delegation, we did not pay our warmest tribute to the man who is absent from this room tonight, the man who with wisdom, courage and integrity was able to guide the selfless struggle of his people against colonialism, the man who was able to organize and direct his people in that struggle, the man who was able to lead the political and armed struggle against foreign colonialism while he was also devoting his efforts to constructive work in the liberated zones of his country, Guinea-Bissau, the man who to this very Organization brought the message of his struggling people and who asked for the solidarity of the world in their struggle, the man who through his sacrifice for the cause of freedom has become the highest symbol of the struggle for independence in Africa—Comrade Amílcar Cabral, who today is reborn in the independence of his people and who will be reborn and who will live for ever tomorrow when colonialism finally disappears from the face of Africa.

266. Mr. VEIGA SIMÃO (Portugal): The formal compliments of my delegation will be presented to you, Mr. President, by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Portugal when he speaks in the Assembly next week. Meanwhile, I personally extend my sincere congratulations to you on your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, which we hope will be a new milestone in the path of liberty for mankind and of progress and peace in the world.

267. Three new States—Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau—advance as of today to become a part of the United Nations. It is with great joy that we salute their entry into the Organization. We are sure that this event, which raises the potential for international co-operation by these States, will also contribute to the well-being of their respective populations, on whose behalf we hope for a promising future based on democratic structures, which will better correspond to their dreams and desires.

268. It will certainly be understandable that at this moment I refer in greater detail to one of the countries whose entry into the United Nations I have just finished saluting, a country in the Portuguese-speaking world—the Republic of Guinea-Bissau. If on 12 August I experienced the great satisfaction of participating in the meeting of the Security Council which unanimously recommended the admission of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations, and if I had the opportunity of sponsoring it in the Assembly, then it is with redoubled pleasure that today I have participated in the implementation of that recommendation. Effectively speaking, we are dealing

with an act of great political transcendence, not only for the State which enters the Organization but also for that Organization which admits the State, and obviously for each Member of the United Nations.

269. For Guinea-Bissau, given the growing importance of international bodies in the structure of the world community, particularly the United Nations, entry into the Organization naturally represents a fundamental step in its life as a sovereign and independent State. In a world where problems become increasingly interdependent, it is natural that States desire not to be just objects of the consequences of international socio-political evolution but to be able themselves to participate in the construction of the future. That participation operates in large part through constructive action which the various States come to take in international bodies. Thus, the entry of Guinea-Bissau into the United Nations opens for that State new perspectives for action within the world community which its wise leaders will certainly use to advantage in pursuit of the well-being of their people.

270. However, we are not dealing with a one-sided benefit, as may seem to be the case at first glance. Actually, since the United Nations is an Organization with a universal vocation and many of its attitudes are based on this characteristic, it can be considered that the entrance of new States is an indispensable factor for the maintenance of the true identity of the Organization; otherwise there would result a divorce between an apparent structure of the United Nations and the substratum serving as its base, which would only contribute to its isolation and would eventually lead to its destruction.

271. The admission of Guinea-Bissau represents an event which cannot be regarded with indifference by either the United Nations or the States which are integrated within it. Portugal is, however, the country living this moment most intensely, a moment which is also part of its own history.

272. The road which led Guinea-Bissau to independence was not exempt from trials and suffering for its people and the Portuguese people; but this is not the moment to rewrite history or to build constructions which present the unfolding of events from angles of national pride, which is shared by all peoples.

273. We remember all those who have died in combat and those who have humbly given themselves to the lands of Guinea-Bissau in the building of a more dignified and happier life for their people.

274. The Armed Forces Movement of 25 April, identified with the Portuguese people, created firm bases for the establishment through free elections of a multi-party democracy in Portugal, of which the President of the Republic is the supreme guarantor to the people. This movement of freedom allowed the hastening of the end of a hopeless war in the lands of Guinea-Bissau.

