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President: Mr. Abdelaziz BOUTEFLIKA
 (Algeria).

Address by Mr. Giovanni Leone,
President of the Italian Republic

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*):
 On behalf of the General Assembly I have the honour to welcome to the United Nations His Excellency Mr. Giovanni Leone, the President of the Italian Republic, and to invite him to address the General Assembly.

2. Mr. LEONE (President of the Italian Republic):*
 First of all I should like to express my profound satisfaction at the opportunity that has been given to me to address my greetings to this Assembly which is being guided by such an eminent personality as yourself, Mr. President, the illustrious representative of a country which has always shown a profound faith in United Nations ideals and with which Italy maintains cordial and friendly relations. I would also like to thank you for your welcome. I consider it a great privilege to be able to convey the greetings and good wishes of my country to this Organization on which the interests of the world are fixed. Towards you and towards the United Nations are directed the expectations, the anxieties, the aspirations, the torments and the delusions of all the people of the world. Towards you are directed above all the hopes of our young people and I ask you to allow me to speak for them because I have spent 40 years teaching in Italian universities. These young people who are looking towards you are students, workers and indeed young people of every class, who often feel themselves cut off, deprived and stripped of every ideal and are anxiously seeking new expectations and new ideals. This is certainly the highest ideal that can be offered to the youth of the world: the organization of all the countries of the world brought together to strive for peace.

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

to settle disputes and to lay the foundation for a more equitable distribution of wealth and for greater justice among peoples. I believe that the renewal of these ideals of the United Nations will be useful for all communities but especially for those of young people. I would venture to point out that the United Nations embodies two aspects of an ideal and cultural tradition of my country: firstly, the sense of nationality or the respect for the sovereignty of countries based on their own national characteristics—a fundamental principle established by the great Italian jurist Pasquale Stanislao Mancini—and secondly, the sense of internationalism, of a meeting of countries in a vast community, in a great Organization.

3. To recount to you the history of the results achieved in almost 30 years of the activity of the United Nations seems to me not only superfluous but disrespectful. It is a history that we must describe realistically and courageously to the peoples of the world and we must inform them not only of the successes but also of our bitter thoughts at the delays and failures that have occurred. But certainly one result has been achieved: the spectre of a new world tragedy has been gradually disappearing from the world. We do not disregard the contribution, decisive at times, made in this respect by many bilateral and multilateral sources. However, even in the case of events which have been concluded or developed outside the United Nations, allow me to say, in a tribute to your work, that these events are the fruit of the spirit of the United Nations and often are also the fruit of its meetings and of the opportunities for understanding, agreement, dialogue and discussion which the United Nations provides for representatives of all the countries of the world.

4. One important problem which is in the forefront of your preoccupations is disarmament. Here I would like to recall what the Italian Foreign Minister, Mr. Moro, stated in this Hall when he outlined the strategy for peace. This strategy for peace requires patience, reflection, sacrifice and above all the determination never to relax our efforts. The world has become too small for its security to be confined to certain regions. Hence it is both necessary and useful to maintain close relations between countries for the solution of these problems. It is truly bewildering and frightening that in this century, particularly in recent years, we see, in contrast to the prodigious developments of science and technology, the re-emergence of attempts to use fear, violence, cruelty, inhumanity and terrorism.

5. But if certain initial results have been achieved in the efforts to avert the danger of a world tragedy, we must at the same time look upon other events, being aware that our efforts have been unsuccessful at times. If we think of the Middle East problem,

the Cyprus crisis and the conflicts that persist in South-East Asia, it becomes increasingly necessary for all Members of the United Nations to act effectively in the search for solutions to these political problems, which are serious also because of the human losses they involve.

6. As I think of the basic role of the United Nations in the maintenance of peace, I feel I should turn my thoughts with reverence and emotion to all those, including many Italians, who have sacrificed their lives in carrying out the assignments given them by the United Nations. They are true citizens of the world because they have placed themselves in the service of a universal ideal and they are the true expression of that collective conscience of mankind which turns towards you and brings before you its anguished demands.

7. I have added faith in the validity of the United Nations as I observe its growing response to the need for discussions, studies and regulations which continually emerge at a time of such rapid change. I refer in particular to the need to achieve economic and social progress.

8. Representatives in this Assembly and in the organizations of the United Nations firmly are becoming increasingly convinced that they must make a massive and creative effort to establish a new and more just order to meet the economic and social needs of the world's peoples. To this end, I would like to recall the most recent initiatives taken in the search for solutions to the problems of raw materials and development, the economic rights and duties of States, the utilization of the world's resources and the problem of food and world hunger. Quite recently, the Secretary-General, Mr. Waldheim, spoke out as the legitimate and effective interpreter of these urgent and often dramatic needs, inviting the nations of the world to make a more generous contribution. And having mentioned the name of Mr. Waldheim, I would like to pay him a special tribute of homage and sympathy. The field of action which opens up before us is immense; this constitutes a veritable challenge for our time.

9. I must also stress what your Organization has achieved in order to secure the universal recognition of basic human rights and of the liberation of peoples. Among the most important results attained we must mention the self-determination and emancipation of peoples, which has proved, as the United Nations had already proclaimed, not to favour one country or to be against another country, but to serve mankind as a whole, the advancement of peoples, the free development of the individual, the recognition of national sovereignty, and the exaltation of the independence and freedom of the human spirit.

10. All this gives us comfort and hope. And credit must be given to all those connected with the United Nations; beginning with the Secretary-General to whom I have just paid a tribute.

11. Italy has always made an active, intense, enthusiastic and responsible contribution to the activities of the United Nations. Allow me to recall with pride the period in which the presidency of the General Assembly was held by one of the most eminent Italian politicians, Mr. Fanfani [*twentieth session*].

This contribution has always given us an opportunity to continue, advance and strengthen that internationalism that I mentioned at the beginning of this brief address to the United Nations. The Italian Constitution, in whose elaboration I took part as a member of the Italian Assembly which adopted it, has established two basic principles: the repudiation of war as an instrument of solving disputes between peoples and the possibility of limiting national sovereignty as a direct means of eliminating conflicts and, above all, of bringing peoples together in the search for peace.

12. In following this tradition, which is also a tradition of thought and of the culture of the country which I have the honour of representing here, I pledge the unremitting and active participation of Italy in the work and progress of the United Nations and I express the hope that you, Mr. President, the United Nations and this Assembly will be able to work with ever-increasing enthusiasm and constructive action in the interest of peace and fraternity among peoples.

13. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): On behalf of the General Assembly I wish to thank His Excellency the President of the Italian Republic for the important statement he has just made.

Mr. Siclait (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

AGENDA ITEM 9

General debate (*continued*)

14. Mr. GÓMEZ BERGÉS (Dominican Republic) (*interpretation from Spanish*): Mr. President, before beginning my statement on behalf of the delegation of the Dominican Republic I should like to express in this General Assembly the great sorrow which overwhelms the Government and people of the Dominican Republic at the tragedy which our sister Republic of Honduras is living through. Honduras which, in this period of its history, is making extraordinary efforts to achieve progress on the road towards development, at this time suddenly has to face the violent forces of destiny. There has been practically total destruction as though an apocalyptic hand wanted to plunge it into despair. But that is why we are all here, the sister republics of Honduras, meeting in this international forum so that we may here raise our voices and help in an effective manner the families which are at this time living through terrible anxiety. We express our solidarity with and condolences to Honduras.

15. The Dominican Republic, which takes pride in being one of the founding Members of the United Nations, has always paid its tribute of faith to the principles of the Organization, which have opened up new horizons for an international legal order, the structure of which has since its establishment resisted the onslaughts on the circumstances of life of peoples, is pleased to extend to the President of the General Assembly, Mr. Abdelaziz Bouteflika, our most cordial good wishes on his election, through the unanimous will of the countries represented here, to allow him to preside over this session and to guide us with his well-known experience and wisdom in the tasks which await us.

16. We know very well that, as well as having eminent qualifications, he is a patriot determined to bring about the progress of Algeria so as to maintain in the forefront the prestige which it enjoys as a country which loves peace and independence, which has outstanding virtues and is concerned to see that the ideals and principles of the Charter will also contribute to the rule of peace and brotherhood among all peoples. Thus, our delegation is aware that your enlightened mind will assist us to find during this session the most correct solutions to the problems that we shall be dealing with under our agenda, and thus to fulfil the objectives laid down in San Francisco when the United Nations came into being.

17. Mr. President, we are certain that you too represent the continuity of that humanistic and universalist philosophy which has been represented here so brilliantly by Mr. Leopoldo Benites, an illustrious son of Ecuador, a man whose impact is already continental and universal.

18. In the course of the year that has elapsed between the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth sessions of the General Assembly, there have been negative international events which we have had to deplore and which have had repercussions on our Organization, the guiding genius in which the peoples that created it entrusted their major objectives for peace and universal solidarity.

19. Yet it is those very events which put to the test the principles of the Charter and the complicated mechanisms available for the attainment of the fundamental objectives. For that reason we must recognize that we must also be convinced that there have been positive events on which the task of the United Nations is nourished.

20. We must have the hope that the sanctity of nature which is approaching is the foundation of a new beginning, of a new history. Our motto from now on should be: we shall all work. Nothing could give us more encouragement than these wise words of the immortal North American poet Walt Whitman: "If you don't find me at once, don't be discouraged; if I am not there, look for me elsewhere. I am waiting for you. Somewhere I am waiting for you."

21. All our peoples are convinced that since the State came into being as a legal concept propelled by the history of civilization up to the present time and since the beginnings of the concept of law, which in America goes back to the "Sunday before Christmas in 1511 when in Santo Domingo the Dominican Antonio de Montesinos delivered a sermon in a church with a cane roof", a revolutionary sermon which he himself called "a voice crying out in the wilderness" and which the immortal Dominican humanist Pedro Henríquez Ureña later called "one of the great events of our spiritual history", these concepts have constituted the most astonishing invention which the mind of man could have created to ensure the survival of the human species despite all the destructive forces which very often have threatened to eradicate the little world we live in.

22. The certainty that we gain from these facts which history and philosophy teach us should be for us and for all the peoples represented in this Organ-

ization the supreme factor which encourages us even more to become stronger, to recognize that, while it is true that very often some events have aroused inevitable and convenient criticism and others have been viewed as signs of a weakening in the attainment of our fundamental objectives, it is no less true that in every case the principles have become stronger.

23. No one can deny that in this century of the atom the horror of war could lead to the destruction of the planet. Our Organization, far from remaining static—although some of its principles have been violated in circumstances which have led some to believe in a crisis of the law—has proved, as has been said, that: "Development of relations among States in the world of today could not be conceived of without a universal organization of the scope of the United Nations. If the United Nations did not exist, we would have to invent it."

