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

*Address by Archbishop Makarios,  
President of the Republic of Cyprus*

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I have the honour of welcoming to the United Nations the President of the Republic of Cyprus and of inviting him to address the General Assembly.

2. Archbishop MAKARIOS (President of the Republic of Cyprus): Mr. President, may I in the first place express to you my warmest congratulations on your unanimous election to the presidency of this session of the General Assembly. We feel confident that under your wise guidance the deliberations of this Assembly will bring a constructive contribution to the solution of the various international problems. In your person we also greet your country, with which Cyprus maintains close links of friendship based on common ideals and purposes within non-alignment. I would likewise wish to express our deep appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, for the excellent way in which he guided the deliberations of the previous session.

3. I have had the privilege of addressing the General Assembly on previous occasions, but never before in circumstances such as now prevail, never before in an international situation so ominously removed from the fundamental principles upon which this Organization is based. And what is particularly odd is that we are now supposed to be in a period of *détente*.

4. The world has over the years been eagerly looking forward to a period of *détente*. The expectation has been that reducing antagonism and tension would lead to a more effective implementation of Security Council resolutions in the vital interest of international peace and security rather than in the opposite direction, as the world has silently but sadly witnessed in recent days. By saying this I do not in the least pur-

port to make any criticism whatsoever. I am merely placing on record a melancholy reality that should not, and cannot, be glossed over in the United Nations or ignored by the international community without dire consequences for the further course of world developments at times so critical as the present. For we are in a period of delicate balance between the prevalence of the concept of the use of force and domination—an outdated relic of the past—and that of reason and peace so necessary for survival in our interdependent world of a nuclear age.

5. This is a trying period of transition. International events of major significance in their implications and message to the world should be carefully scrutinized by this Assembly. The United Nations is essentially a political institution, but there are times in history when human institutions, in confronting critical problems, have to give prominence to decisions of ethical quality. That ethical quality is but the gist of the principles of the Charter. Ignoring them through the pursuit of short-term parochial interests, in a return to outdated policies of obscurantism, would be an unrealistic pursuit of interest. It can ultimately only lead humanity through a downward course of moral degradation to its physical doom.

6. Upon Cyprus has fallen the sad lot to be a signal and a symbol in the course of mankind. Its treatment by the international community at the present crossroads in history would be a decisive landmark in that course, whether upwards or downwards. Beyond the tragic fate of Cyprus, what is of wider significance and import is its intrinsic meaning to the world and the inevitable repercussions resulting from it. Thus the problem of Cyprus far transcends the limits and confines of Cyprus. It poses a major international problem and a challenge to the world.

7. An effort to cover up the international crime involving outworn political tactics of pressure to achieve unjust and ignominious compromises is far below the level of the present challenge, and will not serve any good purpose for Cyprus and its people as a whole; least of all will it serve the interest of peace.

8. It is customary, in addressing the General Assembly, to deal with the various international problems and issues. I hope I shall be excused if I deviate from this practice and confine myself to the problem of Cyprus, which has suddenly reached dimensions so ominous as to make it a grave and threatening problem in the area and beyond.

9. My country, a small non-aligned State Member of the United Nations, is at this moment mutilated and practically destroyed by an armed attack and invasion by Turkey, unprecedented in its ferocity and inhumanity.

10. It was about two months ago that I came to the Security Council to denounce the *coup*, engineered

and staged against the legitimate Government of Cyprus by the military junta then ruling Greece. Officers from Greece serving with the Cyprus National Guard, acting on instructions from the military junta in Athens, on 15 July attacked and destroyed the Presidential Palace with heavy weapons, seeking my death. There is no doubt that I was the target of that criminal action. The *coup d'état* by the Greek junta failed, inasmuch as it did not reach its target. I am gratified because that military régime, which for seven years oppressed the people of Greece and brought that State to international isolation and disrespect, is no longer in power. Thus Greece is again finding its way to democracy and national dignity.

11. The *coup d'état* of the Greek junta was the prelude to the present tragedy in Cyprus. That evil was followed by another evil, and a much worse one. Turkey, using the *coup* as a pretext, and purportedly acting under the Treaty of Guarantee of 1960,<sup>1</sup> intervened militarily in Cyprus in contravention of the Treaty itself by invading the island on 20 July. The Treaty did not and could not give such rights of military intervention as alleged by Turkey. Furthermore, the very nature and conduct of this military operation in Cyprus has been in direct violation of the declared purposes of the Treaty. For, instead of protecting the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus, as a guarantor Power, Turkey has been destroying both. It has embarked upon destroying what it itself guaranteed. Turkey alleged that the action it was taking was for the purpose of restoring the constitutional order that had been disturbed by the *coup*. I am under the impression that some countries did not raise their voice against the Turkish invasion at first because they were deceived by Turkey as to its real intentions. Turkey falsely stated that the action it was taking was of a limited nature. It spoke of a policing and even of a peace operation aiming solely at the restoration of the constitutional order. But what Turkey was in fact doing and continues to do in Cyprus has nothing to do with the restoration of constitutional order.

12. As a result of the Turkish invasion, Cyprus, a flourishing and happy island, has been turned into a place of ruins, tears and death. The Turkish invasion forces have occupied almost 40 per cent of the territory of Cyprus and have uprooted from their homes over 200,000 people, constituting one third of the population of the country, who, having been forced to abandon their lands, have become refugees living in appalling conditions. The world has witnessed the ruthless showering of napalm bombs on undefended towns and villages, which has indiscriminately killed the civilian population in a fury of destruction. Even hospitals, churches and priceless ancient monuments were attacked and turned into ashes. Murder in cold blood, raping, looting and plunder were the daily practice during the advance of the Turkish troops. To find parallel examples of invasion with similar acts of brutality and destruction one has to go back to the fifth century A.D., to the time of Attila, whose name has been aptly given to this invading operation by the aggressor itself. Festivities and demonstrations were organized in Turkey to mark and celebrate the victory of the Turkish forces against Cyprus and decorations and medals have been distributed to the chiefs of the air force and the navy for their victory against a small and defenceless island. Victory it is

indeed—but a victory against the international legal order, against the United Nations and its Charter and against every norm of decency in a civilized society.

13. Turkey has violated every accepted norm of international law and every accepted standard of international conduct. Its contemptuous behaviour and complete disregard of the basic principles and provisions of the Charter of the United Nations is perhaps unprecedented.

14. The Security Council, by its resolution 353 (1974) of 20 July provided the framework for a peaceful solution to the problem and called upon the parties concerned to enter into negotiations. This resolution was also accepted by Turkey, which has, however, shown no respect for it. At the Geneva Conference attended by the United Kingdom, Greece and Turkey, as the guarantor Powers, and by the representatives of the Greek and Turkish Cypriots, the Security Council resolution was completely ignored by Turkey. In Geneva, Turkey was not in fact negotiating but clearly trying to impose its terms at gun-point. With its troops in occupation of a great part of Cypriot territory, and relying on its overwhelming military superiority, Turkey was exercising blackmail to dictate its terms; and when a recess of 36 hours was proposed for consultations, it was refused by Turkey, which hastened within a few hours to embark upon the already prepared second and intensified phase of aggression against Cyprus, vastly increasing the occupied area. Turkey was thus violating even the cease-fire agreement it had signed on 30 July at Geneva.

15. It is very difficult to describe even in general terms the tragedy and the destruction caused by the Turkish aggression against Cyprus. The number of victims of that aggression was in proportionate terms greater than that of the victims of the many years of war in Viet Nam.

16. I cannot foresee where the drama of Cyprus may lead, if the international community finally fails to put an end to this aggression and if the independence and territorial integrity of Cyprus are not effectively ensured. In no circumstances should the acquisition of territories by force be tolerated, nor can it confer upon the invader any vantage point, in negotiations or otherwise. Neither can *faits accomplis* resulting from military operations be accepted or condoned. If they were to be accepted or tolerated in the case of Cyprus, a most dangerous precedent would be set for other small countries, whose independence would be at the mercy of their more powerful neighbours.

17. I have come here to seek the support of the international community in our struggle to save the independence, unity and territorial integrity of Cyprus. I am here for the cause of justice and the freedom of a small country, a Member of the United Nations. I bring to this Assembly the agony of the people of Cyprus for the survival of their country in freedom and dignity. We fully recognize the importance of greater understanding between the big Powers as improving the prospects of solution of world problems in accordance with the Charter, yet we feel we have to be sceptical regarding the fate of small countries within the sphere of power politics. We need to be convinced

that *détente* does not imply compromising the interests and even the existence of smaller countries.

18. I shall not attempt to give interpretations of the underlying causes which led to the recent events in Cyprus. But what I have to emphasize is that, whatever the cause and whatever the reason, there can be no justification for the Turkish aggression. The question before us is simple: Should the fate and the very existence of small countries be decided by gunboat diplomacy, by the use of force, by destruction, by uprooting people from their ancestral homes, without the United Nations being in a position to act? That is the problem of Cyprus today, and it is only natural for the people who suffer to wonder why we have placed our hopes in the United Nations and in the rules of international law and the precepts of international morality which the United Nations represents.

19. My position as to the solution of the problem of Cyprus is that such a solution must be based on the application of the Charter and the resolutions of the United Nations. In that connexion, I wish to stress that any negotiations on the problem will have to take place in a wider international conference than that of Geneva. We consider the proposal for an international conference within the framework of the United Nations as constructive and therefore acceptable to us. Certain prerequisites are, however, essential and will have to be fulfilled before negotiations are started. It is not possible to have free negotiations for a reasonable solution of the problem while Cypriot territory continues to be under foreign military occupation and while a third of the population are still refugees who have been forcibly expelled from their homes and lands. The return of the refugees is, from a humanitarian no less than a political point of view, a basic prerequisite.

20. Turkey has repeatedly declared that it is not its intention to abolish the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus; but while expressing that in words, it is by its acts doing just that, unless Turkey's interpretation of terms and concepts is different from that generally accepted. Turkey invaded Cyprus allegedly to restore constitutional order, that is, for the implementation of the Constitution of 1960. It is that Constitution which Turkey has guaranteed, together with Greece and the United Kingdom. Although the Constitution gives many privileges to the Turkish Cypriot community—in such a way that some of its provisions impede the smooth functioning of the State—yet it is still accepted by us as it stands. Any changes must be made with the consent of all concerned. What is peculiar is that Turkey is violating the very Constitution which, as it claims, has given it the right to intervene. It is obvious that the Turkish invasion was not intended to restore the constitutional order, as established by the Constitution of 1960, but to enforce Turkey's partitionist plans in violation of that Constitution.

21. At the Geneva Conference, Turkey made it clear that its aim was a federation based on geographical separation. It has tried for that purpose to create, through its devastating military operation, the geographical prerequisites for such a federation, which never existed in Cyprus. To that end, it has uprooted from the occupied area the Greek Cypriot population so that it may transfer and establish there Turkish

populations, removing them from their homes in various parts of the island. Such a federation is not only artificial but also inhuman. It entails the transfer of about half of the population of Cyprus. About 200,000 Greek Cypriots and nearly 70,000 Turkish Cypriots will be removed from their homes and land. I am sure that not only the Greek Cypriots but also the great majority of the Turkish Cypriots would not be happy to abandon their homes and be transferred to other areas. What purpose is to be served by such an inhuman exercise—to achieve the autonomy and security of the Turkish Cypriot community, as claimed by Turkey? These protestations and claims are nothing but pretexts for the expansionist designs of Turkey, closely reminiscent of the protestations and claims made by Hitler in order to invade Czechoslovakia. They also remind us of the methods employed by Turkey to annex Alexandretta. The autonomy and security of the small Turkish Cypriot minority of 18 per cent can in no way justify a geographical federation which in practice will mean the partition of Cyprus.

22. Turkey has declared that its purpose is not partition and that its military intervention was not to that end. Yet that partitionist aim of long standing has been repeatedly revealed over the years. On a previous occasion when Turkey was about to invade Cyprus, President Johnson, in a letter to Prime Minister Inonu of 5 June 1964, stated:

“... I must call your attention, however, to our understanding that the proposed intervention by Turkey would be for the purpose of effecting a form of partition of the island, a solution which is specifically excluded by the Treaty of Guarantee.”

23. The attitude of Turkey on this subject can also be seen from the statement made to the Turkish National Assembly on 8 September of the same year by Prime Minister Inonu, who said, “Officially, we promoted the federation concept, rather than the partition thesis, so as to remain within the provisions of the Treaty.”

24. Those quotations further confirm the tactical nature of the use of the word federation as an official camouflage of the intended partition.

25. There can hardly be any doubt that the geographical federation is intended and will inevitably lead to the partition of the island and consequently to double annexation—that is, one part to Turkey and the other to Greece. That will be the end of Cyprus as an independent State. Such a development may perhaps be favoured by certain Powers in their own interests. Cyprus, because of the importance of its strategic position, has unfortunately frequently been the victim of foreign interests.

26. No argument can justify the demand of Turkey for geographical federation, which would not only be inhuman but would also mean changing the identity of Cyprus. But what should be the answer if Turkey were to insist on geographical federation and by its military superiority were to impose it by force? Some who appear to be realists may advise that we should negotiate on the basis of geographical federation, indicating that in such a case, Turkey may show some flexibility as to the size of the area to be under Turkish control. There is some talk that the occupied area

of 40 per cent might be reduced to something below 30 per cent. I do not think I should express any gratitude for such generosity by Turkey. Under no circumstances shall we negotiate so as to legalize the violation of the most basic principles of international law and human rights. Under no circumstances shall we agree to legalize any *faits accomplis*. Some may argue that if we do not accept geographical federation there is a danger that Turkey might attempt to occupy the rest of the island. It is, indeed, very easy for Turkey to conquer Cyprus. That danger will not, however, make us agree to legalize *faits accomplis*. What is unjust and immoral, such as the uprooting of populations, cannot be legalized. What is unjust and immoral cannot become just and moral by signing an agreement.

27. The problem of Cyprus may perhaps appear complicated but is in fact very simple. It is the case of a small country, a Member of the United Nations, whose very survival and existence are at stake. This in turn makes it a test case for the United Nations. It is not only we who are anxious to see what the Organization can do and how it can become effective in protecting one of its small Members. I am certain that many other countries will also be anxiously awaiting the answer. It is inconceivable that the United Nations, which represents the conscience of humanity, should tolerate an aggressor applying the rule of the jungle and by brute force creating *faits accomplis*. If the *faits accomplis* resulting from the Turkish aggression are to be accepted or condoned, the consequences will not be limited to Cyprus. The future of Cyprus is closely linked with future developments in the sensitive area of the Middle East and the whole of the Mediterranean. If Cyprus were not a non-aligned country, we perhaps might have allies to come to our defence. But the fact that we do not should not render us a victim of a Power, a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization [NATO], which has illegally used the arms supplied to it for its defence to attack Cyprus.