275. Thus, the Accord for peace and progress which was signed in Algiers between the PAIGC and the Portuguese Government and the consequent recognition of the independence of Guinea-Bissau by the President of the Republic of Portugal—who

is indeed the symbol of a multitude of Portuguese who have worked, with recognized enthusiasm, for the social and material progress of Guinea—are decisive factors in the history of our two peoples and mark the initiation of an era of fruitful co-operation between two friendly nations joined in dignity and independence.

276. The Portuguese lived in the area for 500 years and rooted in their souls are sentiments of fraternity and love for the Guinean people that no force will ever succeed in destroying. We are united through language and friendship. In full cognizance of these indestructible sentiments, the Governments of our two countries decided immediately, in Algiers, to promulgate bilateral agreements of friendship and active co-operation in the economic, financial, cultural and technical fields, on a basis of independence, mutual respect, equality and reciprocity of interests and harmonious relations between the citizens of both Republics.

277. The world can be certain that there will be no place for neo-colonialism, for there was an understanding, in a rare sense, of historical responsibility and enlightened intelligence between the delegations of the PAIGC and the Portuguese Government regarding the opening of new perspectives for an active and fraternal co-operation between our nations and peoples.

278. We hope soon to extend, in a spirit of real community, that same co-operation to the new States of the Portuguese heritage, in response to a creative challenge which the world casts to us at this turning-point in our history.

279. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call now upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Mr. Kamal Hossain, to address the Assembly.

280. Mr. HOSSAIN (People's Republic of Bangladesh): I should like to share with all those assembled here our sense of profound satisfaction as 75 million people of Bangladesh are taking their rightful place by your side. On this historic occasion the people of Bangladesh reaffirm the pledge embodied in their Constitution to uphold the principles of the United Nations Charter. Indeed, the people of Bangladesh have been in the fold of the United Nations ever since the inception of the Organization. Today, however, Bangladesh enters the United Nations on the basis of its recognition as a distinct nation. This marks the fulfilment of the aspiration to take our place in the Organization as a sovereign, independent State, vindicating the right of self-determination for which millions of our people laid down their lives in a struggle for national liberation. We must acknowledge with gratitude that even before our formal admission, the United Nations extended valuable assistance in meeting the gigantic task of rehabilitation and reconstruction with which we were faced upon independence, and more recently in meeting the emergency caused by the devastating floods in Bangladesh.

281. It adds to our satisfaction, Mr. President, that you have been elected to preside over the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, for you symbolize the forces of freedom as a true representative

of the emerging world and a great champion of peace and justice. Please accept our warmest congratulations on your election. We are confident that under your presidency the Assembly will be able to take those creative initiatives and, in your words, shape those "constructive solutions" that are needed to meet the urgent challenges of our times.

282. I should like to thank all the members of the Security Council for unanimously recommending the admission of Bangladesh to the United Nations, the Member States that have sponsored and supported our application for membership and all those who have so warmly welcomed us in the Assembly.

283. We are particularly happy to join in expressing our sincerest congratulations to Guinea-Bissau and Grenada, which are entering the United Nations with us. We celebrate their entry as a victory of the forces of national liberation, presaging other victories that will enable the United Nations to admit as Members nations still struggling to vindicate their right of self-determination.

284. The history of Bangladesh has been one of relentless striving for freedom and justice. The struggle for Bangladesh in microcosm represents the struggle of the emerging world—the struggle of people for whom national independence holds the promise of making good lost opportunities of the past, of harnessing their unrealized potential to build a better future for themselves and of transforming a society which has in the past suffered as much from the ravages of nature as from those of man.

285. Bangladesh has consistently pursued an independent non-aligned foreign policy, promoting friendship with all countries of the world on the basis of mutual respect for sovereignty, equality, territorial integrity and non-interference in the internal affairs of other States. We have obtained nearly universal recognition and steadily developed friendly relations with all countries of the world.