24. Because of changes in political thinking in a period in history in which our civilization is going through a transition which was already forecast by perhaps unexpected developments and which will change the face of the world, in past years we have expressed similar concepts in response to the quest for constructive solutions; among these we might mention the system of international security and defence.

25. The fact that we are witnessing quick changes in ideas which require profound revisions in the systems of law among States, and accordingly in the Charter, has been recognized lately, with great vigour and decisiveness, in the Latin American region.

26. Hence, the Organization of American States [OAS] in carrying out in-depth studies which have led to drafts for fundamental reforms of the constituent instrument, which will be submitted to the fifth General Assembly to be held in April 1975 and to be preceded by the Consultative Meeting of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, to be held in Quito next November. That must be the point of departure for the revitalization and reorganization of the OAS, so that it may continue to serve as an effective instrument for the aspirations to peace, development and integration of the peoples of our continent. This means that in this forum too we have felt the vigorous onslaught of changes in structure which, although they have been correct and effective for a long time, have now been powerfully affected by the new facts of the international procedures, thus confirming the postulate that principles are nothing more than an emanation of necessity.

27. The Latin American region can be proud at this time that it is testing with useful results—at least so far—an effective instrument which inevitably will be called upon to be more general in international relations. I am referring to the new dialogue.

28. We would like to refer logically to the dialogue that started in Bogotá within the broadest framework of brotherhood and equality where, with great clarity and sincere frankness, the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of Latin America decided to hold talks with the Secretary of State of the United States of America, Mr. Henry Kissinger, so as to seek by joint agreement—all Latin America united, together with the United States—the solution of the most immediate

problems of the countries south of the River Bravo. This new dialogue was continued in Tlatelolco, in the beautiful capital of Mexico, and later in Washington.

29. We can point with satisfaction to the spirit of Tlatelolco, as we have called this new dawn of a meeting of minds among Latin American countries, without claiming to lay down standards for other regions of the world, since other problems, such as those which affect other areas in Europe and Asia, may find in a similar policy legal, practical and honourable solutions such as permanent peace in the Middle East and a solution of the Cyprus case, to mention only two striking examples.

30. With regard to the Third World, it is no bold statement to affirm that one of the causes which regrettably affect respect for human rights, without involving in it the blind crudity of political passions, is forceful measures and the great dissatisfactions aroused by the underdevelopment of peoples, and this is cruder and rougher when it reflects unemployment and poverty which bring about a confrontation between the scant resources available to satisfy these needs and the impossibility of making those resources sufficient.

31. Thus we cannot fail to support, as we have supported in the past, in this General Assembly the need which cannot be postponed to give priority to the claims of the countries of the Third World. Even though it cannot be denied that progress has been made in that direction, we must frankly admit that in fact there exists no effective dynamic action for a frontal approach to the problem created by underdevelopment in more than 100 areas of the world in so far as the jurisdiction of the United Nations extends. We therefore advocate the application in this field of the postulate whereby the developed countries of the world have contracted a natural obligation to contribute so that the countries of the Third World may more speedily attain development.

32. That is the policy drawn by the Charter of Algiers,¹ where the matter was considered in its full, tragic consequences with the recognition, therefore, that it is an undeniable truth that the world of today gyrates around the economy, which is the axis which centralizes all constructive forces, on which depend the inevitable and changing social developments of peoples, which are so personally linked to the economic developments that there is not a single activity of social gathering or of man himself, individually, which does not depend on the economic tides which show the alternatives to our present civilization.

33. With regard to international progress, on the other hand, there are perspectives within the present international situation which lead to the recognition that there is a substantial advance towards progressively normalizing situations which have been of concern to States and peoples and which have prevented agreements which would facilitate and reduce to a minimum the causes that bring about a departure from the line of conduct drawn for permanent peace by the United Nations, within its legal order for all peoples.

34. It is encouraging to contemplate that some obstacles that had seemed to be insuperable have been removed from the road so as to bring about the essential reconciliation required by the concept of universality, which should govern an organization such as ours which already has welcomed more than 138 sovereign and independent States and will receive into the world family more States in compliance with the principles of the self-determination of peoples and the total decolonization of the world, an event in relation to which all peoples can legitimately consider themselves to be brothers.

35. Because of the effectiveness which we attach to dialogue, in an atmosphere of friendship and equality and constructive frankness, as a method which should be attempted more frequently in the new diplomacy, we have removed certain clouds which shadowed the prospect of a better understanding between the United States of America and the Soviet Union, as well as with the People's Republic of China.

36. We do not believe that it is going too far to affirm that this has been the result of the fact that confrontation has been followed by a new and sound criterion of negotiation following the best course for men and nations, so that sooner or later all the rough edges which bar the way to international harmony may be made smooth.

37. Concerning the Law of the Sea, two years ago our country had the privilege to be the host for the 1972 Specialized Conference of the Caribbean Countries on Problems of the Sea. As the result of the deliberations of that important gathering, which was attended by all the Ministers for Foreign Affairs of all the countries of Central America and the Caribbean, a new instrument was drafted, called the Declaration of Santo Domingo.²

38. The agenda covered many important aspects on that subject, among which we considered the territorial sea and the exploitation and conservation of marine species, as well as the régime for the sea-bed, within our joint geographical circumscription, and we also dealt with concrete aspects of pollution as the merciless enemy of marine fertility.

39. On that memorable occasion, the idea of the patrimonial sea was stated, the idea of exclusive exploitation not to extend more than 200 miles starting from the base lines.

40. The results obtained were undeniably positive in effect, and they have had fruitful repercussions at the second session of the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, held at Caracas in 1974, on the fascinating subject of the wealth of the sea and its subsoil as a promising way out for the problem raised by shortages of food and of overpopulation, the projections of which are alarming everywhere in the world.

41. It was a fortunate coincidence that the Specialized Conference, held in Santo Domingo in 1954, on the territorial sea, the continental shelf and exploitation of the wealth of the sea and related matters, suggested as a conflictive contribution the concept of exploitation, which was an advance over the doctrinaire formulations regarding horizontality and verticality as modules within which the rights of the

coastal countries adopted in 1954 in the Geneva Conventions should be regulated.

42. The Dominican Republic therefore has for decades been co-operating for the development and adoption of a new legal régime for the sea. It was with these convictions that we were present at Caracas, and while the Conference there did not arrive at a draft convention on this important subject, which involves the interests of all countries equally, it is no less true that it will make it possible to arrive at final formulations on the points on which no agreement was reached at Caracas, particularly in respect of the criterion of the Dominican Republic that major industrial installations on narrow straits must be the subject of negotiations so as to contribute to the prevention of any kind of pollution.

43. Concerning new States, when we consider the perspective offered by the continuous growth of the United Nations, we must rejoice at the fact that the prophecy that we would arrive at the universality desired by its founders, made when it took its first steps in an uncertain world, has been fulfilled.

44. We also recognize that this decision on the part of the new States to become Members of the Organization shortly after achieving independence is an unequivocal sign that the Organization is moving forward and that its instruments are effective for the attainment of its objectives, despite changes which occur internally in States and internationally.

45. With these convictions, our delegation is pleased and honoured to welcome Bangladesh, Guinea-Bissau and Grenada. We are certain that, as they were able to win independence, so they will be able to share the common responsibilities of all States Members of the United Nations.

46. I turn now to Panama. It is of great benefit to America that, after the meetings of the Security Council held in the city of Panama, where all the Latin American countries supported the position of Panama in its claims for a revision of the Canal Treaty, and after the visit and the dialogue with Mr. Henry Kissinger, negotiations have been started in a spirit of friendship, mutual equality and respect. This is a step forward towards the changes proclaimed in the last international meetings in the Latin American region.

47. America has started what we have called the new dialogue, which we are taking advantage of only to implement, through a practical, coherent and harmonious system and in accordance with the most deeply felt needs of Latin America, the plans and projects which we need to face the reality of our own situations.

48. To speak now of a policy for accelerated economic development: at this very hour the countries of the world are meeting in the highest of the international forums and come here loaded with beautiful illusions and with a series of beautiful formulas backed by arguments which are profoundly convincing but often difficult to translate into reality, and require that at this time we frankly and honestly put a stop to the uncontrolled outpouring of projects, plans and programmes, many of which have failed to provide the expected results.

49. We are going to make a sincere suggestion to the countries that are gathered here, particularly to the countries of Latin America. Basically we suggest that we should seek a mechanism or the mechanisms necessary for the true, ultimate development of our peoples.

50. In these times much is said about the population explosion, which has given rise to great discussions and important meetings, such as the World Population Conference held at Bucharest from 19 to 30 August 1974. FAO met in Panama not long ago to speak about the need to increase agricultural production. In Yugoslavia, from 16 to 22 of this month, the second round-table was held on agro-industry. Much is said of the need to obtain investments for the principal industries and, above all, much is said about the energy crisis and about inflation as one of the problems which have absorbed all mankind in recent times.

51. We cannot deny that the apparently disproportionate rise in prices brought about by the petroleum-producing countries lies at the root of the disconcerting runaway inflation which shakes to its very foundations the culture of super-consumption and the relative prosperity maintained up to now. The drama of the situation is clear when we compare the prices of some commodities: a metric ton of corn in 1972 cost \$51; in January 1974 it rose to \$122. The price of wheat which, in large measure, is a world food staple, rose from \$60 per metric ton in 1972 to \$214 in January 1974. Rice, which is one of the products of highest consumption in the underdeveloped countries, rose alarmingly from \$131 per metric ton in January 1972 to \$538 in January of this year.

52. The ominous consequences of this dramatic economic process have had the most catastrophic and desperate impact on the poorest countries, where hunger and malnutrition have killed millions and millions of human beings and will do vast harm to future generations, since the infant mortality rate of the poor countries attained its highest point during the year 1973, which surely history will baptize the year of malnutrition and human wretchedness.

53. Despite these facts, we realize that the process seems to be irreversible. That is why we are convinced, and we wish to make this known to this Assembly, that the means of solving our problems is the rational and intensive exploitation of our soil and at the same time the industrialization of its products, our goal being to attain maximum productivity.

54. This policy will of necessity lead us to use the most modern agricultural tools and equipment and the most advanced technical methods in the administration of production, industrialization and marketing programmes for agrarian products and, together with agrarian reform, would complement the integral development of Latin America.

55. It is necessary to incorporate into our development plans the concept of agro-industry, which calls for industries to be established where agriculture is being practised, so as to bring to our agricultural peoples not only the possibility of taking part in enterprises which would ensure them a fixed income, social security, bonuses, old-age pensions, and so on, but also an opportunity to educate their

children, to change their habits and to raise their standard of living, which bears no comparison with the standard of living of the urban workers, who enjoy high salaries and relative equality of opportunity.