28. The case of Cyprus is a test case for non-alignment, and beyond that a test case for the United Nations. If the United Nations fails to make Turkey respect the Charter and its resolutions, the faith of the small countries in the United Nations will seriously be shaken. It is imperative that the Turkish troops and, indeed, all foreign troops, be withdrawn from Cyprus. This is the time for the United Nations to act. It is absolutely necessary not only for Cyprus but also for the United Nations and for mankind as a whole for the Organization to step in decisively and effectively, so that the territorial integrity and unity of Cyprus as a sovereign and independent State, Member of the United Nations, may be ensured and safeguarded.

29. Before concluding, I wish to avail myself of this occasion to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, our gratitude for his abiding concern over the problem of Cyprus, his untiring efforts to bring about conditions of peace in the island, and his contribution towards a just solution within the principles of the Charter. I would also like to express our deep appreciation to his Special Representative in Cyprus, Mr. Weckmann-Muñoz, as well as his predecessor, Mr. Osorio-Tafall, for their constructive and patient work in the island. Our thanks are also

extended to the collaborators and assistants of the Secretary-General, Mr. Guyer and Mr. Urquhart.

30. I would be remiss if I did not say how greatly we value and appreciate the exemplary manner in which the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus [UNFICYP] is discharging its responsibilities in the face of the great obstacles placed in its way and we pay tribute to its most able commander, General Chand, and to the officers and men under his command. At this moment, our thoughts go in deep sympathy and grief to those men of UNFICYP who, in the service of peace, lost their lives in Cyprus. And of course our appreciation and warm thanks go to those countries whose valuable contribution in military contingents and voluntary funds have made it possible for UNFICYP to operate in Cyprus.

31. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly, I should like to thank the President of Cyprus for the important statement he has just made.

## AGENDA ITEM 9

### General debate (*continued*)

32. Mr. DENNIS (Liberia): I am particularly pleased at this time to extend to you, Mr. President, on behalf of the Government of Liberia, heartiest congratulations on your unanimous election as President of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. You have for many years demonstrated astute statesmanship and unwavering dedication not only to the cause of international peace and global understanding but also to our common world Organization, the United Nations, in your capacity as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria. Please accept our very best wishes and be assured of our fullest co-operation as you discharge the grave and historic responsibility of guiding the important work of this twenty-ninth session.

33. I should like also to express our most genuine appreciation to your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, who presided with calm and wisdom over the work both of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly and of the historic sixth special session.

34. Significantly, a little more than one year ago, on 24 September 1973, the courageous people of Guinea-Bissau declared the independence and sovereignty of their country, having liberated the greater part of their national territory. Today they have won the battle which, against great odds, they had fought to consolidate their independence and to free every inch of their land from the grasp of an oppressive colonialism. The Republic of Guinea-Bissau has now been accepted as a State Member of the United Nations. Liberia once again whole-heartedly welcomes this sister African State into this world forum and celebrates with it the hard-won freedom of its people to enjoy self-determination and national independence after so many years of difficult and self-sacrificing struggle.

35. More than 127 years ago, on 26 July 1847, the people of the Republic of Liberia declared their national independence. Since that time, moved by the most remarkable determination, they have preserved



the independence of Liberia despite numerous threats and acts of aggression by foreign Powers, to which an independent African State was completely unacceptable. They endured that, as well as the taunts, insults and falsehoods, all deliberately designed to discredit Liberia in an attempt to prove that Africans were incapable of self-government. Because of that historical experience, Liberia attaches the greatest importance to the struggle against colonialism and minority rule anywhere, but most particularly on the African continent. It was the Liberian Government, through its representative on the Security Council, which, on 15 February 1961, first brought to the attention of the Organization the deplorable situation in the Portuguese Territories.<sup>2</sup> We are therefore particularly gratified that, the Republic of Guinea-Bissau having entered our midst as a Member of the United Nations, we can anticipate with pleasure both the independence of Mozambique and its entry into the Organization within the next year.

36. We feel certain that the Portuguese Government, consistent with the progressive attitude and good faith it has already demonstrated, will continue with even greater intensity its efforts designed to arrive at an acceptable arrangement with the African nationalists in Angola so that that Territory may, within the shortest possible time, enjoy the right of self-determination, independence and sovereignty.

37. The decision taken by the Government of Portugal to bring to a close many centuries of Portuguese colonial domination in Africa represents primarily a victory for those valiant freedom fighters who, in Guinea-Bissau, in Mozambique and in Angola, have never wavered in their determination to attain national independence and forge their own national destinies. It represents also a victory for the people of Portugal themselves, for it frees them from the burden of waging what the Foreign Minister of Portugal has referred to as "a long, useless war" [2239th meeting, para. 102], so costly in precious human lives. It has also gained for Portugal a respected place in the world community.

38. That frame of mind which welcomed and supported the most blatant exploitation of one people by another, which created colonialism and continues to feed *apartheid* and other systems based on racial prejudice, must give way entirely to the demands of a new age. The peoples of Africa still subjected to such exploitation and discriminatory treatment are determined to be free, to enjoy human dignity and to take their rightful place in the life of their respective countries and of our world. That will cannot be defeated. We have embarked upon a path from which there can be no turning back. *Apartheid* and alien minority rule, whether in Zimbabwe, Namibia or South Africa itself, cannot long survive. The torch of freedom has reached the very doorsteps of the most evil of the oppressors. Doubts and insecurity are bound to affect their national life and, in desperation, they can be expected to engage in ever more oppressive measures and to employ greater violence. But all that, in the end, cannot change the inevitable: the majority of the people of those countries will play their full role in political, economic and social affairs and come to enjoy all their rights as citizens. Whatever excuses are advanced, whatever subterfuges em-

ployed, the stark reality is that the South African Government and the illegal Ian Smith régime are maintaining and expanding systems designed to enhance the well-being and ensure the special privileges of a minority, while denying the African majority their basic, elementary and inalienable rights as human beings.

39. There is an alternative route they could pursue: they could do what is right and just. They could turn with all sincerity to the obliteration of racism and to the establishment of equitable multiracial nations in which the rights of each individual are secured, cultural differences are respected, and special privileges are eliminated. They would thereby ensure, we believe, the peace and harmony of all the people of those countries. They would also contribute to the spirit of reconciliation, co-operation and common purpose which is beginning to take hold among the nations of the world. Otherwise, it may be that the only answer will lie in a greater resort to armed struggle by the African peoples of South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe.

40. Such a development would be extremely regrettable to my Government because of the incalculable cost in human lives which would result and because of the greater threat such a situation would present to international peace and security. But the peoples of those areas may decide that they are left with no other choice. And in that event, those nations which through their trade and investment activities directly or indirectly strengthen the hands of the South African Government and of the Smith régime and stiffen their resolve will then have to bear their full share of the responsibility.

41. We witnessed yesterday [2248th meeting] the action taken by an overwhelming number of States Members of the Organization rejecting the credentials of the delegation of the minority racist South African régime and adopting by an almost unanimous vote a resolution calling upon the Security Council to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa [resolution 3207 (XXIX)]. There has never been a greater show of solidarity by the international community against South Africa's arrogant disregard for every requirement of morality, decency and justice, and for the principles of the Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and the many resolutions adopted by this world body.

42. Liberia believes that because South Africa has been intransigent in pursuing its evil, racist and repressive policies, and impervious to the numerous condemnations of those policies by the international community, it is South Africa which has now raised the most serious doubts as to its right to continued membership in the United Nations.

43. The struggle for national independence has in recent decades achieved remarkable progress, although, regrettably, it has not been entirely successful. Nevertheless, there is now nearly universal acceptance of the principle that every people has an inalienable right to political freedom, national self-determination and independence. And yet, the experience of recent years has shown that these rights cannot be entirely meaningful unless all peoples come to enjoy the freedoms which economic progress makes possible: the freedom from want, from hunger,

from endemic disease, from ignorance and from poverty. Many representatives have already addressed themselves to this problem from this rostrum.

44. At the sixth special session of the General Assembly on raw materials and development held in April, to which the President of Liberia attached such great importance that he attended it himself, these issues were discussed in great depth. President Tolbert said:

"If this special session is destined to achieve the same quality of response as has been forthcoming from all the foregoing meetings and 'paper' declarations, then I doubt that our coming here will have been worth the effort. But if this Assembly would in a concrete manner address itself to the pressing issues of organized global development today, then, as participating countries, we must all stand determined to elevate and to reshape that process which is necessary to translate into evident reality the collective will to accommodate."<sup>3</sup>

45. Yet effective follow-up measures have not ensued, and many industrialized nations have indicated their dissatisfaction with various aspects of both the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*] and the related Programme of Action [*resolution 3202 (S-VI)*]. The historic dialogue which we began at that time must continue with greater vigour and be guided by a clarity of perception as to the ultimate goals we seek to achieve. Efforts must be undertaken to bring to reality the great objectives we expressed at that time. While emergency assistance is required on a priority basis for those developing nations most adversely affected by the existing economic crisis, in the longer run fundamental changes in the structure of the existing trade, monetary and investment systems must be made. New insight and study of means of reconciling in a just way the interests of developing and developed countries, consumers and producers, and rich and poor nations must be found. Mutually acceptable formulas to facilitate and expand greatly the inflow of capital and technological expertise to developing countries must be devised.

46. In our common endeavour to ensure a better life for the entire family of man, it has become necessary that we look beyond narrow and short-term national interests. Ultimately, the progress and well-being of any one nation will depend on the ability of all nations to prosper. A world which continues to be so clearly divided between the wealthy and the poverty-stricken cannot for long remain a peaceful world. What we need at this time is a joint and firm commitment to address ourselves to the problems which face the world today and which loom ahead for the future. To avoid disaster, we must avoid meaningless rhetoric and sterile exchanges designed to apportion blame, to castigate, or to justify. Liberia is concerned, rather, with the formulation of guidelines and plans by which the quality of life in our world can be improved. Liberia desires to see mere words replaced with action, and meaningless expressions of concern with carefully considered proposals. Most of all, there must be a determination to embark upon the new course which the times require and to engage in the construction of a more equitable world order before it becomes too late.

47. During the sixth special session, the President of Liberia also uttered these words:

"Living in an interdependent world, it is important to distinguish between self-interest and selfish interest. Selfish interest contains the possibility of exacting retribution for past injustices, and of seeking equalization for past exploitation. It seeks to promote the betterment of a part, while remaining oblivious to the well-being of the whole. Similarly, nationalism can be a force for good in our one world if its vision remains clearly focused on the commonality of our interests; if its over-all target are outlined in a compromising synthesis of concepts; if its efforts are exerted in a pooling of resources in a genuine pursuit of peace and freedom, security and justice."<sup>4</sup>

Are we continuously aware of this overriding commonality of interest? Can we now engage in a compromising synthesis of concepts? Will we ever pool our resources for the common good?

48. For perhaps the first time in history, national problems are, in most instances, world problems. The most fundamental difficulties faced by nations today can no longer be solved in isolation. Global efforts are necessary. Economic growth and development, the growth of the world's population, our concern for irreparable damage to the environment, the availability and price of raw materials, the expansion to all peoples of the benefits of technology, the dilemma of ever-spiralling inflation and the urgent need to assure an adequate supply of energy resources and of food are all problems to which we must collectively find solutions. More than that, they are all interrelated. Yet it is distressing that, despite ever-greater awareness of the interdependence of the nations of our world and the need for implementing a common plan of action to resolve these difficult problems, so very little has been achieved.

49. Many developing countries remain locked into a world system which keeps them as, essentially, producers of raw materials in a world market system of generally declining prices over which they have no control. Increased prices both of energy supplies and of other necessary imports required for development, and, in some cases, for mere survival, remain unabated. If some nations are able, to a greater or lesser degree, to offset higher costs for certain imports with higher returns on exports and, in some instances, with expanded domestic production, most developing countries are not in a position to do either. All of the evils inherent in shortages and price increases are absorbed by the developing countries. We are bound on a path to economic disaster unless meaningful, effective and urgent action can be undertaken on a sufficiently massive scale.

50. In recent times, despite the nearly universal commitment to co-operation rather than confrontation, despite the frequent exhortations against producers' associations from certain quarters, despite the call for a rational system of distributing goods and services consonant with the expanded requirements of the peoples of the world and the availability of these items, we have yet to see any tangible example of an international will for real action rather than platitudes, declarations and resolutions.

51. Is it naive to expect wealthy and powerful nations to do much more than they have done—which, in some instances, has been meaningful even if grossly insufficient? We are therefore greatly pleased by the statement made by President Gerald R. Ford of the United States, while addressing this Assembly [2234th meeting], that his Government will increase rather than reduce the amount it spends on food and agricultural assistance to other countries. We also welcome the spirit of co-operation with which he called upon all nations to respond to challenges confronting the international community. It is indeed gratifying that this theme has been echoed again and again in these halls by many representatives. We are thus aware of how we need to proceed; what we must now show is the requisite courage and the will for positive action. And it is the responsibility of those nations possessing the capability to do so to take the proper initiative.

52. The other related concern which permeates our debate is that of peace in our world—lasting, genuine and just peace, without which nothing could be accomplished and the very existence of mankind would be exposed to the most serious peril. We have therefore all welcomed with increasing relief the spirit of accommodation and *détente* which exists between the major world Powers. No cause, no perception of national interest, no differences in ideological beliefs should be allowed to disturb this process. Rather, in an age of nuclear weapons, the need for peace and co-operation is overriding. It is our hope that recent developments will lead to a reduction of armaments and, ultimately, to complete disarmament. We believe that the security which is to be obtained from armed forces alone, or from an emphasis on military or ideological blocs, is more and more illusory. Indeed, the continued expansion in numbers and deployment of such weapons endangers peace and threatens security. Moreover, the tremendous cost of implements of war could be turned to such peaceful purposes as technological research and development assistance. This is why Liberia supported the Soviet proposal last year for a 10 per cent reduction in the defence budgets of major Powers, with some savings therefrom to be applied to the development needs of third-world countries.<sup>5</sup> It is also for these reasons, and because of the evident, perilous threat to the environment such weapons would entail, and the further danger to mankind they would represent, that Liberia supports the proposal put forward this year by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" [A/9702 and Corr.1].

53. Liberia will always uphold the sovereign right of every nation to a secure existence and decry the use of aggressive force against any nation, or any interference in its domestic affairs by any other nation. As an African nation, we support, foremost, greater co-operation and unity on our continent. We believe that through discussions problems can be resolved and the energies of all African nations can be harnessed for the common benefit of the peoples of Africa and of the world. We shall therefore continue to attach the greatest importance to the Organization of African

Unity [OAU], and to all efforts aimed at promoting bilateral, regional and continental economic co-operation and co-ordination among African States.

54. At the same time, Liberia believes in the underlying principles of non-alignment and will continue to play an active role in the furtherance of the objectives of the movement of the non-aligned nations.

55. Liberia reaffirms its dedication to, and support for, the lofty ideals and high purposes prescribed in the Charter of the United Nations. However, Liberia feels that certain provisions of the Charter should be reviewed in the light of present-day realities.