286. We are keenly conscious that we are entering the Organization at a time when the momentous events which have occurred during recent years have opened up great possibilities: the possibility of securing a just peace in Western Asia, of opening a new chapter of good-neighbourly relations in the South Asian subcontinent, of a significant and conclusive acceleration of the process of decolonization and of laying the foundations of a just international economic order. It is our hope that all of us will respond to these challenges with wisdom and vision, so that these possibilities may be fully realized for the benefit of all our peoples.

287. On this historic occasion we reiterate our total commitment to peace, not only in our subcontinent but in our region and in the world. Bangladesh reaffirms its pledge to uphold the principles and ideals of the Charter of the United Nations and to work with the Members of the United Nations towards the establishment of an international order based on peace and justice in which the deepest aspirations of mankind may be progressively fulfilled.

288. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I call now on the Prime Minister of Grenada, Mr. Eric M. Gairy, to address the General Assembly.

289. Mr. GAIRY (Grenada): It is with overwhelming emotion and a deep sense of gratification that I accept the privilege and the honour afforded me at this moment to address the Assembly, and, speaking for and on behalf of the Government and the people of our new nation Grenada, known as the Isle of Spice, please permit me to express my grateful thankfulness to the most gracious members of the Security Council for their kind and unanimous recommendation of our membership to your very august and distinguished Organization. Permit me also to express again my thankfulness and appreciation to our sponsors and to every State Member of the United Nations that has supported the recommendation giving us full membership in the Organization with all the rights, privileges and obligations entrenched within the Charter.

290. The fullness of our obligations entrenched within the Charter has been clearly demonstrated and fully expressed within the terms of the preamble to the Constitution of Grenada, in which:

"We the people of Grenada have affirmed that our nation is founded upon principles that acknowledge the fatherhood and supremacy of God and man's duties towards his fellow man;

"We recognize that, inasmuch as spiritual development is of supreme importance to human existence, and the highest expression thereof, it is our aspiration to serve that end with all our strength and resources;

"We firmly believe in the dignity of human values and that all men are endowed by the Creator with equal and inalienable rights, reason and conscience; that rights and duties are correlative in every social and political activity of man; and that while rights exalt individual freedom, duties express the dignity of that freedom;

"We express our respect for the rule of law; and since moral conduct constitutes the noblest flowering of our culture and our plural heritage, regard it as the duty of every man always to hold it in high respect;

"We reiterate that the ideal of free men enjoying freedom from fear and want can be best achieved if conditions are created whereby everyone may enjoy his economic, social and political, civil and cultural rights."

291. We desire that our Constitution should reflect the above-mentioned principles and beliefs, which represent those high ideals upon which our nation is founded, and make provision for ensuring the protection in Grenada of fundamental rights and privileges.

292. The General Assembly's twenty-ninth session is in many ways its most significant and somewhat critical one. As we move swiftly—all too swiftly—towards the end of the twentieth century, no area in the world, indeed no nation, is entirely free of disease, hunger, poverty, illiteracy. Nor is anyone endowed with the full blessings of peace for which we strive. This poses a challenging situation for all—the large and the small, the great and the humble. Yes, it is also a challenge to the new and developing nations so full of hope from this day on. And I wish

to extend sincerest congratulations to Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau.

293. Grenada's presence here today in this world assembly is in itself an expression of faith in the United Nations and a reiteration of that confidence referred to by the late Dag Hammarskjöld, the second Secretary-General of the United Nations, when he spoke of "the capacity of men and Governments to have the common sense to find their way out of the awful labyrinth of seemingly irreconcilable conflicts and the insoluble problems in which we are now wandering".

294. We are here, too, because of a common identity of interests between the nations represented here and our new nation, Grenada. Our common interests are fundamental to the successful resolution of our problems at both the national and the international levels.

295. It is precisely because of our unshakable faith in fundamental human rights, and in the dignity and worth of man, which underscores the principle of self-determination, that the people of Grenada have chosen the thorny path from colonial servitude to national independence.