56. This policy is different from the policy of import substitution, which leads to an industry without a capacity for innovation and is always underdeveloped. It obliges economic integration to start with micro-economic units forming part of a harmonious scheme, until they can be moulded into a single body able to generate the necessary energy to satisfy every need with the greatest possible social justice. It would furthermore be a rational method of halting the great migration of people from the rural areas to the urban centres, attracted by the illusion of a non-existent industrial development.

57. It has been said that an integrated agro-industry is a modern enterprise aiming to industrialize one of the most ancient and most important activities of mankind. Hence it is not new; it is the clear and objective definition of its goals that is new, as is also the certainty that it constitutes an effective and fundamental mechanism for a genuine solution to our problems.

58. The world is today facing one of the gravest crises ever recorded in the history of mankind, and that is the disproportion between food production and world population growth. There are even large areas of the world where agricultural production has decreased substantially in the past years.

59. The essential reason for this almost general deficit in agricultural production is fundamentally based on the lack of a clear policy which would motivate man and lead him to work his soil in the social conditions required by the world today, such as the technology, the training and administration, the financing and marketing, so that the optimum yield may be obtained from the soil.

60. It is no accident that cane sugar was, has been and will continue to be one of the main substances of the economic process of the Dominican Republic, and that the manner in which it is sown, harvested and processed is industrial, with a high degree of technology—this is one of the spheres where man has been able to produce raw materials at the lowest prices. Cane sugar and its industrial processing constitute a powerful agro-industry in many of our countries, which allow for effective agricultural and industrial yields for the economies of our people.

61. The man in the field must have in his hands the necessary means to extract the highest yields from nature. Nature, which is wise, has always had its own mechanisms, and since the very beginning of mankind there have always been, although not in the dramatic proportions of today, population growth and production deficit. And today all that we men have achieved has been to create some of the necessary elements for a precarious subsistence for the vast majority of our peoples.

62. That is why we make an appeal from this international forum so that all countries, and in particular the Latin American countries, may consider the adoption of this policy, since Latin America is the area of the greatest hope of the world. It is the

area of the world which is least exploited, where the land has not yet been worked technically, where the man in the field constitutes 70 per cent of our population of 300 million inhabitants today, and it is the region that could become one of the most productive areas of the world.

63. Regrettably, so far most economic policies in our area have been circumscribed to the mere subsistence of the individual. Few times and in few countries has any thought been given to or action taken of heroic proportions to face our ills.

64. We are totally convinced of the effectiveness of the system of agrarian reform, because in our country, which has a territory of barely 48,070 square kilometres, in the last eight years, under the administration of the constitutional government of Mr. Joaquín Balaguer, thousands and thousands of families have achieved a substantial increase in their agricultural production. But if we were to create the concept of the manager of the field and make of it a reality, "a manager and man from the city in the field", possibly the social mutation that would occur in our countries would have highly positive repercussions for future generations, because if the man of the city were to go to the field and set himself up with a large enterprise, in a constitutionally legal manner, as was done in the Dominican Republic, the land would become the property of the one who cultivated it, with laws for minimum salary, social security benefits and other kinds of benefits for workers in the field, like the treatment accorded workers in the city; then migrations towards urban centres would be reduced and small countries, such as mine, for example, could relatively easily become societies where all the men who work in the field, would have electricity, television sets, refrigerators and all the advances of modern times, together with fresh air and the beauty of nature.

65. Obviously the State must provide these managers with the necessary resources, such as the required infrastructure, so that the execution of these projects follows standards of productivity, with a minimum of expenditures, as incentives for the development of managerial skills of this kind.

66. It is also vital for international institutions such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank to intensify their actions so that this type of undertaking may serve the purposes sought.

67. Two decades ago the world had an eminently political criterion. Today the criterion is eminently economic. The most obvious proof is how world policy has changed because of the surprising rise in oil prices and the sudden development of such countries as Brazil and Venezuela, which have now attained some of the highest production levels and some of the highest standards of living ever recorded in their history by those great and powerful South American nations.

68. Most of the countries of Latin America have suffered a great ill, and there is no more important forum than the General Assembly of the United Nations for us to carry out our own self-criticism. And this great ill is the legendary tendency to live by asking for help from the powerful, at a risk of un-

dermining the self-determination of our people, to find ways for the powerful to help us, while we maintain an attitude almost of indifference, and not just of collective irresponsibility, expecting others to do things for us, instead of facing our problems with our own intelligence, our own resources and our own means.

69. The world of today—and absolutely no one disputes this—is made up of a series of independent States with interdependent economies. It is now clear that all the key economic factors must be assessed, both in relation to their national repercussions as well as their international repercussions. It is only in our times that the world leaders seem to have become fully aware of the importance of what has been called economic interdependence. As an expert on economics at Harvard University, Professor Raymond Bermond, said: “Suddenly sovereign States feel naked. Concepts of national sovereignty and a national economic potential seem to be curiously lacking in meaning.”

70. We wish to emphasize that perhaps the most curious aspect of this new development of interdependence is that the reactions that have been aroused have followed no foreseeable standard. Few developed or developing countries seem to know how to deal with this. Some consider this as coercion and others consider it as an opportunity. But there is complete agreement only in assuring that interdependence is a fact and that it would seem that in certain circumstances it may represent an unprecedented opportunity for development and prosperity.

71. However, we cannot ignore the fact that, unless we achieve genuine and integral development in our peoples, interdependence will come to an end, and we shall go back to the humiliating and anachronistic dependence which violates the most elementary principles of the integrity of our State.

72. To strengthen this thesis and so that we may be conscious of the fact that all that we have stated here is absolutely feasible, we need do no more than read articles 29, 30 and part of 31 of the Charter of the Organization of American States, as amended by the Protocol of Buenos Aires, of 27 February 1967,³ which state the following:

“Article 29. The Member States, inspired by the principles of inter-American solidarity and co-operation, pledge themselves to a united effort to ensure social justice in the Hemisphere and dynamic and balanced economic development for their peoples, as conditions essential to peace and security.

“Article 30. The Member States pledge themselves to mobilize their own national human and material resources through suitable programs, and recognize the importance of operating within an efficient domestic structure, as fundamental conditions for their economic and social progress and for assuring effective inter-American co-operation.

“Article 31. To accelerate their economic and social development, in accordance with their own methods and procedures and within the framework of the democratic principles and the institutions of the inter-American system, the Member

States agree to dedicate every effort to achieve the following basic goals:

- “(a) Substantial and self-sustained increase in the *per capita* national product;
- “(b) Equitable distribution of national income;
- “(c) Adequate and equitable systems of taxation;
- “(d) Modernization of rural life and reforms leading to equitable and efficient land-tenure systems, increased agricultural productivity, expanded use of undeveloped land, diversification of production; and improved processing and marketing systems for agricultural products; and the strengthening and expansion of facilities to attain these ends;
- “(e) Accelerated and diversified industrialization, especially of capital and intermediate goods;
- “(f) Stability in the domestic price levels, compatible with sustained economic development and the attainment of social justice;
- “(g) Fair wages, employment opportunities, and acceptable working conditions for all;

“...”

73. We are aware that the analysis that we have thought agro-industry deserves does not require so much attention by the countries which, benefiting from the wealth of the subsoil, have been able to make up for some of the poverty with other structures where an extraction industry mobilizes large amounts of capital and thereby have obtained an accelerated course towards development and self-sufficiency.

74. If we, the peoples of America, are to achieve and bring to a happy conclusion and concrete reality the programmes for agricultural development and industrialization, we shall all of us see our efforts crowned with glory and the efforts of those illustrious statesmen who, with their brave deeds and their glories and the courage of their peoples and the firmness with which they have brandished their swords, gave us our freedom and thereby the right to go on promising and attaining the establishment of a just society where slavery will never exist, nor servility, nor dependence.

75. On behalf of my delegation, permit me to pay a tribute to peace, which is the supreme objective of the United Nations, on the fulfilment of whose principles the destiny of mankind depends more than ever today. Peace is all the more hidden when we most seek it. It most hides when it is best loved. It is most confused when it is nearest. It is most sacred when it is distant. It is most radiant when it is denied.

Mr. Bouteflika (Algeria) resumed the Chair.

76. The great geniuses of political thinking of antiquity and of modern times have tried to define peace within its philosophical vastness. Let me here, however, simply state the theological thinking of St. Augustine, who said:

“The peace of men is orderly concord; peace at home is agreed uniformity among those in author-

ity and those who obey and live in it; peace in the city is the orderly concord of citizens and neighbours in ruling and obeying; peace in all things is tranquillity in order, and order is nothing more than a disposition of equal and unequal things, which gives to each its proper place."

77. Mr. AHMED (Pakistan): Mr. President, it gives my delegation great pleasure to offer you warm felicitations on your election as President of the General Assembly. We regard this election as recognition of the notable role played by Algeria in the furtherance of the just causes of the third world. You are a symbol too of the dynamic and resurgent forces of liberation that animate the great continent of Africa, forces which will continue to have our resolute support.

78. I should like to take this opportunity to pay our tribute to Mr. Leopoldo Benites of Ecuador, who presided with distinction over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly, as well as over its momentous sixth special session.

79. I wish to express also the distress of my country at the appalling tragedy that has struck Honduras and to convey to those who have suffered the deep sympathy of the people of Pakistan.

80. My country joins other Members of the United Nations in welcoming the People's Republic of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau as new Members of this Organization. We look forward to the distinctive contributions we know they will make to the work of the United Nations.

81. The past year has taken us somewhat closer to the realization of the objectives of the Organization. There have been welcome serious moves to resolve the long-standing Arab-Israeli conflict in order to bring peace to the Middle East. In Africa, a momentous step has been taken towards decolonization. The Third World has succeeded in promoting widespread recognition of the need for a more equitable international economic order. These are positive developments, but we have yet far to travel to reach our goal.

82. The world is still haunted by a pervasive sense of insecurity and, as a result of the mounting inflationary pressures, the poorer nations face a desperate struggle for economic survival.

83. The *détente* between the super-Powers has gone some considerable way in relaxing tensions in Europe. It does not, however, encompass all regions of the world. To say this is not to belittle the important agreements that have been reached between these Powers. In the field of disarmament the strategic arms accords are in the nature only of preliminary steps in the direction of arms control. But, in absolute terms and in the context of the commitments undertaken under article VI of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons [*resolution 2373 (XXII), annex*], they fall considerably short of what the world expects from these Powers in the matter of promoting the objective of general and complete disarmament. Undoubtedly, this is not a matter which lends itself to a quick solution. Nevertheless, the progress so far made has been painfully slow.