56. Despite the generally favourable trend of events in international politics and the greater consolidation of *détente* among the major Powers, it is most regrettable that the peace, security and internal stability of smaller States may still be disturbed by more powerful States. *Détente* and the climate of accommodation, to be truly meaningful, must apply to relations among all States, be they large or small. The case of Cyprus, which a few minutes ago was so eloquently stated from this rostrum by His Beatitude Archbishop Makarios, President of the Republic of Cyprus, illustrates an unfortunate example of the imperfections in the international system. I would echo the words of Secretary of State Kissinger of the United States: "... tolerance of local conflict tempts world holocaust" [2238th meeting, para. 46]. But that is one aspect of the problem. The other is that, regardless of whether or not any particular conflict remains localized, the people of that area are exposed to the horrors, the tragedy and the devastation of war. Moreover, the sacred principles of peaceful resolution of disputes and of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States are thereby trampled upon. These are firm and immutable principles absolutely necessary to an ordered and just world society. All nations must observe and respect them, or no nation will find security. I therefore hope that the people of Cyprus will be allowed the opportunity to resolve their difficulties peacefully and without undesired interference.

57. The cease-fire and disengagement agreements in the Middle East constitute an extremely hopeful beginning. I pay tribute to the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. Henry Kissinger, for his tireless and highly effective diplomatic initiatives. The role of the United Nations, and, in particular, that taken by the Secretary-General, who consistently demonstrates his total devotion and dedication to the cause of peace and the ideals of the Organization, merit our highest commendation. Yet dangers still persist. Portions of Arab territories are still held by Israeli forces. But we fervently believe that a just and durable peace can be obtained through patience, determination and good faith. Such a peace can only be guaranteed by complete Israeli withdrawal from illegally occupied Arab territories and by a firm commitment by all concerned to respect the legitimate rights of all nations in that region to a secure national existence within well-defined and acceptable frontiers. But genuine peace will not be possible if the aspirations of the Palestinian people and recognition of their legitimate rights are not taken into full account. We also believe that the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East should be resumed as early as pos-

sible, and that the Palestinians should be accorded representation. But those are complex issues which should be carefully considered and discussed in this forum, for the fate of the Middle East surely is of the greatest importance to the peace and security of our world.

58. The hopes that the resources of the sea-bed and ocean floor will in reality become a common heritage for mankind, and that a fair and just determination will be made of national rights as regards territorial waters and exclusive economic zones, found expression in the important Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas last summer. Despite its less-than-successful results, these hopes will be disappointingly unfulfilled if, in Geneva next March, compromise and conciliation do not prevail. We would then have lost a golden opportunity to set the world on a course of justice and peace in a very vital area.

59. We have reached the cross-roads. The path which we must follow, if a future of peace and plenty, brotherhood and understanding is to be assured, is clear. We are challenged at this momentous time to translate the ideals long expressed by so many of us into concrete reality. Should we fail to do so, it is evident that this good earth which we all share will be engulfed by unmanageable difficulties. In such circumstances, peace among nations will at best be meaningless and, at worst, virtually impossible to obtain, as each nation scrambles to assure its own survival. Our sacred task as members of the family of man and as representatives of a community of nations existing in the world must be, through co-operation, with a sense of common purpose and an acute awareness of the fragility of human existence, to undertake the construction of a rational and just world order in which all peoples can enjoy a life in larger freedom void of the ravages of disease, of violence and war, of hunger, of numbing oppression, of hatred and prejudices, of extreme poverty and of want.

60. I believe that we of this world community are capable of achieving these goals. Let us therefore recognize the interdependence of our world, carefully observe the pitfalls which lie before us, and with conviction, foresight, strength and courage totally involve ourselves at this session and in the years to come to the noble and arduous task of creating a "new progressive age" for all mankind, and for all times.

61. Mrs. McINTYRE (Grenada): Mr. President, it behoves me at the outset to reiterate the congratulatory expressions which were extended to you by my Prime Minister when he addressed the Assembly on the opening day [2233rd meeting]. My delegation has become very aware of the high esteem in which you are held, and we look forward to your capable guidance of the business of the current session. In our opinion, this points to a new direction in the affairs of the United Nations.

62. In this context, permit me to express also our sincere and deepest congratulations and commendations to our two other new Member States, Bangladesh and Guinea-Bissau. We look forward to working together in the spirit of brotherly co-operation with them, within the framework of this Organization.

63. At this juncture, I would like to seek your permission, Mr. President, to express to the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, the appreciation of my Government and my delegation for his proven dedication in his tireless work in the cause of peace and the fulfilment of the objectives of the Charter. We are indeed fortunate to have an individual of his stature so ably performing this role, at a time when stature in individuals, as in nations, is so sorely needed.

64. I would also like to voice my country's deep appreciation to all the representatives who, during the present session, have expressed kind words of welcome to Grenada in their statements. My country will always remember the warmth of their greetings, and we reciprocate most cordially their statements of friendship. Also, we take this opportunity to convey our appreciation to those other nations which have manifested their friendship to Grenada at this time.

65. May I also express our sincere condolences and sympathy to the Government and people of Honduras, through the Honduran delegation, on the occasion of the terrible natural disaster which that country suffered as a result of the recent hurricane. To my delegation, the word "hurricane" identifies one of the many natural disasters with which we are faced today, and it is synonymous with the Caribbean region and Central America. Grenada having suffered, in 1955, from one of the most devastating hurricanes in history, my delegation and the Government and people of Grenada fully appreciate, in the most realistic way, the gravity and the immeasurable extent of the tragedy which has befallen the people and the land of Honduras.

66. On this most important question of natural disaster, my delegation notes with particular interest the inclusion in the agenda of the twenty-ninth session of the item relating to assistance to countries in cases of natural disaster [item 60], and looks forward to some more meaningful and effective action on an international level to lend practical assistance to those countries and peoples who, from time to time, are the hapless victims of the ravages of such disasters.

67. The interdependence of all nations, large and small, has proved to be the outstanding feature of international relations in this part of the twentieth century. There is continuing talk, a great deal of talk, of a new world order which will ensure for nations and peoples a more equitable use and distribution of global resources to face and meet the demands of the future. Priorities have been set, and many fruitful United Nations meetings and conferences have deliberated at length on the common theme of interdependence of peoples—including the sixth special session of the General Assembly, the World Population Conference, the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, and, too, the forthcoming World Food Conference to be held in Rome in November. Underlying the substantial work of these and other historic meetings is this common link running through their agendas like a golden thread.

68. In varying forms and with different results, we are being taught the same lesson—namely, that we are one global people, inhabiting Buckminster Fuller's "Global Village". We must act in concert one with the other, or perish through disunity and lack of common vision. Grenada recognizes that the degree of success the Organization attains in solving, or re-



solving, the major issues of the day, economic, political or social, will greatly depend upon the climate prevailing in international relations.

69. In the next few years, should we ignore this vital factor, or through political short-sightedness fail to develop it properly, the world as a whole will suffer.

70. The Prime Minister of Grenada stated recently at this podium, "... Grenada stands today as a free nation, a nation committed to the cause of world peace" [2233rd meeting, para. 299]. It is the intention of my Government and my delegation to support the United Nations, and to co-operate to the fullest in its attainment of the lessening of international tension.

71. International tension is caused by international insecurity. International insecurity, Grenada believes, can and must be eradicated by our unified rededication to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security adopted at the twenty-fifth session of the General Assembly [resolution 2734 (XXV)].

72. I would like to affirm my Government's total commitment to racial equality. In Grenada our people continue to live, as we have done over the past years, in harmonious and fraternal brotherhood, without distinction of colour, race or creed. Consequently, we have achieved a climate of solidarity and freedom in every aspect of our national life. My Government believes that racial justice is one of the essential requirements for international peace and progress.

73. In this context, I would like to state that my Government condemns policies of racism in all its forms and manifestations, and joins in calling upon those Governments which pursue these policies to put an end to such abhorrent practices.

74. My Government's belief in racial equality ties in with its policies of equality of the sexes, policies which my Prime Minister, Mr. Eric Gairy, touched on in his address before the Assembly. Mr. Gairy said:

"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." [2233rd meeting, para. 296.]

75. The women of Grenada have long been the backbone of our society. Unlike our counterparts in some developed countries, we have for generations played a dual role as mother/provider and head of the family. In Grenada, too, women have equal political rights with men. They serve as government ministers, as cabinet members, and as active members of Parliament, and it is well known that Grenada was the first country within the Commonwealth of Nations to recommend a lady who held the high position of Governor. I might add that women are also active in business and in the professions, and there are women's organizations that have been working hard towards the total improvement in the status of our women.

76. My Government recognizes the contribution and the untapped potential of our women, and reded-

icates itself to the eradication of all customs, laws, attitudes and practices which discriminate against women in any society in any part of the globe. Women comprise more than half of our society, and, in terms of human-resource power, they constitute an important factor in the over-all progress and development of all nations. My Government therefore feels that if women are to take their rightful place in society, all inhibiting laws, attitudes and practices must be immediately removed.

77. And regarding our continuing campaign to secure effective "woman power", permit me to quote a recent statement of the Secretary-General in which he said: "The equality of the sexes is a necessary prerequisite for social and economic development, and a stimulus for world peace". This reflects our sentiments and our policies exactly.

78. The proclamation designating 1975 as International Women's Year [resolution 3010 (XXVII)] has certainly given added stimulus to my Government in its promotion of the equality of the sexes, and we fully support and express our desire to participate meaningfully in the programmes of the year.

79. By our membership in this international Organization, we have undertaken a formal commitment to the rule of law in all aspects of our international relations. In my country's domestic governmental programme, the rule of law will be the very bedrock upon which our policy is based, and this also was clearly enunciated by our Prime Minister in his address to the Assembly. We are proud of this tradition and very happy at being able to seize the historic opportunity afforded us, through membership in the United Nations, to conduct our international affairs on the basis of observance of the rule of law. In this fellowship, and with this essential prerequisite, we join the Organization.

80. It is extremely significant that newly independent nations—large or small, rich or poor—seek to join the ranks of the United Nations, and Grenada, of course, is no exception. Over the past three decades we have carefully followed the course and the progress of this unique world body, and we are resolute in our belief that the United Nations, by embracing all peoples and countries, is creating the true community house for all mankind. The effectiveness of the Organization lies precisely in the unanimous support of its Members and in the degree of solidarity achieved through open debate, frank discussion and democratic free exchange. It is important that the strength of the Organization, guided by the strength of the principles entrenched within the Charter, is never underrated nor undermined. In this same spirit of solidarity, Grenada offers itself whole-heartedly to the service and the purposes of the United Nations, and we open our arms to all brother nations as faithful members of the world community.

81. There has been endless reference by Members to the near total universality of the Organization. Indeed, universality of membership and the political good will of Member States are the twin pillars of the United Nations.

82. My country is happy, as I said earlier, to be part of this rapid progress towards universality of the United Nations, and in this connexion, I today appeal

to all countries to reaffirm their resolve and hasten their efforts to assist in the removal of the remaining shackles of colonialism. To the colonial system, with its perpetration of vast human injustice and endless exploitation of native peoples, must be attributed the blame for many of the ills of developing countries over the past several centuries. The Government of Grenada has always unswervingly supported the inalienable right of all peoples to self-determination and full independence.

83. My Government, which in February this year attained full freedom and independence for the people of Grenada after many centuries of colonial domination, fully supports and endorses the idea that international peace and security will be greatly enhanced and preserved by the emergence of more and more countries from colonial domination into the arena of national independence. Correspondingly, we subscribe to the respect for independence and the inherent sovereignty of States that form the very basis of the Charter of the United Nations.

84. In the rapidity of political, economic and social change with which we are faced, the concept known as "future shock" is manifesting itself on a daily basis to nations and individuals alike. In the smaller States, we are increasingly becoming the victims of this greatly accelerated rate of change within modern society. Today the artificial boundaries between the worlds of economics and politics are becoming more blurred; any remaining lines of demarcation separating those worlds are being finally erased by the energy crisis, the imbalance of world supply and demand for food, and an often precarious *détente*.

85. We have recognized the fact that political independence, though a vital and necessary milestone on the long and thorny road to self-determination, is but a catalyst in the process of real national independence. Economic viability, with the consequent improvement in the quality of life, is the goal that we seek for our people and generations yet unborn, and it is in this context that we view with pleasure and anxious expectation the establishment of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order by the General Assembly at its recent sixth special session convened as a result of the positive vision and initiative of the non-aligned and other developing countries. It is clear that emergency measures have to be urgently taken to maintain the momentum of the proposed new economic order, which will benefit the developing countries in particular. This is the time to effect concrete improvements in the lives of millions of third-world peoples. It is now up to the General Assembly's Second Committee to seize and utilize this golden opportunity.

86. We noted with considerable interest the promise made by President Ford of the United States of America to provide help to developing nations in the most vital areas of need. We believe that President Ford's statements were made in all sincerity and good faith and, therefore, we are hopefully looking forward to their implementation.

87. While we realize that we have achieved full political independence which has enabled us to take our rightful place as a Member nation, we are acutely aware that as a developing country our ultimate goal

is to make a meaningful contribution to world peace through economic independence. Many developing nations find themselves still at the mercy of multinational corporations and are victims of economic servitude to the developed nations as suppliers of their agricultural raw materials and as markets for their expensive manufactured goods.

88. As I said, we welcome the resolutions adopted at the sixth special session earlier this year, which could well prove a turning-point in economic relations between rich and poor countries, and we look forward to meaningful and positive action on the part of the United Nations and the more developed countries to bring about substantial and constructive economic improvement for the developing countries. We look forward, too, to increased direct assistance in helping us to exercise effective sovereignty over our own natural resources of land and sea, and so ultimately to preserve and maintain our people's political sovereignty.

89. We affirm our Government's policy of economic self-reliance, self-help and self-sufficiency to achieve our national goals and objectives. However, this does not mean that we would not encourage foreign capital and expertise. In fact, we have a very healthy atmosphere for investment in Grenada, and we are in particular encouraging foreign investment in private enterprise. What we hope for is a more equitable distribution of profits and a programme of training which would enable our people effectively to hold managerial positions alongside non-nationals.

90. We in Grenada, as a Caribbean nation, will continue to support all our regional institutions in their economic and fiscal policies and, at the same time, will aspire to enter into relationships with international monetary institutions with a view to finding realistic ways and means of bringing about viable and self-sustaining economic growth for our country.

91. In the 1970s and beyond, we anticipate greater economic co-operation, too, with our Latin American neighbours and our African brothers, and wider economic interdependence with the rest of the world as a result of the efforts of the sixth special session.

92. The establishment of a new economic order is essential if a ray of hope is to be seen for a reversal of the widening of the gap between developed and developing countries. We are concerned and, indeed, anxious for the economies of small countries such as ours, whose agricultural export earnings are keenly affected by the vagaries and ravages of weather, as well as market prices over which we have absolutely no control.