296. It is also precisely because of our faith in the sanctity of the equal rights of men and women that we have enshrined in our Constitution the provisions which guarantee that the rights of Grenadian women are equated to those of Grenadian men, especially in the context of citizenship, thereby setting a precedent for this aspect of human equality within the Commonwealth of Nations.

297. May I put on record here today that Grenada if firmly committed to the concept of the rule of law—a concept in which we have been schooled and a concept we irrevocably accept and endorse.

298. My address here today is not intended to be our definitive statement on foreign policy. This will be fully expounded at a later time.

299. As the elected leader of our nation, I assure you that Grenada stands today as a free nation, a nation committed to the cause of world peace. Within the General Assembly, as in the other organs in which we shall serve, we shall co-operate to the fullest extent to achieve a reduction of international tensions and an improvement and promotion of the climate of understanding among nations and peoples. Members of the United Nations thus equally committed to the cause of world peace can readily rely on Grenada's support in exercises aimed at achieving the goal of all mankind: the elimination of the negative and counter-productive forces of friction and the achievement of a world order based on the principles of human dignity.

300. I feel so strongly, so totally committed to the cause of world peace that whenever and wherever the opportunity presents itself, I would, if asked, unhesitatingly join in any efforts at mediation tending towards a peaceful settlement of international disputes.

301. Our policy commitment to the cause of universal peace, in the context of the present disposition of international politics, is firmly rooted in the principle of respect for the territorial integrity of

nations. We are therefore opposed to the division or dismemberment of sovereign States through outside interference or subversion.

302. Disturbances, wars and political pressures do certainly transcend all boundaries, whether religious, ideological, political or otherwise. Naturally and consequently, even the smallest territories are immediately, directly or indirectly, affected by any form of tension.

303. Over the past 29 years of the existence of the United Nations, we have followed with unswerving tenacity the activities of the Organization and its unflinching determination to bring freedom to peoples in every corner of the globe; and it was in this very respect that I was afforded the privilege on two occasions in the past year to address the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples on matters relating to human justice and to freeing Grenada and its people from colonial rule. In turn, we today pledge ourselves, without any reservation whatever, to join all nations within the ambit of the United Nations, and even those outside, in continuing the relentless fight for the emancipation and freedom of all peoples of the world—a world in which most are people of colour, my black brothers and sisters in various parts of the hemispheres.

304. We ourselves, in our struggle to attain the status of national independence, which is the prerequisite of our being here, have experienced the not uncommon birth pains that precede the transition from colonial status to full freedom and independence. And now that we are accepted as a full-fledged Member of this noble body, this fact must essentially provide all sane, loyal and patriotic citizens and all friends of Grenada with a very deep sense of satisfaction. And in this context I sense the spirit of every Grenadian citizen and friend harmonizing with me at this very moment in giving praise to the great God, the Supreme Architect of the universe, the Universal Power, the great source of all existence, the centre of all creation—God, holding and binding all things together. And so we say in unison: "O praise the Lord, all ye nations: praise him, all ye people. For His merciful kindness is great toward us: and the truth of the Lord endureth for ever. Praise ye the Lord." (*Psalms 117*)

305. Today we would like to place on record our homage to the original authors of the United Nations Declaration on decolonization of 14 December 1960 [resolution 1514 (XV)], and in particular to the African group of States, who championed this principle in this very chamber almost 14 years ago. In our struggles we were indeed heartened, encouraged and inspired by the clear and unequivocal message contained in that Declaration.

306. Grenada pledges its unswerving support for the principle of decolonization. Like other nations which have had to struggle against great odds to achieve independence, we know that there can be, and there must be, no compromise in the matter of freedom.

307. Within the framework of this august Assembly and elsewhere, the firm and total commitment of our nation to the establishment and maintenance of human dignity, freedom and equality will be characterized by a dedication to the redressing of all social evils.