84. On the other hand, the development of science and technology, particularly nuclear technology, has

proceeded apace. Today, a large number of countries can acquire, should they so choose, the capability to develop nuclear weapons. That they might actually do so was brought sharply home to the world by the explosion of a nuclear device this year by yet another country, India. This is a development of grave import.

85. The Government of India affirms that its nuclear explosion was intended entirely for peaceful purposes. The real difficulty lies in the fact that, in technological terms, there is no difference between a nuclear explosion for peaceful purposes and one that is conducted to develop a nuclear weapon. There is the further danger that India's experiment may have removed the restraint on nuclear proliferation and, unless effective safeguards can be provided against it, the Indian example may be emulated by others.

86. India's nuclear explosion came up for discussion at the Fifth Islamic Conference, attended by 37 countries, which met in Kuala Lumpur in June this year. It unanimously adopted a resolution which, inter alia, called upon all nuclear-weapon States to give a solemn undertaking in the nature of an obligation not to use nuclear weapons against any non-nuclear-weapon State. In the view of my Government, such an undertaking is necessary not only in itself: it is needed also if nuclear proliferation is to be checked.

87. There is one other line of action which might be fruitfully pursued in our search for security. It is now widely recognized that the goal of general and complete disarmament can be brought nearer by collateral measures such as the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the world. The General Assembly has commended this idea on several occasions. The non-nuclear States Conference also adopted a decision to this effect in 1968. The countries members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations [ASEAN] have taken a similar stand against the introduction of nuclear weapons in their region. The Organization of African Unity [OAU] has taken the same position with regard to Africa. In Latin America, a treaty is already in effect aimed at making that area a nuclear-free zone. On this year's agenda [*item 101*] there is a similar proposal, jointly introduced by Iran and Egypt, with regard to the Middle East.

88. Nearly two years ago the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Mr. Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, proposed that South Asia should be declared a nuclear-free zone [*see A/9706, explanatory memorandum, para. 2*]. Other countries of South Asia have also proclaimed their opposition to the introduction of nuclear weapons into the region, or their acquisition. Sri Lanka conceives the zone of peace in the Indian Ocean proposed by it as being free of nuclear weapons. The Government of India also has repeatedly asserted that it has no intention of acquiring nuclear weapons and remains opposed to military uses of nuclear energy.

89. Pakistan feels that this common desire of the States of South Asia now needs to be translated into a formal arrangement. A model for such an agreement already exists in the Treaty of Tlatelolco.⁴ That treaty not only contains an unequivocal commitment by the regional States not to acquire or manufacture nuclear weapons: it establishes a régime for independent observation and verification of explo-

sions conducted for peaceful purposes as a safeguard against the diversion of peaceful nuclear programmes to military ends.

90. We are confident that all Members of the United Nations that desire to promote a climate of peace in South Asia and all those that, like us, feel concerned at the prospect of nuclear proliferation will welcome the proposal to declare the South Asian region a nuclear-free zone. Pakistan considers that the proposal to create such a zone in the Middle East also is a timely initiative, for the danger of nuclear proliferation looms large in that area as well.

91. We are happy to note that the situation in the South Asian subcontinent is progressively returning to normal. Bangladesh was recognized by Pakistan in February of this year. By the end of April, following two agreements between Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, all of the prisoners of war had been repatriated to Pakistan. And thanks to the very valuable assistance given by the United Nations under the able leadership of its Secretary-General, some 250,000 Bangladesh and Pakistan nationals stranded in either country had been repatriated to their homes by a massive air operation. These developments cleared the way for further steps to be taken for the normalization of the situation in the subcontinent as envisaged in the Simla Agreement.⁵ Accordingly, experts of the two countries met recently and concluded an agreement for the restoration of postal and telecommunications and travel facilities between the two countries. They also agreed to examine the questions of resumption of air links and trade at an early date.

92. It is obvious that normalization of relations is not an end in itself; it is only a means of achieving the larger objective of peace, so that the peoples of the subcontinent may be able to devote their pitifully limited resources principally to eradicating poverty and hunger rather than fritter them away in senseless conflict and confrontation. A firm commitment to the principles of peaceful coexistence, mutual respect for the sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity of each country and a just and equitable settlement of their differences remain essential prerequisites to the building of a durable structure of peace.

93. The presence of Bangladesh as a Member of the United Nations marks a new relationship between the peoples of Bangladesh and Pakistan. The fraternal sentiments that animate them were vividly reflected in the warm welcome accorded to Sheikh Mujibur Rahman when he visited Lahore to attend the Islamic Summit Conference and in the tumultuous welcome Prime Minister Bhutto received when he arrived in Bangladesh. Undoubtedly some problems remain to be settled. Given goodwill and understanding, these too, we hope, will be solved. It is now increasingly recognized by the people of both countries that they must rise above the tragic events of 1971 and, in their mutual interest, work as sovereign and equal nations for the establishment of a friendly and co-operative relationship.

94. Against the background of these developments aimed at promoting subcontinental reconciliation and reinforcing the foundations of peace in the region, it is a matter of considerable disappointment to us that our relations with our other neighbour, Afghanistan, should be strained at this moment. This is all the more

unfortunate when every consideration—historical, geographical, political, cultural or economic—demands that the relations between the two countries should be especially close and friendly. We trust that the present unsatisfactory state of these relations is only a passing phase. It is the settled policy of my Government that we establish "the best possible relationship with Afghanistan" and, so far as we can, we will continue to work towards that end.

95. During the last year, war has erupted in two areas. On 6 October last year the fourth Arab-Israeli war broke out—the inevitable consequence of international failure to help settle the issues arising out of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. A cease-fire was brought about as a result of Security Council resolution 338 (1973) of 22 October. That was followed by a period of intense diplomacy and, thanks to the remarkable efforts of Mr. Henry Kissinger, the United States Secretary of State, and the sense of realism displayed by the parties to the conflict, the guns were silenced and the disengagement of forces was eventually effected.

96. But disengagement is no settlement. By itself it is not peace. It is only a preliminary step towards facilitating negotiations for a peaceful settlement. The Islamic Summit which met in Lahore in February this year unanimously resolved that the essential elements of a durable settlement are: first, the complete withdrawal by Israel from the Arab territories occupied by it; second, the full restitution of the national rights of the Palestinian people; and third, the restoration of Arab sovereignty over Jerusalem. All these elements derive from the principles of a just peace in the Middle East set out in Security Council resolution 242 (1967). Short of a settlement on these lines, there will be no durable peace in the Middle East.

97. In July fighting broke out in Cyprus following a *coup d'état* against its constitutionally established Government, engineered by the Greek military junta in order to annex the island. This was a flagrant violation of the London and Zurich Agreements, which guaranteed the independence of Cyprus. Turkey, which, together with Britain and Greece, is a guarantor of the independence of the island, moved in, both in order to discharge its obligations under those Agreements and to protect the Turkish community in Cyprus. It is fortunate that Greece now has a democratic Government and we hope that a lasting settlement can be achieved which fully safeguards the legitimate interests of both the Turkish and the Greek-Cypriot communities.

98. In regard to the Korean peninsula the encouraging trends which the Assembly noted last year have not produced the desired progress towards the reunification of that divided country. Pakistan will support any measures that the parties consider conducive to achieving the objective of peaceful reunification.

99. The presence of the delegation of Guinea-Bissau in this Hall today is an event of more than passing significance. It marks the culmination of a long and unrelenting struggle by a people determined to free itself from colonial rule. It is the harbinger of the end of colonialism wherever it still exists. In bidding welcome to the representatives of Guinea-Bissau and expressing the hope that they will soon be joined by representatives of the other Territories under Portu-

guese control, we should like also to felicitate the new leadership of Portugal on the imaginative steps it is taking to liquidate its colonial empire in Africa in recognition of the legitimacy of the African liberation movement. We trust that the racist régimes in South Africa and Rhodesia will draw the necessary lessons from this development.

100. I now turn to the grim economic crisis that faces the developing countries. The future of the peoples of South Asia and much of the third world is today threatened by a danger of global proportions. It is caught up in an inflationary squeeze. Vast populations in the developing countries suffer from hunger and privation while the developed world is preoccupied with its own problems of inflation and monetary instability.

101. These grave problems constitute perhaps the greatest challenge which at present faces the nations of the world—rich or poor. They have accumulated over the decades, due in large part to the failure of the international community, and particularly the affluent nations, to accept and make the adjustments necessary to build a just and balanced world economic order, even when such adjustments were called for in the interests of the developed countries themselves.

102. The General Assembly demonstrated a welcome unanimity at its sixth special session last April on recommendations to deal with the immediate difficulties facing countries which have been most severely affected by the current economic crisis. A number of countries have responded to the emergency operation to be launched by the Secretary-General as a first step in the Special Programme established by resolution 3202 (S-VI). Special mention may be made of the generous assistance rendered by some of the oil-producing countries, particularly Iran, Saudi Arabia, Abu Dhabi, Kuwait and Venezuela. These countries are making commendable efforts, bilaterally as well as through multilateral channels, to ease the burden of the developing countries most severely hit by the high rise in prices. A much greater effort by the international community, however, would be required to assist these countries if the relief is to be commensurate with the magnitude of the formidable difficulties they face.

103. Emergency relief alone is no substitute for the more fundamental changes needed to prevent the recurrence of such a catastrophic situation. So far, there is little evidence of any progress having been made towards the new economic order called for by the sixth special session of the General Assembly [*resolution 3201 (S-VI)*]. Nothing is being done to improve the terms of trade of the developing countries, to provide them greater access to the markets of the developed countries, or to build a monetary system which ensures the transfer of the needed resources to the developing countries. Unless such fundamental changes are made to restructure economic relations between the industrialized countries and the third world, the developing countries may have to consider whether they can continue to play a game in which they are cast as the perpetual losers.

104. Most of the policies being considered in world financial circles to deal with the current balance-of-payments deficits of the developed countries give rise to doubts and fears. Those developing countries

which do not produce oil may be further squeezed by the deflationary policies of the industrialized world. There may even be an actual transfer of their financial resources, in the form of payments for higher oil bills, to the developed countries and by way of the heavy investments being made by oil-producing countries in the industrialized nations. The eventual outcome of such a process could be an economic collapse in most developing countries.

105. The best way to assist developing countries in their present economic difficulties is to ensure the injection of a substantial proportion of international monetary liquidity, in the form of investment and concessionary assistance, into the developing world. This would generate a greater demand for imports from the industrialized countries and help the latter to rectify their balance of payments. It would also open up a productive avenue for the investment of financial surpluses of the oil-producing countries and a source of supply for the commodities and goods needed by them for their own industrial and economic growth.