93. While we welcome the attempts made by the Organization to alleviate the economic problems of developing countries, we still feel the need for a greater and more comprehensive understanding of our problems by the more developed States Members of the Organization, and we look forward with keen anticipation to a sharing of technological expertise, experience and economic strategy to combat spiralling inflation, poverty and economic dependence.

94. As a small island State, we are fully aware of the vital importance of the vast untapped resources of the sea-bed to our developing economy and we know that we shall be soon involved in the race for the riches

of the sea. It is important that a nation should not suffer because of its size and that in keeping with the Charter, the United Nations should ensure that economic justice is achieved for all. While we recognize the just interests of others—those of the land-locked States and those with limited access to the sea—we must face the reality of our inescapable reliance on the resources of the sea to supplement our limited agricultural resources. It is therefore extremely heartening to us that the special needs of island States were recognized at the recently concluded session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in Caracas. We look with hope to the establishment of a just and equitable order of allocating to all countries the resources of the sea-bed, and the preservation of this "common heritage of all mankind". My country intends to participate in the next session of the Conference in 1975 and we anticipate a final treaty which will ensure the protection of all interests.

95. On the seemingly perpetual question of disarmament, my country deplores the dangerously vast resources utilized by certain Powers in their development of, research work on and proliferation of nuclear weaponry. We believe that the fragile framework of peace is being threatened by this continuing development of the destructive power of sophisticated weapons. The awesome annual expense being directed to increasing regularly these nuclear arsenals would without doubt serve humanity to a far better purpose were it devoted to increasing the volume of development co-operation. Grenada feels that the tremendously valuable research on nuclear energy should be used expressly for peaceful purposes, and that more of the resources of major Powers should be diverted to the production of food and agricultural products for the improvement of the level of existence of third-world peoples in particular.

96. Grenada is a peace-loving and life-loving nation. We support all initiatives for the effective curbing of the arms race, the permanent prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, and the reduction of military budgets of certain Member States with a consequent diversion of the funds saved to the provision of tangible assistance to developing countries. Our irrevocable convictions will not permit us to do otherwise.

97. I emphasize, in conclusion, that the continuing emergence of developing countries into independent nationhood has led to the creation of a new dynamic force in today's world, which is certainly influencing the trend of international relations. Grenada looks forward to making its own contribution to the endless task of ensuring lasting peace, economic justice, and maximum social progress for all of our peoples. With our belief in the principles of the Charter, we join you in working together towards achieving these goals.

98. Mr. MOTEE'A (Democratic Yemen) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, it is a particular pleasure for me to congratulate you on your election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. I am firmly convinced that your great competence and vast experience will make it possible to bring the work of the General Assembly to a successful conclusion. Your election to the important function of President of this session is not just a tribute paid by the whole world to your qualities

but is also a tribute to the heroic struggle of the Algerian people. The bonds of brotherhood and friendship binding the Democratic Republic of Yemen to Algeria stem from our membership in a single Arab nation and our identical experiences of the armed struggle which we waged before independence. In view of the close links which unite us, we are happy and proud to see you, as the representative of struggling Africa, presiding over the General Assembly.

99. I should like to salute your predecessor, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, who so competently presided over the work of the last session and the work of the sixth special session.

100. I should also like to express our appreciation for and support of the sincere efforts of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, for having intensified the activities of the United Nations and for making its contribution more effective in the maintenance of international peace and security.

101. The particular importance of the United Nations today must be constantly confirmed by Member States which should combine their efforts in order to safeguard the Organization, strengthen it and to apply its resolutions in such a way as to permit it to play a dynamic role in the maintenance of international peace and security.

102. When one takes a close look at recent developments in the international arena one finds that these developments have tolled the death knell of imperialism and foreign domination. However, there are some regions which continue to be under limitations and suffer from foreign intervention. Some peoples do not yet exercise their right to self-determination and cannot themselves dispose of their own destinies. However, we are happy to find some new Members among us this year. This symbolizes the fact that the United Nations is very close to achieving its objective of universality.

103. My country bids welcome to Guinea-Bissau, a country which has been waging a fierce struggle against foreign domination and has made heavy sacrifices in its attempt to gain its independence and freedom. We have the greatest possible respect for the people and hope that the delegation of Guinea-Bissau will convey to the people and Government of that country our high esteem of their heroic struggle and also our welcome to it now that it has become an active Member of the international community. We should also like to bid welcome to the Republic of Bangladesh to which we are bound by ties of friendship. We should also like to bid welcome to Grenada.

104. Our people has waged a fierce struggle against imperialism but, thanks to its armed struggle, we have been able to gain independence. However, we have encountered many difficulties since independence. Reactionary, feudal forces have hampered the progressive measures we have adopted in the political, economic and social fields, but we have thwarted those attempts, thanks to the awakening of our people and to its political organization brought about by the national front, and we have been able to rebuff imperialism and neo-colonialism in all their forms.

105. Our country attaches great importance to economic development. Indeed, colonialism has bequeathed us a very weak economy, based essentially

upon services. Even so, since independence we have been able to rectify the situation and, in order to free our economy, we have adopted nationalization measures and created a public sector. We have promulgated a law on agrarian reform, which has been applied for the benefit of the poor peasants who are the lawful owners of the land. We have also set up agricultural co-operatives and State-owned farms. We have created cultural centres, built schools and hospitals and brought about far-reaching economic, political and social changes, thanks to the guidance and leadership of the political organization, the national front.

106. Our people has made *tabula rasa* of many out-moded concepts. Many laws have been enacted in order to organize new social relations. A three-year economic plan—the first for the country—has been put into effect, and that has made it possible for us to lay some of the foundation for our economic activities and to develop our social services. In April last, we began to implement another five-year plan to develop the national economy, in which we are relying on our own efforts and the sincere assistance provided by fraternal countries in the socialist camp.

107. In spite of our limited resources, in the space of seven years—that is, since independence—we have been able to do twice as much as was done for our people by colonialism in 129 years of occupation. We have achieved our political independence, and we are struggling for our economic and social independence. To eliminate the remnants of the past, we are attempting to improve the standard of living of our people, and we are sure that our people will be able to attain the noble objectives which it has set for itself in spite of the constraints imposed from abroad and in spite of the consequences of colonialism.

108. We are acting sincerely and in concert with our brothers in northern Yemen to achieve the aspirations of the Yemeni people for unity and progress within the framework of the Cairo Agreement and the Declaration of Tripoli. The Commissioners working on unification have already made considerable progress, and we are very proud of that, and the Yemeni people is looking forward to the future with confidence.

109. The inclusion on the agenda of this session of the General Assembly of a separate item entitled "Question of Palestine" [item 108] in itself constitutes international recognition of the importance of the problem of establishing a just and lasting peace in the Middle East. This recognition is, in part, a positive measure in the direction of the firm position the international Organization should take with regard to its historical responsibilities *vis-à-vis* the problem of the Palestinian people. The Palestinian problem is above all a political one. Although the United Nations deals only with the humanitarian and social aspects of the problem, its true solution lies in the exercise by the Palestinian people of its right to self-determination, a right which must be applied to all the national territories of that people.

110. My country considers the Palestine Liberation Organization [PLO] to be the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people, and this Organization has been recognized by important international conferences—for example, the Arab Summit Conference held recently at Algiers; the Islamic

Conference held at Lahore; the non-aligned countries' summit held at Algiers; and the African summit conference recently held in Mogadiscio.

111. The Palestine Liberation Organization must be recognized and supported by the international community as one of the national liberation movements, and must be treated in accordance with the principles and purposes of the Charter of the United Nations. If the Palestinian problem underlies what we call the Middle East problem, the expansionist policy and constant recourse to aggression of Israel and support for it from imperialism and world Zionism have added new dimensions to the tragedy in the Middle East.

112. The occupation by Israel of part of the Arab territories as a result of the aggression of June 1967 represents a flagrant threat to peace in that area and hinders all efforts to establish peace. For that reason, we support the struggle of Egypt and Syria to liberate their occupied territories and to drive out the Israeli invaders.

113. International relations today have begun to be marked to a large extent by what is known as dialogue or international *détente*. In fact, today our world is witnessing constant efforts aimed at reducing the risks of war and eliminating the dangers of confrontation in a nuclear war, which has conjured up the spectre of devastation, and at establishing world peace. Our developing country attaches great importance to peace and security as the basis for a national climate propitious for social and economic development.

114. However, dialogue and *détente* should take into consideration the concepts of the liberation of peoples and respect for their national independence. When the prerogatives of the imperialist Powers are threatened, those Powers try to violate independence and national sovereignty, and to increase tensions throughout the world. Armaments manufacturers and the companies that serve the imperialists' interests hatch plots to undermine national economies and to fan the flames of conflict in the developing countries in order to overthrow progressive national régimes.

115. The best proof of that is the example of Chile. A democratic régime chosen by the Chilean people was overthrown, if only temporarily, and the noble citizens have undergone torture and have been thrown into prison. That was brought about by the forces of terror and fascism. The national sovereignty of Cyprus also has been violated, and a *coup d'état* was organized to overthrow Archbishop Makarios, whose régime represented the unity of Cyprus and its independence. That implies a great threat to peace in the region. We must therefore put an end to these foreign interventions in the internal affairs of Cyprus. The interference must cease, and the people of Cyprus must decide their own destiny.

116. How can we establish a just and lasting peace when the forces of imperialism and neo-colonialism and their ever-present instruments and organizations throughout the world are engaging in acts of sabotage and are every day finding new methods of intervening in the internal affairs of peoples and States and attempting to dominate them? World peace can be achieved only if there is respect for the national sovereignty of States, if there is no intervention in the internal affairs of peoples and if peoples are allowed



to decide their own destinies and to choose their own path towards progress and development.

117. Our country borders on the Indian Ocean, and we therefore attach great importance to the military and political developments occurring there. We are very pleased at the Declaration of the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], because we consider that real peace cannot be established unless an end is put to all military bases in all their forms in the Indian Ocean and the countries around it.

118. If the fierce imperialist war against the people of Viet Nam has calmed down to some extent, nevertheless the signed accords ending this war are still subject to manoeuvres and plots designed to deprive the people of Viet Nam of the enjoyment of the fruits of their long struggle. That is why we support the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Revolutionary Government, the sole representative of the people of South Viet Nam, and ask the United States to put an end to its intervention in the affairs of Viet Nam and to cease its support to the agents of Saigon.

119. We also support the legitimate struggle of the people of Cambodia and the legitimacy of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia presided over by Prince Norodom Sihanouk, which is the only representative of the people of Cambodia. We call upon the people of the world to support the heroic peoples of Indo-China fighting for their political and economic independence against the forces of aggression and their agents.

120. To create a climate favourable to stability and the peaceful reunification of Korea, we must bring about a total withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea under the flag of the United Nations. We are convinced that those occupation forces will do nothing to reduce tension or to create a propitious climate for effecting a unified Korea. We support the efforts for peace and direct negotiation between the parties without any foreign intervention and we should like to express our support for the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, which has refused to allow Korea to be admitted to the United Nations as two Korean States.

121. We also support the just struggle of peoples against colonialism and neo-colonialism; in particular we support the African peoples who are fighting. We condemn the policy of *apartheid* of the Governments of South Africa and Rhodesia. We should like to express our satisfaction at the serious measures taken by the new Government of Portugal with regard to negotiations with the revolutionaries in Mozambique and Angola in order to permit them to achieve independence and occupy their proper place in the family of nations.

122. With regard to the liberation movements, we must salute the heroic struggle of the people of Oman, a people which has been fighting to liberate its country from paid agents and enable Oman to find its national identity and discharge its international responsibilities. We support the Popular Front for the Liberation of Oman and we condemn foreign intervention in the affairs of that country and the foreign presence in all its forms. We call upon all peace-loving forces to support the heroic struggle of the

people of Oman to exercise their legitimate right to self-determination.

123. In recent years, economic problems have arisen internationally with regard to what is known as the energy crisis. That crisis is nothing but the result of the negative aspects of problems which have afflicted the economies of capitalist countries and which have been exported to the developing countries.

124. The sixth special session of the General Assembly highlighted the importance of the creation of a new world economic order based upon justice and equality.

125. We would like to emphasize today that international *détente* can only be brought about and international peace and security can only be established in a world where the gap between the industrialized and the developing countries is not always widening, and if we take account of the right to a better life of peoples who are struggling against poverty and underdevelopment in all their forms.

126. Two world conferences have been held recently, the World Population Conference in Bucharest and the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea in Caracas. Although the latter Conference did not yield the results hoped for, it did pinpoint the need for creating a new order which would take account of new developments and new conditions prevailing in the world. Account must be taken, therefore, of the rights of developing countries to full sovereignty over their own natural resources to ensure against exploitation. We hope that the World Food Conference to be held in Rome will adopt measures which will reduce the dimensions of the world food crisis.

127. In conclusion, we hope that this session will be crowned with success and will justify the great hopes placed in it by those who want to see peace, progress and prosperity reigning throughout the world.

128. Mr. OULD MOUKNASS (Mauritania) (*interpretation from French*): Mr. President, my first words will naturally be to express to you the sincere congratulations of the delegation of Mauritania. In more ways than one, no choice could have been wiser than ours in making you our President. Your qualities as a statesman and a distinguished diplomat and your experience of international problems are for us a sure guarantee of success. Your election to the presidency of this important session is not only a tribute to your personal qualifications; it is also proof of our esteem and respect for and confidence in Algeria, the Revolutionary Council and the people of Algeria. It is also a great honour conferred upon Africa, of which you, Mr. Minister and dear friend, are a worthy representative.

129. May I say, Mr. President, how very much my country appreciates any honour conferred upon Algeria. Not only do we think alike politically; history, geography and Arab culture have throughout the centuries woven between our two countries and our two peoples ties of friendship and solidarity, ties which have become richer and more fruitful in the course of time and which now distinguish our day-to-day relations. You may therefore rest assured of our co-operation in the exercise of your lofty responsibilities. Certainly they are difficult responsibilities,

because you have been entrusted with the direction of the work of this twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly, whose aim is to trace the pattern of international events, make clear their meaning and draw up guidelines for short-term and long-term action by the Organization.

130. On looking at the international situation today one cannot fail to see prophetic signs, even auguries, of profound changes on both the political and the economic level. On the economic level, the crisis of the international monetary system, the constant deterioration in the terms of trade and related difficulties are problems that have been accumulating for many years. These problems finally brought the international community, and in particular the developing countries, face to face with the threat of a break-down of unprecedented scope.