308. If we are conscientiously resolved to put into effect those lofty principles inherent in our faith in the equal rights of men and women, if we are conscientiously resolved to establish human equality, we must essentially recognize and accept the fact that there is a marked tendency to leave behind us what I consider to be a most integral and most vital part of our human resources—woman. It is in this context, therefore, that Grenada has been paying due recognition to the position of the women in our society and to the contribution that they can make in the daily life of our nation. Our philosophy is evidenced by the fact that Grenada is the first and the only country in the Commonwealth in which a woman was recommended—by me, as head of Government—and appointed as a Governor.

309. Again, in keeping with our philosophy, Grenada is the first and only Government within the Commonwealth to provide in its Constitution, in article 98, that women's rights shall be equated to men's, particularly in regard to citizenship.

310. A further illustration of our philosophy and in eloquent testimony to the confidence and high esteem with which we value the contribution our women can make to world affairs, my Government has chosen a woman, Mrs. Marie-Jo McIntyre, who is here with us today, to be our first plenipotentiary permanent representative in this world body.

311. I look forward with excited expectation to the time when the great Powers of the Western Hemisphere will include a woman technologist in outer space exploration; for if man is to dwell one day on the moon or on any other planets, he cannot do that successfully without woman.

312. We in Grenada have also given profound thought to the so-called population explosion, and we believe that the real solution consists in greater efforts to achieve maximum production from our arable lands and a more equitable distribution of our products.

313. When we consider the perfection of God, it is difficult, extremely difficult for us, to conceive that God has created and is creating more people than those for whom He has made provision. It is again in this context that Grenada welcomes this opportunity to be able to make a contribution at some later date towards the solution of this problem in a manner that is efficacious and lasting.

314. The Grenada that you have admitted to membership in the United Nations today is a land of beauty, of hope, of peace and of stability. It is a land of good beaches, with perhaps one of the best beaches in the world. It was the Prince of Wales in the 1920s who proclaimed the world famous Grand Anse beach in Grenada as the best in the world, and I hesitate to challenge the validity of that statement.

315. Since the destinies of all our nations here represented are interrelated and interdependent



with the well-being of each individual Member, Grenada welcomes all willing foreign enterprise to enter into a meaningful and mutually beneficial participatory exercise in bringing about the development of our nation. In a spirit of international co-operation, we welcome all who wish to assist us with their technical knowledge and their resources, so that we may strengthen our self-reliance. Such co-operation must, however, be based on the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, and it must be based most particularly on the inviolable right of all nations fully to exploit their natural resources for the maximum benefit and development of their citizens.

316. It might be appropriate at this time to mention that arrangements are already being made in the United States to establish a Grenada trust fund, designed primarily to assist our youth in the pursuance of secondary, technical and university education. Our pre-independence birth-pains have greatly affected our plans for education and have done serious damage to our educational structure. In our effort to reconstruct our educational system, we need co-operation going beyond words.

317. I could not end without expressing my gratitude for the contacts already afforded me by some of the long-established independent nations. I was overwhelmed by the hospitality and friendliness of President Nyerere during my recent visit to the United Republic of Tanzania on the occasion of the Pan-African Congress, and I regret that I was not able to be present to join in welcoming him in the Caribbean. I extol the brotherly friendship and generous hospitality of General Gowan and the Government and people of Nigeria. To meet General Gowan, a comparatively young man with a tremendous responsibility of such a large population and powerful nation, a young man of such simplicity and modesty, was indeed a source of inspiration and lasting satisfaction. General Yakubu Gowan is indeed a great personality.

318. My recent visit to the continent of Africa afforded me many opportunities and, having met Mr. Benedict Tolbert, the son of the President of Liberia, and roving ambassador, I am fully convinced today that Liberia will continue to make an invaluable contribution to world peace and to the various areas to which this august body directs its attention.

319. Mr. President, if I omitted at the commencement of my address to congratulate you, let me not be guilty also of the same omission before the conclusion. So let me extend to you heartiest congratulations on your election to the high and enviable office which you now hold.