106. That is but one reason for the Third World to develop economic and technical co-operation among its own members. The Second Islamic Summit in Lahore, the Kuala Lumpur Conference of Islamic Foreign Ministers and the summit meetings of the non-aligned nations and of the OAU have all contributed significantly to the promotion of economic co-operation and unity of purpose among the countries of the Third World.

107. By maintaining that unity and promoting its economic strength, the Third World will be able not only to help to build a just economic order but would also ensure a more universal respect for the principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations.

108. We can build the structure of a new democratic world order only on the basis of compliance with the principles and resolutions of the United Nations, on the basis of sovereign equality of States. The effort to secure this great objective must be carried on at every stage and every level of State relations, bilateral or multilateral. But it is in this world Organization that all these efforts can be synthesized and brought into focus.

109. Let me therefore express the hope that this Assembly will carry us closer to the objectives, the purposes and the aims which the United Nations set for itself nearly 30 years ago.

110. Sir Abdul Razak MOHAMED (Mauritius): Mr. President, I should like first of all to offer you the congratulations of my delegation on your unanimous election to the presidency of the twenty-ninth session of the General Assembly. Your great country, Sir, has been in the forefront of progressive action in the third world and has played an important role in the world community, and we are particularly happy to see you presiding over the work of this Assembly.

111. Ever since he accepted to shoulder the burden of the most impossible job in the world, our distinguished Secretary-General, Mr. Kurt Waldheim, has spared no effort in his work for peace, justice and progress. We warmly congratulate him for his tremendous, prompt and positive actions not only at times of political crisis but also in the quieter fields of economic development.

112. We should also like to welcome Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau as new Members of the United Nations.

113. We listened attentively and with much interest to the stirring address of the Prime Minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Mujibur Rahman [2243rd meeting], a heroic statesman. We warmly welcome the presence among us of the representatives of Bangladesh.

114. Grenada, the "Spice Island", shares with Mauritius the beauty of nature—except that the beaches of the star and key of the Indian Ocean are much more beautiful.

115. The admission of Guinea-Bissau is the victory of a right and just cause. We are proud to see among us the valiant representatives of this new African country, and never shall we forget the name of Amílcar Cabral.

116. Our sympathies go to the Government and the people of Honduras in their present plight after the cyclone "Fifi". We hope that the world community will, as usual, be generous in helping to alleviate the sufferings of our fellow human beings not only in Honduras but also in Bangladesh—which, once again, is stricken with natural disaster—and elsewhere.

117. As a brief reminder of the problems which confront the United Nations at this session, I would point out that the special emergency operation to which we agreed at the sixth special session has not yet resulted in concrete measures to assist those among us who are most affected by the present world economic crisis; that we still have to tackle the complex question of general disarmament, that is to say, disarmament which would lighten the burden arising from the arms race and increase the opportunities for development; that peace has not yet been restored to South-East Asia; and that such serious political problems as the situation in the Middle East and the question of Cyprus remain to be solved. So, in addition to finding ways and means to promote a new economic order, we still have to find appropriate solutions to long-standing problems so as to promote political stability.

118. Mauritius has welcomed the atmosphere of *détente* among the major Powers, because it believes that it could be the basis for universal peace, thus lessening the possibility of confrontations between them. *Détente*, however, has not eliminated the possibility of confrontation in the Indian Ocean.

119. Declared a zone of peace by the Assembly three years ago [resolution 2832 (XXVI)], the Indian Ocean is at present the scene of dangerous rivalries. Any decision of the United Kingdom and the United States to extend communications and military facilities on the island of Diego Garcia would constitute a flagrant violation of the United Nations resolution on the subject. May we appeal to those directly concerned, especially the United States of America, to reconsider their present policy which, certainly, far from being conducive to the creation of a zone of peace is rather conducive to the creation of one of tension. Mauritius, therefore, with other countries bordering the Indian Ocean, views with grave concern the activities of the great Powers, which could create an explosive situation. The peoples of the countries of the Indian Ocean must be allowed to live in peace and

security. Mauritius will therefore continue to explore with others every possibility of maintaining peace in the area.

120. But world peace cannot be ensured if the global issues of disarmament are not solved. For us, genuine disarmament means not only an end to the arms race—which, it should be recalled, costs about \$270,000 million annually—but also the destruction of all existing arsenals. The work of the Conference of the Committee on Disarmament should be accelerated and the Strategic Arms Limitation Talks should be allowed to yield more positive results. It is the view of our Government that what is needed is a comprehensive nuclear test-ban treaty, and that any other agreements concluded should not be aimed at preserving primarily the prerogatives of those countries that are already nuclear Powers. It is in that context that we would consider the proposals for nuclear-free zones in some parts of the world.

121. Although the solutions proposed at the sixth special session have remained unimplemented, the session was useful in so far as it helped to underline the great degree of interdependence of the world economies, particularly the interrelated nature of the economies of the producers of raw materials and those of the developed countries which need the raw materials for their continued industrialization. Since the special session, the world economy has further deteriorated. Inflation in the developed countries is felt also in the developing countries, which are paying higher prices for food, fertilizers and manufactured goods. The energy crisis has taught the developed countries their dependence on petroleum. In this respect, we believe that oil price increases should be discussed in the general context of a system of adequate remuneration for basic commodities. My country, which draws about 90 per cent of its total export earnings from the export of sugar, has greatly suffered in the past from the constant deterioration in the terms of trade. The economic situation of countries which, like Mauritius, export raw materials, will remain unstable as long as an adequate and equitable system is not found to counter the cyclic fluctuations to which the prices of raw materials are subject. While we continue to search for long-term measures, contributions are urgently needed for the emergency operation in order to assist the hardest hit among the developing countries.

122. It is our belief that existing specialized agencies or international institutions, such as UNIDO, UNCTAD and the regional economic commissions could greatly contribute towards the search for long-term solutions. In spite of their efforts, developing countries are still compelled to specialize in the production and supply of raw materials to the developed countries. We feel that their action would be more fruitful if they concentrated on an increased transfer of technology from the developed to the developing countries, in order to achieve the aims of diversification and industrialization. We suggest that, so far as Africa is concerned, the conclusions of the UNESCO Conference on the Application of Science and Technology to Development in Africa should be implemented without delay. We also note the early implementation of the African regional plan of action for science and technology, which aims at creating the

necessary apparatus to enable an easy transfer of technology from the highly industrialized nations. Finally, we suggest that the ECA, whose main contribution has so far been the preparation of studies and the organization of meetings, seminars and symposia, should be enabled to assist African States in a more practical manner.

123. Before turning to some of the political problems confronting us, I should like to refer briefly to the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. Mauritius, which is an island, of course attaches great importance to the problems of the sea, the sea-bed and its subsoil and their resources. At the second session of the Conference held recently at Caracas some of the basic issues were raised. We view the question of sovereignty and jurisdiction over the sea, its soil and subsoil up to 200 miles as being particularly important. It is essential that the establishment of a 200-mile coastal zone be accepted over which the States concerned can exercise the right to exploit the natural resources of the sea for the economic development and welfare of their peoples. A second element which the final legal order of the sea should emphasize is the idea of universal ownership of the sea-bed beyond the limits of national jurisdiction and its administration by an international body in the interests of the peoples of the world as the common heritage of mankind. Those two elements have clearly emerged from the Caracas session. Together with most of the countries of the Third World, Mauritius will support the final instruments relating to the Law of the Sea.

124. We are gratified to note that among the political issues before the General Assembly this year we will not have to devote the usual amount of time and attention to the questions of the Portuguese-administered Territories.

125. In the course of the general debate at the twenty-fourth session of the General Assembly, my Prime Minister, Sir Seewoosagur Ramgoolam, said, referring to the colonial Powers, particularly Portugal:

"These to my mind are the main currents of colonial policies adopted by many Powers. Why do they not want to withdraw gracefully from the Territories they have occupied for centuries? At times it was advanced by them that the peoples of those Territories were not ready to assume independence; at other times it was said that those Territories were economically backward and not viable. On either ground, they have forfeited their right to continue to maintain their rule because after centuries of colonial rule they have failed on all counts.

"Colonial Powers should no longer invoke the principle that the affairs of Territories under their rule are purely their internal affairs. The time has passed for such a concept; and they should voluntarily divest themselves of their political rule without necessarily impairing their cultural links."⁶

126. It is therefore with great pleasure and admiration that we have followed the efforts of the new régime in Lisbon, not only to restore democracy and freedom to Portugal but also to negotiate with the recognized leaders of its colonies the transfer of power.

127. The statement made by the Foreign Minister of new Portugal, Mr. Mario Soares [2239th meeting], was historical inasmuch as it ended over four centuries of colonial oppression. On behalf of my Government, I wish to pay a tribute in regard to those efforts which have already led to a peaceful settlement in Guinea-Bissau and to the Lusaka agreement concerning the independence of Mozambique. We are confident that with the usual statesmanship the new leaders of Portugal will tackle with success the outstanding problems which are to be solved with regard to Angola and that the decolonization process in that Territory also will be as smooth as in the other cases. While saluting the wisdom and statesmanship of the new Portuguese Government, we should like to praise the freedom fighters for their long and heroic struggle to liberate their countries.

128. We hope that the developments in the Portuguese-administered Territories will have a healthy impact on the situation in the rest of southern Africa, which is still under the domination of colonialist and racist régimes.

129. We are gratified to note that the British Foreign Secretary, Mr. James Callaghan, has reaffirmed that the United Kingdom still has an outstanding responsibility in Southern Rhodesia and has given us assurances that the British Government will adhere to the policy that "there can be no satisfactory settlement without the agreement of the African people who live in Rhodesia" [2240th meeting, para. 229]. We assume that all concerned realize from what is happening in Mozambique that there could be no settlement without majority rule. Another lesson which should be learned from the patterns of settlement in the Portuguese-administered Territories is that no peaceful settlement is possible in Southern Rhodesia except through negotiations with recognized leaders of the people. It follows that without the release from detention of the leaders of the Zimbabwe liberation movement, no negotiated settlement is possible. The only alternative would be to continue the liberation struggle which, with the possibility of increased assistance from the OAU, is bound to be intensified. We trust that the British Government, like us, wishes to avoid unnecessary loss of life. Taking into account the new developments, we believe that it can more forcefully impress upon the rebel régime of Ian Smith the urgent need for peaceful change. Of course, all other States can, and should, help in tightening the sanctions against Rhodesia.