131. The inequalities, the characteristic injustices of this system, which already weighed heavily on the countries with weak economies, finally were going to jeopardize dangerously the prosperity of the rich and industrialized nations. In fact, no nation—and one becomes increasingly aware of this today—can, in an era when large groupings prevail, prosper and live in isolation, while its destiny is more than ever tied to that of the other members of the international community. It is with interdependence, co-operation and mutual assistance that we can jointly build a better world from which we shall banish poverty, ignorance and social and economic injustices. We know that this is still a pious hope, but we believe that an awareness of the need for solidarity and concerted action is already a factor of considerable importance. It so happens, indeed, that all the delegations that spoke during the course of the sixth special session, and the documents adopted as the result of that debate, placed particular emphasis on this urgent need for solidarity. Need I recall that the developing countries, far from seeing the problems in terms of confrontation, wish to have recognized for each State its own rights, which naturally imply obligations. The new international economic order proposed and adopted by a general consensus constitutes, in the opinion of my country, an important step in that direction, and must be sincerely supported by all nations, and in particular by the industrialized and developed countries. It is only thereby that the international community can overcome the contradictions of the existing system and establish co-operation based on real equality and the interests of all.

132. Politically, the forces of oppression and domination see their end approaching with each passing day. In the Middle East, zionism, despite the diversity and variety of the support it enjoys, can no longer resist the unshakable will of the Arab peoples to defend their freedom, their sovereignty and their territorial integrity. The October war, which was a defeat for the Israeli forces of aggression, showed an astounded world the determination of the Arab countries to ensure their complete mastery of their own destiny. International opinion, which seemed to have far more faith in force than in right and reason, today has come to see the situation in the Middle East in its true light. Sovereign and independent countries, Members of the United Nations, have in the course of the year seen their territory become smaller like a

shrinking skin, their sovereignty diminished, and even their existence threatened. Israel, strong in its impunity, pursues its policy of force and destruction in this region, sparing neither innocent civilians nor peaceful villages. In this connexion, we must recall the perfidy, the indescribable act of the destruction of the city of Quneitra by the Israeli soldiery. It is difficult not to be deeply indignant at such an act of sadism which is nothing other than a repetition of the methods of Hitler. Thus those who yesterday were the victims of Hitlerism have today become its most fervent practitioners, but whatever may be the perfidy and arrogance of Israel, it can never break the will and determination of the Arab countries.

133. Even the Palestinian people, expelled from their homeland, reduced to a wandering existence since 1947, deprived of its most elementary rights, is today more than ever determined to carry on its heroic struggle to recover its national territory. It is, furthermore, now admitted—and we rejoice at this—that the solution of the problem of the Middle East as a whole must necessarily include a settlement of the Palestinian question. In this regard the inclusion of this question on the agenda of the present session should enable the United Nations to give this general feeling specific form.

134. It goes without saying that the PLO must speak before the General Assembly and effectively participate in this debate, which concerns it primarily and which will decide its destiny. I here reaffirm our permanent and effective solidarity with our brothers of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine.

135. In Asia everybody knows of the sacrifices and sufferings imposed on the Cambodian people by foreign forces which continue, financially and militarily, to support the régime at present in power at Phnom Penh. In spite of the massive aid given to the unpopular Lon Nol régime, the balance of forces on the battlefield is in itself sufficiently eloquent to make our Organization finally heed the clearly expressed will of the Cambodian people. Thus it is the duty of our Assembly to restore the legitimate rights in the United Nations to the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia under the direction of Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the sole genuine representative of the Cambodian people.

136. The South Viet Nameese people, in its National Liberation Front and in its Provisional Revolutionary Government, gives striking proof of its will to sacrifice and its determination to face the difficulties on its road to independence and freedom. This people will not rest as long as foreign forces are not withdrawn from South Viet Nam and as long as the Saigon authorities do not scrupulously comply with the Paris agreements.

137. In Korea the withdrawal of foreign troops stationed in South Korea, and the abolition of the use of the United Nations flag, should enable the Korean people as a whole to exercise its right to self-determination and freely to decide its future. The United Nations, which had the chief responsibility in the artificial division of the territory and people of Korea, today more than ever has the duty to facilitate the peaceful and independent reunification of that country.

138. As regards the problem of Cyprus, our delegation in the Security Council has on numerous occasions had an opportunity to express the view of the Government and people of Mauritania. Our position with regard to this painful problem is based on our support for three fundamental principles, namely, the territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty of Cyprus.

139. Lately, under the pressure of liberation movements and of forces favourable to peace, there has been an irreversible acceleration in the process of decolonization in Africa. The sacrifices of every kind and the sufferings that the African liberation movements imposed on themselves, their heroic struggle for the freedom and dignity of their people have obviously been the decisive element in that change. Nor can I fail to mention the critical contribution still being made by the United Nations and by all peoples that love peace and justice, which have at no time spared their support for and solidarity with OAU and the African freedom fighters. Nor could I fail, in speaking of decolonization, to pay a heartfelt tribute to the Government and people of Portugal for their sense of realism and for having understood the need for decolonization, a need which has often been recalled before this Assembly.

140. As a result of the combination of those elements, we are able today to welcome the admission to the United Nations of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, which, after almost two decades of struggle and sacrifice, has finally regained its dignity and its freedom. That is a decision which my country, from this rostrum, has constantly and whole-heartedly called a just decision, a decision in conformity with the right of peoples to self-determination and to choose their destiny freely. Hence, I should like to extend my country's congratulations to the delegation of Guinea-Bissau, whose presence in this hall constitutes for us Africans the living symbol of the rightness of our cause and encourages us to pursue our action. We hope that we shall soon be able to address ourselves in similar terms to the true representatives of the peoples of Mozambique, Angola and still other Territories—and I would stress those words: "still other Territories". For it is a fact—a fact that each day becomes more obvious—that the will of the peoples is invincible.

141. It is equally true that the liberation of the colonies under Portuguese domination places the general problem of decolonization at the forefront of present events. The anachronistic colonial situations still prevailing in southern Africa and other parts of the continent can no longer resist that will of the peoples and that irreversible pressure of events. Portugal's example must teach the racist minorities of South Africa and Zimbabwe to stop clinging to obsolete and criminal values, must make them try, while there is still time, to take their places with honour in the great human family.

142. I come now to another colonial African Territory—Sahara, under Spanish administration. Everyone is aware of the position of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania on that problem; it is a constant and, we think, logical and consistent position. Indeed, our position regarding that part of the national territory

draws its strength as much from history and geography as from the nature of the population.

143. Historically Mauritania—or what was then called "Bilad Shinguit"—has always been, throughout the last 14 centuries, that Saharan entity which extends from the southern frontiers of Morocco to the Senegal River and from the Atlantic to Telemssil. Morocco—or the extreme west—has often been called "Jazirat Al-Maghrib", the Isle of the West. That very fortuitous expression means that the Moroccan domain is encompassed by the Mediterranean to the north, the Atlantic to the west and the Sahara to the south. The Sahara—and I must stress this—has been and remains a much more difficult barrier to cross than the maritime frontiers. That is the result as much of the nature of the terrain as of the centuries-old determination of the inhabitants of that region to resist any threat to their freedom and to allow passage only to beneficial influences that they have voluntarily accepted.

144. No one—and certainly not the Mauritania—can deny that brotherly and mutually beneficial relations have been established between those two entities throughout the centuries. But history attests to the fact that deep frictions also have arisen between them. However, there is one unchanging element in the long history of this Saharan region: from the beginning of history and up to the first part of this century, the region was never administered from outside. It was always governed by emirs who were genuine inhabitants of the region. On the other hand, that region was able to govern the Saharan and Moroccan entities and to unite them under one authority. That happened in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The unification that took place then was the work of the Almoravides, who had come from the central and western parts of Mauritania. For the first and last time, Mauritania and Morocco were one empire, the empire of the Mauritanian Almoravides.

145. At the beginning of this century, a similar attempt was made by El Heïba Ould Sheikh Malainine, or the "Blue Sultan", the descendant of an old and noble family from Néma, a city in the south-eastern part of Mauritania. It was only the intervention of French troops that defeated that attempt to recreate the glorious age of the Almoravides.

146. Between those two dates—the eleventh century and the beginning of the twentieth century—all the attempts made in the north-south direction failed. Some expeditions undertaken in the last century got as far as Sous, in the region of the present city of Agadir. A more successful undertaking brought Sultan Moulaye El Hassan in 1886 as far as Wad Noum, in the G'leimim (Goulimin) region.

147. In that very same year, 1886, Spain succeeded in establishing itself in the Sahara, having concluded treaties with some Mauritanian chiefs, particularly the Emir of Mauritanian Adrar, Ahmed Ould M'Hamed Ould Aïda; all other parties were excluded. That proves that at the time of the Spanish penetration there clearly was a traditional power in the Sahara, as there was everywhere else in Africa. Of course, the simple existence of that power does not automatically lead to the existence of rights. But the links between that power and independent Mauritania do not need to be demonstrated in any way. Indeed, that

treaty was signed by a Mauritanian Emir who came from the city of Atar in the north-central part of present-day Mauritania.

148. A few years after the signing of that treaty between Emir Ahmed Ould M'Hamed Ould Aïda and Spain, France began its penetration into southern and eastern Mauritania, through agreements reached with the Mauritanian Emirs and excluding all other parties. Furthermore, the existence of that distinct Mauritanian entity, with its own identity, has been recognized on many occasions in old international treaties and recent official documents. As proof I need cite only the peace treaty concluded between Morocco and Spain on 28 May 1767, during the reigns of Sultan Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah and Charles III—and more specifically article 18 of that treaty, reading as follows:

“His Imperial Majesty will not discuss the establishment that His Catholic Majesty wishes to create south of the Noum River, because he cannot be held responsible for the accidents and misfortunes that could occur, in view of the fact that his sovereignty does not extend that far and that the fierce roving tribes living in that country have caused harm to the people of the Canary Islands and reduced them to slavery.”

149. And yet Wad Noum is well north of the Tarfaya region, ceded to Morocco by Spain in 1958. Thus, Sultan Mohamed did not hesitate to grant, through that treaty, fishing rights to the Spanish starting at Santa Cruz—that is, Ifni—towards the north, in the Moroccan territorial waters where he believed he had sovereignty.

150. There are other official and irrefutable pieces of evidence that that Territory is Mauritanian; they are dated 1960 and come from our Moroccan brothers.

151. As can be seen, both the historical background that I have just referred to—without any bitterness or rancour—and official acts of the fraternal Moroccan Government prove that the southern frontier of Morocco is a genuine delimitation between two worlds, or, as the historian Robert Montagne wrote, “the demarcation between two different social and political systems”.

152. Hence, historically Mauritania, with its “fierce roving tribes”—as they were so politely called—was to remain that mysterious, unknown and feared country until the “Franco-Spanish” penetration.

153. Geographically, the present frontier of the so-called Spanish Sahara has been defined by the Franco-Spanish Conventions of 22 June 1900, 30 October 1904 and 27 November 1912. Although the Sahara has common boundaries with Morocco and Algeria, extending over some 400 and 40 kilometres, respectively, its entire area of 280,000 square kilometres lies within Mauritania and along a 1,600 kilometre-long administrative boundary.

154. Indeed, like Mauritania, so-called Spanish Sahara extends from longitude 17° W to latitude 27° N. This means that it is pointless to emphasize the artificiality of the Saharan frontier which arbitrarily divides regions whose ethnic, linguistic and geographic unity is beyond challenge. I must recall, as was emphasized in 1963 by the Mauritanian Minister

for Foreign Affairs before the Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, that the so-called Spanish Sahara is inhabited solely by Mauritanian tribes differing in no way from other tribes living in the north-western part of independent Mauritania.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, they have everything in common: their language—Hassania (the Mauritanian dialect of Arabic), culture, race and customs. Even in their daily activities and their nomadic nature, those tribes give proof of the artificiality of the frontier which divides them. The examples of Oulad Dleym, Rguebatt, Oulad Tidrarine, Ehel Baricalla, Laroussyne and so on attest to the interpenetration of those tribes and to the homogeneity of that whole north-western region of Mauritania.

155. Thus it is clear that history, geography and human habitation have made that region, formerly called “Spanish Mauritania”, an integral part of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania. My country's position on this problem derives, quite naturally, from these fundamental facts.

156. Thus it was that in 1957—and more precisely on 1 July 1957, when we were able to free ourselves partially from colonial subjugation, three years before our independence—the Mauritanian Head of State, then Vice President of the Council of Government, declared at Atar:

“Mauritania is no longer that vast desert which was once so difficult to cross and which formed a sort of barrier between the Mediterranean world and black Africa, difficult for men and ideas to traverse. I am addressing myself more particularly to our brothers of the Spanish Sahara. I cannot help but recall the innumerable ties that unite us: we have the same names; we speak the same language; we have the same noble traditions; we venerate the same religious chiefs; we graze our herds on the same pastures, which we water from the same wells. I therefore invite our brothers of Spanish Sahara to reflect this great economic and spiritual Mauritania which from now on is always in our thoughts.”

157. That policy has subsequently been constantly expounded at every African and international gathering, and, in particular, by the most authoritative spokesmen of the Islamic Republic of Mauritania: its Chief of State, its Ministers for Foreign Affairs and its United Nations representatives. Therefore, I need hardly reiterate in detail those various policy statements, as they appear in the relevant documents of the Organization; nor do I wish to take up more of the Assembly's time.

158. For the sake of historical truth, however, I must recall that on 13 December 1962, here at the United Nations, my country subscribed to the principle of the self-determination of the people of the Sahara; for we were sure that our brothers in the Sahara, if they had to choose between Mauritania or another country, would choose to march with us. But beyond that certainty, there is also our loyal and sincere support for the right of peoples to self-determination, in accordance with the Charter and with General Assembly resolution 1514 (XV), which contains the Declaration of the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples.



159. The United Nations itself, on the basis of a decision taken on 9 September 1966 by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government of the OAU, acknowledged the inalienable right of the people of the Sahara to self-determination [*resolution 2229 (XXI)*]. That right has subsequently been reaffirmed in all resolutions and decisions taken by the non-aligned countries, the OAU and the United Nations. As proof I need only cite the resolutions adopted on 9 September 1973 by the Fourth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries;<sup>7</sup> on 14 December 1973 by the General Assembly [*resolution 3162 (XXVIII)*]; and on 11 June 1974 by the Summit Conference of the OAU. Need I recall that all those resolutions were drafted, submitted and supported by my country and by those directly concerned with the problem, notably Morocco?

160. Along with that action, my country has sought internationally, by every means, to preserve and consolidate friendship among the fraternal peoples and Governments of the subregion. Thus, in 1969, when the subregion witnessed a happy turn of events—the normalization of relations between Morocco and Mauritania—my Government, without departing from its fundamental position, unhesitatingly placed the problem of the so-called Spanish Sahara within the framework of concerted action. We proposed to the Governments of our brother States that they unite their efforts so as to achieve as soon as possible the settlement advocated by the United Nations. Above all, our concern and desire was to maintain peace and stability in the subregion, but also to have the African and Arab groups regain the necessary cohesion to be able to face the scope and gravity of the decolonization problems in Africa and the Middle East.