320. May I in conclusion exhort you to join me in rededicating ourselves and recommitting ourselves to the pursuit of world peace with all the vigour, all the enthusiasm and all the energy, mental, physical and spiritual, at our disposal for the fostering and maintaining of world peace, so that there may be justification for the people we represent today thanking us for our efforts. God, the supreme and divine Architect, may bless us for our sincerity of purpose, our enemies may in silence and in conscience admire us for our unswerving determination, and generations yet unborn may praise us for

their heritage as we today ask the cosmic Father: O God of all nations, help us to know who we are; Lord, teach us to know ourselves; Lord, help us to understand better the purpose for which we have been placed on this earth plane; and Lord, help us to perform our duties and obligations more promptly and more effectively, to your greater satisfaction and glory and for the salvation of mankind as a whole. May God bless our deliberations.

321. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): I now call on the Commissioner for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, Mr. Victor Saude Maria.

322. Mr. SAUDE MARIA (Guinea-Bissau) (*interpretation from French*): The historic decision just taken by the United Nations to admit us as the one hundred and thirty-eighth Member State is for our people a great source of pride and encouragement which will for ever mark the history of the African liberation struggle. May we on this occasion, on behalf of our people and our Government, congratulate very warmly our brother and comrade-in-arms, Abdelaziz Bouteflika, Foreign Minister for the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, on his brilliant election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. This choice is in keeping with the historic magnitude of the Algerian revolution which, through its thousands of martyrs, gave impulse to the liberation of our African continent, and is a great honour not only for the peoples of Africa but also for all those who love peace.

323. Faced with the complexity of the problems which confront us today, problems which are sometimes grave and could jeopardize international peace and security, such as the situation in Africa, the Middle East, Asia, Cyprus and elsewhere, and well aware, Mr. President, of your remarkable qualities since the day when you were an officer in the national liberation army and, now when you are in the forefront of Algerian diplomacy, we are certain that you will discharge brilliantly the difficult mission with which you have been entrusted by the international community. During the negotiations in Algiers between the Portuguese Government and our party, we had an opportunity of appreciating highly your qualities as a great diplomat and the skill which you displayed throughout the development of those negotiations. This leads us to ask you to convey our gratitude to your Government and people, while extending to you our best wishes for continued success in the fulfilment of your new mission.

324. To the outgoing President, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, Ambassador of Ecuador, who presided brilliantly over the work of the twenty-eighth session at a time when we were still at war, goes our deep appreciation of the wisdom with which he successfully discharged his mandate. We should like on this occasion to extend to him our warm congratulations and our best wishes in his diplomatic career.

325. To the United Nations, through its Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, we address all our gratitude for the firm support which it has always accorded us in our difficult struggle. Through the various actions of the Organization to promote the definitive solution of the colonial problem, we have

always been aware of the personal efforts, the devotion and the good sense of the Secretary-General, to whom we pay the highest tribute.

326. Mr. Secretary-General, in the exercise of the mandate with which you have been entrusted, despite your crowded schedule, not to mention the urgent problems of the hour such as the situations in the Middle East, Viet Nam and elsewhere, you have spared no sacrifice and no effort to deal personally with the problems of the Portuguese colonies. Your special attitude towards our country and towards our people in its national liberation struggle has moved us profoundly and will be inscribed in the annals of the history of the people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde. Future generations will long remember your untiring efforts to secure international peace and security, co-operation and social progress. Your personal efforts have given new momentum to the Organization and have been a landmark in international relations. May we once again express to you our deep gratitude for your efforts and extend our best wishes to you in the exercise of your difficult mission at the service of peace, social progress and the happiness of mankind.

327. At this memorable moment when we are about to assume our rights and obligations in the Organization, members will understand the joy and emotion we feel. Therefore, may we be permitted to extend to the people you represent here our warm greetings and our gratitude for the support always accorded our people in its just struggle for national independence.