130. The situation in Namibia has worsened over the past year. But it appears, from some statements made by representatives of the white minority in the Territory, that there is some awareness that the reign of terror of the *apartheid* régime cannot continue indefinitely, when Angola is expected to become independent in the near future. We hope that there, as in Southern Rhodesia, political realism will prevail. In the meantime, the armed struggle waged by the freedom fighters of the South West Africa People's Organization will continue and Mauritius is determined to continue to support it.

131. Whether the abhorrent system of *apartheid* in South Africa will be affected by the admirable example of humanity and political wisdom set by Portugal is debatable. The nature of the evil system of

apartheid is such that it would take a revolution similar to that which has occurred in Portugal to change it. It is an opinion, indeed a conviction, however, that the *apartheid* policy is doomed to failure. Mauritius is determined to continue to associate itself fully with all action that might be undertaken by the United Nations to bring about the end of the racist minority régime in South Africa.

132. Before concluding, I would like to indicate very briefly the position of Mauritius on a number of other political issues before us.

133. The representative of Mauritius, at the time of the violent overthrow of President Makarios, expressed in the Security Council⁷ the shock and emotion felt by the people of Mauritius. The position which the representative of Mauritius stated still stands: namely, that Archbishop Makarios was, and remains, the legitimate head of the State of Cyprus and that the restoration of constitutional order implies that he should be allowed to return. Our position is a simple one as it is based on the fact that Archbishop Makarios is the elected President of Cyprus. We hope that our forthcoming deliberations on the Cyprus question will pave the way to restoring full sovereignty to that country and to safeguarding its territorial integrity and independence to the satisfaction of all the inhabitants of the island.

134. On the Middle East question, Mauritius fully supports the position of the OAU, particularly on the demand for complete Israeli withdrawal from occupied Arab territories. This is not only a just demand but a requirement for the restoration of durable peace in the region. That measure and any others aimed at safeguarding the independence and territorial integrity of Israel are, in our opinion, the issues which should be resolved at any resumed talks in Geneva if complete peace is to return to the Middle East. Any solution would also have to take into account the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine.

135. My delegation welcomes the inclusion in the agenda of this session of the supplementary item entitled "Prohibition of action to influence the environment and climate for military and other purposes incompatible with the maintenance of international security, human well-being and health" [item 103]. We congratulate the Foreign Minister of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Andrei Gromyko, and his delegation for having proposed the inclusion of this item in the agenda of the Assembly [see A/9702], which my delegation will actively support.

136. The World Population Conference, in which Mauritius participated, has accomplished considerable results and we trust that all Member States, and others, will co-operate and help generously towards the implementation of the World Population Plan of Action,⁸ which was adopted by acclamation in Bucharest by no less than 135 participating States.

137. Now we are hopeful that the World Food Conference, scheduled to be held in Rome this November, will result in the adoption of measures which will lead to the alleviation of the food problems that the world is facing today.

138. To conclude, allow me to return to the point I started a little while ago, namely, to the immediate region where Mauritius is situated. My Government

has the friendliest relations with the leaders of the Seychelles. We have welcomed the decision of the ruling party, the Seychelles Democratic Party of Mr. Mancham, with regard to the independence of the Islands, and we are looking forward to co-operating closely with the independent Seychelles.

139. Furthermore, we were pleased to hear earlier this week from the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Sauvagnargues [2238th meeting], that France was completing its own efforts in the domain of decolonization by preparing, with the agreement of the freely elected leaders of the Comoros, the accession to independence of the islands. We welcome these developments and are also looking forward to establishing friendly relations with the independent Comoros. The co-operation of the Seychelles and the Comoros as well as that of all other States of the region is needed firmly to establish the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

140. May I, on behalf of my Prime Minister, the Government and people of Mauritius, reaffirm our unbounded faith in the principles of the Charter of the United Nations.

141. Mr. OKUMBA D'OKWATSEGUE (Gabon) (*interpretation from French*): Speaking as I am for the first time from this rostrum and representing a country whose policy is profoundly attached to the noble principles of dialogue and tolerance and which resolutely directs its efforts towards universal peace and the harmonious development of peoples, I must of course pay tribute to all those who have given of their best for the birth and survival of the United Nations.

142. For in spite of the shortcomings of its Charter, which must finally be brought into line with the political facts of the time, and in spite of imperfections in its functioning, our Organization remains the only hope of all peoples seeking to rise above either their particularism or their selfishness. It is the ideal instrument, if only because it sprang from the very ashes of tyranny, to fight enslavement, oppression and exploitation of man by man. It is the proper place for perfecting by diversification our means of co-operation and our systems of mutual international assistance which today, more than ever, are the *sine qua non* of our survival in this century of necessary interdependence.

143. Mr. President, at a time when a new wind is blowing through Africa, a continent which has so long been enslaved and robbed of its personality, the choice of you by our General Assembly to preside over the proceedings of its twenty-ninth session assumes particular significance and becomes a kind of symbol. I have no need, therefore, to refer to the special links between Algeria and Gabon, and I will only express my sincere joy and that of my delegation at seeing you presiding.

144. It is true, Sir, that your tried and tested capacities and your exceptional qualities as a statesman have largely transcended our merely bilateral context, and it is, you may believe me, all of Africa and, along with Africa, all the friends of your country who join in congratulating you and in being gratified at your election. Here, as elsewhere, you will, I am sure, know the legitimate satisfaction enjoyed by great men at their own success. The dignity, the outstanding intellectual and diplomatic qualities, and the effective

contribution of your distinguished predecessor, Mr. Benites of Ecuador, eloquently testify to the fact that the Third World is not lacking in great men.

145. It could not be otherwise when we have our distinguished Secretary-General as an immediate colleague. We must, indeed, recognize objectively the devotion and effectiveness of Mr. Kurt Waldheim, who has breathed new life into the Organization and who, among other noteworthy achievements, has found it possible to restore to the United Nations, particularly by means of the Geneva Peace Conference on the Middle East and his contacts with the new Lisbon Government, its essential role as the guardian of international peace. My delegation would like to congratulate him publicly and would ask him to convey to all his colleagues our encouragement and sympathy.

146. Declaring at the very outset that a new wind is blowing through Africa, I had in mind above all the various aspects of the disturbing problem of decolonization. Indeed, after centuries of an absurd policy, we find the Portuguese people and its army rising valiantly to drive out the Fascists and to restore democracy.

147. Hence my joy and the privilege I find it to greet here, on behalf of the people and Government of Gabon, the delegation of the sister Republic of Guinea-Bissau, and I would request that delegation to transmit to all the sons of its motherland the message of our admiration and friendship.

148. The purest blood of African youth, including the noble and precious blood of Amílcar Cabral, will thus not have been shed in vain, and the youth of Portugal themselves, innocent, free of interests which were of no benefit to them and of a cause which was a disservice to their country and their prosperity, will no longer see their destiny withering on the vine, precisely where it has a role to play on behalf of human fraternity. An epoch has ended with the fall of the Fascists, who have met the fate reserved for all those of their ilk. Thus, there is a new wind blowing which dictates an objective appreciation of the new face of Portugal and means that we must stretch out our hand to Lisbon, so that as soon as possible and on the model of the Partido Africano da Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde (PAIGC), the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO), the Movimiento de Liberación de las Islas de Santo Tomé y Príncipe, the Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola (MPLA) and the Frente Nacional para a Libertação de Angola (FNLA) will come to exercise an effective administration over their respective territories.

149. The Portuguese Government must realize that the democratic reforms it is undertaking now in its own country have meaning in Africa only in the context of uncalculating decolonization and real and immediate independence for our peoples. In this regard my delegation notes with satisfaction the statement made from this rostrum on 23 September by the Foreign Minister of Portugal [2239th meeting]. Certainly this requires courage, and is even dangerous vis-à-vis the major multinational firms and others who possess naval bases. But the rebirth of the Portuguese nation, the restoration of its dignity and international esteem depend on such courage, as indeed does its future in Africa and its true prosperity.

150. This is also the time to condemn once again, in the face of an outraged international conscience, the odious crime of *apartheid*, which in South Africa, in Namibia and in Rhodesia has blotted out the personality of millions of human beings, on a scale unprecedented in history, from the land of their ancestors.

151. This situation constitutes a vast plot against us, but let me not be misunderstood: one cannot keep down for ever a people determined to free itself from tyranny or, even more, from foreign oppression. It is time therefore for those primarily responsible for international peace, some of whom are also the disguised allies of *apartheid*, to put an end to genocide and the threat of racial war which is constantly hanging over this part of Africa, where already sovereign neighbouring countries are constantly subject to provocation.

152. If I have begun with the problem of the dignity of our people and our continent, it is none the less true that other situations, particularly affecting world peace and the world economy, are of concern to my delegation, and in any case the two subjects are very closely interconnected.

153. Convinced that there is no real national independence without economic independence, Gabon whole-heartedly endorses the arguments put forward at the sixth special session by President Houari Boumediène [2208th meeting] which led to the conclusion that there is an imperative necessity to reform the international economic system.

154. Already Gabon has been striving to transcend the narrow framework of its own borders and to form a part of larger entities. This justifies our membership in the Customs and Economic Union of Central Africa, our membership in the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries and also our relations with the European Common Market and the Group of 77 developing countries—which perhaps should properly be called the Group of 97.

155. We are therefore ready to broaden our horizons to embrace all States, whatever their national political orientation, provided they understand and accept the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of their trading partners. We consider it indispensable that we belong to the non-aligned group of countries because, in the face of the deplorable economic and financial fabric woven in their absence against the Third World countries to which we belong and which has no other purpose but their perpetual domination by systematic pillaging of their national resources, we must now bring to bear the strength of our cohesiveness and of our right, our permanent and sovereign right, over our natural resources, including our fishing resources in territorial waters, our right to study and to establish ourselves the price of our products, and our right also to deal with trading partners of our own choice, giving priority to trade between countries which are in the process of construction.

156. We are all aware of the effects of monetary disorder engendered by an outmoded economic system, but Gabon firmly believes that no one can continue to be powerful enough to subordinate perpetually a universal majority and to avoid the eventual application of the historic decisions taken in this very

Hall from 9 April to 2 May this year by the sixth special session of the General Assembly, a session which the President of the Republic of Gabon, His Excellency El Hadj Omar Bongo, attended personally.

157. Reaffirming our total adherence to those decisions and principles as they were clearly enunciated on that occasion, particularly the Declaration on the Establishment of a New International Economic Order [resolution 3201 (S-VI)] and the Programme of Action flowing from it [resolution 3202 (S-VI)], the Republic of Gabon cannot refrain from condemning certain attempts to sow confusion or diversionary tactics which became apparent in the course of this special session, while the fundamental data of our concerns are clear and unequivocal. These are a fair price for our primary products, reform of the international monetary system, transfer of technology and industrialization of our countries, control over the dangerous activities of multinational companies, our permanent sovereignty over our natural resources and a new concept of the assistance which may be granted to us. Because if to undertake investment in order to earn one's own profit is not aid and cannot be considered as such, any assistance with strings attached which forces any obligation upon the recipient is not aid either.