161. My country, which more than ever is prompted by the same desire, cannot fail to respond favourably to the appeal addressed to it yesterday on behalf of the Moroccan Government by my colleague and brother Mr. Ahmed Laraki, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Kingdom of Morocco [2249th meeting]. We can do so with all the more alacrity and serenity since the Government of Morocco has expressly recognized our rights over that Saharan region. We do so, too, because we are certain that, beyond transitory misunderstandings fostered by colonialism, the Mauritanian and Moroccan peoples are keenly aware of their responsibility to combat colonialism, which continues to dominate the Territories of Río de Oro and Sakiel El Hamra. Mauritania, which understands the legitimate motives of the Government of Morocco, declares that the only problem at present is the liberation of those Territories—liberation, which will strengthen understanding and co-operation between our two peoples.

162. We have sufficient historical, legal, linguistic and human proof that those Territories were not lands without masters or administration. That is why the Mauritanian Government accepts recourse to the International Court of Justice, whose opinion cannot fail to enlighten the General Assembly on the well-founded nature of our position and enable it to ensure proper implementation of the resolutions adopted. This attitude, which shows the constant interest and solidarity of our peoples, is further warranted by the need to maintain harmony within the ranks of the

Arab and African countries in the face of our serious and multiple concerns. It is based also on my country's devotion to the principle of the peaceful settlement of disputes, particularly when those disputes are likely to lead to a confrontation between two countries and peoples which geography and common civilization have destined to enjoy relations of understanding and co-operation.

163. Spain, as the colonial Power, must in any event soon end its presence in the Sahara. History, the United Nations and international morality demand it, and Spain itself has agreed to meet that requirement.

164. Thus the International Court of Justice, in establishing the existence or non-existence of a Power in the Sahara, will have to determine the Sahara's links with Mauritania and Morocco.

165. Whatever might be the opinion of the International Court of Justice, however, the right of self-determination of the people of the Sahara cannot be subject to any impediment. That population has the right freely to choose its destiny and no international organization or institution can deny it that right. My country solemnly undertakes here before you to abide by the freely expressed will of that population.

166. This, of course, leads me on to speak of the referendum in which the population of the Sahara is to decide its future. That referendum cannot be organized and carried out on a completely free, democratic and impartial basis unless the administering Power scrupulously respects the procedures which have so often been advocated by the United Nations. Above all, a special mission to the so-called Spanish Sahara must be sent by the United Nations, and it alone should recommend to the United Nations the practical measures for the organization and holding of the referendum. For our part, we understand that these measures would refer not only to the preparation and supervision of the referendum by the Organization, but also to the practical and specific arrangements that would enable the genuine Saharans, within and outside the territory, to participate in that consultation.

167. We have, of course, taken note with satisfaction of the reiterated commitment of the administering Power to apply all the provisions of resolution 3162 (XXVIII). And yet we must deplore the slowness of the administering Power and at times the vagueness of its intentions about the future of its Territories. This is all the more resented because any colonial situation is anachronistic in our era, and because recent statements made by Saharan figures of consequence would, if confirmed, give us no grounds for optimism.

168. However, we feel certain that Spain, which has already shown a positive attitude with respect to decolonization, will avoid anything that might affect its past and present relations with Mauritania and the other States of the subregion.

169. In concluding this statement, I should like to say again how happy I am, Mr. President, to be addressing the Assembly under your presidency. I also wish to express our admiration and appreciation to your predecessor, Mr. Benites, for the outstanding manner in which he guided the work of the twenty-eighth session and of the sixth special session of the General Assembly. I hope that the Republic of Bang-

ladesh and the Republic of Grenada will accept our friendship and our warmest congratulations. I wish to assure the Secretary-General that we follow with deep sympathy his tireless efforts to make of the United Nations a true instrument of peace, understanding and harmony among peoples. We express again our confidence in him and assure him of our support in his efforts. We sincerely hope that each Member State will work for the respect of the principles embodied in the Charter and for the implementation of the decisions taken by the Organization.

170. Mr. CAICEDO (Colombia) (*interpretation from Spanish*): My first words are addressed to you, Mr. President, to congratulate you on your well-earned election to preside over this, the greatest forum of the peoples of the world, to guide it with your recognized wisdom and boldness at this particular moment in history.

171. My next words are of welcome to the three new States that have emerged from colonial status into full sovereignty and independence. I greet Guinea-Bissau, Bangladesh and Grenada, whose heroic presence among us gives us cause for rejoicing.

172. I must say a few words regarding the grief of Latin America at the ravages suffered by Honduras, our sister Republic, struck by adversity in the form of a hurricane. This is the time for us to show our solidarity with that small but great nation, and to give prompt and decisive help in its reconstruction.

173. Rarely in the history of this Organization has the period between two regular sessions of the General Assembly been so filled with events, or shown a deeper and more extensive transformation in the conditions of human life and the relations between peoples. There is an atmosphere of expectancy, of dissatisfaction and of tension between the industrial countries and the developing nations. The latter have been waging an almost vain struggle to achieve higher standards of living, and to close the gap between them and the economic and technological Powers. The unequal terms of trade are the common denominator of the problem. The Algerian proposal to hold a special session to study the question of raw materials and development resulted in the sixth special session, and served to pinpoint that tension which had been dramatically exacerbated by what was termed the energy crisis, that is, by the decision of the oil-exporting countries to re-price their obviously non-renewable resource and to serve notice that their reserves were limited and that their management had entered a radically new phase.

*Mr. Montiel Argüello (Nicaragua), Vice-President, took the Chair.*

174. The effects of these measures have touched all nations of the world to a different extent and in different ways. The bases for industrial production of wide areas have been changed, and many articles have been subject to unavoidable readjustments. Obviously, that measure was not the cause of the monetary troubles which were already being felt, nor can it alone be held responsible for the phenomenon of global inflation. But it is linked to imbalances in the world market, to the financial crisis and to the changes in many prices, which were earlier referred to as equitable but which now appear suddenly ca-

pricious in their response to the new oil price levels, which the producers quite justifiably consider as having been set belatedly.

175. Going beyond the specific and immediate debate on oil, the sixth special session issued a Declaration which might well be termed the Magna Carta of economic equity and then went on to adopt its Programme of Action. Despite some reservations, consensus was the order of the day and for the first time it became obvious that world solidarity was more than an empty phrase. The interdependence of all peoples of the earth was a fact of pristine truth, and it was made clear that the needy and the wealthy were components of a single whole that must be reviewed with justice, with courage and with wisdom in order to advance towards a more egalitarian and secure world. It was also made clear that, besides peace, collective security, the urgency of disarmament and the prohibition of aggression, economic development and social welfare were also objectives of equal importance and inseparable from the others.

176. Among the lasting benefits derived from that sixth special session was the fact that the third world, once an amorphous collection of peoples with neither close contacts nor clear-cut goals, became a consolidated body. That session opened wide the doors to dialogue and a gate to the future and set in true motion the principle of the sovereign equality of States. The voices of the strong and the weak acquired equal resonance. These are irreversible achievements; and we can as of this moment assert that the symbol of the United Nations for the next long years will be an economic symbol, or, more specifically, the systematic and courageous search for the way in which three quarters of the world's population are to move towards standards of development, or at least are to be given conditions whereby to achieve such standards; so that contrary to the usual effect, their efforts to progress will not bring about a relative regression.

177. It is, however, clear that the historic session of April last in this same hall did not possess magical virtues or automatic means, and we cannot confuse our intentions with the long-range results. That session was accompanied or immediately followed by dark economic omens: monetary instability and uncertainty regarding ways of stabilizing currency exchanges; poor harvests and grave warnings about the world's food reserves. But over and above all, there was a global inflation whose levels and speed of growth were practically unprecedented in scope. Many industrial economies that had a mere few months earlier appeared prosperous and sound suddenly showed signs of weakness and sank to near bankruptcy levels. Money had lost some of its purchasing power and became more difficult to obtain. The situation of most developing countries went from bad to critical because of the trend among the industrialized nations towards cutting down on their purchases in the third world and concentrating on raw materials that were essential for subsequent manufacture. Those raw materials did not have the benefit of the necessary emergency machinery to impose conditions of sale and prices; what is more, they bore no relation to the capital goods which those less advanced countries had to import, with their enormous surcharges due to the high standard of living in the manufacturing

countries now further increased by the inflationary spiral.

178. Thus many peoples not only feel that they have drifted far afield from the minimum well-being and development targets set a few months earlier in New York, but now face critical situations in the procurement of food for survival. A feeling of urgency and an awareness of the gravity of the moment seems to hover over most of the items on our agenda. The peoples who have had control over the possibility of peace or war, of collective security and control of trade, as well as those nations which have enjoyed sudden boom conditions, now have the chance of using their resources, not in charitable works, but in an enlightened effort of self-defence against the boomerang of an untenable economic situation. The political stability of the world is threatened by the rising waves. A new type of society, one that is desperate and sceptical regarding all forms of government and of opposing ideologies, may supersede the more stable, peaceful, traditional and organized national communities. One need not stretch one's imagination too far to foresee, among the poor peoples who are being robbed of their hopes for improvement, calamities which will engender further calamities.

179. The moment is ripe to prove the capacity of the United Nations. No bilateral arrangement, nor agreements between blocs, will have sufficient influence to alter the economic course or to arrive at global policies that will offer true safeguards. It is only world-wide agreements, arrived at here by dialogue, through reason and in the assurance that we are living in a united world, that will give adequate answers to the complex and threatening challenge. All countries, some in more orderly fashion than others, are turning to the task of domestic therapy. More than ever before, Governments are aware of the need to assess the possibilities of their respective peoples, and many of the latter are responding with dedication and fervour to the sacrifice of a more than precarious existence. But there is a limit to the ability to perform miracles, and facts, as we well know, are stubborn. Beyond the national effort there is still that great battle to be fought.

180. Personally, I am optimistic regarding the human ability to adapt in order to meet unforeseen circumstances and almost instinctively to organize in the face of the common threat. Herein lies the greatest reserve of the United Nations: that it is a state of mind and spirit that transcends cultures, ideologies and customs. More than the isolated generosity of some countries, it is a community effort which, with some sort of occult wisdom, leads us to an equilibrium, to a restoration of peace, to the preservation of order, to a sense of foresight, and to acts that start beyond individual and specific interests. This does not mean adopting a passive reliance on providence, or a giving-in contrary to the strength of reason organized into systematic thinking. It is an act of faith in values that we hold in common and that find in this Organization their most propitious outlet.

181. Events do not pass by the United Nations without affecting and changing it. The sixth special session is a good example of how the concept of economic development crystallized, despite the vague-

ness with which Article 1, paragraph 3, of the Charter refers to "promoting and encouraging respect for human rights", which is an entirely different matter. That statute, the result of the post-war period, was based on outmoded notions of sovereignty which were unconnected with natural resources. Yet it has been in force since 1946, so that it is high time for 138 associated nations to revise it, to bring it up to date, making it more operative and dynamic.

182. At the twenty-fourth session of the Assembly in 1969, Colombia proposed just this. It was then that our then Foreign Minister, now the President of the Republic, Mr. López Michelsen, from this same rostrum, called for the need to rejuvenate the San Francisco Charter that had been drafted "25 years ago to operate for geopolitical conditions which have been surpassed".<sup>8</sup> We advocate not its demolition but a change of some of its parts. No one can deny the services that this venerable legal instrument has rendered. But by the same token, no one can blind himself to the slowing down, the artificial obstacles and duplications it has caused, or to the vagueness and lack of precision it has created. Those who fear that a revision of the Charter implies a break-down of the spirit of the Organization and a jump into the unknown are mistaken.

183. Paradoxically, it is far more in keeping with tradition to ensure that institutions retain their creative dynamism than to preserve their façades intact. The British writer G. K. Chesterton contended that it was far more traditional to keep painting the white mast white than to wait until it had lost the last traces of its whiteness on the pretext of preserving it intact. Notions such as the common character of the seabed, of outer space and their multiple uses cry out for a place in our Charter, as do those of biological balance or those of the campaign to safeguard the environment against pollution, for the right to ecological balance is not the heritage of a single generation isolated in time, and we are in danger of being adjudged by posterity as the destroyers of the planet.

184. Colombia is honoured this year as being the site for the first International Women's Conference at Bogotá. The two main phenomena that characterize the social changes of the twentieth century have been the rapid urbanization which brought about the mass exodus from the countryside and the creation of innumerable huge cities. The other feature of our time has been the emergence of women into economic, social and political life. This has led to changes in the structure of the family and of culture itself. Obviously, that leads to a change in mentality, in attitudes and tasks in the life of man. It is the human couple as such that has changed. To assess the alterations in the domestic and social functions of both, their influence on the home and the community, and to discern the new trends will be among the tasks of that Conference. The Conference will also have to examine the obstacles that still stand in the way of the harmonious integration of the efforts of women and men jointly to grapple with such tasks and responsibilities as are posed by under-development. Furthermore, the Conference will have to gauge the results of the World Population Conference held recently at Bucharest. Responsible motherhood and the right to control fertility within the framework of women's freedom

and beliefs are indissolubly linked to their role in modern life and to women's identity, dictated by their biological and psychological nature.

185. We are well aware that no assistance will suffice to shatter the fetters of under-development unless it is linked to an orderly and systematic internal effort. But it is equally true that the distances between some societies and others are so great that in order to bring many peoples into the modern era a veritable race against time is required. This is typified in the field of technology. In the solidarity and interdependence of the present-day world, the right to use or abuse specific knowledge is not too well understood. There are some areas, such as health, where the preventive vaccine cannot be the exclusive property of any if it can be used to save the lives of millions of beings. Thus, too, certain discoveries and improvements in key areas, such as energy or the exploitation and preparation of basic products, must be termed the collective heritage of mankind. We must consider that the so-called transfer of technology should be operated not bilaterally through more favourable conditions or counterpart benefits between countries, but, rather, by a gradual but massive transfer as the poorer countries require it. This leads to the idea of a world pool of technology which should be administered or monitored by the United Nations.

186. One item that certainly does belong on our agenda is the "Examination of the functions of the International Court of Justice" [item 93]. This subject was discussed at the twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh sessions and should cast some light on the functions and priorities of the main legal organ of the United Nations. The subject also dovetails with the concern over the review of the Charter. Colombia believes that it would redound to the benefit of the international community if the sphere of the advisory opinions and decisions of the Court were to be widened. The surprising evolution of international law today, which is rich in new issues, should benefit from the clear decisions of the Court, as the nature of the matters brought to the consideration of that supreme tribunal warrant.

187. During the last few years, the growth of war material of all kinds has been virtually unaffected by arms control or disarmament agreements. Limited or localized wars, such as those of Indo-China, Cambodia or the Middle East, have a markedly experimental character. They affect military criteria and planning. Technological progress in certain tactical and strategic weapons is so rapid that the great Powers are constantly beset by the terror of being irremediably left behind by their peers. This explains the lag and delay in bilateral agreements on mutual reduction of forces and the vagueness of the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks. It also explains the meagre results obtained at the summit talks to find a balance in the possession of multiple independently targetable re-entry vehicles [MIRVs].