328. During the 12 years of our armed struggle for liberation, we were able to appreciate fully the various actions of your peoples and Governments designed to find a successful solution to our conflict with the Portuguese Government. The Special Committee on decolonization, which has made untiring efforts in these last few years, contributed greatly to the search for a just solution to the painful conflict which pitted our people against the Fascist and colonialist State of Portugal. We still remember the important and historic Special Mission of the Special Committee to our country at the most difficult moment of our national liberation struggle and despite the danger and risk to the lives of those pilgrims of peace. The report submitted by that Mission<sup>2</sup> and adopted by the General Assembly was in itself a striking victory, not only for the United Nations but also for our people and for Africa as a whole. That Mission of the Committee to our country unquestionably marked a new era in the struggle of oppressed peoples.

329. As we take our first steps in this great international community, we are in duty bound to recall the outstanding role played by our African brothers, who have spared no effort in their steadfast defence of the supreme interests of our people, which aspired only to freedom, peace, social progress and the exercise of its sovereignty. Mr. President, you who have been and remain forever the untiring combatant for the liberation of the African man deserve our deep tribute at this decisive moment in the history of our people. Thanks to those various actions, a definitive solution was reached with the signature of the Algiers

cease-fire agreement and the *de jure* act of recognition of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau by the new Portuguese authorities. That decision thus puts an end to a long tragedy and paves the way to solution of the conflict in the other Portuguese colonies.

330. The violent nature of our national liberation struggle was the result of the categorical refusals and the obstinacy of the colonialist Governments of Salazar and, later, of Marcelo Caetano. But our Party, in the person of its Secretary-General, the first militant of our Party and the founder of our nation, the late, lamented Amílcar Cabral, the architect of all our victories and of all our political, military and diplomatic successes, never ceased to affirm that our struggle was essentially a political one and that it was not at all directed against the Portuguese people. Today, thanks to the concerted efforts of us all, that affirmation has come true. The proclamation of the State of Guinea-Bissau is a political weapon and a means to arrive at the total liberation of our people in Guinea-Bissau and in the Cape Verde Islands.

331. From this rostrum we reaffirm to the present leaders of Portugal our firm desire to find a satisfactory solution to the problem of the Cape Verde Islands as a *sine qua non* for the creation of a solid basis for fruitful and fraternal co-operation between our two peoples and Governments.

332. While we feel particular joy in joining today the great United Nations family, it is none the less true that the thought of the efforts we still have to make to achieve the total liberation of our peoples, particularly the people of the Cape Verde Islands, is a sobering one. Our thoughts are also with our comrades-in-arms who continue to struggle for national liberation in Angola and Mozambique, Sao Tome and Principe and in all other countries under foreign domination. We hope that, thanks to our resolute action and to the assistance of the international community, this tragedy we are living through now will soon be only a distant memory.

333. To the People's Republic of Bangladesh and the Republic of Grenada, just admitted along with us, we should like to say that we rejoice at their success, and we extend to their peoples our best wishes for progress and happiness.

334. In concluding my brief statement, I should like once again to pay a tribute to the African countries, particularly to our neighbours, for the full support they have always accorded us. To the socialist countries, whose contribution was decisive for our victory, we express our entire gratitude. To the other countries of Western Europe, particularly the Scandinavian countries, whose humanitarian assistance has played a very important role in the reconstruction of our liberated areas, we pay our deepest tribute. May we also thank the peoples of Asia and America whose various actions also contributed to the success of our struggle.

335. Today a new phase begins in the life of our people: that of national reconstruction. As we emerge from many centuries of domination and from 12 years of war, you will well understand the difficulties that we face in building our country. Since we aspire

to work for universal peace and social progress, we are confident that we shall find in each of you and of your States the support and advice that we expect from all the members of the international community.

336. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to repeat our sincere and warmest congratulations to the three Republics that have now swelled the ranks of this noble and distinguished Assembly. In particular I wish to thank the last speaker for the

kind things he said about my country through my modest person.

*The meeting rose at 9.15 p.m.*

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NOTES

<sup>1</sup> See A/9196/Add.1, p. 7.

<sup>2</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 23, chap. X, annex I.*