158. The countries in the process of construction want to act rapidly to consolidate their economic independence in order to raise their standard of living and relieve the privation of their people. This requires from their partners, which are industrialized friendly countries, political courage, lucidity of judgement and sound understanding. It is quite useless, otherwise, to broadcast throughout the world pious intentions of solidarity and universal mutual assistance.

159. My delegation considers that we have no right to talk honestly of our desire for peace before we agree that attempts be made and success achieved in realizing the objectives which I have mentioned and which affect the fate of three quarters of mankind in a new context of international co-operation that will make it possible for everyone to enjoy his fair share.

160. Indeed, no one can deny that economic blockades without any other justification than provocation, struggles for influence and hegemony that provoke and maintain the wars which devastate the third world and subversion aimed against the sovereign Governments of our States, derive from the ruthless competition engaged in by certain nations for the sake of economic monopolies, which are irrefutably incompatible with the advent of a new era of international peace.

161. Concerned both as the primary theatre of these upheavals and as an integral part of a society which is in this way collectively threatened, the Third World appeals to the conscience of the great Powers for a change of heart that would lead rapidly to effective and lasting peace.

162. For its part, Gabon calls whole-heartedly for this peace, thanks to which vast financial resources and inestimable discoveries and technological achievements would be restored to global development programmes. That is why we unreservedly support any sincere and realistic initiative that may lead to

the general and complete disarmament of the countries which suspect each other and keep each other under surveillance, while their arsenals of destruction become ever more sophisticated.

163. The maintenance of peace is the primary role of the United Nations. Gabon would like to see this Organization fully play this role, thanks to the new spirit which should be that of our Charter, which it is indispensable to revise. The Charter was prepared 29 years ago by 50 States, that is to say, by a minority which cannot make decisions for the 138 delegations represented here today. And the non-aligned countries which constitute the majority of the Organization and eke out their lives at the mercy of the veto of the minority are firmly determined on this matter.

164. Let peace reign through justice and long live the United Nations.

Mr. Siclait (Haiti), Vice-President, took the Chair.

165. Mr. CARVAJAL (Chile) (*interpretation from Spanish*): The delegation of Chile participates in this international forum with the sincere intention of helping to achieve effective co-operation between States and of contributing to the solution of the humanitarian, social, cultural and economic problems that concern the United Nations.

166. The purpose and goals of the Charter of San Francisco continue to be the purpose and goals of the foreign policy of Chile. We accordingly reaffirm our adherence to the Declaration on Principles of International Law concerning Friendly Relations and Co-operation among States in accordance with the Charter of the United Nations [resolution 2625 (XXV), annex] and to the Declaration on the Strengthening of International Security [resolution 2734 (XXV)]. Chile believes that today more than ever we must respect the basic principles of international coexistence.

167. Prohibition of the use or threat of force, prohibition of intervention of any kind in the internal affairs of any nation, respect for the rights of peoples to self-determination, as well as unlimited respect for international treaties, are some of the basic principles that inspire our participation in this Assembly's general debate, as well as in the study of the many subjects that will be considered by the Committees.

168. We have attentively followed the efforts of the United Nations for the maintenance and restoration of world peace. The current negotiations in the Middle East, thanks to the intelligent role played by the Secretary-General as well as by the dynamic Secretary of State of the United States of America, clearly demonstrate that the United Nations is an effective instrument for the solution of international conflicts when the political will exists voluntarily to adhere to its standards. The disengagement agreements are an essential first step toward the achievement of a just and lasting peace in that part of the world.

169. Recent events in Cyprus have caused my Government concern. This is not the proper moment to examine the causes, which are already so well known to this international body. In our judgement, what matters is the survival of that United Nations Member State, which currently finds its integrity and independence so seriously threatened.

170. We consider that this General Assembly should give maximum priority to the problem of the proliferation of nuclear weapons and obtain the cessation of tests, whether underground, at sea or in the atmosphere. The fact that a number of countries are now able to produce devices of this type, along with the temptation of some nations to become atomic Powers, might lead to a nuclear race that is as risky as it is absurd, and which could develop into a war so destructive as to affect the whole human race. The gradual proliferation of members of the nuclear club thus poses a grave danger for international peace and security.

171. We believe that the best way to achieve these objectives would be to extend geographically denuclearized zones. In this regard, I should like to declare that the Government of Chile is completing the internal legal arrangements for the ratification of the Treaty for the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons in Latin America, which was signed at Tlatelolco. Within a very short time we shall deposit the relevant instrument of ratification.

172. Some South American Governments have expressed the desire to reach a regional arms limitation agreement in order to allow for a more accelerated economic development of their countries. Chile has declared its outright support for this initiative and believes that, in general, offensive weapons should be especially limited, while those needed to fulfil the defensive aims of the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance⁹ should be maintained.

173. Ever since the time of the League of Nations, Chile has supported the principle of the universality of international organizations. We consider that the ability of the United Nations to accomplish its basic goal—to secure a just and lasting peace in the world—depends upon the strict application of this principle. Thus we rejoice at the admission into our Organization of the States of Bangladesh, Grenada and Guinea-Bissau. We extend our warmest welcome to them and we feel certain that they will make a timely and active contribution to our deliberations. I should like to take this opportunity to reiterate Chile's support for resolution 1514 (XV) concerning the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples.

174. The Republic of Honduras was recently the victim of a catastrophe bringing desolation and ruin to thousands of homes. My delegation wishes to reiterate to the Honduran delegation the warmest and most heartfelt feelings of the people and Government of Chile. At the same time, we should like to request the Secretary-General, whose dedication and skilful action merit our fullest support, to invite the relevant specialized agencies of the United Nations and other institutions to grant our sister nation their swiftest and most ample co-operation.

175. The world economic situation is certainly not encouraging. The crisis the world faces probably has no parallel in history. Deep-seated problems exist which have been developing for a long time and which, far from being solved, tend, on the contrary, to become dangerously acute. I refer to rapid population growth, the food crisis, ecological destruction, the deterioration of the environment and the gradual extinction of non-renewable natural resources.

176. We are going through what the experts call "international economic turbulence", most visibly and probably most dramatically manifested in the energy crisis. The old post-war order, characterized by the Bretton Woods Agreements and the traditional trade patterns associated with GATT, has demonstrated its total inefficiency in our time and, as repeatedly pointed out, has turned into a new international economic "disorder". Both institutions and mechanisms created nearly 30 years ago have demonstrated their inability to cope with the problems of today and have jeopardized the objectives of the International Development Strategy for the Second United Nations Development Decade [resolution 2626 (XXV)]. At the same time, the industrialized nations have not given priority to financial co-operation for the benefit of developing countries, nor have they fully opened their markets to the exports of developing countries. Peace and economic prosperity together constitute the guiding principles of our Charter. Therefore it is regrettable and dangerous that the results achieved in the economic, financial and commercial sectors are not comparable with those achieved in the political and military areas.

177. A number of recent new developments call for a re-examination of current economic policies. Industrialized countries have suddenly been faced with the fragility of the structure of their economic systems, while the developing countries have seen their negotiating potential unexpectedly raised. For the first time a certain symmetry of interests and benefits has emerged between those two groups of nations, which affords a unique opportunity for negotiating fair agreements.

178. The foregoing impels me to insist that we urgently adopt specific measures that will accelerate multilateral trade negotiations on a preferential basis that will apply to tariff as well as non-tariff trade barriers. At the same time, it is necessary urgently to accelerate decisions for the reform of the international monetary system that would give the developing nations a much larger participation than that afforded them so far.

179. Chile believes that Latin America has something to say and something to offer in all those areas. Our region can rely upon existing co-ordinating mechanisms, and these should be used fully. An example is the Special Committee on Latin American Co-ordination. This body expresses the genuine Latin American personality. Likewise, we have organizations such as the Latin American Free Trade Association and the Andean Subregional Integration Agreement (Andean Group) to the improvement of which Chile is fully committed.

180. Latin America's efforts towards establishing a guaranteed international economic order are borne out by the draft Charter of Economic Rights and Duties of States,¹⁰ by Venezuela's valuable contribution to the Inter-American Development Bank, and by our countries' active participation in the Third United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea. The second session of this Conference, recently held at Caracas, should be viewed in terms of both the successful organization of the Conference by the host country and the effective and useful work undertaken. The Conference defined what could be

called the basis of, or key to, international solutions, particularly the 200-mile economic zone and the formulation of the concept of the ocean floor beyond the limits of national jurisdiction being the common heritage of mankind.

181. Chile, the first country in the world to proclaim, in 1947, a 200-mile marine zone, was joined by Ecuador and Peru in a later defence of this doctrine in some memorable diplomatic battles. While at that time we seemed isolated in our position, now we are gratified to note that we are supported by the great majority of nations. Conceived as an economic zone or patrimonial sea, that doctrine has become fundamental to an international solution. It is not only a triumph for the developing countries; it is also an expression of the justice of the fundamental relationship existing between a country and the resources of its adjacent sea.

182. One proof of Latin America's commitment to overcoming the most urgent problems of our time was the efficiency and dedication with which the representative of Ecuador, Mr. Leopoldo Benites, presided over the twenty-eighth session of the General Assembly. We wish to pay him our warmest tribute for the brilliant manner in which he discharged his lofty duties.

183. The people of Chile recently celebrated with spontaneous joy the first anniversary of its liberation from the Soviet-oriented totalitarian régime that had tried to impose its dictatorship on the country and its people, and in multitudinous rallies held throughout the land the people reaffirmed its support for the present Government of national reconstruction.

184. This year, with the enthusiastic support of all sectors, healthy economic foundations have been laid and are already yielding initial results. Central Bank reserves, which were only \$3 million a year ago, now exceed \$300 million. Exports between January and May of this year increased by more than 200 per cent over the same period in 1973. In spite of higher import prices, Chile's balance of trade has ceased to show a deficit, and now shows an appreciable surplus. Agricultural production will increase significantly this year, since essential planting is 50 per cent greater this year than in 1973. This increase is a result especially of the fact that the Government has turned over rural land, which had been nationalized by the previous régime, to authentic peasant farmers. Particularly noteworthy has been the increase in copper production, total output being 46 per cent higher this year than last year.

185. The recovery of our economy has created confidence abroad and made it possible for Chile to renegotiate its external debt within the framework of the "Paris Club", on mutually acceptable terms. The runaway inflation we were suffering is being controlled, and a programme for the gradual reduction of the inflation rate is under way. In order to avoid dislocations, it is based on increased productivity and reduced government spending.