188. Thus, the rate of military technological production has only grown. Even in the fields of chemical and bacteriological warfare there is no sign of a reduction or destruction of existing arsenals, but, rather, it is believed with some justification that more sophisticated progress is being made in these destructive fields.

189. The nuclear-weapons tests in the atmosphere, which in 1973 shook the world and particularly those countries that border on the Pacific Ocean, are far from ended, and they systematically coincided with the tenth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty Banning Nuclear Weapon Tests in the Atmosphere, in Outer Space and under Water, signed in Moscow on 5 August 1963. This proves the paucity of success obtained in this vital field by the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament which, doubtless and despite all, is the most important forum for world arms control. Blocked by the negotiations of the super-Powers, it has turned its attention to the noble, albeit more limited, objectives such as the prohibition of the use of needlessly cruel and indiscriminate weapons, for example, napalm, and acts of war against civilian populations.

190. I quote from the *SIPRI Yearbook 1974* of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute:

"SIPRI has shown that world military expenditures [for 1973 and 1974] are running at about \$207,000 million per year"—which is over 6 per cent of the gross national product of the countries of the world and equal to the total income of the 2,000 million persons living in the region of the third world with the exclusion of China. "The military expenditure of those countries which provide development aid is estimated at approximately 6.7 per cent of their gross national product, which is 30 times greater than the official development aid they provide."

191. We can safely say that, aside from the imbalance between the prices of raw materials and those of manufactured goods, no other factor acts as such a drawback on the life of peoples representing 70 per cent of the world's population as does the arms race.

192. So, for reasons of world security as well as of pure economy, it is only just that we aspire to a world peace conference whose agenda will include all types of weapons and systems of mass destruction, and whose conclusions will be guaranteed in advance by the great atomic and military Powers by means of forms of verification open to and exercised by the United Nations. This hope, which might appear a Utopian flight of fancy, is, nevertheless, the cornerstone of our Organization, and to its achievement all our efforts must be directed—all the more so since the danger is growing and we stand on the threshold of a second generation of countries that are capable of nuclear warfare.

193. Colombia is a country, dedicated to peace, that is eager to work and, by its own efforts, to obtain what is indispensable to it in a framework of world commerce that will exclude the imperialism of trade, tied loans and inflation built into the goods it imports. During the last decades, we have watched with anguish the systematic erosion of coffee prices, which represent 50 per cent of our export trade, while seeing a radical increase in the prices of agricultural machinery, inputs and fertilizers. The national effort has been gigantic in order to cover the coffee deficit with manufactured goods and to meet the needs of the national growth and the peaceful revolution to ensure a more equitable distribution of wealth and more equality for all Colombian citizens. We believe



that at this time the situation of coffee is alarming. We believe in the advisability and the need for a climate between producers and consumers not of confrontation but of dialogue and progressive understanding. The President of Venezuela, Mr. Carlos Andrés Pérez, in a recent message to President Ford of the United States, denounced this situation in the following terms:

“At this very time, we are seeing how the refusal of the developed countries, including the United States of America, to agree to just and fair prices for coffee has resulted in the inaction of the International Coffee Organization, which was established precisely to achieve a satisfactory and just equilibrium between producers and consumers. The coffee-producing countries of Latin America and Africa will lose roughly 30 per cent of their foreign-exchange earnings, while manufactured goods from the developed nations have doubled or tripled in price.” [See A/9784, annex.]

194. It is obvious that, confronted with this picture, we should feel ourselves as allies of all the countries that face similar obstacles in Africa or Asia. Colombia considers Latin America to be an extension of the concept of the nation and is united with each and every country in that region of brothers. We are aware that in this planetary world of ours Latin America is a bridge that links other areas culturally and economically. We offer our friendship indiscriminately to all the peoples of the world, regardless of their ideology, so long as they respect our institutions and the democratic system of Colombia.

195. We are here to perform an arduous task, and to perform it together. We are not unaware of the obstacles, but we possess the faith born of our tradition that ideas become the weapons that no wall is sufficiently high to keep out. Freedom is something as real and tangible as the air we breathe. We believe that freedom hungers for bread, for security and for well-being and ultimately identifies itself with them.

196. Mr. ISRANGKUL (Thailand): Mr. President, it is most fitting that the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly is presided over by an illustrious son of Africa. For it is Africa which, in recent months and after dramatic events elsewhere, has been destined to reap the fruits of its labour after a long but determined struggle to liberate itself completely from colonial shackles. Today it is Guinea-Bissau; tomorrow is soon to come.

197. We also salute you as a distinguished personality of Algeria and the Arab world, whose ancient civilization and glorious achievements provide a solid basis for the present and future progress of a large and significant segment of the world's population. For this Organization, the active participation of the Arab delegations in its work has a continuing and profound impact on every important issue before it. Your eminent record in the fight for freedom and your progressive ideas will indeed prove to be important assets as you steer the proceedings of the present session to a just and successful conclusion.

198. My delegation would also like to pay a sincere tribute to Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, who, as President of the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly as well as of its sixth special session,

guided our deliberations through one of the most momentous and challenging periods in the Organization's history. Thanks to his diplomatic skill and legal scholarship, as well as to his infinite patience and wisdom, the past year has been a truly productive one for the United Nations.

199. We were deeply shocked by the news from Honduras of the terrible havoc and devastation caused by the recent hurricane. Permit me, therefore, to convey the profound sympathy on behalf of the Thai people to the people of Honduras for their tragic losses and human suffering.

200. We warmly welcome into our midst the delegations of the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and the Republic of Guinea-Bissau, following their admission to membership in the United Nations. It is rather significant that the three latest Members of the Organization belong to the three component parts of the third world, which is striving, in co-operation with others, to achieve economic progress and social justice for the international community as a whole. We are confident that their presence among us and their contributions to the work at this session and in the future will be of immense value to all their colleagues in the United Nations.

201. I bring with me to this august international gathering the goodwill of the people of my country, Thailand. Goodwill is, in my belief, an essential disposition of the mind at the time when one is to embark upon an analysis or discussion of problems and conflicts. Without goodwill as the guiding factor, the road to understanding and solution will indeed be a difficult one and will only lead to a rigidity of views and a selfishness of attitude. So it is with an ample store of goodwill that my delegation now approaches the task at hand.

202. In view of the series of crises in recent years, both economic and monetary, it is not surprising that the States Members of the United Nations, developing and developed alike, will give high priority and attention to economic issues at this twenty-ninth session. My delegation agrees with the view of the Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, that the economic upheavals and portents of the past three years are not a series of isolated events, but are rather symptoms of a profound malfunctioning of the global economy. The high prices of oil, the spiralling inflation, the inflated costs of manufactured products, the non-availability of fertilizers, the grim prospect of a substantial decrease in food production and the breakdown of the international monetary system are all interrelated events which could result in prolonged economic stagnation on a global scale, a stagnation of extraordinary dimensions.

203. The historic sixth special session last May, which was convened on the timely initiative of President Houari Boumediène of Algeria, has greatly contributed to the international awareness of economic inequities in the world, and the recognition of the new international economic order and the adoption of the Programme of Action has provided a constructive answer to the shortcomings of the present world economic system. My delegation will continue to give its support and co-operation to all practical measures which will ensure the full implementation of the Programme of Action on the Establishment of a New

International Economic Order. It is our sincere hope that the lack of political will on the part of some industrialized countries will yield to the spirit of co-operation between all nations, large and small, that must prevail in order to find an effective means to solve the economic problems which confront all of us. Only in this way can we build a new society of nations based on an equitable redistribution of wealth and opportunity for all mankind.

204. In this connexion, my delegation looks forward to the adoption of the draft Charter of the Economic Rights and Duties of States at this session. The adoption of that Charter, in our view, would constitute an indispensable step towards the realization of the new international economic order. It would also facilitate our tasks in restructuring the present economic system on a more equitable basis, thus contributing to the success of the seventh special session on development and international economic co-operation in September of next year.

205. Although Thailand is not classified as one of the countries most severely affected by the recent economic crisis, we have by no means benefited from it. On the contrary, the effects of the high prices of oil, fertilizers and imported manufactured goods, as well as world-wide inflation have been felt in all sectors of our economy. Being basically an agricultural country, Thailand has to rely mainly on exports of agricultural commodities at equitable prices for its foreign exchange earnings. Nevertheless, even before the recent energy crisis, Thailand's balance of trade, particularly with industrialized countries, has consistently been unfavourable to our side.

206. Our need for high-cost capital goods and manufactured products, price fluctuations of agricultural exports, as well as unfair and non-commercial competition by rich producers for our traditional markets, have all contributed to this unsatisfactory state of affairs. And now the sudden shortage and the increase in prices of fertilizers—by over 100 per cent in 1972 and 1973—has compounded our difficulty, with repercussions in the domestic situation due to the rise in the prices of staples for our own population. Without fertilizers, food production in developing countries at the level of past years will not be ensured, much less will there be an increase in production or a surplus for exports.

207. In the light of these developments, the responsibility of the world community to double its efforts to forestall the danger of a food crisis and to save the world from the scourge of hunger and starvation has become even more urgent. There are already millions of people in the Sahel region and in other parts of Africa and Asia who are undergoing the agony of hunger and starvation. The trend is that millions more will be added to the list if the process of desertification continues and if the levels of food and agricultural production cannot be increased.

208. My delegation, therefore, agrees with the view expressed by several other delegations that a global policy is needed to meet man's immediate and long-term need for food. We are hopeful that such a policy will emerge from the forthcoming World Food Conference to be held in Rome in November. Being a surplus food producer, Thailand has always given favourable consideration to the needs of neighbouring

and other friendly countries and hopes to participate actively and constructively in the Conference.

209. Nevertheless, my delegation has stressed time and again, here as well as in other forums, that there are significant differences between a rich producer and a needy producer. A needy producer, such as Thailand, is threatened constantly by price fluctuations, scarcity of essential inputs and unfair and non-commercial competition by rich producers. In this context, my delegation strongly believes that in striving for a global policy every effort should be made to ensure a fair balance of interests between food-exporting and food-importing countries, bearing in mind the special needs of peoples beset by national calamities and economic crises as well as the precarious position of those developing nations whose populations depend on the production and export of agricultural commodities for their livelihood and well-being.

210. Another important world conference very closely related to world food problems was recently concluded at Bucharest—namely, the World Population Conference. My delegation supports the World Population Plan of Action<sup>10</sup> adopted by the Conference, which has brought into proper focus the interrelationship between population and socio-economic development in accordance with the spirit of the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order. Although my country continues to advocate family planning as a means of curbing population growth, we also subscribe to the idea that every country has every right to formulate its own population policy, and that such policy cannot be wholly effective if it is implemented outside the context of social and economic development.

211. On the African continent, which has been subjected to the worst kinds of colonialism and exploitation, the white, minority régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia continue to pursue their abhorrent racist policies against the peoples of those lands in violation of human rights and in defiance of the denunciations and the revulsion of the whole world, as expressed in the resolutions of the United Nations. In this connexion, Thailand was one of those delegations which yesterday [2248th meeting] voted for rejection of the credentials of the representative of South Africa as well as for the resolution calling upon the Security Council to review the relationship between the United Nations and South Africa [resolution 3207 (XXIX)].

212. We address an urgent appeal, therefore, to those nations that still practise *apartheid*, oppression and colonialism to adhere to the course charted by the United Nations in these matters. Thailand unreservedly expresses its full support for the just struggle of the African peoples striving towards freedom and independence and the preservation of their natural wealth, and calls upon the international Organization to exert all its efforts to assist their legitimate struggle.

213. With regard to the question of Territories under Portuguese domination, the changes relating to those Territories have signalled the beginning of a new era of hope and expectation for the achievement of the long-fought-for freedom and independence of millions of Africans. The new Government of Portugal has

indicated its categorical rejection of the colonialist policy of the previous régime, as well as its full acceptance of the relevant international provisions concerning decolonization. In this connexion, Thailand welcomes the enlightened and co-operative attitude of the present Government of Portugal towards the work of the competent United Nations organs concerned with decolonization. Although the recent developments have been heartening, only through total and unambiguous decolonization can the reign of peace be restored in Mozambique and Angola, the Territories remaining under Portuguese domination.

214. The victory achieved by the people of the Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a great inspiration to all those engaged in the struggle for the liberation of the continent of Africa, particularly in those parts of Africa, including Namibia, still under colonial control. It gives the people of Africa fresh hope, and a new impetus, that their goal of total liberation of the continent will soon be realized.

215. Some of the most disturbing developments have occurred in the field of disarmament. The staggering increase in the world's expenditure on arms cannot be satisfactorily explained by spiralling inflation alone. The growing investment of the world's available capital in weapons, unmatched by the level of expenditure on more economically productive ventures, tends to slow down any international effort to narrow the gap between the rich and the poor nations. The continuing nuclear proliferation, which helps to divert world attention from the nuclear Powers already in possession of an over-kill capability, may further weaken their will to carry out their responsibilities in the manner expected of them by the international community.

216. It is also noteworthy that two important items relating to disarmament have been added to the Assembly's agenda while consideration of the older items is languishing in the face of serious differences among the major Powers themselves or the indifference of some of them to the interests of smaller nations.

217. Progress towards the future convening of a world disarmament conference has been hampered by continued lack of unanimity on the part of the nuclear Powers whose participation is, in our view, essential to its success. The proposal to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace has met with various arguments concerning global strategy in justification of those Powers' military presence in the area. It is perhaps not too much to hope that the interests of the littoral States will also be taken into account and that a policy of restraint leading to a reduction of big-Power rivalry and contention in the Indian Ocean will ultimately prevail, thus translating that worthy idea into concrete action. My delegation remains committed to that effort, as well as to the regional endeavour under the auspices of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN], to turn South-East Asia into a zone of peace, freedom and neutrality free from all forms of external interference.

218. The Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea has already acquired the distinction of being the largest international conference ever held in the history of man. Despite the enormous complexities involved, the Caracas session was able

to achieve significant progress. Some of the delay in substantive work was unavoidable, due to the unprecedented procedural questions and the necessary allocation of time for the general debate. However, on such items as the international régime and machinery, where the issues were more or less clear-cut, it was unfortunate that no further progress was made owing to the unwarranted attitude of some developed countries, which threatens to undermine the common-heritage principle itself. Since the fundamental principle forms the bedrock of the emerging international law of the sea, and was, in fact, the initial *raison d'être* for the Conference, there should be no misunderstanding of the import of this unhappy state of affairs.

219. On the other hand, my delegation is pleased to note the growing unity of the developing countries on these issues, based on their firm adherence to the common-heritage principle, as well as their recognition of the realities which demand a certain element of flexibility in their approach. My delegation believes that if the developing countries remain steadfast in their determination, as well as flexible whenever the situation requires, they will be able to contribute to the successful outcome of the Conference. Such a development would be most welcome, as it would ensure the early utilization of valuable sea-bed resources for the benefit of all mankind.

220. Many small nations, including my own, maintain a continuing interest in the progress of *détente* on the international scene, for we are as hopeful as ever that the process of accommodation and its outcome will be of universal benefit in the avoidance of armed conflicts and the promotion of world peace. *Détente*, in our perception, should not, however, be restricted to the conduct of global strategies by the major Powers in relation to one another; on the contrary, it should also have the beneficial effect of restraining local conflicts which could eventually lead to a wider conflagration. Moreover, *détente* is not a cure-all. Remedies must also be applied to the ills which constitute the causes of conflicts.

221. In the Middle East, where the present lull may be attributed in part to the exercise of self-restraint by the major Powers, no lasting settlement will be possible unless and until the legitimate rights of the Palestinians are met. Therefore my delegation welcomes the inclusion of the question of Palestine as a new and separate item on the Assembly's agenda. In so doing, we have also taken into account the views of the great majority of countries situated close to the area. We urge Israel to withdraw from its occupation of Arab territories, and in the meantime to desist from the usurpation of Arab rights in the occupied territories, as well as from other practices in contravention of the Charter and the relevant resolutions of the United Nations.

222. The tragic situation in Cyprus has also been brought to the attention of the world and is once again an important item of business for the Organization. My delegation earnestly hopes that a just solution will be found which will ensure for all the people of Cyprus the sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of their country.

223. In connexion with the recent developments in the Middle East and Cyprus, the Thai delegation

would wish to place on record its sincere appreciation of the indispensable role of our Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim. We should like also to pay a tribute to all the members of the United Nations forces on duty in the three areas concerned, as well as to the memory of those who have lost their lives in the cause of international peace.

224. I now turn to an area which is geographically closer to Thailand and whose future well-being and stability will have direct repercussions on all the States of South-East Asia. The strife and turmoil which have existed in Indo-China in the past 25 years have brought untold sorrow and suffering to the peoples in the area, yet the prospects for peace and harmony are today really not much greater than they were a year ago.

225. In South Viet Nam, the Paris Peace Agreement which was so painstakingly and successfully negotiated in 1973 fails to bring about peaceful conditions and the settlement that we all desire. War, on a smaller scale but no less ferocious, continues unhampered by obligations solemnly undertaken in the Paris Agreement. Non-observance of the Agreement is the major stumbling block to its full implementation. My delegation would therefore like to urge the parties concerned to demonstrate a stronger political will to ensure strict observance of both the letter and the spirit of the Paris Agreement. In this connexion, I would like to express our appreciation to the Governments of Iran, Indonesia, Poland and Hungary for their continued willingness to serve as members of the International Commission of Control and Supervision. We hope that their services, in accordance with the provisions of the Agreement, will contribute to the restoration of genuine peace in Viet Nam.

226. Recent developments in the political field in the Kingdom of Laos have been more encouraging. The political will, so lacking in other political conflicts, appears to be the motivating force which has moved the Lao factions to engage in serious talks and reach a compromise agreement on the formation of the Provisional Government of National Union and the National Political Coalition Council in Laos. That Government, under the effective and impartial leadership of Prince Souvanna Phouma, to whom we send our best wishes for a speedy recovery, has been functioning for some months now. It is the cherished hope and belief of the Kingdom of Thailand, as a sister nation, that with its present set-up Laos will have a greater chance of success in preserving its independence, neutrality and territorial integrity. My Government extends its support and full co-operation to the Government and people of Laos in their efforts to achieve peace and stability, which cannot fail to have a positive impact on neighbouring States.

227. Unlike the situation in Laos, where a common desire and determination displayed by all Laotian sides enabled the parties to arrive at a peaceful settlement of their problems, the political conflict in the Khmer Republic remains unresolved. The tragic suffering endured by the Khmer people is a source of deep concern not only to Thailand but also to all other States in the region. We in Thailand, who have close historical and cultural ties with the Khmers, have no other wish but to see peace and tranquillity return to the country.

228. Thailand's basic approach towards the question of Cambodian representation has not changed. We continue to maintain that the Khmer people themselves should be allowed to solve their own political problems peacefully, free from outside intervention in whatever form. Such political settlement should be reached by the indigenous parties concerned, and nothing should be done in the United Nations which may prejudice the decision of the Khmer people and which may prolong the suffering and the loss of lives and property, including cultural treasures, in the Khmer Republic.

229. Our views are not based on personal preference for this or that personality. Nor do we concern ourselves with political ideology of this or that leadership. On the contrary, the attitude of my Government is governed by historical facts, the actual situation on the ground, and our firm adherence to the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of a State.

230. It is a historical fact that the leader of the former Government of Cambodia was removed from power not by force but by a vote in the national parliament in accordance with its own constitution. It is also a fact that the present leadership came into power not by the use of force but through constitutional means.

231. The present situation shows that the present and legitimate leadership in the Khmer Republic has effective control and support of the major portion of its population. The seat of its Government continues to be in Phnom Penh, the capital of the country. On the other hand, the other leadership, which is said to control some parts of the country, is a Government-in-exile with its headquarters in the capital of another State.

232. It is the considered view of my Government that the United Nations has neither the authority nor the jurisdiction to exercise self-determination for the Khmer people. The choice is theirs and theirs alone. Any United Nations action which is tantamount to a change of national leadership in the Khmer Republic is sheer interference in the domestic affairs of the Khmer people, and would create such an undesirable precedent that a government-in-exile of any independent State might challenge the legally constituted government within the State itself. Instead, the United Nations would do well to respond to the appeal made by the Government of the Khmer Republic at Phnom Penh on 9 July 1974 by giving support to all Khmers, whatever side they are on, and assisting them in bringing about the talks, without prior conditions, with a view to achieving a just and lasting peace guaranteeing the independence, neutrality and territorial integrity of the Khmer nation.

233. Thailand will continue its policy of good-neighbourliness and peaceful co-operation with all States in the area, irrespective of their political inclination or economic orientation. The security interests of each State in the region can only be safeguarded by strict compliance with the five principles of peaceful coexistence. In this respect, Thailand will not be found wanting.

234. Regional co-operation continues to be an important goal of Thailand's foreign policy. My delegation would like to refer in particular to the efforts of ASEAN to intensify and broaden the scope of co-



operation among member countries. It is with a keen awareness of collective responsibility born out of experience that we in ASEAN have adopted and continued the practice of regular consultations as a means of dealing with important matters affecting the peace and stability of our region.

235. My delegation recalls with satisfaction that the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly witnessed the participation, for the first time, of both the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the discussion of the Korean item. My delegation sincerely believes that the participation of both sides in the work of the Organization produced a positive result and that the consensus which finally emerged with the endorsement of both sides had a beneficial effect on the situation in that part of the world.

236. From the beginning, Thailand has actively contributed to the United Nations efforts in Korea, which were based on the legitimate right of the Korean people to decide their own destiny, peacefully and free from coercion. Consequently, my delegation whole-heartedly welcomed the joint communiqué of 4 July 1972 establishing a dialogue between the two sides and paving the way for their constructive co-operation and peaceful reunification. Thus, we supported the dissolution of the United Nations Commission for the Unification and Rehabilitation of Korea, which during its existence had performed a useful role.

237. Against this background it is deeply regrettable to note that the appeal for a widening of many-sided exchanges and co-operation between the South and the North, as envisaged in the consensus statement,<sup>11</sup> has not been fully answered. It has become apparent that the North-South dialogue has made little substantive progress. Moreover, there have also been other incidents which could exacerbate existing tensions on the Korean peninsula. There is, therefore, an even more urgent need at present for both parties—namely, the Republic of Korea and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea—to try to find accommodation with each other within the framework of last year's consensus, and to continue and carry to a successful conclusion the endeavour, which can only be to their own direct benefit and be conducive to the lessening of tension in that important part of Asia and the world.

238. With regard to the United Nations Command in Korea, we maintain our conviction that any decision concerning its future should be taken by the appropriate United Nations organ—that is, the Security Council—in accordance with the provisions of the Charter.

239. While the past 12 months have brought forth many momentous developments in the life of the United Nations, Thailand itself has also undergone innovative and evolutionary changes in its national life. The events of October last, led by the student movement, resulted in the change of our Government and has enabled the nation to improve upon its constitutional and political institutions. Respect for political and civil liberties is no longer an ideal but has truly become an everyday fact. Democracy, with the full participation of all people under constitutional rule, which will be reflected in the general elections due to be held early next year, is designed to promote

economic development and social justice for the equal benefit of all people. This new trend is a source of pride for our Government and people and, we hope, will strengthen national unity and ensure progress for the whole nation. We believe that such a development will contribute to greater understanding and harmony among all States in the region of South-East Asia.

240. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Spanish*): I shall now call on those representatives wishing to speak in exercise of their right of reply.

241. Mr. DURAN (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The General Assembly has repeatedly witnessed a very special tactic used by the Soviets and their satellite countries: they withdraw whenever they have to listen to a statement in right of reply. It is the old story of throwing the stone and hiding the hand. This describes their essential characteristic: that of making statements, false though they may be, and supporting them with force, without listening to reason. Yet they speak of dialogue among the peoples of the world. What a curious and strange way of engaging in dialogue!

242. We note this for the record in order to show once again the different attitudes of those of us devoted to free coexistence and those who practise the most abject totalitarianism.

243. This afternoon I only wish to address myself to one item mentioned repeatedly by the satellite countries and now by Czechoslovakia [2250th meeting]. I shall not use the *cliché* of Soviet international communism which has been repeated here by Democratic Yemen. Those speakers do not know what happened in Chile; I think they do not even know where it is geographically. But it is worth their while to know the events that occurred in our country because from them they will draw unforgettable lessons.

244. In August 1968, the world was shaken by the most unbelievable news: the Red Army had invaded Czechoslovakia; its tanks were rolling through Prague's streets, breaking up the pavement, and later shedding blood in the city. It was the brutal shock of the force of a powerful army against the youth of Czechoslovakia, who were defending their land and way of life within the socialist system but with independence and dignity. That could not be accepted by Soviet Russia and it acted as the world knows and as the world will forever remember.

245. We have come to this rostrum to recall it and to say to the Minister for Foreign Affairs of that nation that it would be useful for him to tell the world how many people died in that tragic hour of Czechoslovakia, how many people became refugees and how many disappeared, what human rights and what civil liberties there are in that satellite nation.

246. We understand that the Minister for Foreign Affairs knows these facts full well. However, we have been wondering why this desire to undertake, by way of an attack on Chile, a policy of investigation. I wish to state for the record that Chile is open to such a policy. Our frontiers are not closed to study or analysis of all the events that took place before and after 11 September 1973.

247. We think that because there should be an explanation of this unprecedented attitude on the part of the Czechoslovak Foreign Minister perhaps he would also wish for an investigation, but we should like the investigation to be a broad one, an investigation with respect also to Czechoslovakia, the Soviet Union, Hungary and all the nations that come to this international Organization and speak of the freedoms of which they have none and of the human rights which they do not practise.

248. The Minister for Foreign Affairs of Czechoslovakia mentioned the name of the Secretary-General of the Chilean Communist Party. Perhaps it is his way of repaying him for the speed with which he applauded the shameful occupation of Czechoslovakia, because it was the Secretary-General of the Chilean Communist Party who sent the first telegram of congratulations on the occasion of that unbelievable act.

249. We have not come to this rostrum to defend ourselves. We do not need to do so. The date 11 September represented a process which ended with the success of the Chilean people who had been active through strikes of their trade union organizations against a sovietized and enslaving Government. We have come here to say that free peoples should see in our example the strategy which the Soviet imperialist and aggressive system has been following in different countries of the world.

250. Perhaps because of the long distance involved—we have no frontiers with the Soviet Union, and this is a source of happiness for free man—we freed ourselves. Let the other peoples see that the hand which grabs at the throat and kills is going to fall on each of them using different strategies. We also received Soviet weapons. We received them through various routes with the intent of initiating criminal guerrilla warfare and horribly massacring the Chilean people.

251. We therefore come here with more than the language of defence, because the facts will support us day after day. We come here with the language of a friend, speaking to all friendly peoples of the world that they learn from our experience the Soviet strategy, operations and cold-bloodedness. May the example of Chile be a bell tolling and stirring the souls of free men, uniting all those who fight for freedom and dignity so that the totalitarian forces, just as the Nazi and the Fascist forces of yesterday, may not again threaten the eternal spirit of man.

252. Mr. MACKI (Oman) (*interpretation from Arabic*): Mr. President, when it is the turn of my delegation to speak at a later stage I shall present the congratulations of my country upon your election as President of this session of the General Assembly.

253. I have requested permission to speak at this late hour in order to answer what was said by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Democratic Yemen regarding my country. Since the establishment of the new Government in 1970 headed by His Majesty Sultan Qabus it has adhered to the Charter and applied the principles of the United Nations even before becoming a Member. It has indeed been the desire of the Government to carry out development internally as a result of the isolation which had been placed upon the country for 38 years and to transform it into a civilized State of the twentieth century.

254. Unfortunately, a neighbouring State Member of this Organization, which is supposed to adhere to the Charter of the United Nations, that is, Democratic Yemen, has interfered in the internal affairs of Oman through what it has called the Liberation Front of Oman and which, until recently, was called the Liberation Front of Oman and the Arabian Gulf. It has provided this destructive front with arms and weapons and all means of military training on its own land in order to be able from that land to penetrate into the southern part of Oman and carry out destructive activities. Oman has been engaged only in defending itself, its people and the unity of its land against destruction and annihilation. Such is the truth, because the people of Oman are practising their national legitimate rights within their own country with freedom under the present Government. Good-neighbourliness would compel the Government of Southern Yemen to stop interfering in the internal affairs of Oman and to allow its people to build its future in peace.

*The meeting rose at 8.40 p.m.*

#### NOTES

<sup>1</sup> Signed at Nicosia on 16 August 1960. See United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 382, No. 5475, p. 4.

<sup>2</sup> *Official Records of the Security Council, Sixteenth Year*, 934th meeting.

<sup>3</sup> *Official Records of the General Assembly, Sixth Special Session, Plenary Meetings*, 2209th meeting, para. 27.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, para. 47.

<sup>5</sup> Adopted as resolution 3093 (XXVIII).

<sup>6</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Eighteenth Session, Annexes*, addendum to agenda item 23, document A/5446 and Rev.1, chap. XIII, para. 73.

<sup>7</sup> A/9330 and Corr.1, p. 44.

<sup>8</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1768th meeting, para. 21.

<sup>9</sup> See *World Armaments and Disarmament*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, and London, England—Almqvist & Wiskell, Stockholm, Sweden, p. 3.

<sup>10</sup> See E/CONF.60/19 (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.

<sup>11</sup> See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-eighth Session, Supplement No. 30*, p. 24, item 41.