186. Social development is and has been one of the Chilean Government's fundamental concerns. The difficult anti-inflationary campaign is being carried out as fairly as possible, with benefits accruing to the workers through long overdue substantial pay rises

and social improvements. So, for the first time in our country's history, the dilemma of the most helpless groups of people has been confronted squarely and in depth through a complete study of the factors involved and a programme of action designed to put into effect urgently needed solutions.

187. Within this brief summary of my Government's efforts, special mention should be made of the children's nutrition programme now being carried out in Chile with the full knowledge of UNICEF and other international organizations. We are confident that the success of our studies and accomplishments in this area will enable our country to co-operate usefully with other nations. We are pleased to offer them our experience for mutual benefit.

188. The Chilean Government has passed a new law, the Foreign Investment Statute, which establishes rules to attract foreign capital but, at the same time, clearly protects our national interests. This foreign investment law has already produced a significant increase in the number of requests to expand current investments or to invest in new industries, and has attracted numerous national and private groups from abroad, which have all been anxious to co-operate in our development on fair, serious and well-defined terms.

189. While laying the groundwork for the economic reconstruction and social development of the country, my Government has assigned top priority to the rehabilitation of the judiciary, which is a spiritual and moral legacy of the people of Chile and the very essence of their historical identity. Upon taking office, my Government acknowledged its patriotic obligation to revive the fundamental attributes of the Chilean character, and to restore justice and the institutions that had been violated, destroyed or negated by the previous Government. It gives me great pleasure to be able to describe how the Government of Chile is fulfilling the promises made to the citizens of our country.

190. The fully independent Judicial Branch administers justice without any interference whatever from the Government, which accords it the most absolute and total respect and prompt implementation of its sentences and resolutions. This situation is in contrast with the violent and defamatory attacks against the High Court which occurred under the preceding Government. At that time the Judicial Branch's constitutional powers were disregarded and its sentences and judgements were not carried out, all of which conspired against the independence of the Judicial Branch. It is enough to point out that at the time there were more than 7,000 sentences handed down by the courts which were never carried out.

191. The Comptroller General's Office, an autonomous institution responsible for confirming the legality of the acts carried out by the Executive Branch, fulfils its fiscal responsibilities with total autonomy and efficiency. It has been enlarged and strengthened in its attributes. The Comptroller General's observations and administrative notices are no longer scoffed at as they were under the procedures that operated under the preceding administration.

192. Also, in line with a legal tradition of more than 150 years of republican life, the Government of Chile a few days after assuming power named a Commission to draw up a new political Constitution. The Commission is made up of distinguished university professors with vast judicial experience and ample knowledge of public affairs. More than 70 distinguished professional experts co-operate with it, representing a varied spectrum of activities. The work of this important Commission is carried out in an atmosphere of complete freedom and along the lines of certain general principles proposed by the Commission itself and approved by the Government prior to publication and dissemination throughout the country.

193. The new Constitution will encompass the basic principles that derive from our Chilean legal tradition and from the historic cultural identity of our homeland. It aims at the improvement of institutions to the fullest extent possible and in accord with universal experience and Chilean specific realities, and will institute a representative and democratic system, with authorities whose power will originate in the law and who will be elected by the people in free, pluralistic, secret and informed elections.

194. The legal reorganization in Chile and the intense task of effecting legislative renovation which are currently under way are inspired and determined by the principles and values which the Government of Chile proclaimed and published last March. It would be rather lengthy to refer at this time to the declaration of principles. Suffice it to say that the declaration encompasses the highest human values and is consistent with the highest Western and Christian philosophy. In my country this document has been widely published and I can assure this Assembly that these are the principles that inspire Government action, as well as the principles that are defended and guaranteed in Chile today.

195. Some politicians or institutions, whether misinformed or in bad faith, have sustained a media campaign designed to create the impression that the Government of Chile upholds repressive measures and ignores both legal rules and human rights. For the most part, these attacks originate with individuals who see the flaw in others but do not wish to recognize their own flaws.

196. The truth is that Chile is a country with borders open to any representatives of official international institutions and to private persons who wish to visit our countryside and cities in order freely to converse with our people and understand the reality of a people that is marching with unity towards a better future.

197. The International Committee of the Red Cross, ever since the advent of the current Government, has maintained a permanent delegation that has received ample authority to visit those who have been detained and tried and, from time to time, found guilty. This delegation periodically reports to its headquarters in Geneva as well as to the Government of Chile.

198. The Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has conveyed to my Government its appreciation for the co-operation extended in the solution of problems deriving from the presence

of over 14,000 foreigners who are in the country illegally. The majority were individuals who had been expelled from their home countries and who had gone to Chile to continue their subversive and terrorist activities.

199. We have invited a commission of conciliation and investigation of the International Labour Organisation so that it may observe how Chile is complying with its international obligations and how the law protects the social progress achieved by workers.

200. Chile fully agreed to the granting of asylum in foreign diplomatic missions, although many of them exercised that right for the first time, with no claim to do so since the Governments concerned are not parties to the Conventions on the subject. Regardless of the fact that in many instances asylum was not warranted, the Chilean authorities agreed to grant all the requested safe-conducts. It gives me pleasure to announce that no refugee remains in asylum in foreign embassies. In view of the scope which some have tried to give to diplomatic asylum and which Chile *de facto* did not want to deny, my delegation assigns top priority to the discussion and approval of a universal convention on the subject.

201. The Government of Chile authorized the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights to hold an extraordinary session in my country in order to study on the spot the status of such rights. We granted all the facilities that were requested. Have our detractors allowed international committees into their countries in order to carry out an in-depth investigation of human rights, permitting them to visit detention centres and to hold conversations unobstructedly and privately with detained persons?

202. On 11 September the Chief of State of Chile, General Augusto Pinochet, made the following statement:

"The Government wishes to announce that, in spite of serious legal or moral charges for which persons arrested under the state of siege and those facing trial have been held responsible, it is ready to authorize such persons to leave the country for good, should they so desire, with the sole exception of particularly grave cases."

Subsequently, he called on other nations which have attacked us violently to act similarly under the supervision of the International Committee of the Red Cross. The Committee has offered the Government of Chile to undertake the necessary steps to implement this initiative, and we have given it full support in this noble task. We are drawing up the list of those persons who voluntarily wish to take advantage of this offer, and there is nothing to prevent them—if they so wish it—from leaving the country with their families.

203. In brief, we can guarantee with deep conviction that today Chile is one of the countries where every person—whether a national or a foreign resident—has complete personal security and where human rights are fully respected.

204. These past few days, efforts have been made to associate Chile with interventionist acts from abroad. My Government did not hesitate to denounce the impudent involvement in Chilean internal politics during the past administration by several Communist

countries. Such acts were intended to unleash civil war in my country. Now, in accordance with the traditional attachment to independence which is characteristic of our policy, and the authentically Chilean roots of my Government, we firmly reject, irrespective of their aims and their place of origin, any acts of intervention that directly or indirectly entail foreign entanglement in the internal or external affairs of Chile.

205. Social justice, solidarity and the participation of every Chilean in the common effort to reconstruct our motherland are a demonstration of how we have overcome artificially engendered hatreds and an illustration of a new mechanism aiming at the efficient and prompt solution of the problems confronting the people of Chile. This is the path we have chosen. We have committed ourselves to this endeavour with austerity and sacrifice but also with dedication and faith in the future of our land.

206. The Chilean delegation is present at this session of the Assembly with the intention of extending this very same spirit of co-operation and solidarity to the accomplishment of the tasks incumbent on the international community. In so doing, we trust that the over-all result will be the attainment of positive agreements worthy of the fundamental goals of the Organization.

207. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from French*): The representative of India has asked to speak in exercise of the right of reply.

208. Mr. JAIPAL (India): My delegation listened with considerable interest to the statement made by the representative of Pakistan, especially the reasons given by him for his proposal to establish a nuclear-free zone in South Asia.

209. This zone has not been precisely defined, but it is evident that it is an integral part of the continent of Asia and the Indian Ocean area as well. This fact, in our opinion, has a vital bearing on whether suitable conditions exist for the setting up of a limited nuclear-free zone only in South Asia. However, since Pakistan intends to include India in this zone, we wish to take this opportunity to clarify our position.

210. My delegation would also point out that any proposal to establish a nuclear-free zone in any part of the world is an important question, as it would engage the vital interests of all the countries in that zone. It would have been natural, therefore, for the countries in the proposed zone first to discuss among themselves the necessity for a nuclear-free zone. This has not happened.

211. We think that it would be undesirable for the General Assembly to declare a particular area in the

world a nuclear-free zone without the prior agreement of the countries in that area. Such an action would be clearly counter-productive. India's views regarding nuclear-weapon-free zones are well known. We have supported the establishment of such zones only when the States within the zones concerned have agreed among themselves and where suitable conditions exist for their establishment. The same cannot be said of the so-called South-Asia zone.

212. So far as my country is concerned, my Foreign Minister reaffirmed only yesterday [2245th meeting] the Indian Government's decision not to manufacture nuclear weapons. He also reiterated that India would use nuclear energy and technology exclusively for peaceful purposes, and this of course includes the underground use of nuclear explosive devices. Our declarations in this regard have been welcomed by many of our neighbours and several other countries.

213. I may mention for your information that two days after our underground explosion, our Prime Minister wrote to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, reaffirming that our experiment was intended only for peaceful purposes.

214. We also stated earlier that our underground explosion was in the nature of an experiment and should be seen only in the context of our endeavours to develop our own natural resources. Since this technology will be experimented and used by us for peaceful purposes only, we shall not agree to any international inspection or any other constraints that may be involved in the establishment of a nuclear-free zone.

The meeting rose at 6.50 p.m.

NOTES

¹ *Proceedings of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Second Session*, vol. 1 and Corr.1 and 3 and Add.1 and 2, *Report and Annexes* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.68.II.D.14), p. 431.

² See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 21, Annexes, annex I, sect. 2.*

³ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 721, p. 324.

⁴ *Ibid.*, vol. 634, No. 9068, p. 326.

⁵ *Ibid.*, vol. 858, No. 12308.

⁶ See *Official Records of the General Assembly, Twenty-fourth Session, Plenary Meetings*, 1765th meeting, paras. 13 and 14.

⁷ See *Official Records of the Security Council, Twenty-ninth Year, 1781st meeting.*

⁸ See *Report of the United Nations World Population Conference, 1974* (United Nations publication, Sales No. E.75.XIII.3), chap. I.

⁹ United Nations, *Treaty Series*, vol. 21, No. 324.

¹⁰ Subsequently adopted as resolution 3281 (XXIX).